

Rewriting the Greeks:
The Translations, Adaptations, Distant Relatives and Productions of
Aeschylus' Tragedies in the United States of America from 1900 to 2009.

Dissertation

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By

Bethany Rose Banister Rainsberg, M.A.

Graduate Program in Theatre

The Ohio State University

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Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Stratos E. Constantinidis, Advisor

Dr. Bruce Heiden

Dr. Joy Reilly

Dr. Anthony Hill

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the practices of rewriting Aeschylus' tragedies for American audiences and the manner in which these rewrites are "read" by stage directors who adapt them in their academic and non-academic theatre productions in the United States. In order to analyze the translation and performance practices of Aeschylus' plays, this study will examine all English language translations, adaptations, and distant relatives of Aeschylus' works for the twenty and twenty-first centuries and analyze key moments that connect and illuminate those works. The two central questions that drive this investigation are: (1) what kind of choices have the English-speaking translators made regarding the tragedies of Aeschylus, and (2) how have Aeschylus' tragedies been rewritten by the practitioners of the American stage?

Because of the proliferation and variance of Aeschylean translations into English, and research published to-date, an examination of these practices and texts provides a rich source for analyzing the larger issues of practice and critical evaluation of translation and performance. The seven tragedies of Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*, *Libation Bearers*, *Eumenides*, *Prometheus Bound*, *Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Seven Against Thebes*) and the manner in which they plays have been interpreted by translators and producers from 1900 to 2009 will provide the data for this study.

Dedication

Dedicated to my husband, Clayton Rainsberg, and my two month son, James Banister Rainsberg who gave me all of the support, love, and dirty diapers I needed to complete this project.

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Vita

May 1998.....High School Diploma, Fannindel High School

2001.....B.A. Theatre, Harding University

2003 to 2004.....Theatre Arts and Debate Teacher, Canton High
School

2004.....M.A. Theatre, Texas A&M University-
Commerce

2004 to 2006.....Instructor of Theatre, Ad Interim, Texas A&M
University-Commerce

2006 to 2008.....University Fellowship, Department of
Theatre, The Ohio State University

2007 to present.....Graduate Teaching Associate, Department of
Theatre, The Ohio State University

Fields of Study

Major Field: Theatre

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Introduction:

The plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides have been translated, adapted, and re-written into the English language in a manner not witnessed with any other dramatic works. No other dramatists have received such a great number of stage adaptations except for Shakespeare. However, not even Shakespeare's plays have experienced as radical a rewriting as the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. It is true that Shakespeare's plays have been produced with a countless variety of interpretations, but his plays, frequently abridged, are rarely entirely rewritten.

Because of the diverse manner in which the plays of the three Classical Greek playwrights are translated and adapted, it is more practical and accurate to use the umbrella term "rewrite" when referring to the great variety and manner in which the Classical Greek plays have been recycled. "Rewrites" cover (1) "translations," works that seek to serve the original text by preserving its intent; (2) "adaptations," works that seek to appropriate and change the text; and (3) "distant relatives," completely new works that allude to the original story but which nearly always depart from the plot, character, and theme of the original Classical Greek plays. Their purpose is to function independently as new works in the current theatre without negotiating the original performance context of the Classical play. In this study, plays labeled as "versions," "based on," and "adaptations of translations" (i.e., authors rewriting from a translation rather than the original Greek text) also fall into the category of "rewriting."

Because of the ever-growing trend in the American theatre to re-imagine and re-produce Greek tragedies for both academic and non-academic stages, it is necessary now, more than ever before, to examine the reason for the need to rewrite the classics. It is not enough to attribute the rise in Classical interest on the American stage to a new found interest in Aeschylus' plays because the only thing many of these rewrites have in common is their use of Aeschylus' name, the play's title, or the character's names. Many of these rewrites share little else. Why are the plays of Aeschylus (and Sophocles and Euripides) so popular with rewriters and directors of the American stage but rarely remain unchanged or recognizable in their English format?

New rewrites of the Classical Greek tragedies continue to be published in such numbers that the need for new editions cannot be explained solely by a need for linguistic and artistic updates expected with the natural change in language usage in English speaking countries. Translator prefaces indicate that each new translation of the same Classical Greek tragedy attempts to engage the Greek text in a manner different from previous translations. Frequently the translators discuss their own rewrites in comparison or contrast to previously published translations. The new translation or adaptation frequently differs from older ones in both function (its intended use) and interpretation (the translator's "reading" is different from previous "readings"). The differences between translations and adaptations of the same play tend to be more thematic, character, or plot oriented. The differences between translations of the same play are more stylistic—language—and purpose driven (translations intended for performance versus those intended for study). Most rewriters define their work in terms of "translation," "adaptation", and "new work" (distant relatives) in order to signal reception

expectations with the reader. The term “distant relative” (used by the Oxford University’s *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama, APGRD*) is a problematic term because it implies that the source of the new work is the Classical Greek play. However, while many of these plays make allude to the Greek tragedies, they were not necessarily created to function as “relatives” of those plays. Nonetheless, the term “distant relative” is used in this dissertation and the *APGRD* to describe new works that are distantly connected to the Classical Greek tragedies, though they function independently of these plays on the American stage.

Karelisa Hartigan’s states in *Greek Tragedy on the American Stage* that “although the basic texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides remain fairly constant, the meanings drawn from their plays do not” (1). Nowhere is this more true than in the adaptations and distant relatives of Aeschylus’ plays. A careful examination of the English translations of the Classical Greek tragedies published and/or produced from 1900 to 2009 reveals that there are important differences between the rewrites that affect the way American audiences see Aeschylus’ tragedies when produced in the United States.

The purpose of this study is to examine the practices of rewriting Aeschylus’ tragedies for the American audiences and the manner in which these rewrites are “read” by stage directors who adapt them in their academic and non-academic theatre productions in the United States. The examination focuses on the complex relationship that exists between translation, adaptation, and performance to determine whether or not translations need to be adapted in order to be successfully produced and understood on the American stage. Translations, adaptations, and distant relatives from all English-

speaking countries will be considered, but the analysis will focus exclusively on how these rewrites are re-interpreted by stage productions that occur only in the United States. The seven tragedies of Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*, *Libation Bearers*, *Eumenides*, *Prometheus Bound*, *Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Seven Against Thebes*) and the manner in which they plays have been interpreted by translators and producers from 1900 to 2009 will provide the data for this study. This sampling will include “distant relatives” such as Eugene O’Neill’s *Mourning Becomes Electra*, Charles Mee’s *Big Love*, and Yael Farber’s *Molona*. The two central questions that drive this investigation are: (1) what kind of choices have the English-speaking translators made regarding the tragedies of Aeschylus? (2) How have Aeschylus’ tragedies been rewritten by the practitioners of the American stage?

My understanding level of Classical Greek is “intermediate.” I am not a classicist. My project is not focused on analyzing the Classical Greek texts but on analyzing their English translations to ascertain the trends in rewriting the Classical Greek plays into English. It will examine how these rewrites have changed the plots, characterizations, and the thematic significance of Aeschylus’ plays. These are changes that effect American audiences and their contact (or lack of contact) with the “Classical” plays. Special attention will be paid to the performance possibilities of the selected translations, adaptations, and distant relatives in order to help those who are interested in rewriting, selecting, or directing Aeschylus’ plays.

Even though there are over 338 published English language rewrites of Aeschylus’ tragedies from 1900 to 2009, and over 300 theatre productions of some of these rewrites within the United States, there has not yet been extensive classification and

analysis of these plays and their productions. J. Michael Walton's *Found in Translation* (2006) includes a chronological list of translations of Aeschylus' tragedies but not of adaptations or "distant relatives." Because of its organization of the translations into several thematic lists (i.e influential anthologies, less influential anthologies, publications of the entire *Oresteia* trilogy, and publications of *Agamemnon* alone), it is difficult to get an accurate understanding of the chronology of the rewrites. For a complete chronological list of the translations of *Agamemnon* it is necessary to consult and compile four separate lists of publications.

Walton's list includes a handful of translations that were republished long after their first publication edition. In some of these republications of the same translation, the translations were altered. For example, Walter Headlam, who translated and published *Agamemnon* in 1904, died in 1908. His translation was posthumously republished and edited three times. The first remake was by Clinton Edward Sowerby Headlam, 1909, when he translated *Agamemnon* from a revised translation by Headlam. The second was by Alfred Chilton Pearson, 1910, who edited and amended Headlam's translation. And, in 1938 George Derwent Thomson published another version of Headlam's translation based on Thomson's interpretation of Headlam's 1904 translation, notes, and essays on the subjects of *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus, and translation. Each publication is different and the translations vary in form and content. The 1904 and 1909 versions are in prose and the 1910 and 1938 versions are in verse. Appendix A is an attempt to aid in locating the twentieth century and twenty-first century rewrites. Chapter three assists in understanding the fundamental differences between these rewrites and their relationship to their Classical Greek play.

Any list, such as Walton's, that does not consider the more "radical" rewrites of Aeschylus' plays does not adequately address the needs and position of Aeschylus on the American stage. The adaptations and distant relatives of Aeschylus' plays make up over half of the produced texts in the United States. Oxford University's *Archive of Performance of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD)* is an excellent reference for commercial productions, but it is incomplete in its documentation of the American academic stage. Most examinations of productions of Aeschylus' plays give the impression that, with a few new changes, each production is working with the play Aeschylus wrote, rather than the English rewrite. This is rarely the case. There is no resource available to the dramaturg assisting in the production of an Aeschylean play to help him/her effectively understand the variations in the English-language rewrites or, more importantly, to even find them.

This study collects the twentieth century and twenty-first century translations and adaptations of Aeschylus' tragedies in English and, thereby, serves as a resource for any dramaturg, director, producer, or translator who wishes to navigate the murky waters of translation and performance theory. It analyzes the translations and adaptations, the purpose and function they were created to serve, and it traces their production history in the American theatre. It also examines the relationship between a translation (or adaptation) and its stage adaptation (production). With over a hundred rewrites of *Agamemnon* alone, it is extremely difficult for directors, dramaturgs, and scholars to know which English rewrite is most suitable for their needs and how these translations, adaptations, and distant relatives relate to Aeschylus' original plays.

To a large degree, the reception of Aeschylus' tragedies in the United States has been conditioned by the manner in which his tragedies have been studied, rewritten, and produced. The English versions of Aeschylus' tragedies on page and on stage have been recorded and studied by such scholars as J. Michael Walton, Helene Foley, Ekaterini Nikolarea, Karelisa Hartigan, and the *APGRD* at the University of Oxford (which provides information on the production of Greek and Roman plays internationally). The translator or adaptor of an Aeschylean tragedy is frequently omitted from many discussions of its production in English. Greater emphasis is often given in the press release, critical review, and publicity of the plays to the director and/or the theatre company producing these plays rather than the translator or the English text. This is especially true in the case of international productions touring the United States. A significant portion of the fourth chapter of this dissertation deals with the English-speaking productions of Greek tragedies that neglect to cite the names of the translators or the adaptors, giving the impression that these adaptations are translations of Aeschylus' plays. It is difficult to determine the nature and function of the production rewrite used in such productions. Those scholarly studies that do not discuss the translation or adaptation used for the production of one or more of Aeschylus' tragedies perpetuate the idea that all rewrites are similar, or that all English versions of Aeschylus' plays closely resemble Aeschylus' original plays.

In "Masks in Modern Performance of Greek Drama," David Wiles states,

The most important productions of Greek theatre that I have seen have been in Romanian, French, Russian, German, modern Greek, Japanese—hardly ever in English. When I recall these productions, the whole question of language seems irrelevant. (263)

In these cases, the directors have adapted the work to create an imprint associated with their own celebrity. Wiles' statement reveals the seeming irrelevance of Aeschylus' play text (the "language" of the production) in many twentieth century productions. It is frequently the idea of rewriting and producing an Aeschylean play that attracts directors, not the actual play itself. The desire to piggy-back on the prestige and literary heritage of these Classical Greek plays explains in part the vast number of textual and production interpretations that frequently have very little in common with Aeschylus' original play. In other words, they are not interested in producing a play by Aeschylus, but a contemporary idea that rests on the good reputation of "Aeschylus." It is significant that many of the most influential productions of Aeschylus' plays in the United States have been foreign tours of international productions. Consequently, English language rewrites of Aeschylus' tragedies are produced in the United States, as Wiles' observed, with an ever growing focus on the non-verbal, visual and aural aspects of the plays. Many of the international productions (e.g., Ariane Mnouchkin's *Les Atrides*) rework the myth rather than the text of Aeschylus' play demonstrating the strength of the rewriter and director in production and the subservient position of the author, Aeschylus.

According to Wiles, the reason the production of Classical Greek tragedies has claimed such an important part of the theatrical repertory in the late twentieth century is due to the fact that stage directors moved away from textual-based performance and more to the "physical realm" (261). This begs the question: are American audiences encountering Aeschylus' plays or counterfeit impersonations that reflect the agenda of the director and/or the theatre? If the productions must rewrite the original Greek plays to such an extent that they barely resemble the original, are they truly interested in

producing Aeschylus' plays or in simply appropriating them for their own use? At the same time, have these "radical" rewrites and non-traditional productions revived American interest in the Classical Greek plays? Though many of these works severely rewrite Aeschylus' plays to reflect current political, social, and artistic ideologies, they do, nonetheless, bring a spotlight to his works. Some may wonder, though, if American audiences can truly encounter the plays of Aeschylus on the American stage. Very few playwrights have received as intense a rewriting as Aeschylus.

There has been a shift in the interpretation of Aeschylus' plays in the past twenty years—a shift from the West towards the East and other "foreign" models (influenced by post-colonial and post-modern thought). For Wiles,

a classicist might see this as a quest to hold on to the materialist, text-based tradition of theatre rooted in Aristotle, whilst embracing Plato's idealist conception of theatre as a mode of religious dance. Greek theatre, and particularly Aeschylus offer a way of uniting these binary opposites. (261)

In many instances, ancient Greek myths and modern African experiences blend so well that it is difficult to see where one begins and the other ends. For example, rewrites such as the South African *Molora* by Yael Farber in 2008 merge Xhoso culture and South African politics with the troubles of the house of Atreus and the Trojan War.

In *The Play Out of Context, Transferring Plays from Culture to Culture* Hanna Scolnicov examines the duality of theories surrounding the concept of *mimesis* (imitation) in the theatre. For Scolnicov, "Avant-garde theatre has turned the classical concept of *mimesis* on its head" (97). Plato and Aristotle held that "art was an imitation of reality" (97). Scolnicov notes that Horace placed literary confines on the Greek term "imitation," making it "not reality itself but its literary expression in the Greek models" (97). Scolnicov traces the move between literary and performance based theories for

“imitation” from Plato, Aristotle, and Horace to such twentieth century theorist/practitioners as Artaud, who claim the “absolute primacy of theatre over reality” (97). In this paradigm shift, life (or reality) imitates and follows art rather than art imitating life. And, although the text/literary based paradigm exists alongside the performance/theatre based view, there has always been an “unresolved tension” between the two models (97). She concludes that “The alternative, avant-garde view, has challenged the classical theatre [of Plato and Aristotle], but has not succeeded in invalidating or replacing it” (97). The production history of Classical Greek tragedies reveals interpretations from both the “avant-garde” as well as the traditional “classical” models. However, there has been a decentralizing of the tragedy-proper (textually rooted) in favor of performing the adapted myth, whose strength is seen in performance.

Within the twentieth century, the performances of Classical Greek tragedies in the United States in languages other than English demonstrate the strong role of body language over verbal language in communicating the play’s story to American audiences. And, of those Classical Greek plays produced in English, the “British” productions are favored in critical examinations and scholarly studies over the American productions. Much of the critical reception of Aeschylus’ tragedies has favored foreign productions and neglected the strong position of Classical Greek tragedies on the American stage. Some of the performances created in other languages (such as Tadashi Suzuki’s *Clytemnestra*) have since been translated into English and produced on the American stage, making them part of the American experience with Aeschylus’ tragedies. Nonetheless, aspects of Aeschylus’ tragedies have been imbedded in the American literary culture

through the influence of such American plays as Eugene O’Neil’s *Mourning Becomes Electra*.

Although Wiles states that the most important productions to date are not in English, denying the importance of language in transmitting the plays themselves, he also spends considerable time discussing high-profile productions such as Peter Hall’s *Oresteia* which used Tony Harrison’s translation. The Classical Greek tragedies have been prolifically rewritten in the English language and increasingly produced in the United States especially since the 1980s. How have the productions of these rewrites in America related to their “most important” foreign counterparts and why, according to Wiles, are there no significant English productions? This question will be answered by examining the English translations and adaptations of Aeschylus’ tragedies and their American productions. The greatest producers of the Greek tragedies in the United States are the university theatres, venues with less publicity and influence than the nationally sponsored and funded theatres of Great Britain. Because of this, it is important to examine the staging of Aeschylus’ tragedies on the American academic stage. Previous studies, such as those by Hartigan and Foley, have focused entirely on the American Commercial theatre. The status of Aeschylus’ tragedies in the United States will be analyzed further in this dissertation in chapters three, four, and five.

The transmission of these tragedies through rewrites exposes the American social and political consciousness. What Americans choose to appropriate, and the manner in which they choose to do so, demonstrates as much about their own literary and performance conditions as those of the ancient Athenians. Frequently these plays are rewritten and produced because of their ability to be adjusted to present current political

and social agendas (their ability to be “updated” to reflect twentieth century “relevancies”). In this manner, much discussion of the production and interpretation of Aeschylus’ *Persians* center around issues of American military involvement in Iraq—issues completely foreign to Aeschylus’ original play.

Classical Greek tragedies have been important to the American culture because of the strong influence of Western literature and cultural politics on the American educational system. In “Greek Plays in America” D. D. Hains offers two reasons for the production of these in American universities at the turn of the twentieth century. The first reason these plays were produced was to stimulate an interest in Greek studies. The second reason was, according to Hains, due to a “belief in their dramatic power and the desire to show to a modern audience the masterpieces of a civilization which, though it passed from the stage long ago, has still a mighty influence on the life of the present” (25). Domis Plugge’s *History of Greek Play Production in American Colleges and Universities from 1881 to 1936* also supports Hains’ conclusions,

Greek plays are theatrically effective. They act well. Audiences like them. This has been proved over and over again by many performances given in colleges and universities throughout the country. In the second place, Greek plays are worth doing. They are significant. Besides being examples of fine workmanship and beauty, they are the embodiment of some changeless fact or aspect of life. And, finally, Greek plays afford a stimulating and enlightening educational experience in that they furnish opportunities for a variety of different learning, both intellectual and appreciative (163).

There is a prestige and long theatrical tradition associated with the production and study of Greek tragedies. However, there is an equally long tradition of revising and rewriting these plays in the vernacular languages of their productions. The radical rewriting practices of the twentieth century are not an isolated phenomenon.

Erika Fischer-Lichte's "Invocation of the Dead, Festival of Peoples' Theatre or Sacrificial Ritual," a study of the production of Greek works on the German stage, concludes that, beyond the wide spread assumption that Greek tragedies are produced "to familiarize audiences with the classical texts and to convey a particular interpretation," there was a stronger justification for the continued production of Greek texts (253). According to Fischer-Lichte, "it is striking to note that in many cases where a new concept of theatre was elaborated and articulated, it was a performance of a Greek classic by which this new concept of theatre was first realized and voiced" (262). Plugge determined that, in the Modern era in the United States the production of Greek tragedies reflected more of the culture into which they are produced than the culture from which the texts originated and Fischer-Lichte shows how these cultural and literary appropriations have been used to effect social and cultural change through their radical rewriting. Recent American appropriations and reworkings of these plays and myths into English are no less different from those examined by Hains, Plugge, and Fischer-Lichte.

Review of Literature and Methodology

Many of the theories that apply to Aeschylus' works apply equally well to Greek drama in general. The collection of critical essays edited by Fiona Macintosh, Pantelis Michelakis, Edith Hall, and Oliver Taplin, *Agamemnon in Performance: 458BC to AD 2004*, which contains Helene Foley's "The Millenium Project: Agamemnon in the United States," and Lorna Hardwick's "Staging Agamemnon: The Languages of Translation," are of critical importance to this study for the following reasons:

Foley's work deals with both commercial and educational productions of *Agamemnon* in the United States. Foley focuses primarily on examining the role gender and political readings have had on American production history. Hardwick, through a comparison of David Stuttard and Katie Mitchell's interpretations of *Agamemnon* stresses the need that the theatre feels for translations of the classics to have a "flexibility and transferability of language, situation, and meaning" (211). She emphasizes that "analysis of the relationship between linguistic and cultural aspects of translation, shows that a rigid distinction between the two is misplaced" (207). This pivotal observation expresses the growing trend in translations of Classical Greek drama that claim to translate the "spirit" of the play over the "word."

Karelisa Hartigan's *Greek Tragedy On the American Stage: Ancient Drama in the Commercial Theater, 1882-1994* is also useful because it examines all of the major commercial productions of Greek tragedy on the American stage, but its primary focus is on productions of Sophocles and Euripides. Hartigan tracks the connections between social trends and text selections, linking major social and political movements/events (i.e., the Vietnam War) and Classical Greek plays (i.e., *Trojan Women*).

In *Ancient Sun, Modern Light: Greek Drama on the Modern Stage*, McDonald examines possible reasons for modern adaptation of Classical Greek tragedies and provides valuable information on the production of these plays in the United States. She concludes that "successful revivals of classics often connect with issues that are vital to a modern audience" and many revivals engage in current political and philosophical issues not present in the original plays (14). This is an important study because it questions the relevancy of Classical plays for modern audiences and contemporary issues and examines

the manner in which dramatic works can be “shifted from one culture to another without losing its identity as a work of art” (1).

Another source for information concerning the modern production of Classical Greek plays in America is Peter Burian’s “Tragedy adapted for stages and screens: the Renaissance to the present.” In addition to mapping five centuries of adapting Classical Greek tragedy for production, Burian specifically focuses on the adaptation of the house of Atreus story in the twentieth century: Eugene O’Neill’s *Mourning Becomes Electra*, T. S. Eliot’s *The Family Reunion*, and Jean-Paul Sartre’s *Les Mouches*. Burian also includes a brief analysis of the more important translations of Greek tragedies that include the rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays by Tony Harrison, Robert Lowell, Robert Fagles, and Louis MacNeice and a call for poets, not just professors, to translate the Greek texts.

Fiona Macintosh’s “Tragedy in Performance: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Productions” surveys the production history of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides on the British and International stage and gives useful information on many influential productions. In particular, Macintosh highlights both commercial and amateur productions of Sophocles’ *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex*. Of special interest to this dissertation is her discussion of British and international productions of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*, including Peter Hall’s staging of Tony Harrison’s rewrite. Macintosh traces the production history of the Classical Greek plays and focuses on the director’s concept in each production rather than the translator’s interpretation or the nature of the translated play. She examines, side-by-side, both translations and adaptations of Aeschylus’ plays in performance.

Simon Goldhill's "Modern Critical Approaches to Greek Tragedy" asks how modern interpreters have understood the texts of ancient dramas. In so doing, Goldhill traces the modern critical approaches of the philology, anthropology, structuralism, performance studies, and psychoanalysis in order to show the history and politics of reading the Classical Greek plays. Goldhill emphasizes the strong role that theory and methodology have on the reading, or interpretation, of these plays.

Three of Susan Bassnett's essays are seminal to understanding current and past trends in the theory and application for the translation and production of dramatic texts (along with works by Andre Lefevere and Ortrun Zuber-Skerrit). These essays are: "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against 'Performability,'" "When is a Translation Not a Translation?" and "Still Trapped in the Labyrinth: Further Reflections on Translation and Theatre." In "Translating for the theatre: The case against 'performability', Bassnett calls for a historiography of theatre translation that is equal to those of prose fiction and poetry. She examines the issue of translating the "gestic" text in relationship to the "linguistic structuring" of theatre texts and concludes that the theatre translator must consider the play's performance dimension but not at the expense of "textual considerations" (111). "When is a Translation not a Translation?" questions the idea of a translator-centred translation in which the translation "becomes the original" (25). Bassnett surveys several of the translation practices, such as collusion, pseudotranslation, self-translation, and inauthentic sources, that explain why the term "translation" can be problematic and misunderstood. Bassnett concludes that translation should not be considered a category but a set of practices "with which the writer and reader collude" (39). In "Still Trapped in the Labyrinth: Further Reflections on

Translation and Theatre,” Bassnett analyzes the complexities of translating the dramatic text and many of the issues translators consider, or should not consider, in the translation process. In particular, Bassnett argues against the concept of “performability” and the “gestic text.”

In addition to Bassnett’s analysis of the translation of dramatic texts, Peter Green’s essay, “Some Versions of Aeschylus,” tracks the translation history of *Agamemnon* from the eighteenth century through 1950. His survey of translation practices highlights the relationship between social/cultural trends in England and America and translations of Aeschylus’ play. In particular, Green promotes the concept of the translator’s “transparency” and criticizes the productions that flatter the “translator’s creative personality” (215).

In terms of methodology, Plugge’s *History of Greek Play Production in American Colleges and Universities from 1881 to 1936* has the greatest influence on this dissertation. The methods by which he collected and organized production information is similar to the methodology used in this study. Plugge’s brief history and cataloguing of academic productions of Classical Greek plays lays the ground work for studies of the academic theatre in the twentieth century. However, where Plugge mailed a survey to a select group of United States universities requesting information concerning the staging of the Classical Greek plays, this dissertation relied on the internet, online archives of university theatre programs and their production seasons, and e-mail correspondence with theatre directors and adaptors of Aeschylus’ plays. Plugge compiled the universities’ responses and used that data to statistically analyze the number of productions of

Classical Greek plays in American universities and to determine the dominant trends in production interpretation.

Walton's *Found in Translation* analyzes the way Classical Greek plays are translated into English and how those translations relate to cultural, literary, and performance trends in the U.K. and the United States. By focusing on a limited sample of translations and productions of Classical Greek tragedies, Walton demonstrates some of the greatest challenges to translating the Classical Greek plays into English (such as how to translate Greek meter, non-verbal language, ancient performance methods such as the use of masks, and interpreting the subtext in the text). Like Bassnett, Walton analyzes the relationship between English translation and its performance and classifies translation practices in terms of performability (listed in chapter one of this dissertation). Walton has collected and catalogued all of the English translations of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes from 1555 to 2005.

Studies that analyze how the production process rewrites Classical Greek tragedies include Amy Green's *The Revisionist Stage: American Directors Reinvent the Classics*, Rush Rehm's *Radical Theatre: Greek Tragedy and the Modern World*, and Charles Marowitz's *Recycling Shakespeare*. Amanda Wrigley and the University of Oxford's work on the *APGRD* is also an excellent foundational source for tracking productions of Aeschylus' tragedies in the United States. The *APGRD* has an extensive list of production listings for the Classical Greek and Roman plays and lists external sources for production information and follow up research.

In this study, every extant translation and adaptation of Aeschylus' plays in English from 1900 to 2009, and all major United States public university productions, are

catalogued in the appendices. The results of the above-cited studies and the data included in the appendices of this dissertation answer only a small part of the following five questions that are central to the inquiry of this dissertation. (1) Which plays by Aeschylus are performed most often? (2) What is the relationship between the popularity of these plays and the number and type of published rewrites? (3) What are the distinguishing characteristics of the most produced translations (vis-a-vis, the Classical Greek plays)? (4) Does the criterion of “performability” influence which translations/adaptations will be produced? (5) What are the most current trends in the production of the Classical Greek plays in translation?

Most translation theories are designed for translations which are intended to be read, not to be performed on the stage and/or film. For instance, in “Dramatic Literature, Politics, and the Present Moment of Performance,” Bruce Heiden articulates the dominate “reader-oriented” view for interpreting the Classical Greek plays. According to Heiden “if somehow performances of Greek dramas became abundant but texts were unobtainable and the plays could not be contemplated in silence and privacy, we would lose most of what they have to offer” (12). The real issue behind Heiden’s statement is that of the control and interpretation of the Classical text—whether it belong to the “reader-oriented” rewrite or the “performance-oriented” one. A producer’s selection of a translation is extremely important to the effectiveness and style of a performance as well as to the meaning and interpretation of the “reading.” Since both types of rewrites (those intended to be read on the page and those intended to be read through performance) are produced on the American stage, it is important to analyze both in relationship to each

other. Only then can the American response to Aeschylus' plays (or works that imitate those plays) be understood.

University theatre productions often record only the name of the author, Aeschylus, the title of his play, and the dates of the performance in their theatre season billing and press releases. Because the names of the translator or adaptor are frequently omitted in the program and play's publicity, audiences are given the erroneous impression that, for example, all of the plays presented as Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* are the same. Addressing the position of the translator, Bassnett states in "The Problem of Performability" that:

Translation is, and always has been, a question of power relationships, and the translator has all too often been placed in a position of economic, aesthetic and intellectual inferiority. (100)

The translator is often seen as the mouthpiece of the author (the negotiator between the source culture/language and the target culture/language), appropriating the prestige of the author and therefore less "creative" in his/her rewriting. However, translations have, at times, played a powerful role in propagating the original Greek play. This is especially true during periods when audiences and readers have no working knowledge of Classical Greek. As the trend in rewriting Classical Greek plays moves from translation to adaptation practices (reflecting more of the target culture/language than that of the source culture) the role of the translator's interpretation and creativity in the propagation of Classical Greek plays needs to be re-examined. The boundaries between translation and adaptation practices need to be examined in a comparative context in order to fully understand the position of Greek tragedy on the American stage.

The collections of Greek plays, English rewrites, and American productions that exist (such as Susan Harris Smith's "Twentieth Century Plays Using Classical Mythic

Themes: A Checklist” and Jane Davidson Reid’s *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*) are difficult to use and require hours of scavenging in order to isolate the rewrites based on Aeschylus’ plays from rewrites based upon Greek themes similar to those used by Aeschylus. The problem of shared themes amongst the Greek tragedians complicates the task of locating Aeschylus rewrites, especially when many adaptations merge the works of all three tragedians (i.e., the story of Orestes as opposed to Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*). It is almost impossible to determine which Classical Greek plays, playwrights, and translators, are being produced in the theatres of the United States without a more comprehensive database of rewrites and productions.

The publication and production of Aeschylus’ plays in English are the only means by which Aeschylus can be understood by general readers and audiences in the United States. In “Soyinka’s *Bacchae*,” Andre Lefevere shows that a translation often reflects the translator’s world and cultural view more than the author’s. According to Lefevere, “I hope this analysis [Soyinka’s *Bacchae*] may be of some use in undermining two still powerful prejudices: that translations are somehow ‘not creative writing’ and that they are hardly worthy of critical study” (145). Lefevere’s statement concerning the “creativity” of translation and its relationship to the creativity of authorship redefines the traditional position of the translator as subservient to the author. But what about the translator’s obligation and “contract” with the reader or audience who expect to hear and see a play by Aeschylus? As chapters three, four, and five will show, the issue of creativity is a double edged sword—both respecting and neglecting the author and audience.

Because of the influence that a translation has over the public's reception of the Classical Greek play, it is as important to understand the nature and purpose of the English rewrite as much as that of the original. Many studies exist on the meaning and culture of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, but very few studies, by comparison, discuss the English language rewrites that facilitate the American encounter with the Classical Greek plays. The relationship between the Greek text, its translation into English, and its performance of the translation on the American stage will be examined in this study. Although there has been a slight move towards a consideration and evaluation of the relationship between translation and performance, no study has, to date, catalogued the translations, adaptations, and distant relatives and their productions in order to form a comprehensive theory that relates to the American experience with Aeschylus' plays.

Translations can function as successfully on the stage as adaptations. However, most translations are adapted for production for one of several reasons: to be more "speakable," to conform to performance practices of the modern theatre, to address issues not present in the original Greek play, to better serve the director's concept for the production, or to make the play more "digestible" for modern audiences. Nearly all of these reasons stem from the adaptor and director's perception of the play's relevancy for modern audiences rather than from an audience's inability to understand and enjoy the original tragedies. This dissertation will explore the many variations in textual and performance interpretations that stem from one or more of the above listed reasons for adaptation. The division that has been created by rewriters and directors between readerly and performance translations is a faulty one based on the erroneous perception

that the plays of Aeschylus must be doctored in order to communicate and entertain American audiences. This dissertation will examine the performances of Aeschylus' plays in relationship to the translations, adaptations, and distant relatives used to show that translation theory directly affects the staging and reception of Aeschylus' plays in America.

Chapter 1: Is This a Translation?

Issues of categorization are important because they signal audience expectations. Plays presented as being “by” Aeschylus are different from plays presented as being “based” on Aeschylus. The labeling and categorizing of these rewrites form a type of audience “contract.” Therefore, it is increasingly important to explore how and why Greek tragedies (and myths) are appropriated and packaged for performance for American audiences through translations and adaptations. Variances in the recycling and rewriting of Aeschylus’ tragedies into English, and their production in the United States, expose the ways in which English-speaking nations produce, affirm, and/or re-invent culture with the appropriation, or rejection, of Classical “authority.” It is the differences within these categories that trends in translating (i.e., trends in appropriating and working with these ancient tales) and the individual functions of each rewrite are perceived.

Although the terms “translation,” “adaptation,” and “distant relative” hold some meaning in the rewriting practices of Aeschylus’ tragedies, a close examination of many of these works reveals the difficulty of making distinct, impersonal classifications—that is, it isn’t solely the texts distance from the original Greek play that defines it, but its function and purpose as a rewrite. Many plays within these categories demonstrate qualities of other forms of rewriting. This is especially true in the case of translations of translations, which are, in fact, adaptations of translations in which the “translator” does not read Classical Greek and must rely upon previously published English translations.

Although nearly all of these rewrites, with the exception of the so-called “distant relatives,” use the Greek author’s na

me. It does not matter if the work is sold to audiences/readers as “translation of,” “based on,” “version of,” or “by.” In fact, in many of these works, the only clear connection to the Greek author’s play is that most manage to preserve the original author’s name, the play’s character’s names, and the title of the play (although the title is the most frequently altered element). Because of this, it is more convenient to refer to these practices as “rewriting.” Chapter three will group the rewrites according to their function/purpose and quantifiable traits. This chapter will explore the terms “translation” and “adaptation” for meaning and will examine the variety of ways theatre practitioners and rewriters interpret their function.

At present, there is an ambiguity concerning what constitutes a “translation,” an “adaptation,” and a “distant relative” of a Greek tragedy. This confusion is seen in the rewriters’ own prefaces, in the directors’ interpretations, and in the review and critical reception of the rewrites of Aeschylus’ tragedies. In an age where the phrase “translation is adaptation” is freely used by directors and theatre practitioners, an examination of Aeschylus’ tragedies on the American stage must consider both those works that serve the text and those that use it. Without a combined approach, the plays of Aeschylus are left entirely on the shelves of academia or, in the other extreme, made unrecognizable on the stage. Plays such as Yael Farber’s *Molona* are not translations of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* (or Sophocles and Euripides’ *Electras*), but there is a strong relationship between such rewrites and Aeschylus’ original trilogy. They are part of the recycling of Classical plays

in the twentieth century and twenty-first century that includes translations like Robert Fagles' *Oresteia*.

This shift away from considerations of authenticity and accuracy in the rewritten work demonstrates a decline in the respect and prestige of authors whose work is in the public domain. This is frequently done in the name of “relevancy” and artistic freedom on the part of directors. Because of a misunderstanding in the nature of the rewritten play, a reexamination of the terms used for the rewritings of Classical Greek tragedies in the English language is important. Andre Lefevere proposed the term “rewriting” and J. Michael Walton the term “transubstantiation” to account for the practices in rewriting Classical dramas. A move away from traditional notions of fidelity to the source text in drama studies (unique from the translation practices of poetry or prose) results in an ambiguity concerning what constitutes the production of a Classical Greek tragedy in English. This deliberate confusion challenges the authenticity of Aeschylus' plays when produced on the American stage. In “Translation or Transubstantiation,” J. Michael Walton's equivocal answer to this issue is inconclusive but underlines the difficulty of the problem: “Is that Aeschylus? Of course it isn't./ Is that Aeschylus? Of course it is” (206). Because of this, it is important to examine all of the English language rewrites, not just the productions, in order to understand what exactly is being produced in the name of “Aeschylus” on the American stage. It is not enough, as in the case of Plugge's study of productions of the Classical Greek plays on the American academic stage, to count the production of plays credited as “by Aeschylus” without examining the texts used in such productions.

The research of translation theorists such as Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere demonstrates the need for recognition in the humanities and performing arts of the deep connection and inter-relationship between the translation and the performance of dramatic works. Must Aeschylus' tragedies be significantly adapted and rewritten in order to successfully resonate with an American public in performance? Many productions significantly rewrite Aeschylus' plays for performance. Such practices often serve the director's needs more than those of the audience. Considerations of functionability (or performability) in the translation of dramatic works does not necessarily make the rewrite an adaptation, but when such considerations alter or shorten the original play, some form of adaptation takes place.

The current status of Aeschylus' plays on the American stage is not being fully examined when (1) most studies focus primarily on the production of adaptations and "radical" rewrites and (2) most examinations of the translations ignore production. Is it better to emphasize in the translation process translating the spirit of the work over the letter of the work, or does this practice lead to a greater distancing of the rewrite from the original Greek play? At the same time, do "bookish" translations neglect the performative essence and actability of Aeschylus plays? What criterion should be used to classify and evaluate the rewrites of the Classical Greek plays and what is the breaking point between translation and adaptation practices?

Susan Bassnett's "When is a Translation Not a Translation" concludes that,

The category of 'translation' is vague and unhelpful. This has been true for a long time, hence all the quibbling about determining the difference between 'adaptations' and 'versions' and 'imitations,' all the arguing about degrees of faithfulness or unfaithfulness and the obsessive concern with the idea of an 'original.' (38)

Bassnett makes a very valid point, the current usage in theatre studies of terms such as “translation,” “adaption,” and “version” are so frequently interchanged and misused that each term’s ability to signal the nature of the work for the audience has been significantly reduced. Because these classifications inform audience expectations, it is important to establish clear definitions for translation, adaptation, version, and distant relative. Dictionary definitions are of little help here. Merriam Webster’s dictionary defines “translation” as a “rendering from one language to another” and “a change to a different substance, form, or appearance.” Adaptation is defined as “a composition rewritten into a new form.” Since both definitions are broad enough to encompass almost any rewriting practice a sharper distinction is necessary in order to facilitate a more accurate understanding of Aeschylus’ current position in English publications.

There is also the issue of the “distant relative”: what is it, what is its function and purpose? “Distant relative” is the term used by Oxford’s *APGRD* to describe plays that hold some relationship to the Classical Greek plays but do not function specifically as rewrites but as new plays. These rewrites only allude to the Greek original, they do not imitate it. They are not, like translations and adaptations, rooted primarily in the original tragedy. They are, instead, works acknowledging, in some form, some form of influence and knowledge of the original Greek tragedy.

In some instances, such as Yael Farber’s *Molora*, distant relatives clearly point to the Greek tragedies as one of their major sources of inspiration (Farber draws lines directly from the several very literal translations of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*). In other instances, such as T. S. Eliot’s *Family Reunion*, the relationship is fainter (merely hinting at the original characters and story line). This is because, unlike the translation and

adaptation, the intention of the authors of distant relatives are to create entirely new plays that engage in the issues of their own era. The relevancy sought by translators, on the other hand, is the one found in Aeschylus' plays. It is not the job of the translator to create or manufacture a relevancy that is not already existent.

The first barrier to quantifying the rewrites labeled translations, adaptations, and distant relatives lays in the overlapping nature of these categories. It is especially important to ask, what is being translated: the text, the culture, or the myth. It is easier to categorize works which fall cleanly into one of the three fields indicated in Figure 1. However, there are areas of overlap where classification becomes ambiguous or ambivalent.

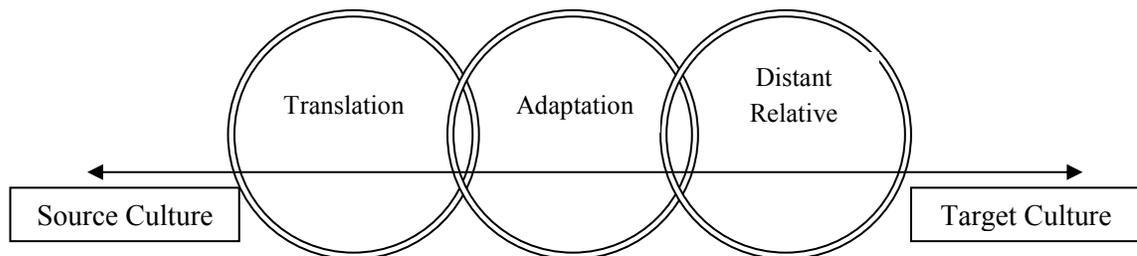


Figure 1. Primary Categories of Rewriting

There were two primary models for translating plays in the twentieth-century. The first model was best expressed by Roland Barthes in “Death of the Author” and “From Work to Text.” The “myth of filiation” placed the author as “father” and “owner” of the work and maintained a hierarchy of authority in which the translator was servant to the “original.” This is also expressed by Gerald Rabkin in “Is There a Text on This Stage?: Theatre/Authorship/Interpretation.” The “reader” is seen as a collaborator with the “author.” The “author” was denied his/her authority in dictating the reproduction of

his/her writing. Even the author's ownership of his/her own play is questioned by this model. No play is entirely new or an independent island, all plays represent a chain of borrowed texts. This first model, that stems out of post-structural theory frees translation from its "subservient" position (in the hierarchy of author over translator) and recognizes it to be as creative as the "original."

The second model is best expressed by Vladimer Nabokov' "Problems of Translation: 'Onegin' in English." Nabokov claims that the term,

"free translation" smacks of knavery and tyranny. It is when the translator sets out to render the "spirit" –not the textual sense—that he begins to traduce his author. The clumsiest literal translation is a thousand times more useful than the prettiest paraphrase. (127)

Nabokov's primary aim in this critique is to censure the verse translators of Pushkin's *Onegin* for what he sees as liberties in translation and disregard for the author and the reader. In this model, shown in its extreme form by Nabokov, any deviation from the intent and meaning of the source play by the rewriter produces an illegitimate translation. In other words, the rewrite should bring Aeschylus to the reader, but accept that the reader must, in turn, play an active role in receiving and interpreting the work. It calls for, what Nabokov describes as "absolute exactitude" or "nothing but the text" (134). However, it was not Nabokov's purpose in translating to produce a poetic or fluent text, but to produce an accurate one.

Frequently in the late twentieth century there was a disconnection between translation practices and performance practices because of the polarity of these two models. However, recent studies that focus on the translation of dramatic texts have, in some form, begun to create a combined model. This is observable in a shift of focus

amongst translation theorists from the pure linguistic nature of translating to the examination of the cultural and aesthetic elements that effect communication.

In “Translation: Changing the Code: Soyinka’s Ironic Aetiology,” Lefevere states that in order to understand the complexity and vagaries of theatre translation—or what Lefevere refers to as “rewriting”—the translator of a text, or scholar of those translations, must grapple not only with the words and meaning of the text, but with the literary, social, and political system of codes that permeate the entire play. According to Lefevere:

Think in concentric circles: in the centre is the play that must be translated: the source text. Through its linguistic elements it belongs to the source language, and through that source language it partakes in the whole of the source culture. It also belongs to the source literature which has a code all of its own, a repertory of literary procedures. (132)

Lefevere’s work demonstrates the interconnectivity of the linguistic, cultural, performance, and literary elements of both the source text and target languages. Because the translation of dramatic works is shown to require the negotiation of these various “circles,” rather than merely word-for-word equivalence, there is a wide range of possible “translations” for any given “source text.” Lefevere’s description of the many “codes” (literary, societal, etc.) that are negotiated by the translator accounts for one of the reasons for the vast range of creative rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays. In this situation, much of the burden of understanding falls on the translator rather than the reader. In other words, the translator is the first and primary reader of the work.

The performance also acts as a rewrite of the Classical Greek play. It is an adaptation of the translation, reading and interpreting the linguistic and cultural codes of the English translation for the audience. Lefevere’s system of “concentric circles” implies that the major difference separating one rewrite from another is due to the

variations in interpreting the source text's system of codes. However, the difference between rewrites can just as frequently be attributed to the personality and agenda of the translator and the production. Therefore, it becomes an issue of the translation's created function. This is especially true of rewrites such as Robert Auletta's *Persians* and Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians* that were created with specific productions and directorial concepts in mind.

The idea that the art of translation is as creative as the art of playwriting seems at odds with previous practices that focused primarily upon textual transference. This is what James McFarlane's *Modes of Translation* in 1953 describes as "balancing accuracy" (i.e., translating the text) with grace (i.e., translating the spirit). For McFarlane, adaptations (and versions) are those English language rewrites that focus too strongly on translating the "grace" of the Classical Greek play at the expense of translating the "textual accuracy." Adaptations are, therefore, considered too creative to be examined as translations of the source text. However, if, as Lefevere suggests, translation is more than word-for-word transference, but converting entire cultural and linguistic codes from one period to another (from Classical Greece to twentieth century and twenty-first century America), then the measure of "authenticity" for translations is more than an examination of what rewrites negotiate the play's internal literary qualities. Nabokov would disagree with this conjecture. Complete transparency in translation is impossible with Lefevere's understanding, as Lawrence Venuti argues in *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. Although translation is, in itself, a creative act, its primary purpose is to serve the reader/audience member who desires to encounter the plays of Aeschylus. The

personality of the translator is second to that of the author, unless the play is presented as a new work, or distant relative, that is independent of the original author's play.

The translator of a play by Aeschylus needs to grapple with the conditions of the play's original performance because Aeschylus' plays were written to be performed. Though they have existed for centuries as "readerly" works, this was not their primary function. However, this "grappling" is frequently shortchanged by modern practices of performance that completely differ from those of the ancient Athenians. Such translations can be categorized as "performance-oriented" and often blend translation and adaptation practices. Ekaterini Nikolarea noted that "examination shows that, in practice, there are no precise divisions between a performance-oriented translation and a reader-oriented translation, but rather there exists a *blurring of borderlines*" in "Performability versus Readability." Nikolarea's research (1994) supports the opinion that there is little difference in the success of translations that are intended for performance from those that are intended for reading only. The translator's attempt to translate the performance conditions of the Classical Greek play for American audiences does not justify adaptations presented as translations. Most published translations of Aeschylus' plays were intended to be read as literary works rather than to be seen as performance pieces. However, this does not exempt these translations from being seen as performance pieces.

Like all plays, Aeschylus' tragedies require a double reading: the director "reads" the translation on the page and then produces a performance that will be "read" by the audience. The function of the production team as the "middle man" between translator and audience is, to some translation scholars, an unrelated and unnecessary stage to the understanding of Aeschylus' plays. This production reading is often an unquantifiable

force—transient and, as is often the case, more reflective of the director’s personality than Aeschylus’ play. In many cases, the production adaptation rewrites the English translation and Aeschylus’ play. Whether or not translators translate with an ear for the performance, the relationship between translating texts and translating performances is essential to understanding how Aeschylus’ tragedies are treated in the United States because both “literary” and “performance” translations are used in production and both are presented as being plays by Aeschylus.

In *The Revisionist Stage: American Directors Reinvent the Classics*, Amy Green concludes that, in the late twentieth-century, “the stage director has become... the author of the original theatrical event” (11). The director often plays the role of “author” more than translator—adapting the text of the translation as well as creating a new sub-text for the play. The translation of dramatic texts, (works which, in their original condition, were created for stage performance) challenges traditional definitions of translation and adaptation more than any other translation practice. The definition of these terms, in relationship to performance, is extremely difficult. “Authenticity” and “accuracy,” once the primary focus of translator introductions, has lost much of its significance and meaning as it is replaced by a drive for “relevancy” and “connection.”

For the purposes of this study, translations are considered closer to the source text than adaptations and distant relatives. Distant relatives frequently share only the original myth or storyline of the source play. They often relocate the myth to another cultural context and abandon the original play’s structure. Translations, in the traditional sense, transpose the play from one language to another. However, this practice becomes more difficult as the source culture and language are distanced by a great span of time from the

target culture and language. The “target” culture and language is the rewriter’s intended reader or audience (i.e., English speaking audiences). Adaptations frequently alter the structure of Aeschylus’ plays for easier consumption by American audiences. The rewriting practices change the ancient dramatic works in the name of modern stage conventions (such as psychological realism). This is also true of performance-oriented translations. In many instances, adaptors of Classical Greek plays trim and rearrange the original story for modern tastes, director sensibilities, and theatrical practices.

What about adaptors who do not read Classical Greek and try to maintain the integrity of the original structure and language, but who translate from translations? Nabokov claims that a translator cannot translate without a complete knowledge of influential literature, vocabulary, customs, and history of the source text (137). Translation is, essentially, the rewriting of a work in one language into that of another. The definition of a translator is one who can handle both the source and target language. What of works published under the vague label of “version,” such as Robert Auletta’s “Modern Version” which significantly adapts and adds scenes to the original play? There is much disagreement amongst scholars as to which texts constitute “translations” and which should be relegated to “adaptations.”

Ted Hughes’ *Oresteia* is an excellent example of this because it is frequently referred to and discussed as a “translation,” although Hughes did not read Classical Greek. The *Center for Ted Hughes Studies* list the rewrite as an adaptation and the program cover for Katie Mitchell’s 1999 production calls it “a new version.” However, Lorna Hardwick’s “Staging ‘Agamemnon’: the Language of Translation” frequently analyses the rewrite as “translation” (217). Walton’s *Found in Translation* includes

Hughes' rewrite in his list of translations although his analysis classifies it as "adapted from, or based on, the original but from playwrights/writers without a direct knowledge of Greek" (182). Clearly there is a great amount of interchange between the terms translation, adaptation, and version that has led to an ambiguity concerning the nature of such rewrites.

Although meaning is "translated," when exactly does the act of "transference" shift from translation to adaptation? It is very important, to clearly define distinctions between translation and adaptation because it shapes audience expectations. According to Venuti,

A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or nonfiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text—the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the 'original.' (1)

"Fluency," according to Venuti, denies the foreignness of the source work, because it domesticates the text (makes it appear as though it were originally written in the target language). In this model, the translator's own "creativity" and culture must not outmatch that of the original author—the goal of translation is to serve the source text and, at the same time, the reader. However, translators such as Nabokov deny the need for "fluency" and uphold "accuracy" as the key function of the rewrite.

David Gowan, in a statement concerning the classification and designation of Classical Greek plays (literary and performance) in Oxford University's *APGRD*, states that one purpose of the archive was to determine "the degree to which the production adheres to, or deviates from, its ancient source/s (close translation, free translation, imitation, adaptation, reconstruction, improvisation, burlesque, distant relative)." In so

doing, Gowan demonstrates the archive's definition of translations, adaptations, and distant relatives—definitions based on the distance of the target text from the source text. Designating the degree of “faithfulness” of a work involves considerable interpretation on the part of the archivist, who should, according to Gowan, aim for objectivity.

Discussing the great difficulty of classifying these works, Gowan states that,

...since it is we who presume to pronounce on a production's faithfulness to its source play--often centuries after the revival, invariably millennia after the original. We are therefore constantly struggling with a number of questions concerning, for example, the point at which a 'free translation' becomes an 'adaptation', and at which an 'adaptation' becomes a new play altogether. While hoping that our records will enable analyses of the "cultural shift" to which Lorna Hardwick referred in the previous seminar, we must acknowledge our own relativistic biases in the reception of reception.

If it can be assumed that the archive has accurately classified all of their listed performances, then, as will be seen in the subsequent chapters, there has been an increase since the 1980s in performance-oriented translations and adaptations on the American stage. However, many of these plays present themselves in the theatre programs and advertisements as translations of Aeschylus' tragedies and misrepresent the nature of the performance text. This is especially true in the case of academic productions such as Hendrix College's *Eumenides* “translated” by Ted Hughes.

Classifying the translations and adaptations of the Classical Greek tragedies is difficult. Because Aeschylus (along with Seneca and Homer) is one of the primary sources for the myth of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, and Orestes, it is difficult to separate a modern play based upon this myth from one based solely on Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. In many instances, audiences believe that they are seeing a translation of Aeschylus' plays in the theatre but are, in actuality, seeing an adaptation. Of the nine commercial productions of *Oresteia* listed by Hartigan in the United States between 1882 and 1994,

only two were translations (Robert Lowell and Robert Fagles). Robert Lowell's text is closer to an adaptation than a translation because it is based on other English translations rather than the original Greek.

In the preface to her rewrite of *Persians*, Ellen McLaughlin briefly attempts to define the terms translation, adaptation, and version (a problematic term) as a means of categorizing her own work. However, in so doing, she perpetuates an ambiguity that surrounds the use and understanding of such categories. According to McLaughlin,

I should start by admitting that I don't read Greek. This has always presented the nice problem of what I should call what I make of the plays. Even if I never call these plays "translations" are they justifiably called "adaptations," which usually involve some knowledge of the language in which they were written? I have generally avoided the issue entirely by calling them "versions" of the plays, but that can indicate that I feel less fidelity to the original texts, as I understand them, than I tend to feel. "Version," to my mind anyway, implies "alternative," which has never been my intention. (xiii)

Indeed, "version" is a vague, almost meaningless, term in this and other cases. In some instances, those rewrites that are marked "versions" seem to be "closer" to the source text than some rewrites that are marked "translations." However, this is not true of McLaughlin's *Persians*. In other instances such as Thomas Paulin's *Seize the Fire* they are, as McLaughlin states, "alternatives" (xiii). Susan Bassnett argues against this division in terminology in "Theatre and Opera," when she states that,

Some critics argue about the use of this terminology, suggesting that a translation is somehow more 'faithful' to the original than a version or an adaptation. This argument is based on the flawed premise that there is such a thing as a 'faithful' translation in the first place, an assumption called into question by Translation studies. For all translations reflect the translator's interpretation of the source text, so that a translation is basically the product firstly of a single individual's reading and then of his or her second-language rewriting. Translation inevitably involves rewriting and manipulation of the source...and the act or translating always leads to changes. (100)

Such “changes” are most obviously seen by a comparison of multiple translations of the same play (e.g., chapter five’s discussion of the many English interpretations of the Classical Greek exclamations of woe such as “good grief,” “oi-oi-oi,” and “oh, my”). Bassnett, like Lefevere, incorporates the role of the translator’s creativity and reduces the division between translations and adaptations by refuting the concept of true “faithfulness” in performance translations. She also maintains that the rewriter must move away from the source language and culture to the target language and culture.

Bassnett’s definition of translation requires that the rewriter read the source language (the original Greek of Aeschylus) and rewrite it into the target language (English). This definition excludes those plays published as “translations” in which the author does not read Classical Greek or “translate” from the source text—i.e., Robert Lowell’s *Prometheus Bound* and Ted Hughes *Oresteia*. Such works should, according to Bassnett’s language requirement, be termed adaptations. However, in their published form they are presented for sale as translations. Although they preserve many qualities of the original play (such as plot structure, line order, and character development), they are adaptations. Frequently, the writer’s purpose and intended use for the rewrite is what qualifies the rewrite as a “translation” more than the rewriting practice or produced work. However, Bassnett’s definition of “translation” relies upon the process (transferring the source text to the target language) rather than the result (the distance of the rewrite from the original play).

Walton’s *Found in Translation* proposes a set of categories for examining the Greek plays in English that also include the author’s understanding of Greek and the text’s relationship to the source text: (1) “Literals (cribs);” (2) “those with literary fidelity

and the translator's stamp, but with no claims as performance texts;" (3) "faithful to the original but actable;" (4) "intended for, or deriving from, production, with occasional licence;" (5) "adapted from, or based on, the original but from playwrights/writers without a direct knowledge of Greek;" (6) "original plays inspired by specific classical tragedies;" (7) "translocations to another culture" (182-183). This list of seven groups, starting with those works closest to the Greek text (literals, or cribs) and ending with adaptations and distant relatives ("translocations to another culture") does not contain a category for "versions," although it delineates works that are termed "translations" (1-3) and "adaptations" (4-7). This is because works termed "versions" often fall somewhere between translation and adaptation (and in several instances could be considered one or the other, some being more translation and others more adaptation).

Many works, such as Arthur Platt's 1911 *Agamemnon* or Edwyn Bevan's 1912 *Seven Against Thebes*, use terms such as "freely translated" and "rendered into." The cover page of Edward Harman's 1920 *Prometheus Bound* avoids the term "translation" by saying that Aeschylus' play is "represented in English." These are all translations of sort, the wide range of terms and phrases used by their authors to describe the works are intended to signal the nature and function of the rewrite. Attempts by such translators to avoid the term "translation" in their rewrites reflect the perceived weightiness of the term, what Walton's describes as "being by general agreement a word that carries a greater burden of responsibility than its slender shoulders can bear" (181).

Found in Translation includes a list of less-than-faithful rewrites. This list includes several works published and self-described as translations such as Tony Harrison' *Oresteia* and Ted Hughes' *Oresteia*. If such rewrites are not considered

“translations,” then the American audiences have rarely encountered a translation of Aeschylus’ plays on the American stage. Indeed, because so many of the produced rewrites are unpublished, and therefore inaccessible, it is impossible to authenticate their relationship to the source text and qualify them as translations.

Reading Walton in light of Bassnett and Lefevere’s research on creativity in translation reduces the boundaries between authentic (translation) and not authentic (adaptations and versions) and places all of these works into a general category of “rewriting.” Such definitions of rewriting replace the “authenticity” hierarchy in which the “author” is principal, served by the “translator,” with the “adaptor.” In this new umbrella category of “rewriting,” all of these works are valid, but different, recyclings of the source play. The principal issue isn’t that there are various types of rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays used on the American stage, but that many of the rewrites that do not directly transpose Aeschylus’ plays (that appropriate and alter them) are presented with the name of the author and title (misguiding audiences). The terms are frequently used without clear meaning in the theatre: performance adaptations and versions representing themselves as translations.

Only nine translators of the plays of Aeschylus from 1900 to 2009 have defined their rewrites primarily as “versions” (a total of thirteen plays). However, many other works (such as Robert Lowell’s *Oresteia*) interchange the term translation and version (a practice found in the prefaces of some of the most literal translations). Of those termed “version,” the majority are acting “versions” or “versions” intended for production and differing from the source text in various ways. Robert Johnston’s *Oresteia* shortens the three plays into one longer work and Rush Rehm’s *Oresteia* shortens the chorus and

alters the language slightly by condensing a lengthy thought into one or two simple lines. Both retain the plot structure and lines of the original with only slight variations. However, Robert Auletta's *Persians* and Thomas Paulin's *Seize the Fire* interchange current political and social issues such as foreign oil, war in Iraq, and drug overdosing with Aeschylus' play. Paulin preserves the order of events and actions from the original, but imposes contemporary social and political messages. Auletta abandons the structure entirely by adding a new concluding scene to the play. Where the rewrites of Paulin and Auletta use the title "version" to indicate their adaptation of the original, other rewrites such as Edward George Harman's *Agamemnon*, Clarence Mendell's *Prometheus Bound*, Sir Henry Sharp's *Agamemnon*, William Link's *Agamemnon*, and Lindley Williams Hubbell *Suppliants* indicate that the rewrite is a translation within their prefaces. This is a common practice in biblical translations where various translations are termed "versions"—i.e., *The New International Version*, *The King James Version*, *The New Revised Standard Version*.

The impossibility of separating translation practices from those found in versions is demonstrated by William Link's foreword to his "version" of *Agamemnon*. According to Link,

This translation offers the *Agamemnon* in rhythmic, comprehensible English. Where the text is corrupt or obscure, I have translated—or invented—as I thought the context required. If it be objected that this violates Aeschylus' work, I can say only that the play we have has been violated by many anonymous hands, and emended by many scholarly ones, for over twenty-four hundred years. It is, more or less, a ruin. (vii)

In most versions, as demonstrated by Link and McLaughlin, the term indicates a slight distancing of the work from the source text or the author's desire to avoid criticism of the text as a translation by avoiding the entire category. This is reflective of, what Walton

calls, the weighty burden of the term “translation.” The avoidance of the term “translation” also indicates a different perceived function for the work by the rewriter— frequently signaling a more poetic or performance driven interpretation. A survey of Aeschylus’ plays in English reveals that many versions (Auletta and McLaughlin notwithstanding) are often more accurate than works self-termed adaptations. Neither term (adaptation or version) indicates a knowledge of the source language or a strict adherence to the text or, on the other hand, a strong deviation from Aeschylus’ meaning. Equally, the term “translation” does not indicate a work’s accuracy. Because of this confusion, it is important to examine the qualities and characteristics of the rewrites rather than their strict classification as “translation,” “adaptation,” “version,” or “distant relative.”

Chapter 2: The Seven Tragedies by Aeschylus and Their Twentieth Century Reception

To date, there is no consensus as to the best way to translate Aeschylus' plays. Plays such as *Agamemnon* have been translated more than others for a variety of reasons. *Oresteia* has more performance rewrites than Aeschylus' other tragedies and *Seven Against Thebes* has the least. It would seem that Aeschylus' trilogy resonates with English-speaking translators and directors in a manner that tragedies like *Seven Against Thebes* do not. The popularity and proliferation of *Oresteia* is not due to the quality or fidelity of the surviving manuscripts. *Agamemnon*, the most rewritten of Aeschylus' plays, has one of the most unreliable manuscript traditions of all seven tragedies. The popularity of certain plays, therefore, depends on how a translator and a stage director have envisioned performance possibilities of those plays and their current cultural, social, and political resonances. Many stage adaptations and radical rewrites rely more on the "prestige" that has traditionally been associated with the Classical Greek play than on Aeschylus' actual tragedy. This is what Bruce Heiden described in "Dramatic Literature, Politics, and the Present Moment of Performance" as "'Greek Tragedy,' with a capital C Culture" (13). These directors make the original tragedy almost unrecognizable in its staged form in order to express new ideas and methods of production. This chapter will discuss the major observations made by English speaking translators and interpreters of Aeschylus' plays to show the existing historical, artistic, and literary differences that leave an indelible mark on his plays.

There is a wide variety in the style and form of Aeschylus' tragedies. As David Grene observed in *Aeschylus II*, these "variations must be transmitted in English in some intelligible relation to the Greek" (v). Some of these "variations" have been expressed in more overt ways, such as juxtaposing prose and verse forms, while others have remained more subtle (such as slight variations in the use of language). The following sample of quotes summarizes the opinions that some translators hold for Aeschylus' plays, specifically the internal literary qualities of the works that have affected the English rewrites.

Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones, in his translation of *Agamemnon*, focuses on the style of the language, stating that "grandeur is combined with an archaic simplicity" (8). Most rewrites of the early twentieth century attempted to produce a "grandeur" in their rewrites but, in so doing, lost the simplicity of Aeschylus' language. Equally, translations since the 1990s have maintained the "simplicity" but their language has not always risen to "grandeur." This breadth of range is reflected in Michael Ewans' description of Aeschylus' language in Ewans' *Oresteia*. He describes Aeschylus' plays as having an "extraordinary range—from the colloquial to the elevated, from clarity to complexity, from simplicity and sometimes shocking directness to delicate understatement" (xxxv-xxxvi). Unfortunately, a rise in the practice of translations of translations (English rewrites that use previously published translations as their source text rather than the original Greek plays) has diminished the effect described by both Hugh-Jones and Ewans. These are, effectively, adaptations.

Where many early twentieth century translations appear almost verbose and incomprehensible in their word choice and sentence structure in order to achieve the

“grandeur” described by Hugh-Jones, Aeschylus’ plays are, as Paul Roche’s *Oresteia* describes, “rich in figures of speech and in all the phonic devices of language...incredibly rich in assonance, consonance, and alliteration” and his choruses are “close-packed, loaded, and difficult” (205). Aeschylus’ language is compact and full, but not lofty and incomprehensible, as many of these early translators perceived it. William James Byram and Reginald Roe’s 1922 preface to *Prometheus Bound* express some of the difficulties they perceived to be a challenge to any translator of Aeschylus’ plays,

The especial difficulty of translating Aeschylus is universally acknowledged. His verses carry with them...a massive weight not only of sound and words, but also of meaning and imagery. There is a concentration of intense feeling and sublime imagination in his use of metaphor and epithet which makes him hard to comprehend fully even in the Greek and dangerously near to the grotesque in anything but the most sympathetic translation.

Indeed, “massive” and “intense” are two appropriate descriptors of Byram’s translation, which requires multiple readings to digest the play’s meaning. More recently, Christopher Collard, in his preface to *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, commented on the difficulty of translating Aeschylus’ plays.

First, the primary meaning even where the text seems entirely secure and straightforward is often fiercely contested, and not only because the surrounding context may sometimes be ambiguous or damaged: Aeschylus is often abrupt in expression, and in changing ideas or topics, and the precise implication of a sudden new one can be hard to fix. Second, Aeschylus’ verbal style is flexible and daring, sometimes clear and easy, especially in speech, sometimes complex, dense, and full of suggestive imagery. (lxxi)

In many ways, the contestations addressed by Collard reflect one reason for the many various translations published in the past century. Aeschylus offers many opportunities to English-language poets to test their skills in translation.

Paul Roche's observation concerning Aeschylus' meter also reflects much of the variation in form and meter seen in the English rewrites such as prose versus verse and rhyme versus blank verse. Issues of meter and tone are very contentious amongst translators. According to Roche, Aeschylus uses a "surprising amount of rhyme and near-rhyme, although, since Greek is an inflected language, this is apt to go undetected" (205). This "rhyme and near-rhyme" has led several translators (such as Gilbert Murray, Tony Harrison, and Janet Lembke) to create an overt English rhyme scheme in their rewrites that often results in a sing-song monotony when spoken aloud. But, as Roche observes, Aeschylus' rhymes are "apt to go undetected" (205).

In addition to arguments concerning rhyme, Lloyd-Jones discusses the issue of translating Aeschylus' meter. According to Lloyd-Jones, "the effect of ancient Greek metre based on quantity cannot adequately be reproduced in modern language" (9).

Similarly, Alan Shapiro and Peter Burian claim in their translation of *Agamemnon* that,

The richness and variety of Aeschylus quantitative meters, his verbal, metaphorical density, and the links in tragic poetry of particular meters with particular modes of discourse and levels of feeling, make the music of the ancient poetry nearly impossible to reproduce in English. (40)

As will be discussed more fully in chapter three, several translators have attempted to exchange Aeschylus' poetic style and meter with their own creative inventions. They justify this with the argument of translating the spirit of the play over the exact word. This is especially true of Janet Lembke and John Herington's *Persians* as well as Tony Harrison's *Oresteia*. In both of these rewrites, and others with a strong modern poetic overlay, the stylistic difference between Aeschylus' chorus and his characters is often lost. This difference, as described by Peter Arnott's introduction to his translation of *Seven Against Thebes* and *Prometheus Bound*, has a strong connection to music and

(where most productions of the Greek plays lack musical composition) is often lost in modern stage adaptations.

Greek plays were written in verse. This verse had no rhyme, but the lines followed metrical patterns. The metre chiefly used for the actors' speeches was the *iambic trimeter*, a line of six metrical feet. The basic foot was the *iamb*, a short syllable followed by a long. This metre was regarded by the ancients as the closest poetic equivalent of the rhythms of everyday speech...Choruses, and actors when they sang, used a variety of extremely complex lyric metres. These can hardly be rendered satisfactorily into English without straining the sense. (15)

The issues surrounding the translation of the internal, literary qualities of Aeschylus' plays, as well as producing these tragedies on the American stage, are similar to those issues concerning the works of Sophocles and Euripides. All three dramatists come from a roughly similar period and culture, all three spring from the heart of Attica and its theatrical traditions. However, each dramatist has a different style and approach to the theatrical and mythical tradition he propagated with his plays. This difference is frequently overlooked by directors who adapt and combine tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides into one theatrical event or production (addressed more fully in chapter four).

As the above quotations from translators illustrate, the plays of Aeschylus contain some of the strongest "choral parts" in all Greek tragedy. Aeschylus' plays were created for a different political and cultural environment than those of Sophocles and Euripides. The structure and style of his plays display such strong choruses and mythic and political systems that they have often daunted American stage directors in the twentieth century. These directors were often less concerned with the formal qualities of Greek verse and tone and more concerned about the play's relevance and connection with an American audience. However, why they would chose to produce a play they believed to be

irrelevant (and in need of alteration in order to connect with audiences) remains to be seen.

In many instances, plays were selected because of their propensity to be molded in the context of current political and social events generated by such issues as anti-war protests, racial tensions, gender wars, and feminist agendas. Many producers of Aeschylus' plays in the United States have chosen to adapt and alter portions of the original tragedies. In some other cases, the plays were considered "too" poetic or lyrical for the American stage and their original form was thought to be incompatible with twentieth century staging practices and audience sensibilities. By comparison, the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides have been produced in translation or adaptation in America more than the plays of Aeschylus. Issues such as the ones addressed above need to be negotiated by all translators, dramaturgs, and directors who grapple with the formal aspects of Aeschylus' plays.

Hartigan attributes the rise in popularity of Aeschylus' plays in the United States to specific contemporary political and social movements of the twentieth century. For example, she links the popularity of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* to developments in Freudian psychology and modernism; Euripides' *Bacchae* to the 1960s hippie movement; Euripides' *Trojan Women* to anti-Vietnam protests; and Aeschylus' *The Persians* to American military involvement in Iraq. Does this mean that the lesser produced plays of Aeschylus, such as *Seven Against Thebes* and *Suppliants* (with the exception of Charles Mee's rewrite, *Big Love*) are simply awaiting the appropriate social and political climate in which to thrive? This viewpoint asserts that it is not the play's internal literary qualities that prevent its production, but its perceived social relevancy for an American

audience. For example, *Suppliants* is one of the most produced tragedies based on a play by Aeschylus since the 1990s. However this is only due to the rewrite, *Big Love*, by Charles Mee which completely resets the play in another culture and time. There is almost no interest in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* itself. But, as demonstrated by Mee's rewriting of the play, its perceived social relevance by the rewriter and directors gives it a new life on the American stage.

Oresteia's popularity isn't due solely to its being the only extant trilogy of Aeschylus. Other plays of Aeschylus, such as *Persians*, stand alone as complete plays without the existence of the whole trilogy, although they are not as popular in performance. Single works of Sophocles (e.g., *Oedipus*) and Euripides (e.g., *Trojan Women*) have had just as much attention, despite the loss of the other plays in their original trilogies. Nonetheless, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, and *Eumenides* are produced more as a trilogy than as individual plays. The 138 recorded productions of *Oresteia* in the United States far outnumber the ninety-six productions of *Agamemnon* or the fifty productions of *Suppliants*, the next most produced play of Aeschylus.

It may be true that modern interest in specific ancient plays is partially due to the political and social environments of modern times. However, it is also due to the play's perceived internal qualities as "read" (or interpreted) by the rewriters and stage directors. According to Mark Franko's "Actualizing Absence: The Pastness of Performance,"

Performances of the distant past, however, those precluding personal or collective memory, raise with particular urgency the issue of absence... historian's interpretation becomes the prosthesis of an imaginary performative practice, returning theory to its etymological roots in vision and speculation... it is the movement between past acts, texts, and their present-day interpreters that is central to historical performance studies (1).

The act of rewriting and producing Classical Greek plays requires the interpretations of the translator and later, the director, in order to restore or even “recreate” an absent “performative practice.” It requires creating with, what Franko terms, the imagination of a present realization of a past event—it requires a “reader” of the past to interpret the work for the “readers” of the present. Nowhere is this occurrence more valid than in the reproduction of Classical Greek tragedies on the contemporary American stage. The interpretations are always negotiated by the translator and director—except in the case of adaptations. However, the act of “interpretation” sometimes alters the original play considerably. Can the plays of Aeschylus be realized and accepted outside of their historical frame of Athens, or must the play’s messages be reinvented to express contemporary American concerns and interests? Chapter five will demonstrate, through an analysis of Stratos E. Constantinidis’ translation of *Persians* that Aeschylus does not need to be updated, adapted, or abridged to communicate effectively with modern American audiences.

The majority of theatrical productions of Aeschylus’ tragedies in the United States are of the *Oresteia* trilogy (or one or more of its three plays). The number of productions listed in chart 1 for the *Oresteia* represent both performances of the individual plays (i.e., *Agamemnon*) and for the tragedy as a trilogy (*Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, and *Eumenides* in one performance). One production of the *Oresteia* is counted as three productions, one time for each play in the trilogy; therefore, the numbers are askew in order to demonstrate the production of individual tragedies rather than the trilogy as a whole.

There are 138 productions of the entire *Oresteia* (as one event) but for each individual play only ninety-six of *Agamemnon*, ten of *Choephoroi*, and twenty-nine of *Eumenides*. Those plays with the lowest number of translations and adaptations are the least produced. *Seven Against Thebes* has had only seven productions in the United States and most of these used adaptations that border on being new works (distant relatives) of Aeschylus' play. Every single American production of *Suppliants* in English used Charles Mee's distant relative, *Big Love*, which considerably rewrites the original play. Since *Big Love* was published in the 1994, there are no recorded productions of the *Suppliants* prior to 1999 in English.

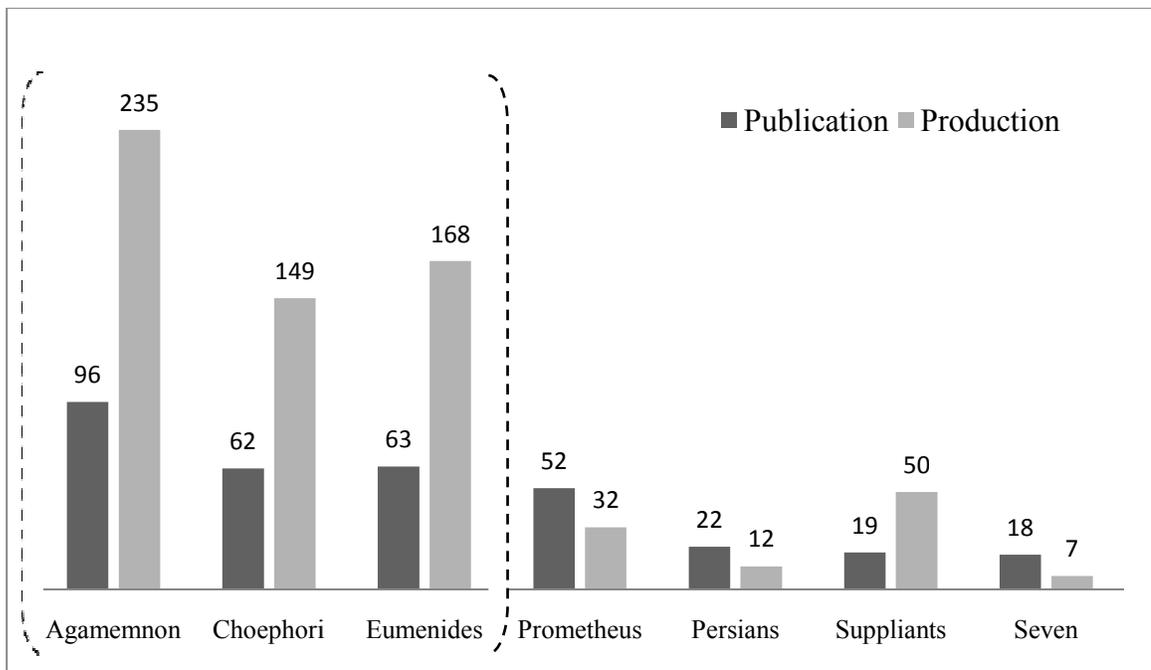


Chart 1. Publications and United States Productions of Aeschylus' Tragedies (1900-2009)

Despite the variations in textual styles and subject matter for each of Aeschylus' tragedies, *Persians* is set in a more realistic, historical frame than *Prometheus Bound*, the

differences between the plays are less recognizable in their productions. A close examination of the productions and translations for all of Aeschylus' seven tragedies reveals that the trends seen in producing Aeschylus' plays are the same as those used in the production of all the other Greek tragedies. *Prometheus*, *Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Seven Against Thebes* have been interpreted by most translators as "literary" rather than performance pieces. They have the least number of published adaptations and, therefore, have been produced fewer times on the American stage. Interestingly, there are many translations of these plays in English but almost no stage productions. The plays of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, those plays with the most adaptation, have more stage productions than translations and all published rewrites.

Oresteia:

Believed to have been written in 458 B.C., *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, and *Eumenides* form the trilogy known as *Oresteia*. The first of the three tragedies, *Agamemnon* depicts the homecoming of Agamemnon to Argos and the subsequent slaying of Agamemnon and the prophetess Cassandra by his wife, Clytemnestra. Rooted in the epic cycle of the Trojan War and the house of Atreus, *Oresteia* addresses issues of tyranny, family allegiance, matricide, adultery, and justice. It juxtaposes the older, archaic Greek religion and politics (represented by the furies and tyranny represented in the play) with that of the newer, classical Greek system (represented by Athena, Apollo, and democracy in the play). *Agamemnon* focuses on the brewing hatred of Clytemnestra and her need to avenge Agamemnon's compliance in the sacrifice of her daughter, Iphigenia.

The second play, *Choephoroi*, shows the lowly and deposed positions of Electra and Orestes, the children of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon. Clytemnestra has married Aegisthus, her accomplice in Agamemnon's murder, and fears that her son, Orestes, might one day return and avenge his father's death. Orestes, spurred by an oracle of Apollo, returns to Argos and joins forces with his sister. Together, in compliance with the god's instructions, they plot the murder of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. Orestes avenges his father's death by killing his mother.

The concluding tragedy, *Eumenides*, traces Orestes' flight from the furies to Delphi, the guilt he carries for the death of his mother, his trial for matricide, and his subsequent vindication by Athena and the jury of Athenian men. Orestes and Apollo are pitted against the ghost of Clytemenstra and the furies. In the play's final moments, Orestes is pronounced clean of his mother's spilt blood and the cycle of vengeance and guilt ends.

Oresteia (and most specifically, *Agamemnon*) is, as Douglas Young's *Oresteia* states, "the last play about which unanimity among the learned is to be expected regarding the constitution of the text and its interpretation" (xv). This is principally due to the difficult manuscript tradition associated with the play. Of Aeschylus' plays, *Oresteia* is the one consistently interpreted as a dramatic work (for the stage), rather than as a poem (for the page). According to David Slavitt's preface to his *Agamemnon*, "It is surely the most influential and arguably still the best dramatic work ever written" (3); William Sylvester's *An Anthology of Greek Tragedy* also termed it "one of the most powerful plays ever written" (5).

The stage history of Aeschylus' seven tragedies in the United States is dominated largely by the production of the *Oresteia* trilogy (or separate productions of *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, and/or *Eumenides*). It is the most popular of Aeschylus' tragedies on both the academic and non-academic stage. The first production of the twentieth century was of *Eumenides* and it was directed by Katherine Tingley at the Theosophical University, California in 1901. It was twenty-five years later that the entire trilogy was produced in the United States when Edgar Woolley and David Smith directed it for Yale University's Dramatic Association, New Haven, Connecticut in 1926. Although the entire trilogy has frequently been staged, it is very common for only one of the three plays (primarily *Agamemnon*) to be produced. Due to revisionist interpretations of Clytemnestra and the desire on the part of directors to enhance audience sympathies for her decisions, *Agamemnon* has been paired with the *Electra* of Sophocles (or Euripides), and in some instances, combined with Euripides *Iphigenia in Tauris*. This is the case of Brandeis University's 2003 production of *Agamemnon and His Daughters*, and Classic Stage Company's 2009 *An Oresteia*. Different translations and adaptations are frequently used for each of the plays performed together as a trilogy. This practice exaggerates the stylistic differences between the different adaptors.

Both Foley and Hartigan outline "touchstone" (or highly influential) productions of *Oresteia* on the non-academic stage in the United States, focusing on new interpretations and concepts in directing Aeschylus. However, Foley's brief examination of the trends in producing *Agamemnon* relies upon Plugge's research to establish the early production history of this play on the academic stage. According to Foley, *Agamemnon* has only been performed seven times from 1881 to 1936 and although she

has been “unable to achieve Plugge’s level of documentation for college and university performances at later periods, it appears that with the partial exception of the 1950s, *Agamemnon/Oresteia* were performed fairly sporadically at the university level until the 1990s” (309). Because of her reliance on Plugge’s limited study, Foley is not thoroughly accurate in this point. There have been sixty-seven productions of *Agamemnon* from 1900 to 1989 and seventy-seven productions of *Agamemnon* from 1990 to 2009 on the academic stage. Plugge did not examine all of the academic productions in the United States and was regionally limited in his statistics. Therefore, his work remains an incomplete source. There were twelve recorded productions between 1900 and 1936, the time period covered by Plugge. Although Foley was correct in concluding that productions at the university level of *Agamemnon/Oresteia* were sporadic, these plays have, nonetheless, been consistently produced. *Agamemnon* is one of the most produced Classical Greek tragedies of all of the Classical Greek corpus, including works by Sophocles and Euripides.

The earliest recorded twentieth-century *Oresteia* productions were on the academic stage, and it took some time for the trilogy to take hold of the commercial theatre. This “progression” from the academic to the non-academic stage gives the impression that there was an evolution in the staging of Greek plays—i.e., they began on the academic stage until there was enough popularity for them to have “legitimate” commercial productions. However, this is not necessarily the way things progressed. The academic stage has consistently produced Aeschylus’ plays between 1900 and 2009 while the non-academic stage has not. Additionally, it is the translations, not the adaptations, that have a stronger production history in the academic theatres during this

period. All commercial productions of Classical Greek tragedies were of “radical remakes,” not translations, prior to the production of Richmond Lattimore’s translation of *Agamemnon*, directed by Wayne Richardson at the Theatre Marquee in 1957. Previous productions include rewrites such as Robinson Jeffers’ *The Tower Beyond Tragedy* (an adaptation), Jean-Paul Satre’s *Les Mouches*, Eugene O’Neill’s *Mourning Becomes Electra*, and Henry Lister’s *Clytemnestra* (a revisionist adaptation). However, after the 1950s, most “radical remakes” were adaptations more than complete rewrites along the model or trend established by John Lewin’s *House of Atreus*. The academic stage is consistently ignored after the 1950s in the critical reception of Aeschylus’ tragedies although most of the rewrites used in commercial productions were also produced on the academic stage.

Prometheus Bound:

Although there is some debate as to the authorship of *Prometheus Bound*, it is widely thought to have been written by Aeschylus sometime after 468 B.C. Located on the side of a mountain, *Prometheus Bound* is the only extant tragedy of Aeschylus’ not centered in or around a city. Similarly, it is the only play in the Classical Greek repertoire that portrays a protagonist unable to move around the stage. *Prometheus Bound* begins with Power, Force, and Hephaestus delivering Prometheus to “earth’s remotest confines” and chaining him to the side of the mountain, as ordered by Zeus. This extreme form of ostracism is Prometheus’ punishment for having saved mankind from Zeus’ wrath by delivering them fire and, subsequently, knowledge. Prometheus remains chained for the play’s duration, and is visited in turn by a chorus of the daughters

of Oceanus, Oceanus, Io, and Hermes (messenger of Zeus). The daughters of Oceanus mourn with Prometheus over his fate but reprimand him for his actions on behalf of mankind. Oceanus attempts unsuccessfully to reconcile Prometheus with Zeus, offering to speak to Zeus on Prometheus' behalf. Io, moans her own fate and the pain she suffers because of Zeus. She complains that a gadfly continually plagues her and that the ghosts of Argos drive her from place to place. Prometheus prophesies that, though she will suffer greatly for her encounter with Zeus, it is her offspring that will eventually free Prometheus from his chains. The last to enter the stage is Hermes, who also chastises Prometheus for his rejection of Zeus' rule and futilely attempts to learn of Prometheus' prophesies about Zeus future rule. Deeply rooted in the mythic tradition of the Athenians (based on Hesiod's *Theogony*), *Prometheus Bound* examines the philosophical, moral, and political systems of Classical Greece through its statements on tyranny, speech, and the obligations of the State/Government to the citizenry.

Unlike *Oresteia*, *Prometheus Bound* has had a mixed reception as a play, even though it contains a much stronger manuscript tradition. The social and cultural resonance of *Prometheus Bound* has often played a stronger role in its production than the play's perceived literary qualities. Unfortunately, there is a strong perception that the play itself has restrained its popularity as a staged play. This is demonstrated by Kenneth McLeish' statement in *Frogs and Other Greek Plays* that, "It is perhaps best to regard *Prometheus Bound* more as a dramatic poem than a play" (61). This interpretation is partly due to the lack of physical action in the play. Several translators of the *Prometheus Bound* express enthusiasm for the play's "poetry" but ignore its

performability. According to William Arrowsmith's preface to C. J. Herington and James Scully's *Prometheus Bound*,

By old and universal consensus, the *Prometheus Bound* is one of the supreme dramatic achievements of all time....and, finally, there is the poetry—the hard, compact, complex, agglutinative Greek of Aeschylus, whose obscure grandeur is periodically shattered by the passionate simplicity of an utterly honest and compassionate human voice. (ix)

Arrowsmith doesn't claim *Prometheus Bound* to be unstageable, he calls it a "supreme dramatic achievement," but his analysis of the play focuses entirely on its literary qualities and never on its stagability. Significantly, *Prometheus Bound* is one of the most produced and theatrically adapted plays of Aeschylus, second only to *Agamemnon*. Despite this, many translators have been primarily drawn to the "great poetry" of the play rather than its other "dramatic" qualities. According to Grene's *Aeschylus II*,

The *Prometheus* is perhaps most difficult of all [to translate]. Both vocabulary and expression are relatively simple. Parts are downright prosy, but the great passages are of the highest flights of Greek dramatic poetry... The majestic poetry is beyond the reach of anyone not so great as its author. (vi)

Prometheus Bound has been consistently produced in the United States from 1930 to 2009. It has had thirty-two productions, nineteen of which occurred on the academic stage. The percentage of productions of *Prometheus Bound* that fail to mention the translator or adaptor's names in the billing ("uncredited" translations) are higher than all of the other tragedies of Aeschylus. Forty-seven percent of all *Prometheus Bound* productions (academic and non-academic) from 1900 to 2009 fail to identify the translator (compared to twenty-three percent for *Oresteia*). Of the productions that credit the translator or adaptor of *Prometheus Bound*, all of the productions prior to 1984 used translations. Since 1984, only unpublished adaptations and distant relatives have been used. This is unfortunate because, as unpublished works, they are not available to the

public and cannot be examined to determine their relationship to the production. The almost exclusive reliance in production upon adaptations and distant relatives in recent years reflects the greater trend in the production of Classical Greek plays: the use of “radical remakes” instead of translations. At the same time, it demonstrates the growing interest in unpublished adaptations in the stage production of Aeschylus’ plays. Of those published rewrites identified by their productions, only six translations were used. This is an extremely small number when compared to the fifty-seven total published rewrites available for production use.

Persians:

Aeschylus’ *Persians* is dated at 472 B.C., placing it eighteen years after the battle of Marathon and only eight years after the naval battle at Salamis. It is the only extant tragedy depicting an actual historical event. The subject matter of *Persians* would have been fresh in the minds of its Athenian audience, most of whom experienced the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. Set in Susa, heart of the Persian Empire, *Persians* depicts the ravages of the Persian wars on the Persian people themselves. Left at home, the chorus of elders awaits the return of their large and mighty military under the leadership of King Xerxes, son of Darius and Atossa. Meanwhile, Atossa worried by prophetic dreams that depict the strong will of the Athenian people, learns of the destruction of the Persian military at Salamis. Shortly after Atossa seeks the aid of Darius’ ghost, Xerxes returns home with Persia’s ruined military. Aeschylus’ did not dehumanize, demonize, or mock the Persians in this play. Instead, *Persians* asks its audience to consider what happens to a nation when its people lose their voice, when its

leaders are unaccountable for their actions, when its military overextends itself, and when pride and arrogance, family allegiance, and unyielding ambition dominate public policy.

There has been a disagreement in interpreting Aeschylus' intent in writing *Persians*. One camp interprets the play as promoting and upholding Athenian civic and military pride for their victory over the much larger Persian forces. The other camp sees the play as a warning addressed to its original Athenian audience advising them not to overreach their limits and fall into the same imperialist trap that destroyed the Persians. For instance, in 1935, T. G. Tucker saw the motive of *Persians* "as patriotic stimulation, while its immediate appeal is to patriotic pride" (5). And G. M. Cookson's analysis of *Persians* wrongly claims that, *Persians* can hardly be called a tragedy for its purpose was not so much to lead the spectator through scenes of pity and terror as to glorify the victory of Athens (51). On the other hand, rewrites such as Robert Auletta's *Persians* and Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians* adapt Aeschylus' play to act as warnings to America for its involvement in the Middle East in the 1990s and early twenty-first century. Peter Sellar's 1993 production of Auletta's rewrite goes so far as to demonize its Athenian equivelant, America (these rewrite will be discussed further in chapter three).

As with all of the plays, except for *Oresteia*, some have interpreted *Persians* as a drama while others see it principally as a poem. Although a drama may very well be poetic, there is, in this instance, a difference in the intended use of the work—one being for the stage, the other for the page. Supporting the poetic interpretation, Armstrong's *Persians* supposes that:

The play is to be regarded rather as a dramatic poem than a drama. There is no conflict of ideals, no antithesis of human and divine law. There is no characterization, save in so far as the grief of each speaker is affected in its

aspect and emphasis by his personality. There is no action to speak of...As a poem it exhibits the genius of Aeschylus as its best. (5-6)

However, Aeschylus' *Persians* was written to be produced at the City Dionysia where it was awarded first place in 472 B.C. Unlike Phrynichus' unsuccessful tragedy *The Capture of Miletus*, *Persians* was well received and was revived in Syracuse in 467 B.C. and again, after Aeschylus' death, in Athens around 425 B.C.

Issues concerning both the tone and meter of the play have also been addressed by translators and adaptors. Walter Headlam and C.E.S. Headlam's *Persians* states that,

The diction of *The Persians* is different from that of the other plays of Aeschylus. The characters are Persians, the scene is laid in their chief city, and the whole play reflects the manners and ideas of the East. To suit the local colour, the language has an appropriate cast. Aeschylus makes his Persians speak in an archaic-sounding Ionic style, the Greek of Asia. This effect is obtained partly by meter, e.g. the use of long trochaics; partly by forms of words and pronunciation...; partly also by forms of phrase. (vi)

A contemporary of Headlam, C. B. Armstrong interprets the *Persians* as being “characterized by a rich variety of metrical effect which cannot be adequately represented in a language so much less precise in its quantities and vocalization” (9). Armstrong's translation finds an “adequate” means in the “archaic” style prevalent in the early twentieth century (discussed in chapter three). This style attempts to reproduce an antique veneer by creating a “foreignness” in the translation—frequently reflecting a Shakespearean and Miltonian English. In the 1950s, translator Seth Benardete also focused on the meter of the chorus, stating that the “regular meters of the chorus” create a sense of the “the doom of the Persians” and effectually convey “the effect of marching or lament” (Translator's Notes). Most translators of the play have focused on this growing, intensifying, lament that ends the play—however, most adaptations do not.

From 1900 to 2009, there have been twelve productions of *Persians* in the United States, and only one prior to 1970. Robert Auletta's *Persians* and Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians* are the only two rewrites to receive multiple productions—both are adaptations that “doctor” Aeschylus’ play. John Lewin’s *Persians* was produced, although unpublished, once in 1970 and Janet Lembke and John Herington’s *Persians*, once in 1993. With the exception of a comedic production in 2005 by *Waterwell Productions* in New York City—a production that only barely resembled Aeschylus’ original tragedy—there have been no other rewrites of *Persians* produced in the United States.

Suppliants:

There is some contention about the dating of *Suppliants*. Originally thought to have been the oldest extant tragedy because of its “archaic” style, it is now believed to have been produced after *Persians* at about 466 B.C. (see Robert Ahrens’ *The Plays of Aeschylus*, 1966). Similarly, Herbert Weir Smith’s *Aeschylus* (1963) claims that *Suppliants* “should no longer be regarded as the earliest extant” tragedy (xxx).

This play tells the story of the flight of Danaus and his fifty daughters (the Danaids) from the fifty sons of Aegyptus in Egypt. The Danaids take refuge in a sacred grove near Argos and, as suppliants, request protection from Pelasgus, the king of Argos. Torn between two sad alternatives, protecting his homeland from war with Egypt or protecting suppliant Danaids who are determined to kill themselves in the grove if forced to marry the sons of Aegyptus, Pelasgus and the citizens of Argos rebuff the herald of Aegyptus and allow the Danaids to live in Argos. The tragedy ends with the herald threatening war, and the women gratefully enter the city for protection. *Suppliants* is

thought to be the first of the play cycle that includes *The Egyptians*, *The Daughters of Danaus*, and *Amyclone*. Aeschylus' cycle tells of the daughters' flight from marriage, eventual marriage to their fifty cousins, the killing of their husbands on their wedding night, the mercy shown to Lynceus by Hypermnestra, and Lynceus' escape from death.

Suppliants, like *Oresteia*, also has an uncertain manuscript tradition (*Prometheus Bound*, *Seven Against Thebes*, and *Persians* having sounder source texts). For the most part, *Suppliants* has been rewritten by its translators primarily as a "dramatic poem." As Peter Burian states in his translation, it contains "a succession of choral odes that are among the densest, most opulent, most purely lovely things in all Greek poetry" (xi). It was not until the 1990s that this play was rewritten for the stage. One barrier to the production of *Suppliants* in the United States has been its Anglicized "image" as a non-dramatic tragedy. According to Burian, one challenge to translating the play as a dramatic work is that

It resolutely refuses to include most of the elements we expect of Greek tragedy: no hero, no *hamartia*, no downfall or tragic conclusion of any kind...Even the text of this orphan is unusually corrupt and fraught with uncertainties; the experts agree in calling *Suppliants* the most difficult of Aeschylus' plays to interpret. (xi)

However, many of the issues addressed by Burian come from his attempt to pigeon-hole *Suppliants* into an Aristotelian model for "tragedy." In *The Plays of Aeschylus*, Robert Ahren articulates a similar frustration with the composition of *Suppliants*. According to Ahren,

There is little action, little characterization, entirely too much geographical and genealogical detail, and the preponderance of lyric makes it primarily a choral rather than a dramatic work. All of these tend to make *The Suppliant Maidens* an interesting, but not very dramatic, play. (36)

The problem with such evaluations is that they make the unstated claim that Aeschylus' tragedies must conform to Aristotle's model for a tragedy. Not all of Aeschylus' tragedies do. Aristotle upholds Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos* not Aeschylus' *Suppliants*.

William Arrowsmith's analysis of *Suppliants* in his introduction to Janet Lembke's translation makes similar claims to those of Burian and Ahren. For Arrowsmith, *Suppliants* is better understood as a melodrama rather than as a tragedy that is, for all intensive purposes, unlikely "ever to be staged" because,

Like *Prometheus Bound*, it is the sole survivor of a trilogy, but its dramatic action is visibly less complete, as its meaning is darker, more teasing and uncertain. In its range, running from high religious lyrics to scenes of grim, almost farcical, melodrama, it is formidable indeed; it also has an overwhelmingly choral quality, that aura of 'archaic oratorio' that once led scholars, wrongly, to call it the 'oldest surviving Greek play.' (x)

The statements by Burian, Ahren, and Arrowsmith speak to current theatrical tastes more than to issues within the text-proper. *Suppliants* was dramatic enough and producible enough for Aeschylus' audience.

There have been fifty productions of *Suppliants* in the United States from 1900 to 2009. All but six were produced on the academic stage. This production number is relatively small compared to the number of translations of *Suppliants* that have been published since 1900. The first of these fifty productions was by the National Theatre of Craiova Romania. It was performed in French at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York in 1995, directed by Silviu Purcarete. The second of these productions was done in Classical Greek by Randolph-Macon Women's College, Department of Greek in 1936, directed by Mabel Whiteside. Except for these two non-English productions, the remaining forty-eight productions of *Suppliants* in the United States used Charles Mee's rewrite, *Big Love*. All of them took place after 1999.

Seven Against Thebes:

Written in 467 B.C., *Seven Against Thebes* deals with the house of Laius cycle and tells of the battle between Oedipus' sons, Eteocles and Polyneices, for the reign of Thebes. It is believed to have been preceded by *Laius* and *Oedipus*, and followed by the satyr-play *The Sphinx*. These works have been lost. In *Seven Against Thebes*, Polyneices, exiled from Thebes by his brother Eteocles, marches upon his home city in an attempt to regain the crown. With him are seven warriors who each attack one of the seven gates of Thebes. After telling the chorus of Theban women to stop their fearful cries and to pray silently for victory, Eteocles sends seven great warriors, including himself, to each of the gates to defend the city. A large portion of the play is absorbed in the naming and describing the champions who fought. Eventually the Argive army is defeated and Eteocles and Polyneices kill each other outside the city gates, fulfilling Oedipus' curse. After the battle is finished, Eteocles is given an honorable burial and his brother, Polyneices, is left unburied and exposed for carrion. Their sister, Antigone, proclaims her intent to bury Polyneices despite the State's ban against this action. This final scene is contentious and is often considered to be a later edition to the play. It is thought to have been added in an attempt to give the ending of the play a concluding rather than continuing effect--an example of how the "reading" can alter the play itself rather than allowing the play to alter the "reading."

Of all of Aeschylus' plays, *Seven Against Thebes* has been the least translated and produced. One explanation for this neglect is due to the internal/literary qualities of the work and its perceived dramatic possibilities. However, it is more likely that the play has failed to resonate with American theatres because of its perceived applicability to the

American situation. For instance, William Arrowsmith's "Editor's Foreword" to Helen Bacon and Anthony Hecht's translation of *Seven Against Thebes* claims the issue of "neglect" to be due to textual "corruption" but, in so doing, reveals a bias in favor of Aristotelian measures for tragedy,

Although highly esteemed in antiquity, *Seven Against Thebes* has become the Cinderella of the Aeschylean corpus, neglected or dismissed because it was thought to be textually corrupt or incoherent and 'episodic'—that is, lacking in the unity so tangible in the *Agamemnon* and *Prometheus* or even *The Persians*. Even its choral poetry has found few admirers because it is so deeply knitted into the internal dynamics of the action and texture, and therefore offers few 'lyrical' opportunities of conveniently detachable odes. (xi)

Few directors are concerned whether the play has opportunities for "detachable odes," they frequently rewrite and abridge lyrical sections in the stage adaptation. The American theatre has favored plays with an episodic structure since the popularity and influence of the works of Bertolt Brecht. Similarly, adaptors and directors have no problem rewriting "missing" endings or grappling with "interpolations," as Peter Arnott's *Seven Against Thebes and Prometheus Bound* describes:

A particular example of this difficulty [of manuscript] is in the closing section of *Seven Against Thebes*, from the Herald's speech onwards. In the following dirge between Antigone, Ismene and the chorus the text is in a chaotic state. It is not known for certain who says what, or in what order the lines are supposed to come. Some scholars would delete the whole section as a later interpolation. (15)

None of these arguments against the play are strong enough to explain the small number of productions presented on the American stage. Perhaps the best explanation comes from some of the descriptions used for the play and refuted by Helen Bacon and Anthony Hecht's "Introduction" to their translation of *Seven Against Thebes*. According to Bacon and Hecht, "the play has been accused of being static, undramatic, ritualistic, guilty of an interpolated and debased text, archaic, and, in a word, boring" (3). However, as Bacon

and Hecht conclude, “the translators [of this play] find themselves in profound disagreement with such assessments” (3). Whether because of manuscript problems, disagreements as to the dramatic possibilities, or something directors consider “lacking” in *Seven Against Thebes*, this tragedy has yet to be produced in any “recognizable” form upon the American stage. Although, as the above statements demonstrate, there are some internal textual issues with the play that scholars argue have kept the work from wide theatrical popularity, the problem most likely lies in the current theatrical and cultural sensibilities of Americans. As Hartigan explains (ix) and Edith Hall and Fiona Macintosh reiterate in *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre: 1660-1914* (vii), it is frequently the non-literary qualities of a work that make it popular. In other words, it is the manner in which a tragedy resonates in the cultural, social, and political realm of its target audience. For some reason, *Seven Against Thebes* has yet to gain a foothold on the American academic and non-academic stage.

Seven Against Thebes has had only seven productions in the United States, two of which were academic productions. Only one of these was produced in English, the other was in ancient Greek. The first, and earliest, of these four productions, *Teiresias* by Henry Lister (1930, San Francisco *La Boheme Club*), was a distant relative with only the slightest connection to the original. It did not translate or adapt Aeschylus’ play. It created a new work that borrowed a few lines from the original play. The second production was performed in Classical Greek by Randolph-Macon Women’s College (Department of Greek), Lynchburg, Virginia in 1950 and directed by Mabel Whiteside. The third and fourth productions were of Ellen Stewart’s energetic adaptation *Seven*

Against Thebes (2001 and repeated as a part of *Seven: Seven Greek Myths in Repertory* in 2004).

The final three productions were of Will Power's musical, hip-hop comedy adaptation *The Seven* (2006 and two in 2009). *The Seven* is, according to its *The Union-Tribune* theatre review by James Hebert, "part adaptation, part theatrical graffiti-tagging." Similarly, Jeremy McCarter's "Straight Outta Broadway" review of *The Seven* in *New York Theater* states that,

Power's all-rhyming treatment of the story of Oedipus' two cursed sons might seem an egregious break with tradition. (Aeschylus nowhere depicts Oedipus as a Caddy-driving seventies pimp, for example.) But in a more fundamental way, the approach makes perfect sense. The great Greek tragedies blended poetry and music.

With the exception of the Classical Greek production at Randolph-Macon Women's College (Department of Greek), primarily an academic and educational demonstration, none of these productions remain close to Aeschylus' original. Powers and Stewart's works severely adapt the original story. Indeed, a description in *The New York Times* of Stewart's 2001 production shows Stewart's addition of outside characters and significant action to the play. According to D. J. R. Bruckner's "Theater Review; Oedipus' Sons Battle It Out In a Spectacle Of Fiery Rage,"

Blind Oedipus rises to Olympus on a slender ladder of light that disappears into the 40-foot ceiling before his two sons fall into their fated lethal battle over his throne at Thebes. From courts of gleaming gold facing each other atop enormous staircases, 14 warriors leap into combat, two at a time (one drops out of the ceiling onto his terrified victim), whipped into frenzy by reedy seers or chthonic monsters materializing out of the walls.

Bruckner continues to describe the dramatization of the battle that includes hurled thunderbolts, fire shooting from a combatant's fingers, daggers, jousting on "clattering horses formed by trios of dancers," and a winged Pegasus "gliding over the audience."

Stewart's production concludes with "the Oedipal sons, each whirling pairs of lead balls on the ends of silk ropes, circle in a hair-raising dance of whizzing death that ends with each strangling the other." It abandoned the literary model created by Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* and recycled the epic tale in a highly stylized and movement based performance.

With twenty-two published rewrites of *Seven Against Thebes*, and no productions which remotely represent the original structure, language, or character, in English, this tragedy remains firmly rooted in the twentieth century as a literary work, rather than as a performance piece. However, the Power and Stewart rewrites provide some indication of a new interest in the myth upon which this play is based. These parodies are distant relatives rather than adaptations, they little resemble Aeschylus' play.

Chapter 3: Aeschylus Published

As Fiona Macintosh has concluded, “Greek tragedy has enjoyed a vigorous afterlife on the modern stage both in the original Greek and translation” (184). Similarly Freddy Decreus claims that “At the end of the twentieth century classical tragedies are still performed in very high numbers (a quantitative criterion) and in the most various ways (a qualitative criterion)” (235). However, it is difficult to verify the alleged “vigorous life” and “high numbers” of the Classical Greek plays in America, especially when these plays compose such a small percentage of the total plays produced. For example, in the The Ohio State University’s Department of Theatre, the production of Classical Greek plays compose only two and a half percent of the department’s total production number from 1949 to 2009 (see chapter five for further analysis). The Ohio State University’s representative two and a half percent does not constitute a “very high number.”

In addition, are those productions based on the Greek texts authored by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes? Specifically, are the tragedies of Aeschylus produced in the United States primarily translations or only adaptations, adaptations of translations, and distant relatives? A more careful examination of the reproduction of Aeschylus’ tragedies in America reveals that many of the high-profile productions were foreign productions such as English or French that toured the United States. It is occasionally difficult to determine what constitutes an “American” production of an Aeschylean tragedy. A production of an Aeschylean tragedy “made in

America” would require that the Aeschylean tragedy was translated in America, was published by an American publisher, and produced by an American theatre company.

Lorna Hardwick’s “Staging Agamemnon: The Languages of Translation” claims that an emphasis in the theatre on the non-verbal aspects of production’s in recent years allows performances to extend beyond “geographic” and “cultural” boundaries (209). This trend towards the international/cross-cultural “language” of producing the Classical Greek plays is seen in such production tours as Arianne Mnouchkine’s *Les Atrides* in New York and it is documented in the collected data by the Oxford University’s *APGRD*.

British translations and productions of Classical Greek plays are often examined more than those translations or productions originating in the United States. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that the translations and adaptations that are primarily examined (such as Tony Harrison’s *Oresteia* and Peter Meineck’s *Agamemnon*) were filmed and published, making them excellent sources for repeated examination and comparison. Hartigan, who tries to explain the focus on productions originating in Great Britain, states “It cannot be denied that much of the interest in the massive productions of Greek drama in America reflects the personal interests of key directors of the British theatre, e.g., Peter Hall, Peter Stein, and Tony Harrison” (154). It is the strength of the director (i.e., his/her celebrity status, strength of personality, and efforts to promote and examine the production) that has brought the spot light to these Classical Greek plays. With the current emphasis in the study of productions of Aeschylus’ plays on international (and often non-traditional) interpretations, it must be asked, what is the current position of Aeschylus’ plays in the United States? Indeed, Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* is one of the most produced Classical Greek tragedies in the United States.

Categorizing the published rewrites by nationality (the nationality of the author and/or the country of its inception and publication) is very difficult and, in most situations, irrelevant because either (1) the linguistic differences are not that distinguishable, (2) the non-verbal qualities of the performance (and the actor's dialect) reduce regional identification, and (3) trends in translating have, since the second half of the twentieth century, transcended national boundaries. Although there are some language variations between British, American, South African, Australian, Canadian, Scottish, and Irish rewrites of Aeschylus' plays, those differences are often very difficult to isolate. Translations from the early twentieth century often reflect a strong "Britishness." Early adaptations from that period equally reflect an interest on the American stage for Greek based plays. For every text that has strong national ties, there are several that defy affiliation. Often the influences upon the interpretation (especially true with cross-national partner translations) are international and difficult to establish (not displaying obvious dialectic and national qualities in the rewrites).

An examination of the published rewrites shows that during the first half of the twentieth century more performance oriented translations were published in America and more scholarly, "classroom," editions in the United Kingdom. However, because these strong boundaries all but disappeared by the mid-twentieth century, it is more beneficial to examine the rewrites of Aeschylus' plays as being "English-language" based rather than "nationally" located. This is not true of all rewrites because distant relatives are nearly always regionally based. These plays are published under their author's name, i.e., Yael Farber or Charles Mee, but often include a "based on the plays of Aeschylus" statement. Yael Farber's *Molona* is strongly tied to national identity in its address of

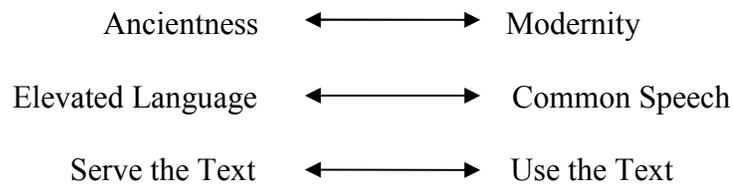
post-colonial life in South Africa. Similarly, Charles Mee's *Big Love* acts as a critique of American consumerism and popular culture.

For the most part, the United States production history demonstrates a reliance on both American and non-American English rewrites. This is not to say that, for example, British texts do not frequently differ from American rewrites in word choice and spelling, but these differences do not always negotiate the formation of a major trend in translation. The issue of whether an American translation would be better understood and received by an American audience in performance is addressed in chapter four, but the production history of the twentieth century reveals an equal number of foreign and domestic rewrites used for production in the United States. Very few translators of Aeschylus' plays address the issue of nationality (and its ties to language) in their translator's notes. In general, it is the language and tone of the adaptations and distant relatives that betray nationality more than the translations.

Hartigan links the popularity of translating, adapting, and producing the Classical Greek tragedies to changes in the social, cultural, and political atmosphere of the United States. While focusing on productions on the commercial stage, she demonstrates the relationship of the production of Classical Greek plays (such as the *Trojan Women* and *Bacchae*) with specific events in U.S. history (such as protests against the Vietnam War and the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001). However, her focus on the productions of Aeschylus' plays neglects to connect those productions to the translation and adaptation practices imposed on those Classical Greek plays. This is perhaps because of the strong influence on the American stage of the stage director, his/her agenda in producing a "Classical" play, and the agenda/mission of the producer and/or patron of the

event. The rise in the director's strength has, in many ways, come at the expense and decline of Aeschylus'. Because of the theatre's appropriation and rewriting of the Classical Greek plays, many of the "performance oriented" rewrites of the twentieth century reflect issues and agendas foreign to those of the original play (seen mostly in the adaptations and distant relatives).

There is, therefore, a gradual move away from the use of translations of Aeschylus' plays on the American stage towards using adaptations and translations of translations. Despite this, most rewrites (whether translations or adaptations) exhibit one or more of the following interpretations:



Although sometimes the interpretation qualities have to do with the relationship of the translator with Aeschylus' play, many times it has more to do with the translator/adaptor's relationship with previous rewrites and his/her own agenda and purpose for rewriting the text. It is not uncommon in the revival of older plays for directors to use the play to address current issues rather than those native to the work. However, it is less common for the text to be altered in the original play to meet the director's concept. Only in the rewrites of the Classical Greek tragedies is this practice prolific.

Not all alterations in Aeschylus' plays are for specific director's concepts even though this certainly is the case in director translated rewrites such as Peter Meinick's *Agamemnon*. Aeschylus' plays offer ample opportunity for the creative juices of modern

poets. These plays frequently act as starting points for the playwright/adaptor's own personal vision and poetic style. An examination of the adaptations reveals that the single most preserved features are the use of Aeschylus' name in the title, the original title of the play (at least present as a subtitle if a new title is created), and the characters of the original play.

Another contributor to this shift towards performance considerations in translating Aeschylus is due, as Hardwick observed, to an emphasis on the non-verbal aspects of the plays (or those qualities that distract the audience from the play proper). Productions which emphasize translating the text (Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*) are observably different from those that stress translating the myth (i.e., the house of Atreus). The latter emphasis often alters Aeschylus' plays to make them more compatible with the practices of the modern stage in America (or with the director's concept and vision). Much of the critical studies on the modern production of the Greek plays focus on this last type of interpretation. In many respects, these productions speak more to the American psyche and the American relationship with the cult of the "ancient" in performance (the celebrity and prestige that frequently surrounds the rewriting and production of Classical works) than to their relationship with the actual plays of Aeschylus. The phrase "translation is adaptation" dominates how the American director and producer make decisions for the stage-production of Aeschylus' plays.

The main goal of this chapter is to analyze the trends in translating Aeschylus' tragedies into English during the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, and how these trends effected publications and productions. Are there any major differences (other than those caused by changes in language usage) between *Agamemnon*

translated in the 1920s and *Agamemnon* translated in the 1970s? Are there any differences between translations created by non-American English speakers and by American speakers? Do the language and cultural differences between time periods, artistic movements, and nationality significantly affect the translation and production process? With over three hundred translations and adaptations of Aeschylus' plays already in print, why do scholars, poets, and theatre artists continue to rewrite Aeschylus' plays?

Walton states that "A shelf-life of twenty years may be a bonus for the stage translator. When it comes to a new production, few existing translations of classical plays remain unchallenged in a theatre thirstier for originality than for the original" (191). Although Walton's statement emphasizes America's love of novelty, a comparison of translation publication dates and subsequent stage productions show that many rewrites are produced long after their twenty year "shelf-life." Despite a prevalence in the American theatre for new translations, older translations maintain a presence. The syllabi of many college professors in humanities and the performing arts indicate the longevity of many of these translations: Richmond Lattimore's 1953 translation of *The Oresteia* (a text which is over fifty years old) is still frequently used.

Translations of Aeschylus' plays, on the one hand, are intended to act as a tool for non-Greek reading Americans to access the plays. On the other hand, they are also creative literary works that rewrite the non-Greek reader's understanding and reception of these plays. They serve the reader more than the original author (although many translators claim their goal to be to serve both equally). Because of this, many translations have a considerable shelf-life—more so than the adaptations of Aeschylus'

plays (which are often created for specific stage productions and artistic movements). A closer look on the dominant trends in rewriting Aeschylus' plays into English will explain why and how translation theories for dramatic texts connect with the practice of translating Aeschylus' tragedies.

Existing studies on the topic are inconclusive and do not adequately explain how and why Greek plays are appropriated and re-packaged for performance for American audiences through translation and/or adaptation. Helene Foley's, *Agamemnon in Performance*, examines the stage history of *Agamemnon* in the United States, but focuses on what Foley terms, "adaptation or radical remaking." Walton's *Found in Translation* primarily analyzes translations without connecting translations and translation theories to performance. Indeed, Walton's work denies the credibility of "adaptation or radical remaking" while Foley's work embraces such rewrites as being critical to understanding the "US-reception of *Agamemnon*." The inadequacy of relying solely on just two dominant translation theories (that which states that the author is sacred and that which claims that interpretation is always variable) is obvious for a better understanding of the stage-history of Aeschylus' plays in the United States.

As Rushworth Kennard Davis states in his *Agamemnon*, "Aeschylus, however, has a broad enough back to carry many translators, and his meaning will not soon be exhausted by the multitude of those who try to reproduce it" (v). A close examination of the rewriting trends of Aeschylus' plays reveals that few of the rewriters strive to achieve the same goal. The diversity of re-writes reflects the diversity of translator intentions, and frequently these intentions are not those of Aeschylus. In practice, as opposed to theory, terms such as "translation" have lost much of their meaning in the rewriting of

Aeschylus' plays because of a growing emphasis on "relevancy" and "connection" in the translation of dramatic works. The emphasis of the role of the director and production in rewriting Aeschylus' plays has significantly reduced the fidelity and respect reserved for the original playwright, resulting in a plethora of adaptations and distant relatives.

However, translations, and especially those that have considered performability, have always held a strong position on the academic stage. In spite of this, few translations created primarily for scholarly study (or page readings) have remained unaltered in the production process.

There are, roughly, 338 published rewrites of Aeschylus' tragedies into English (from 1900 to 2009) by approximately 164 writers (chart 2). Of those 338, *Agamemnon* has ninety-six rewrites; *Choephoroi*, sixty-two rewrites; *Eumenides*, sixty-three rewrites; *Prometheus Bound*, fifty-nine rewrites; *Persians*, twenty rewrites; *Suppliants*, twenty rewrites; and *Seven Against Thebes*, eighteen rewrites. However, when these numbers are compared to Hartigan's eighteen recorded commercial productions of Aeschylus' plays in the United States between 1882 and 1994, there is a large disparity between the number of published and produced rewrites. A large portion of these works are described by their "authors" (translators/adaptors) as being "acting" versions intended for performance.

An examination of the university stage in America reveals that many of these "acting" versions were produced but did not receive the equal exposure and critical examination of the non-academic, commercial productions. At the same time, many new rewrites are produced on the academic stage without publication. This is less true of new works produced on the commercial stage. One possible reason for this was articulated by

Mary-Kay Gamel, Professor of Literature at the University of California-Santa Cruz.

Gamel translated Aeschylus' *Furies* (1992) and *Prometheus Bound* (1998) for production at UC-Santa Cruz and, in an explanation of the large number of unpublished rewrites of Aeschylus' plays produced on the academic stage, stated that,

publishers believe--perhaps rightly--that there is little market for versions, whereas there is very much a market for translations (used in classrooms). The only versions of ancient Mediterranean drama which get published are those which have had professional productions, such as Charles Mee's, Ellen McLaughlin's, Tony Harrison's, etc.

There is certainly a bias in the United States towards productions and rewrites of the Commercial stage. The only studies that have focused on those of the academic stage, Plugge and Hains, are from the 1930s.

Oxford's *APGRD* database records roughly 100 productions at the university level of plays based on Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* alone. However, the actual number is closer to 228, as the research for this dissertation reveals. There is a strong link between university productions and translation/adaptations because the majority of translators are, or were, university professors, and many of them do not have connections with the commercial theatre. Although there are many translations used in academic productions, those translations with repeated productions nearly always have had a high-profile commercial production (especially in the United Kingdom).

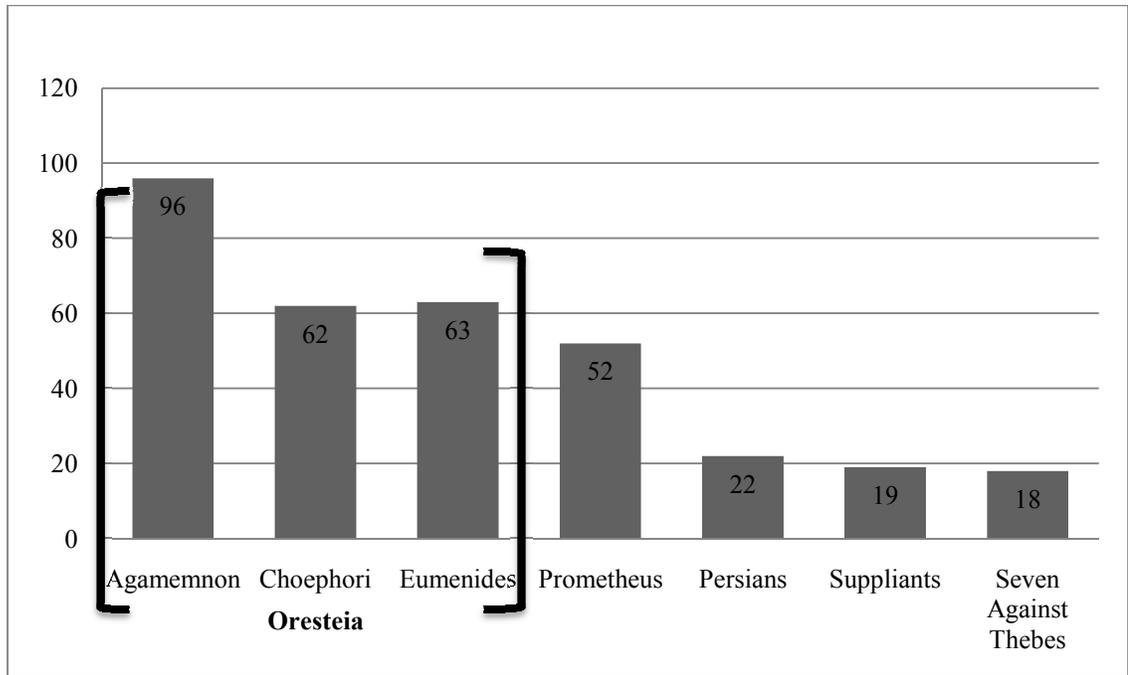


Chart 2. Translations and Adaptations of Aeschylus' Tragedies in English

There are, from 1900 to 2009, approximately sixty-seven translations and twenty-nine adaptations, versions, and/or distant relatives of *Agamemnon* in English print. The total number of translations of Aeschylus' tragedies compose approximately two to three times the number of adaptations, self-proclaimed versions, and/or distant relatives (chart 3). Those plays which are the least produced (*Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Seven Against Thebes*) have the least number of radical remakes in play format (there are almost no adaptations of these plays), demonstrating that there is a direct relationship between production and the proliferation of adaptation. These numbers do not reflect poems and stories not composed as dramas.

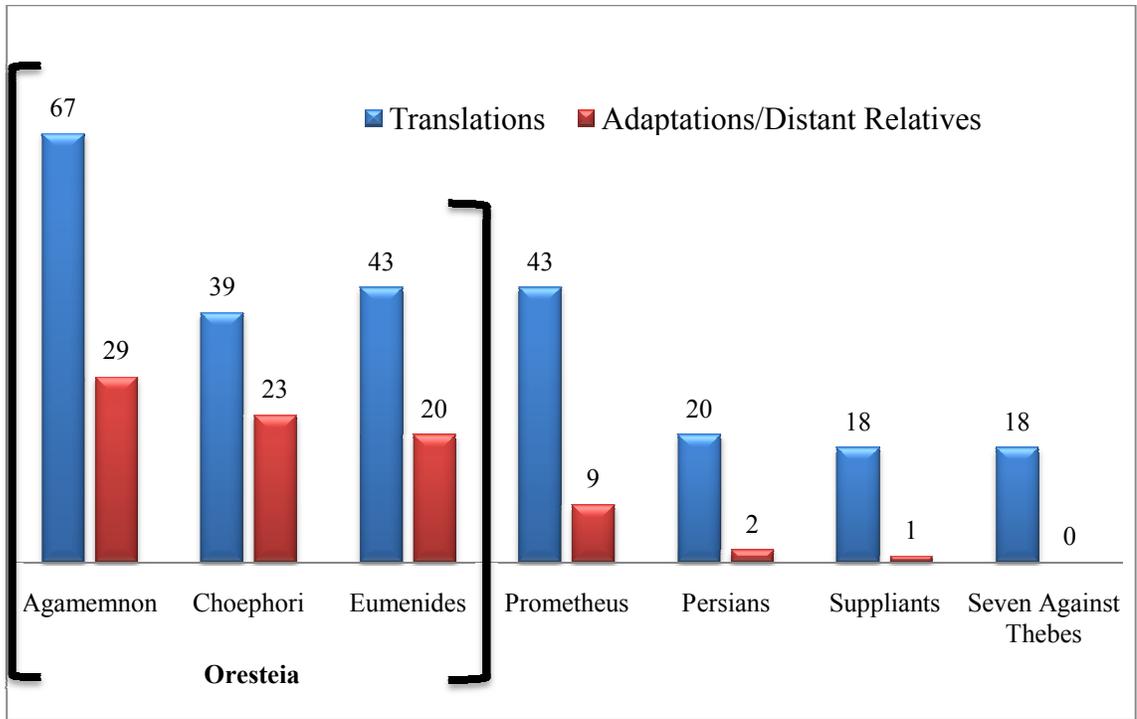


Chart 3. Translations vs. Adaptations/Distant Relatives

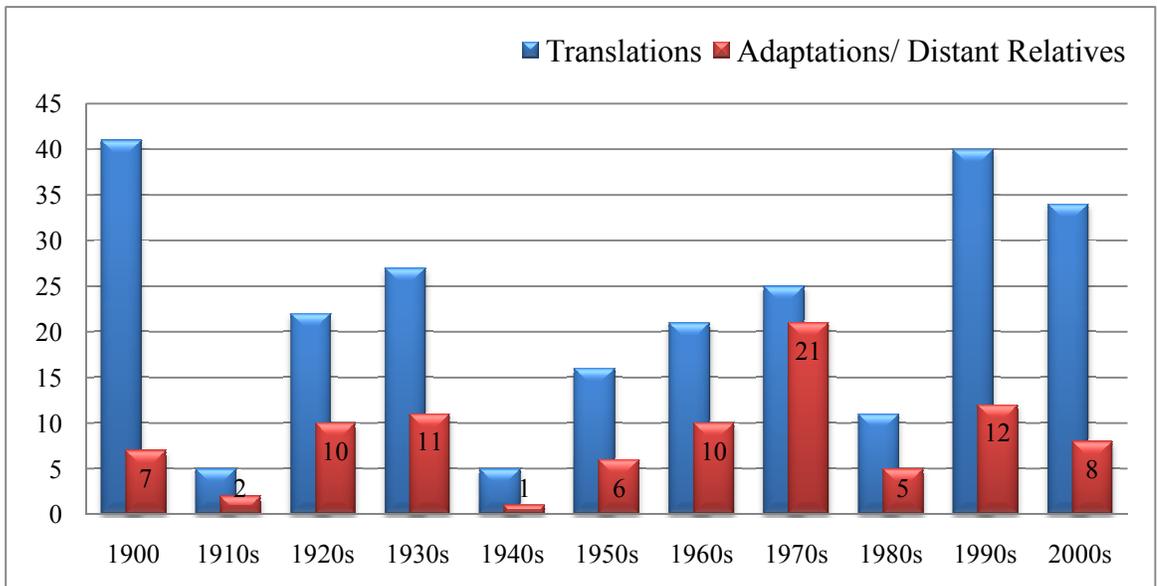


Chart 4. Chronological List of Aeschylus' Rewrites

In many instances, as discussed in chapter 2, these least produced/adapted plays are primarily interpreted as literary works, not as performance scripts. However, as chart 4 reveals, the number of published adaptations follows the pattern of the published translations. For instance, the period that covers the two World Wars (1914-1940) produced very few translations or adaptations (5:2 and 5:1). Simply relying on the publication's self definition of the work as a translation, version, or adaptation is not enough to describe the nature or function of a specific rewrite. Many adaptations are described by their publishers as translations although they are adaptations of translations, where the adaptor does not read Greek. Such is the case of Ted Hughes' *Oresteia* (1999). This is often because the categories of "translation" and "adaptation" are too broadly defined to clearly signal the nature of the rewrite. These terms, when used for performance scripts, do not adequately inform the reader of nature or purpose of the performance text.

Antiquating Aeschylus: Victoriana

One of the first observable characteristics of Aeschylus rewrites in the early twentieth century is the use of a highly poetic rather than colloquial language. In many ways, this mode of encountering the texts is a remnant of nineteenth-century translation practices and education. This older-fashioned quality, or what Nicholas Rudall terms "Victoriana" in his introduction to Wendy O'Flaherty and David Grene's *Oresteia* (17), is almost archaic and harks back to the English used by the great British poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This "thee/thou" quality is found in the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and in the *King James Bible*. Although it exists in the

rewrites of Sophocles and Euripides, it is especially pertinent to the plays of Aeschylus because of the very nature of Aeschylus’ language (as observed by Aristophanes’ debate in *The Frogs*). This practice (chart 5), particularly popular in the late nineteenth century, is prevalent at the turn of the twentieth century but almost completely disappears by 1940 (with isolated instances reaching into the mid-twentieth century). Indeed, there are no English language translations of Aeschylus’ plays in the 1910s that do not demonstrate this quality of speech and only in the 1930s are they replaced by an alternative approach demonstrated by Edith Hamilton’s rewrites. Approximately twenty percent of plays based on *Agamemnon* from 1900 to 2009 utilize this technique, and more than sixty percent of all of these plays published from 1900 to 1940. All of the *Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Seven Against Thebes* rewrites from 1900 to 1940 fall into this category, as do the majority of *Prometheus Bounds*.

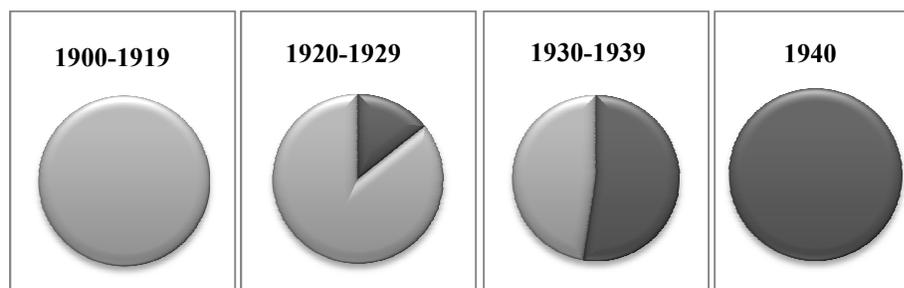


Chart 5. Graphs Shows the Progression of Aeschylus’ Plays in English from the “Archaic” Mode (light grey) to “Modern” (dark grey)

One reason for the dominance of this method is that the majority of these publications are by British professors representing more the spirit of the nineteenth century than that of the twentieth. The majority of these rewrites are from authors who were educated in the United Kingdom. Very few American translators of the twentieth

century subscribed to this style of writing. For the most part, American translators translated Aeschylus' plays into a their contemporary English, such as Edith Hamilton's *Agamemnon*, or completely created a new work that made allusion to that of Aeschylus' for the stage, as seen in Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra*. There is also a move by several of the more prominent of these translators, such as Lewis Campbell and Gilbert Murray, to explore the relationship between the Ancient Greek plays and the works of British poets such as Shakespeare and Milton. They bolster the British poetic drama tradition by its relationship to the Classical Greek texts and, as demonstrated below by Edwyn Bevan, create an equivalency between Aeschylus' use of the Greek language and the Elizabethan and Jacobean poets' use of English.

This evocation of England's "great age of poetic drama" is demonstrated in the opening lines of Kratos in Edwyn Robert Bevan's *Prometheus Bound*.

On the uttermost of earth at last we stand,
the Scythians' range, inhuman solitude;
And thou, Hephaistos, needs must go about
The Father's high commission, to make fast
This knave to the stupendous precipices
In adamantine everlasting bands. (line 1-10)

This translation does not seek to translate the ancient play into a contemporary English, but into a form familiar to the "educated Englishman" of the early twentieth century.

According to Bevan,

The effect of a foreign original can only be given by a style which suggests that which most nearly corresponds to it in our own literature. Now we have in English literature, as well as in Greek, a great age of poetic drama, the time of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, and the best of this drama is by theory part of the furniture of every educated Englishman's mind. Its vocabulary, characteristic phrases, turns of expression, come to him charged with the association of poetic drama. Here, then, we have a model to guide us, a language to draw upon, in translating the plays of the Greeks. (viii)

Similarly, in the introduction to his 1911 translation *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, Arthur Platt supports his interpretation by referring to the linguistic style of the English Bible (*King James Version*). According to Platt,

“I looked about for a medium in which to work, and decided that the only possible medium for me was the language of the English Bible. The comparison of Aeschylus to the Hebrew prophets is indeed so trite that it may be deemed a common place; if the language of the translators of the Bible is acknowledged worthy to mirror the sublimity of Isaiah and Ezekiel, it can hardly be inadequate for reflecting the only Greek poet who is continually reminding us of them” (5)

Platt’s connection between the translation of the Hebrew prophets in the English Bible and Aeschylus is especially evident in his translation of the Greek chorus of *Agamemnon*.

So did he cloak his transgression with the cloak of
Necessity,
Whereby he turned his heart to ruthlessness,
Breathing from his soul the blast of iniquity,
The abomination of unholiness,
For frenzy of heart is the beginning of wickedness
And madness emboldens men to deeds of shame--
Howbeit he hardened his heart to become the slayer
of his child,
To redeem by her blood the faithless wife,
To baptize his ships before the day of battle. (lines 217-226)

However, in the late twentieth century, no translator prefaces mention an attempt to correlate their translations with biblical poetry.

Despite different interpretations of the Greek text, such as rhyming verse, blank verse, or prose, all of the rewrites in this category attempt to represent Aeschylus’ plays by evoking an older, loftier English than the one spoken at the time of their publication. This is what translator Raymond Postgate described in *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* as “the archaistic language traditionally considered necessary” (21). Translators of this type include, George Warr, Arnold Graves, Edward Harman, Edward Thring, Lewis Campbell, William W. Goodwin, G. M. Cookson, William Rodger Paton, Arthur S. Way,

C. E. S. Headlam (working with Walter Headlam's text), Arthur Platt, Rushworth Kennard Davis, Gilbert Murray, Locke Ellis, Marion Clyde Wier, R. C. Trevelyan, Cyril Edward Robinson, Charles H. Hitchcock, Sir Henry Sharp, John Cuthbert Lawson, the Earl and Countess of Longford, and T. G. Tucker. Although extremely popular a representation through the 1930s, it has not frequently been revived. Eduard Fraenkel's 1950 *Aeschylus/ Agamemnon* is one of the few exceptions. But even Fraenkel regards his translation as poor, and he focuses the reader on the merits of his Greek edition and commentary.

Howard Rubenstein and Raymond Postgate both argue against this form of "Victoriana" in translating Aeschylus. According to Postgate's *Oresteia*, "such curious infelicities do not provide the real objection to archaism, which is that the meaning, obscure enough to begin with, has been made obscurer" (21). Several of these translations are quite difficult to understand. Compare the following passages from the opening lines of *Agamemnon* for meaning. George Warr's *Agamemnon* (1900) is particularly obscure, the watchman's speech reading, "A livelong loathly year I have prayed Heaven / To end me this dog's watch, while here abed / With Atreus' hoary housetop cuddling cold, / From rise to set I have perused you stars" (1). Such a translation would never function on the stage because it requires multiple readings to obtain the meaning. Similarly, Edward Thring's *Agamemnon* (1904) is equally antiquated in its language, although slightly easier to understand. The same speech in Thring's translation reads,

A BOON, ye gods! Discharge from this hard service,
This sentry work which drags the long year through,
When couched upon the Atridae palace roof
On elbow bent, watching, as 'twere a dog,

I mark the stars in nightly conclave meet. (1)

Thring's translation does not require multiple readings for clarity, but his use of "boon," "couched," and "nightly conclave" are descriptors only familiar to the more educated of readers. In a very real way, these works bolstered the British literary style and the "great" age of British poetry by creating an "equivalence" between the British and Athenian empires. In an attempt to find an equivalent for Aeschylus in the literature of their own nation, these British translators domesticate and appropriate the Greek tragedies and the "authority" of the classical canon.

Howard Rubenstein also argued against the above method of translating the Classical Greek plays. According to Rubenstein's introduction of *Agamemnon*,

In sum, the use of archaic words had the opposite effect of what was intended. Greek literature was even further removed from the world of ordinary people and was relegated to near oblivion on scholars' shelves...to translate classical Greek faithfully, the translator must translate with the living words of a living language. (3)

Rubenstein's argument echoes that of Aristophanes' "Euripides" in *The Frogs*. In this play, Aeschylus' tragedies were charged with being too chorus heavy, "the chorus then would utter four huge concatenations of verse. The characters just sat there mum" (59). They were also said to be too compact in speech, "massive construction, huge words and mountainous phrases" (68), and too lofty in style, "you ought to make people talk like people (68)." Although, in the end Aristophanes "Dionysos" awards "Aeschylus" with the honor of being the most useful poet for Athens because of his "good sense and integrity," there is a very real criticism of his repetitiveness and archaic, compact style found in this comedy (90). Rewrites that adhere to this "Victoriana," antiquating model nationalize Aeschylus according to British literary standards. Do later "modern" interpretations remove the lofty "Aeschylean" style for which Aristophanes' so comically

chastises Aeschylus in *The Frogs*, or do they bring back a simplicity that Aristophanes overlooked in his comic exaggerations?

Although the majority of the “Victoriana” type rewrites are labeled as “translations” (treating Aeschylus’ as the author), not all are classified as such. Gilbert Murray’s translations have been criticized by subsequent translators for the dominance of Murray’s own style, especially in his use of rhyming couplets, rather than that of Aeschylus. T. S. Eliot’s “The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism” says of Murray that “As a poet, Mr. Murray is merely a very insignificant follower of the pre-Raphaelite movement. As a Hellenist, he is very much of the present day, and a very important figure in the day.” In his review of Murray’s translation of Euripides’ *Medea*, Eliot criticizes Murray’s obtuse poetic style. Eliot claims that “Professor Murray has simply interposed between Euripides and ourselves a barrier more impenetrable than the Greek language.” Several translations of this “Victoriana” type label themselves “versions,” while others, such as Arnold Graves’ *Clytemnestra: a Tragedy*, reconfigure Aeschylus’ plot entirely. But, for the most part, these rewrites maintain a close relationship to Aeschylus’ plays and demonstrate, through their archaic or academic style, a distancing from the English language of their day.

The Irish Louis MacNeice’s *Agamemnon* (1936) and the American Edith Hamilton’s *Agamemnon* (1937) mark an end to the dominance of this older, “academic” style. Both of these rewrites, although maintaining the strong poetic tradition found in the rewrites of Aeschylus, translate the text into modern English. The next two excerpts compare MacNeice and Hamilton’s translations. The passages represent Agamemnon’s entry into the city and his argument with Clytemnestra about walking upon the tapestry

prepared by Clytemnestra. MacNeice's *Agamemnon* reveals the conversational quality of his lines, as compared to those of previous translations,

AGAM. It is not a woman's part to love disputing.
CLYT. But it is a conqueror's part to yield upon occasion.
AGAM. You think such victory worth fighting for?
CLYT. Give way. Consent to let me have the mastery. (line 940-944)

Hamilton's *Agamemnon*, much more "common" when compared to earlier translations, reveals, like MacNeice's translation, a strong poetic sense,

AGAM. A woman--and so eager for a fight!
CLYT. To yield would well become a happy victor.
AGAM. You too would be a victor? Over me?
CLYT. Yes. Yield to me--but of your own free will. (line 940-944)

Both rewrites render Aeschylus' text line by line in modern English. However, unlike these two translations, most of the modern English rewrites from 1900 to 1940 are adaptations, versions, and distant relatives. A large portion of these rewrites are from authors such as T. S. Eliot, Eugene O'Neill, Henry B. Lister, Robert Turney, and Robinson Jeffers who were either born or educated in the United States. In 1924, Henry Thomas Schnittkind translated *Agamemnon* into a prose formatted "familiar English" from the Greek (found on the title page). In his "Introduction to the translation," Schnittkind admits to translating for clarity rather than faithfulness, here and there paraphrasing passages. However, much of this text represents a certain "realism" preferred by Schnittkind as being more believable than previous poetic conventions.

According to Schnittkind,

I have tried, in my translation, to render the Greek into poetical, and yet familiar English. When a Greek sentinel, or a Roman or a French or an American sentinel, is sick of his service, he doesn't say, "Oh that the gods above would terminate my labors!" He says: "To hell with the job! I wish I could go home!" And I suspect that even a queen, when tormented with a toothache would never exclaim: "Alas, alas, the gods have laid their heavy hand upon my royal mouth!" She would merely cry, "Ouch!" (4)

Although not in verse format like the MacNeiece and Hamilton translations, Schnittkind breaks away from the translation trend of antiquating the English text. However, translating in the modern language of “modern verse” did not truly take hold in English rewrites until the 1930s, and it was not the dominant trend until the 1950s.

Meter and Rhyme: Translating With a Strong “Poetic Stamp”

Just as the early twentieth century English rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays were dominated by the use of a “Victoriana” poetical English, an equally imposing metrical and rhythmic form was imposed in the latter half of the twentieth century. As with the “Victoriana” method, this poetic type used rhythm and meter to reflect the English-language author’s own vision and interpretation of Aeschylus, rather than Aeschylus’ own meter and style. Each of these rewrites, whether published as translation, version, or adaptation, takes significant liberties with the tone of the original Greek play. The following three excerpts are from an adaptation, version, and translation of *Agamemnon*. Steven Berkoff’s 1977 adaptation significantly reduces the role of the chorus and, therefore, does not contain strophe 5 from the chorus’ opening ode. Berkoff’s published text dictates the rhythm for which the lines are to be both read and spoken (the page “reading” dictates the stage “reading”). The following lines are from the opening scene of *Agamemnon*, the watchman’s speech,

WATCHMAN. I watch night after night/ skin my eyes/
scan the skies/ look for a sign/ watchman watching/
stay alert/ the queen dem/ and/ the first to see that
fires leaping/ will tell her/ Troy is taken/ that sign's
a code for victory/ a beacon's flare from isle to
isle/ some hope/ I long to go/ like me are other
watchers on those isles/ staring into space or are
they mad from boredom. (line 1-10)

In his “Introduction” to his *Oresteia*, Rehm compares the two dominant modes of translation: “a literalist approach,” one that translates the original play word by word, line for line, and a “free translation,” one that translates the general sense of the whole rather than focusing on minute linguistic transferences. Rehm prefers the latter for performance texts but concludes that “both these approaches to the text seem to lead away from Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*” (1). The first form strives for textual accuracy and neglects the spirit while the latter appears “arbitrary” and “too far behind” the original (2). According to Rehm “the other possibility is to adapt the text freely, giving it a modern idiom and context in which his readers can easily recognize themselves” (1). By focusing only on “the germ” (or the heart) of the original play, abandoning the rest, the adaptor is able to use Aeschylus’ play as “a springboard for a new work with a language and life of its own” (1). Each of these rewrites distances itself from the original in varying degrees and ways and for various reasons. With the exception of Berkoff, who completely recreates Aeschylus, all of these rewrites alter Aeschylus’ language and tone in an attempt to communicate elements of the play neglected by more “literal” rewrites.

Janet Lembke’s 1975 translation of *Suppliants* equally demonstrates a strong poetic style not found in Aeschylus’ original. Self-described as “a sometimes radical reappropriation of *Suppliants*’ one surviving element, the Greek text,” Lembke’s translation prioritizes “accuracy of feeling” and speakability over “literary accuracy” (v). This does not imply that her text is inaccurate in its interpretation (although not to be considered a literary or extremely close version), but that Lembke’s personal “stamp” is strongly reflected in the translation. It is important to note that, although these works reflect the translator’s style, in some instances, such as Lembke, that style is used with

you've got to do.
On these overhanging cliffs
with your own shatter-proof irons
you're commanded:
Clamp this troublemaking bastard to the rock. (line 1-10)

Power's opening lines in Mueller's *Prometheus Bound*, reflect a stronger manipulation of Aeschylus' poetic format,

POWER:
This is it.
Skythia.
Wasteland.
The world's edge.
No man sets foot here.
You!
Hephaistos!
Get busy!
You know what to do.
You have orders.
Straight from the Father.
Get on with it!
Spike this bastard to the crags. (line 1-10)

Herington/Scully and Mueller's rewrites have a grittiness to them that is best seen when compared with Gilbert Murray's *Prometheus*. Murray's translations, like the above listed rewrites, also impose the translator's own poetic style upon the Classical Greek play. The difference between these works is that Murray's style is more antiquated than the later rewrites. From a parallel passage by Murray,

KRATOS.
Here at the furthest verge of earth we stand,
The Scythian pale, a lone and ghastly land.
Hephaistos! Now bething thee of the charge
Our Father on thee laid: against the marge
Of this sky-piercing precipice to bind,
In gyves of adamant and bondage blind,
This wrecker of the law... (line 1-10)

As Walton suggests in *Found in Translation*, many translations in verse can, with some simple editing, be read as prose without adding, deleting, or rearranging a single word.

The same is true for prose works that were edited to appear in verse form. In other words, for most verse translations, a removal of the poetic spaces and indentations (elements that often naturally disappear in the spoken production) reveals that there is very little difference between a prose and verse translation. However, this is not true of rewrites like Murray, that contain rhyming verse, or Mueller, whose poetic style dominates his sentence structure with his short, condensed lines. Murray is the only translator to practice this rhyming verse method, and he received strong criticism for it. Harrison's *Oresteia* contains sections of strong rhyme, but not consistently in the manner of Murray's rewrites. For these rewrites, rhythm, meter, line length, and word choice are extremely important elements that do not disappear in the spoken presentation of the play.

In his "Note on the Translation," Mueller examines the importance of literary translations (especially those that are printed parallel to the Greek), but concludes that an attempt to translate "'accuracy' has destroyed the poetry" of many of the Classical Greek plays (116). According to Mueller,

On the stage, rhythm is every bit as important as what is being said—at times even more important...What to do with that rebellious word or phrase? Cut it if it adds nothing of importance. And if it is important, and can't be cut, then write a new sentence that gets it all in, just be certain that it has grace and style and wit, or horror if that's what's needed, and serves the moment in the best and most theatrical way possible. (117)

Janet Lembke's 1975 *Suppliants* and 1981 *Persians* (translated with John Herington) demonstrate through their strong poetic style and distancing from modern English a type of "antiquating" of the text different from the earlier "Victoriana." Lembke's style refrains from using the "thee/thou" language found in many early British rewrites. However, unlike the previous practice of invoking ancientness through the

language of the rewrite, Lembke and Herington's rewrite feels ritualized and archaic. This is especially true of Tony Harrison's 1981 *Oresteia*, which follows a similar form and is the "epitome" and model in the twentieth century of this practice. Nowhere else is this archaic atmosphere evoked so strongly as in Harrison's translation. D. W. Myatt's 1993 *Agamemnon* claims to possess a "pagan vigor," but its poetic language, and self-imposed "authorial stamp" pales in comparison to Lembke or Harrison's.

Meter and Rhyme: Translating With Prose

Prose translation is almost in direct opposition to the strong verse translation of poets such as Lembke, Harrison, and Mueller who place a strong emphasis on the "rhythm" of the performed play. The practice of translating Aeschylus' works into prose composes approximately sixteen percent of all rewrites between 1900 and 2009. At first, translating into prose appears to be a practice that emphasizes the accuracy of the word transference from the original Greek to English over the emotional impact of Aeschylus' verse and the rhythm of the speech. However, this is not always true. Metaphor is just as easily translated into prose as verse. On the other hand, translators such as Mueller contend that only verse translations create a rhythm appropriate to that of Classical Greek tragedy.

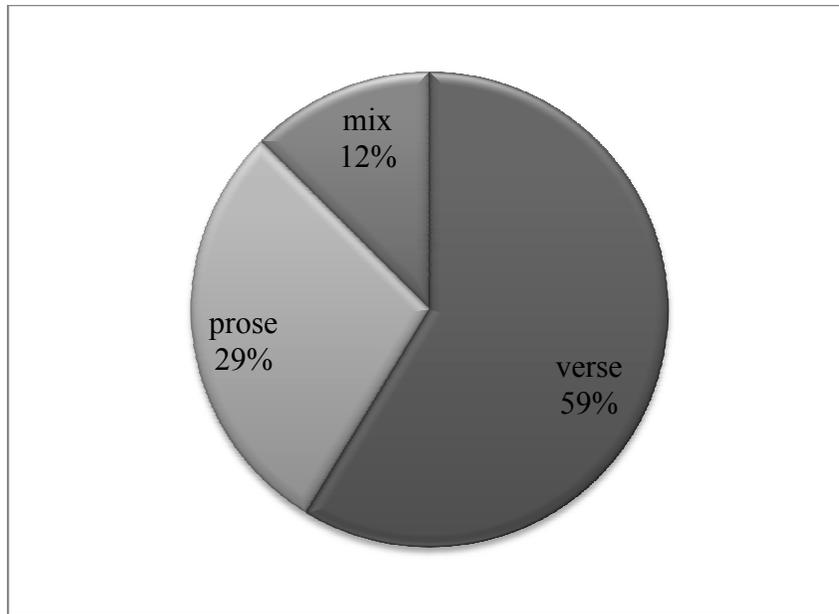


Chart 6. Format of Aeschylus' Tragedies (1900 to 2009)

Prose rewrites, according to Mueller, serve the study of the text by readers who only know some or no Greek. However, Mueller stresses that prose rewrites do not serve the spirit of Aeschylus' play (i.e., the emotion behind his verse). This contrast between prose and verse is echoed in the "Prefatory Notes" of Walter Headlam's 1905 prose translation *The Choephoroe*. Headlam states that,

No prose, however well it might be used, could ever represent such verse aesthetically; only verse can do that...Prose has a proper function of its own, a separate and different one—to show how the Greek is to be construed." (v)

To reiterate, according to such translators, prose serves the text, but verse serves the spirit of that text. A survey of adaptations, versions, and distant relatives supports this claim, most of which are intended for performance. There are twice as many performance-oriented rewrites in verse than in prose. Those performance-oriented rewrites not in

verse are, for the most part, distant relatives (e.g., Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra*).

However, Raymond Postgate, in the introduction to his 1969 prose translation of *Agamemnon* states that despite claims that “the grandest poetry ever written” cannot be translated into “the language of English conversation” (a messenger might be translated into prose, but never a choric passage), “a prose translation into our ordinary language may bring out neglected meanings” (19). For, according to Postgate, “prose has its own rhythm, and one which sometimes is not unlike that of the Greek of this play” (19).

Although Postgate is not the first to translate the Greek text into English prose, he is the first to do so in a purely conversational English. He is the only translator to have attempted this without significantly adapting the play. George Theodoridis' *Oresteia* (2005 to 2007) and *Prometheus Bound* (2006) also have a “conversational” tone, but not quite to the degree of Postgate. This is perhaps the result of Theodoridis' attempt to make his texts “an easy read and of an easy access to the actor.”

Two thirds of the translations written in prose exhibit the “Victoriana” style that dominated the first half of the twentieth century. The majority of these rewrites are from British translators. Most prose rewrites in the second half of the century are adaptations or distant relatives. Very few rewrites from this period are translations. With the exception of Tucker's 1935 translation of *Persians*, only the *Oresteia* (or plays in the trilogy) and *Prometheus Bound* are translated into prose from 1924 to 2009. List 1 demonstrates in chronological order the trend in translating Aeschylus into prose,

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1900 | Walter Headlam (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [translation] |
| 1900 | Walter Headlam (<i>Suppliants</i>) [translation] |
| 1903 | Edmund Bouchier (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 1904 | Janet Case (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 1905 | Walter Headlam (<i>Choephoroi</i>) [translation] |
| 1906 | William Goodwin (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [translation] |
| 1908 | Arthur Verrall (<i>Eumenides</i>) [translation] |
| 1908 | T. G. Tucker (<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>) [translation] |
| 1908 | Walter Headlam (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 1908 | Walter Headlam (<i>Eumenides</i>) [translation] |
| 1909 | C. E. S. Headlam (<i>Persians</i>) (<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>) [translation] |
| 1922 | Herbert Weir Smyth (<i>The Complete Plays</i>) [translation] |
| 1924 | Charles Hitchcock (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 1931 | Eugene O'Neill (<i>Oresteia</i>) [new work] |
| 1935 | T. G. Tucker (<i>Agamemnon</i>), (<i>Persians</i>), and (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 1936 | Robert Turney (<i>Oresteia</i>) [new work] |
| 1938 | George Derwent Thomson [with Walter Headlam's translation] (<i>Oresteia</i>) |
| 1939 | T. S. Eliot (<i>Eumenides</i>) [new work] |
| 1950 | Eduard Fraenkel (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [translation] |
| 1960 | Jack Richardson (<i>Oresteia</i>) [new work] |
| 1969 | Raymond Postgate (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [translation] |
| 1969 | Robert Lowell (<i>Prometheus</i>) [adaptation] |
| 1970 | David Rabe (<i>Oresteia</i>) [new work] |
| 1978 | Athol Fugard (<i>Oresteia</i>) [new work] |
| 1978 | Ruth and Harold Birnbaum (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 1979 | Israel Horovitz (<i>Oresteia</i>) [new work] |
| 1997 | William Whallon (<i>Oresteia</i>) [adaptation] |
| 2005 | George Theodoridis (<i>Agamemnon</i>), (<i>Choephoroi</i>) [translation] |
| 2006 | George Theodoridis (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation] |
| 2007 | George Theodoridis (<i>Eumenides</i>) [translation] |

List 1. Prose Translations of Aeschylus' Plays

Meter and Rhyme: Translating With a Mixture of Prose and Verse

Only eight percent of Aeschylus' plays are translated into a mix of prose and verse. For the most part, these rewrites use prose for the character speeches and verse for the choral segments. Both Edith Hall's 1996 *Persians* and Christopher Collard's 2008 *Persians* follow this practice. Neither maintains a strong, dominating verse form like those of Mueller or Harrison's rewrites. Both Hall and Collard's rewrites could, in

performance, easily be spoken as prose. The following passage is of the chorus' opening lines in Hall's *Persians*,

We are called 'The Faithful' of the Persians
who have gone to the land of Greece,
and we are guardians
of the sumptuous palace, rich in gold. (line 1-5)

The same passage in Collard's *Persians*, reads,

We here, from Persians who are gone
to the land of Greece, are called 'the faithful,'
and guardians of the palace with its great wealth
in gold... (line 1-5)

Both rewrites attempt to reproduce the variations found in Aeschylus' original text through a blending of verse and prose. According to Collard's "Translator's Notes" in his translation of *Oresteia*, Aeschylus' language "is flexible and daring, sometimes clear and easy, especially in speech, sometimes complex, dense, and full of suggestive imagery" in *Persians* (lxiv). Collard attempts, through his use of a mixed verse/prose format, "to reflect the general tone and flow of the language, in particular the broad variations in diction and style which follow from the alternation between speech and lyric" (lxv). Hall's translation includes a detailed commentary and metrical appendix which lists the rhythmic variations in Aeschylus' play. In this manner, she points the reader away from the form and style of her own translation towards that of Aeschylus' original play. Like Hall, most prose and mixed-form texts are published parallel with the Classical Greek play text. Many of these publications include a commentary that emphasizes scholarship and textual accuracy in the rewrite. Translations, versions, and adaptations with an imposed rhythm and verse structure tend to focus more on the spirit of the text and what Walton's *Found in Translation* calls, the "translator's stamp" (182). List 2 shows published rewrites of Aeschylus' plays that combine both prose and verse.

1900	Warr, George C. W. (<i>Oresteia</i>) [translation]
1911	Arthur Platt (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [translation]
1920	Edward Harman (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation]
1927	Charles Hitchcock (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [translation]
1931	Charles Hitchcock (<i>Eumenides</i>) [translation]
1932	Charles Hitchcock (<i>Choephoroi</i>) [translation]
1942	David Grene (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation]
1950	Paul Elmer More (<i>Prometheus</i>) [translation]
1965	George Derwent Thomson (<i>Oresteia</i>) [translation]
1982	George Ryga (<i>Prometheus</i>) [adaptation]
1993	Robert Auletta (<i>Persians</i>) [version]
1994	Charles Mee (<i>Suppliants</i>) [adaptation]
1994	Charles Mee (<i>Agamemnon</i>) [adaptation]
1996	Edith Hall (<i>Persians</i>) [translation]
2002	Christopher Collard (<i>Oresteia</i>) [translation]
2008	Christopher Collard (<i>Persians, Suppliants, Prometheus, and Seven</i>) [transl.]

List 2. Rewrites of Aeschylus' Plays That Include Both Prose and Verse Sections

Chart 7 illustrates the percentages of each of Aeschylus' plays in prose, verse, and mixed forms. Those plays produced the most on the American stage (*Oresteia* and *Prometheus*) have the highest percentage of prose interpretations. The play least produced, *Seven Against Thebes*, has the greatest percent of verse translations. However, these numbers aren't entirely due to the rewriters' perceptions of the performability of each play, there are also internal textual reasons within the plays for their rendering them into prose, verse, or a mixture of prose and verse.

	PROSE	VERSE	MIX
Oresteia:	21%	71%	8%
Agamemnon	16%	77%	7%
Choephoroi	22%	71%	7%
Eumenides	26%	67%	7%
Prometheus Bound	22%	69%	9%
Seven Against Thebes	11%	83%	6%
Suppliants	10%	79%	11%
Persians	15%	70%	15%

Chart 7. Percentage of Prose, Verse, and Mixed (Prose and Verse) Formats of Rewrites of Aeschylus' Plays

Performance Rewrites: Adapting the Myth, Not Translating the Tragedy

As mentioned above, many of the American published rewrites in the early twentieth century were adaptations written into modern English. One of the first of the twentieth century works to adapt an Aeschylus' play in the modern voice is Henry Lister's 1923 *Clytemnestra*. Unlike O'Neill and Eliot, distant relatives that allude to the Classical Greek plays, Lister's rewrite marks the beginning of a trend in adapting the entire house of Atreus myth rather than only the story as told in *Oresteia*. In most examples of this practice, this involves translating and rearranging portions of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*; Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Orestes*, *Electra*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*; and Sophocles' *Electra*. List 3 shows the plays that are derived from the house of Atreus myth and include portions of tragedies not by Aeschylus. Most plays on this list were published in the mid to latter twentieth century.

1903, Arnold F. Graves' <i>Clytemnestra</i> (distant relative)
1923, Henry B. Lister's <i>Clytemnestra</i> (adaptation)
1936, Robert Turney's <i>Daughters of Atreus</i> (distant relative)
1952, Burton Crane's <i>House of Atreus</i> (adaptation)
1960, Jack Richardson's <i>The Prodigal</i> (distant relative)
1970, David Rabe's <i>The Orphan</i> (distant relative)
1977, Steven Berkoff's <i>Agamemnon</i> (adaptation)
1981, John Barton & Kenneth Cavender's <i>The Greeks</i> (adaptation)

List 3. *Agamemnon* Rewrites that Introduce Outside Sources Concerning the House of Atreus Myth

In some instances, such as Richardson's *The Prodigal* and Rabe's *The Orphan*, these rewrites are distant relatives. Many of these plays have arranged portions of the Classical Greek plays in translation or, as with Berkoff's 1977 *Agamemnon*, emphasize the sacrifice of Iphigenia in a way not addressed by Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. These plays

reinforce a psychological justification for Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon by showing the events that motivated this act. In rewrites such as Lister and Turney's, the addition of portions of other tragedies reinforces a stronger sympathy for the female characters and reduces the masculine quality of Aeschylus' original plays.

Arnold F. Graves' five-act *Clytemnestra* adapts and rewrites the myth behind *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi* for the modern stage, removing the chorus and presenting background information through dialogue. The language, in blank verse, hints at the "high brow" but does not go so far as to antiquate and imitate older styles. However, much of the suspense and revelation in the original play is lost. From the beginning Clytemnestra and Aegisthus are seen plotting together, their affair is known from the start by the palace and Clytemnestra's children. Prior to Agamemnon's return, it is planned for Electra to be married to Aegisthus' son and Orestes to go to Troy to fight; both attempts are to remove the children of Agamemnon from the palace. However, Troy falls before either event occurs. The second act begins the story of Agamemnon's return to Argos and Clytemnestra's deception. Graves takes the bare-bones of Aeschylus' play and fills in the moments between the events. He rewrites the story, emphasizing the role of the children and Clytemnestra from the beginning, although he keeps the deaths of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.

Upon Agamemnon's return, Cassandra's prophecies are not necessary to warn the audience of Clytemnestra's treachery, the queen has already revealed her desires from the play's opening. Rather than wondering if Agamemnon or the chorus will heed Cassandra's cries, legend says that they will not because of her curse to prophecy the future but never be believed, the audience must wonder if Electra or Orestes will sound

the alarm. However, Agamemnon is not killed at his homecoming, as in Aeschylus' play, but sits upon his throne playing with his children long before his murder occurs. When Electra attempts to reveal Clytemnestra's betrayal of her husband, Agamemnon and Clytemnestra have her locked away. Orestes is sent to Delphi, essentially removing him from the action of the play. Once the children are gone, Clytemnestra kills Agamemnon and Aegisthus takes the throne. Aeschylus does not include the children in his first tragedy, focusing on adultery, murder, and usurpation of the throne. However, Graves blends the characters and themes of the *Choephoroi* and *Agamemnon* with many new additions not present in the Classical Greek plays. The final act shows Electra mourning her father at his grave and Orestes, disguised, returning to Argos to falsely report his own death to his mother. The play ends with Pylades killing Aegisthus and Orestes killing Clytemnestra. Orestes is proclaimed king of Argos. This final scene is melodramatic and the violence is acted before the audience.

Orestes: Traitor, before I send you down to hell
Look once upon your executioner...
Clytemnestra: Aegisthus! Save him! Cleophon!
Cleophon: Too late. *[Dies.]*
Clytemnestra: *[As she rushes between the combatants.]*
If he must die, then let me die with him.
*[Orestes runs her through the body and
then drops his sword.]*
Aegisthus: Now is my time.
*[He tries to stab Orestes, but Pylades
is too quick for him, and stabs him.
Aegisthus staggers back.]* (119)

There is no retribution against Orestes for the matricide, he was not spurred forward by any god, and there is no trial to weigh Clytemnestra's deeds against those of her son. Orestes is simply made king and all appears to be right in the kingdom. This is not the

story of Orestes for which the *Oresteia* is named, but the story of Clytemnestra. It ends with her death.

Henry Lister's *Clytemnestra* re-examines Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, and Sophocles' *Electra* in light of twentieth century advancements in women's rights. This play focuses on the story of Clytemnestra and the motivations behind her killing of Agamemnon. Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is omitted, removing the judgment against her. The play ends with a re-imagining of Aeschylus' *Electra*. All of the choral portions found in the original tragedies are removed, with the exception of one segment at both the beginning and ending of the play. Although the structure and sequence of action in Aeschylus' plays remain intact in this version, Lister's rewrite is by no means an accurate translation. He deviates from Aeschylus' play and adapts freely. Although some of the speeches are similar to those of the original play, there has been a great amount of rewriting to make Clytemnestra a more sympathetic character to a modern audience. Any objections to the blending of the different tragedians styles and character portrayals into one play are by-passed by the strong antiquating style enlisted by Lister.

Clytemnestra begins with *Iphigenia in Aulis* and portrays a joyful Clytemnestra and Agamemnon delivering their willing daughter, Iphigenia, for sacrifice by Menelaus. Both parents have been tricked into delivering Iphigenia by a false prospect of marriage for their daughter. Act two rewrites *Agamemnon*, and begins with a devoted Clytemnestra, determined to forget her anger over Iphigenia's death and reunite with her husband. In this version, there is no Aegisthus who is only named in the latter part of the play, but he never appears on stage. At his homecoming, Agamemnon is disdainful of

Clytemnestra and dismisses and ignores her. Although the play gives no direct reason for Agamemnon's treatment of his wife in this version, it can be assumed that his new desire for Cassandra has usurped his need for Clytemnestra. Cassandra and Agamemnon enter the stage together and, after a brief moment of gloomy prophesying, they kiss and speak to each other as lovers. Clytemnestra is ignored. The act ends not with Agamemnon's death, as in the original, but with Clytemnestra's sorrow at being replaced by the younger woman. Agamemnon is killed between acts two and three. Act three rewrites *Iphigenia in Tauris* and reunites Iphigenia with Orestes. The scene ends with Orestes' return to Argos to avenge his father's death.

Iphigenia is killed between act three and act four in place of Orestes in a ritualistic sacrifice. In *Electra*, the final act of the play, Orestes arrives in Argos and meets a vengeful Electra who persuades him to kill Aegisthus, usurper of their father's throne. In this version Clytemnestra was always faithful to Agamemnon. Orestes receives a letter from his dead sister, Iphigenia, who implores him to kill their father's murderer. Clytemnestra commits suicide when she hears of the letter. Clytemnestra is redeemed by her final actions because they prevent matricide. All deaths in this play occur between acts and no acts of violence, except Clytemnestra's final suicide, are portrayed on the stage. Clytemnestra's closing lines emphasize Lister's strong female-focused reinterpretation of the myth of the house of Atreus,

This crimson flood will wash away my sins,
Farewell dear children, kiss me ere I die,
Forgive me, poor Electra, think of me
As kindly as you can. Forget my wrongs.
Farewell Orestes, in your father's tomb
Place my poor body when the life has fled.
Just let the morning and the evening be
All of my life remembered; think me mad

Through the dark years of hatred and despair.
And you, dear Chyrsothemis, fare you well,
You were my only comfort in my rage.
Come closer, children—It is growing dark
I—cannot—see you—Hold my—trembling hands;
'Tis dark—farewell—I—see—the EVENING STAR. (52-53)

Clytemnestra death pays the “the debt of blood” due for Agamemnon’s death (52). She is not vilified in Lister’s version, her actions have saved her children’s lives.

Robert Turney’s *Daughters of Atreus* reads like one of the epic film of the mid-twentieth century such as *The Ten Commandments* or *Ben Hur*. It little resembles a Classical Greek tragedy. Filling in any of the “reticent” gaps in the story lines of Aeschylus and Euripides’ originals, Turney begins the play shortly after the birth of Orestes and shows a Klytaimnestra [sic] of “simplicity and great dignity” ruling Argos in her husband’s stead (10). There is no chorus in this distant relative based on *Oresteia* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Instead, there is a group of slave women who follow Klytaimnestra and serve her needs. These women inform the audience through their conversations about any “hidden” events, such as Klytaimnestra’s affair with Aegisthus.

Daughters of Atreus focuses on the women in the house of Atreus more than the men. It portrays Klytaimnestra downfall because of her husband’s sins and the inherited guilt of their house. In the end, the softness of Klytaimnestra (represented through pinks and gentle roses) is replaced with a hard “horrible travesty of what she was before the sacrifice at Aulis” (75). Even Electra rejection of her mother’s love after the death of Agamemnon, Klytaimnestra is not vilanized. It is Electra who is portrayed as being difficult and moody. Klytaimnestra desires reconciliation with Electra up to the end of the play when Electra contrives Klytaimnestra’s death. It is Klytaimnestra’s love of her children that drives the actions of this play rather than her lust for Aegisthus (the enemy

of her enemy) or the driving forces of “fate” and the gods that govern Aeschylus’ original play.

Burton Crane’s, *House of Atreus*, combines “three dramas in one act”: Euripides’ *Hecuba*, Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, and Sophocles’ *Electra*. Like Lister’s *Clytemnestra*, *House of Atreus* is an adaptation that maintains much of the original speech structure (although abridged) but alters the plot with the combination of three different tragedies by three very different tragedians. Most of the choral segments are omitted, although the verse format of the whole remains. By combining *Hecuba* with *Agamemnon* and *Electra*, Crane follows Agamemnon’s journey from Troy to Argos.

Crane also creates a comparison in this play between Hecuba, Clytemnestra, and Electra. Each of these women have been effected by the hardships of war. In the first play, Hecuba, the queen of Troy, kills the sons of Polymnestor (King of Thrace) to avenge his murder of her own son, Polydore. Hecuba is changed by the war and the death of her children into a “wretched dog.” Likewise, Clytemnestra defends her murder of Agamemnon as an act of retribution for his killing her daughter, Iphigenia. However, the power of Iphigenia’s death is limited by Crane’s removing all reference to it by the chorus in his abridgement. The audience only realizes Clytemnestra’s motivation after Agamemnon’s murder. In the final drama, Electra demonstrates a daughter’s vengeance upon her mother and alters the model of retribution found in the first two plays: mother’s avenging their children’s deaths at the hands of war.

Jack Richardson’s lengthy two-act play, *The Prodigal*, completely eliminates the choral roles, rewrites the original story, greatly alters the characters, and scarcely retains the original myth surrounding the house of Atreus. This play, based on *Agamemnon* and

Choephoroi is set in Argos and deals with the homecoming and murder of Agamemnon. Electra and Orestes are portrayed dejectedly after their father's death. Written completely in dialogue with many lengthy monologues, *The Prodigal* reads like a comical melodrama. Its villain is Aegisthus and its heroine is Electra. In this story, Electra has dreamt hopefully that her father will return home. Her brother, Orestes and his companion, Pylades do not concern themselves with Agamemnon's potential homecoming. Orestes is a drunkard and lecher, he has no desire to avenge his father's lost honor after Clytemnestra has taken the effeminate Aegisthus as a lover. When Aegisthus kills Agamemnon, Orestes does not have the courage or drive to avenge his father's death (12). Aegisthus, the poet-priest, has instituted a false and hypocritical religion in the country and turned the war-tired people against their ruler, Agamemnon. After Agamemnon's return to Argos, Clytemnestra reveals her infidelity to her husband and Aegisthus usurps the throne. Agamemnon is incapable of regaining control of the state because his protective body guard has rebelled to support Aegisthus and the queen. Aegisthus and a reluctant Clytemnestra kill the deposed king only after considerable provocation by Agamemnon.

Unlike the original tragedy, Agamemnon is not taken by stealth, he is not misled by Clytemnestra. Everything is performed in the open, and his death occurs during a provoked fight between Aegisthus and Agamemnon. The faithful and adoring daughter, Electra, begs her brother to avenge the murder. However, Orestes chooses, instead, to leave Argos and its problems behind. Only when the plight of Electra and Argos personally interferes in his upcoming wedding and happiness does Orestes return home to avenge Agamemnon's death.

The play ends anti-climatically with Orestes' decision to murder Aegisthus and Clytemnestra not out of love for his dead father but out of a brotherly obligation to Electra. Without Orestes aid, Electra will be forced by her mother into an unhappy marriage. Cassandra, in the nature of a Shakespearean epilogue, concludes the play, "The waters are agitating for grand tragedy, and I, too old for such things now, had best oblige them by leaving our stage emptied, and ready for the popular and typical hero to come" (114). There is no inherited sin, no driving forces of fate that control the lives of these characters. Each one acts in accordance with his or her own desire. Each one is motivated by the small things in life, not by the counsel of the gods or by driving furies. This is a play without larger than life heroes or great deeds driven by the necessity of fate. It is a disillusioned and un-tragic rewrite of Aeschylus' original play intended to debunk the "high-brow" reputation of Classical Greek tragedy on the modern stage.

The Prodigal seeks to unwrap the "greatness" of the myth by showing the lowly nature and self-serving motivations of its characters. In this manner it blends melodrama with psychological realism, attempting to make the play more "relevant" and "accessible" to its audience by creating "identifiable" and "relatable" characters and motivations. Aegisthus is almost comical in his "wickedness." He is more of a melodramatic villain in the Disney style than an antagonist of Classical Greek tragedy. Clytemnestra is honest in her conversations with Agamemnon, he confesses her betrayal and is forced into the murder. Orestes is insolent and rebellious to all authority and Pylades enables Orestes care-free-lifestyle. Family honor does not drive Orestes to avenge the murder of his father, only selfish desires can do that. Cassandra is not a sexual conquest of Agamemnon, but a sexless "nanny" type who loves and nurtures Agamemnon's children.

It is to Cassandra that Agamemnon confides his troubles and worries. Because of her docility as a slave and apparent lack of sexuality, Cassandra is not a threat to the short, round, and middle-aged wife, Clytemnestra. The dialogue and plot of this play are melodramatic and do not represent the character and nature of Aeschylus' tragedy. *The Prodigal* rewrites the myth behind Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, rather than Aeschylus' tragedy itself.

David Rabe's *The Orphans*, a psychological rewriting of the house of Atreus myth resets the tale in a collision of modern t-shirts, jeans, girls named Sally and Jenny, net togas, and ancient characters such as Clytemnestra, Pylades, Iphigenia, Electra, Aegisthus, Agamemnon, and Orestes. *The Orphans* is a short one-act play written in a modern prose that is sometimes filled with choppy, short dialogue contrasted with lengthy monologues. It tells the story of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, but with several key differences, such as the addition of modern elements and characters, restructuring of the events of the original play (although telling the same story), and reinventing the character, Clytemnestra. Rabe presents two "Clytemnestra" characters, one a younger version of Aeschylus' Clytemnestra and the other an older version. Both characters are psychological and experientially different from each other. Nearly all of *The Orphans* is narrative; characters speak directly to the audience, Sally and Jenny manipulate the actions of the other characters by removing swords and physically blocking other character's movements. They are almost invisible to all but the audience and the two storytellers, "The Figure" and "The Speaker." The murders of Iphigenia, Agamemnon, and Clytemnestra are simultaneously portrayed on the stage in this play. The play's action is not chronologically portrayed as a narrative, but cyclical and ends with

Agamemnon sailing to war with Troy rather than with his death in Argos. The use of simultaneous action is made possible by Rabe's representation of two different Clytemnestra characters. Each Clytemnestra is played by a different actor. The text is scattered with both modern and ancient references, such as Clytemnestra's "Oh, Apollo, no; I worship you" two lines prior to her "he sang for me and knew my heart and he was Abaddon, the angel from Ohio, and I was in the Army" (13-14). Images of silver swords are placed side by side with the sound of ringing telephones. Ancient symbols are juxtaposed with modern ones. In fact, the play's disconnected speeches often forecaste Charles Mee's 1994 *Agamemnon*. As the events unfold and refold, the play becomes an exploration of both the ancient myth and modern psychology—an examination of psychological motivation and Freudian "Oedipal" urges.

Steven Berkoff's *Agamemnon*, previously discussed for its strong poetic style, is "freely adapted" from Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. It includes additions to Aeschylus' play that elaborate on the house of Atreus myth. The text was created and developed through actor workshops and merges ancient and modern images. As Berkoff describes it, "It is also about heat and battle, fatigue, the marathon and the obscenity of modern and future wars...I have followed Aeschylus but chose to take my own route from time to time" (10). Although Berkoff's rewrite is set in ancient Argos, its sporadic references to twentieth century war machinery dislocate the play between the ancient and modern. The Herald's description of the fall of Troy to the chorus reflects the play's many modern references,

Troy has toppled down/ her shrines dissolved in dust/ her seed
exterminated by/ chattering machines of death that spit from iron mouths/
by the hot breath of napalm/ scorching the sins that stank to heaven/ while

howitzers screeched arias in the streets/ Ack Ack/ Ack Ack/ and dumb-dumb shells explode. (20)

Despite these modern adaptations, *Agamemnon* maintains much of the original plot structure and story of Aeschylus' play. It depicts Agamemnon's homecoming to Argos, his reception by Clytemnestra, and the subsequent murders of Agamemnon and Cassandra by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus.

Berkoff significantly changes Aeschylus' original opening "Watchman" scene. Maintaining the role of the watchman, Berkoff relocates the scene until after an introduction to the "Legend of the Curse." This introduction graphically describes Atreus' feast for his brother Thyestes. Atreus kills, cooks, and serves his brother's children to him in revenge for an assault upon Atreus' wife. The language is filled with images of vomit and other putrid mixtures and gives the play a sense of nausea and discomfort. This is followed by a briefing on the current events in Argos, the watchman's speech, and a sexually charged speech by Paris towards the "captured" Helen. This is Paris' only appearance in Berkoff's rewrite. In many respects, Charles Mee's *Agamemnon* echoes Berkoff's link between the sexual drive of men and the violent drive of war. For instance, Berkoff's chorus responds to Paris desire for Helen by replying,

He saw her being pinioned by this thrusting
Strokes/ exchanging sweat and stink/ with tattoos
Of their nightly games/ the Trojan boy who
Kidnapped her will be paid with thrust for thrust/
Exchange cold steel for rape hard flesh... (14)

His text, graphic and at times disturbing, does not include the story of Iphigenia's death. Iphigenia's story is a popular addition in many productions of *Oresteia*. Berkoff's Clytemnestra only once references her daughter's death and the chorus never allude to

Iphigenia's sacrifice for the fleet of Greeks. They focus entirely on the suffering caused by the Greek war at Troy.

By adding a prologue-like section titled, "legend of the curse," and having Aegisthus repeat portions of this "legend" at the ending of the play, Berkoff re-focuses Aeschylus' original story from the internal issues in the house of Atreus to the external devastation caused by Atreus' house against the men who fought at Troy. Berkoff connects the images of the wretch of vomit found in the "legend of the curse" story with the recent images of men dying in war. Both images are putrefying. Rather than justifying Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon, as many adaptors have done, Berkoff portrays her as a mere vehicle for Aegisthus' vengeance on the house of Atreus. This both justifies Agamemnon's death as a fulfillment of fate for Atreus' vicious killings and, at the same time, Agamemnon's own atrocities in war against Troy.

John Barton and Kenneth Cavender's *The Greeks* is the most extensive rewrite to ever adapt the myth behind Aeschylus' *Oresteia* rather than the trilogy itself. This play rewrites by (abridging, rearranging, and reimagining) ten Greek tragedies. Much of the play is based on the translations by Cavender. Together, Barton and Cavender created one, six to nine hour long trilogy. "Part One: The War" is composed of portions of *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Euripides), *Achilles* (Homer), and *The Trojan Woman* (Euripides). "Part Two: The Murders" includes *Hecuba* (Euripides), *Agamemnon* (Aeschylus), and *Electra* (Sophocles). "Part Three: The Gods" rewrote *Helen* (Euripides), *Orestes* (Euripides), *Andromache* (Euripides), and *Iphigenia in Tauris* (Euripides). In this mammoth attempt to follow the story of the house of Atreus, *The Greeks* removes most of the chorus of the original play and abridges large sections of speech. Soap-opera-like,

this giant chronicle of Greek tragedy gives the sense of the entire history and fate of the Atreus dynasty. With extensive cutting, *The Greeks* directly follows the plot structure and storyline of each of these plays (placing them side by side, sequentially).

Juxtaposing both serious and comical moments, the entire work is a verse adaptation of the original tragedies. In the end, according to Cavander, “all these influences [performance considerations] worked on us and led us to create what is virtually a new work for the theatre, in which some passages, perhaps more than twenty per cent of the whole, were invented for the occasion” (xix).

Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* is rewritten in the second part, “The Murders.” Although the original tragedy is shortened, the chorus, plot, and mood of the original are preserved. Barton and Cavander, have removed Aeschylus opening watchman speech. In order to create continuity between all of the plays in this mammoth work, the messenger of *Agamemnon* is replaced by the Greek “Talthybius.” With the exception of slight edits that shorten the play, the dialogue/speeches and meaning of the original tragedy are intact.

The Greeks is both a translation because its text comes from translated passages by Cavander, and an adaptation because it was arranged and rewritten to include all of the tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides that deal with the Trojan war. New sections were also created and added in order to facilitate transitions from the various tragedies and to aid in clarifying the back-story of the original plays. This is especially true of the choral segments that have been greatly rewritten,

--Of his own free will
He accepted what had to be.
--He chose what was expedient.
--Yes, he changed his nature,

--He became an evil man.
--When a seed of hate is planted
The years help it grow. (129)

Compared to Kenneth McLeish and Frederic Raphael 1979 *Serpent's Son*, the changes made by Barton/Cavender are quite clear. *Serpent's Son* is a performance-oriented translation of *Agamemnon* that does not significantly alter the original play. The following excerpt from this translation is of the chorus' ode in Strophe 5

So binds the king necessity.
A new wind commands his heart,
Foul, accursed, heathen.
His course is changed; he baulks
At nothing. Evil ideas feed
On the mind of man;
Delusion, sorrow-stained and foul,
Gives birth to pain. (lines 217-226)

Although both rewrites were created from translation and theatre partnerships, and both rewrites have groomed Aeschylus' play for modern performance, a comparison of the above two passages reveals how Barton and Cavender rewrote much of the original passage. Both Barton/Cavender and McLeish/Raphael translate Aeschylus' tragedy and include portions of tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. However, the first few lines of strophe 5 in *The Greeks* implies that Agamemnon decided to kill his daughter, it was an action he "took on" himself. *Serpent Son* portrays this killing as an action placed upon him by fate.

Although *The Greeks* does not offer any major structural changes to the plots of these tragedies, there are significant interpretational changes in the dialogue of the plays. *The Greeks* was less concerned with translating Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and more concerned with showing the entire arc of the events preceding and following the war at Troy. Like many other rewrites in this category, it combines the plays of several of the Classical

Greek tragedians. It is exactly this focus that accounts for some of the major differences in the performance rewrites of those plays focused on the transference of the mythic tale behind Aeschylus' plays rather than the translation of the tragedy proper from its original Greek to a performance worthy English. One model appropriates the tragedy as one of many sources for the new rewrite, the other model seeks to serve the original tragedy by accepting no other outside texts.

Performance Rewrites: The Distant Relatives

Several of the adaptations and distant relatives of Aeschylus' tragedies relocate the story from Ancient Greece to a more "familiar" culture. In some instances, the character names and locations are changed or "domesticated," removing all hints of the foreignness of the source text. Frequently, the language and structure of the original tragedy is abandoned and rewritten to conform more with popular theatrical practices such as psychological realism. Because of the alterations required to transfer a play from one culture completely into another, all of these works are adaptations or distant relatives. These rewrites appropriate the same Greek myths used in the tragedies of Aeschylus, but do not directly translate those tragedies. Their authors clearly have knowledge of Aeschylus' plays, but they recreate his stories for their own purpose in a manner similar to Euripides and Seneca's rewrites.

All of these are rewrites are of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Plays of this type are Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931); T. S. Eliot's *The Family Reunion* (1939); Norman Rosten *Prometheus in Granada* (1941), David Rabe's *The Orphan* (1970), and Israel Horovitz's *Wakefield Plays: Alfred the Great, Our Father's Failing, Alfred Dies*

(1979). Each play has engaged with the original tragedy, reveals a certain familiarity with Aeschylus' plot, theme, and character development, and combines imitation with new playwriting. Plays that do not in some form engage with Aeschylus' original are not rewrites but completely new creations. They have not been included in this dissertation's list of distant relatives, nor have poems and other none-theatrical forms.

Not all plays that share characters with Aeschylus' plays are distant relative rewrites of Aeschylus' tragedies. Their authors may never have read an Aeschylus' tragedy. They have created plays that allude to other authors such as Ovid or other myth recorders. Because of the difficulty of determining the source myth (whether Aeschylus or Ovid), the term "distant relative" can be somewhat misleading. "Distant relative" implies a relationship between the source play and the new work. This term describes the distance between the two works. Because of this, the above list is composed of plays that do not just transfer, say, *Oresteia* into another culture but create entirely new plays that, nonetheless, imitate Aeschylus' tragedies in some form. Plays that are not "relatives" of Aeschylus' are not included.

In contrast to the above listed plays that act as distant imitations, there are several adaptations that relocate Aeschylus' tragedies into another culture without abandoning their relationship with the original plays. This is true of Yael Farber's 2008 *Molona* which relocates *Oresteia* to a South Africa tribal culture. These adaptations and distant relatives exchange the cultural setting of Aeschylus' plays in order to create an extended cultural relevancy in the adaptor's own country. This is different from rewrites such as Horovitz's *Wakefield Plays* and Eliot's *The Family Reunion*, rewrites that only vaguely call upon the *Oresteia* myth but do not replicate the structure or character development of

Aeschylus' play with any deep measure of accuracy. Such works completely re-invent (and appropriate) the character of the original tragedy with the majority of their elements coming from sources and influences outside of Aeschylus. All of these plays are by American authors created for stage production, and all but *Rosencranz and Guildenstern Are Dead* were written in prose. Plays such as *Moloka* that exchange Aeschylus' characters and setting retain a stronger semblance to the original play than these distant relatives.

Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* is, like *Oresteia*, a trilogy intended for theatrical performance. Composed of *Homecoming*, *The Hunted*, and *The Haunted*, it is one of the most produced distant relatives of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Exemplifying the modern era's focus on psychological motivation and realism, O'Neill distances the action of the play into an American historical past. Where all of Aeschylus' tragedies, with the exception of *Persians*, locate the action to the mythic history of Greece, O'Neill uses the American Civil War. However, unlike Aeschylus, O'Neill removes most of the chorus and relies entirely upon "natural" dialogue. He also rearranges the original storyline and refocuses the tale on Electra (Lavinia). The changes are so great that Horst Frenz and Martin Mueller in "More Shakespeare and Less Aeschylus in Eugene O'Neill's 'Mourning Becomes Electra'" argue against *Oresteia* being a main influence. O'Neill asserted in his notes and diary that this trilogy was written as an imitation and rewriting of Aeschylus. However, Frenz and Mueller suggest that *Hamlet* is a stronger source for O'Neill's play. In 1932, shortly after the debut of *Mourning Becomes Electra*, Barrett Clark's "Aeschylus and O'Neill" examined the relationship between the two playwrights to conclude that, like Frenz and Mueller's critique, O'Neill's imitation of *Oresteia* goes only as far as its usefulness to the new playwright. According to Clark, "Follow these

notes, begun in 1926 [*Notes and Extracts from a Fragmentary Diary* by O'Neill], and you will see that O'Neill soon made up his mind to use Aeschylus only when Aeschylus could help, and to fall back on O'Neill for the rest" (702). Aeschylus' play offered the mythic foundation and character relationships for O'Neill's play, but not the scene structure, action, or language.

Homecoming in some ways parallels *Agamemnon*. The father (Ezra) returns from war to be murdered by his unfaithful wife (Christine), who has taken the father's cousin (Adam) as a lover. However, Christine's motivations for murdering her husband do not spring, like Clytemnestra's, from the death of a daughter (Iphigenia). O'Neill's play does not mention the Iphigenia scenario, though it does focus on the family's legacy of sinful deeds and a strong sense of inherited guilt. Although Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* ends with Clytemnestra's triumph over Agamemnon, evident in her speech to the chorus after her murder of her husband, O'Neill's play concludes less gloriously. In *Homecoming*, Christine does not assert her authority over the people with her tyrant lover, Aegisthus. Rather, she is accused of her husband's murder by her own daughter, Lavinia (the Electra character). According to Clark's analysis, Lavinia functions as "the prophetess, the avenger Orestes, and the choruses" through her final accusation of her mother's perfidy (703).

The Hunted, like *Libation Bearers*, depicts Lavinia and Orin's (Orestes) murder of Adam, and the suicide of Christine. However, *The Haunted* departs almost entirely from Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Lavinia and Orin do not appeal to the Justice and Judgment of an Athenian democracy and its jury system. In this play, Orin's blood guilt is not removed by Athena. The metaphorical "furies," Orin's guilt, follows him and his sister

as they realize that their murder of Adam for vengeance sake has simply made them “Christine” and “Ezra” type characters. They have, in essence, inherited the qualities of their parents that they wished to eliminate through murder. Clark states that “*The Haunted* is largely concerned with the exposition of the introspective tragedies of a man and a woman observed and studied to a certain extent in the light of modern science” (709). And indeed, many of these modern era rewrites of Greek tragedies focus less on the political and public implications of the original tragedy and more on the familial relationships. According to Rush Rehm’s *Radical Theatre: Greek Tragedy and the Modern World*,

To risk a crass generalization, fear in modern drama tends toward the private and inner, the kind of angst that carries little political significance or public impact. The issues that terrify remain personal, not social, reflecting the pervasive influence of television drama, Hollywood heroics, and the narcissism of home video and the camcorder... Contemporary theatre prefers the personal, the odd, and the idiosyncratic rather than the social and political... (60-61).

Another “private” familial drama is T. S. Eliot’s *The Family Reunion*. Set in Northern England rather than Argos, much of the family lineage of murder and retribution that haunted Orestes in the original play is substituted with the Christian ethos of the pure heart/soul. Harry’s desire to kill his wife makes him as culpable of murder as the actual deed. This play tackles the idea of guilt and hope found in the Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* trilogy. *The Family Reunion* is like *Choephoroi* a homecoming play that deals with the crimes of the father being transferred to that of the son, Harry. The play begins with Harry’s return to Wishwood for his mother’s birthday party. Like Orestes, Harry battles with, what Theresa Towner’s “From Romance to Ritual: The Evidence of ‘The Family Reunion,’” calls the “house of Atreus” (or “house of Monchensey”) curse passed from father to son. Harry struggles with his family history and his own sense of guilt

over his wife's recent death at sea. Orestes-like, Harry must come to terms with his father's crimes (who attempted to murder Harry's mother) and death. As his aunt Agatha says of Harry in the Part 1, "The man who returns will have to meet the boy who left...When the loop in time comes--and it does not come for everybody--The hidden is revealed, and the spectres show themselves" (1.1). The sins of the father are, in a way, placed upon the son—the curse spoken of by Towner. The play concludes with Harry's abandonment of his family inheritance and lineage as he permanently leaves Wishwood. His self exile from his family home leads to his mother's death. This final act is, according to Towner, ritualistic and expressive of Eliot's Christian message of "hope for the soul," for "the play ends with a blessing, a promise of redemption, not with a view of life at Wishwood" (73, 71).

There are several key influences of the classical play on its modern distant relative. For instance, the "furies" are represented in both plays, seen only to Harry and his chauffeur and eventually driving Harry from Wishwood. In *The Family Reunion*, the furies represent a form of divine guidance or conscience, in *Eumenides* they are a type of retribution and punishment (for further discussion of their role in the play, see Helen Avery's "'The Family Reunion' Reconsidered"). Although Eliot's original draft of the play had the furies appear on stage as actual characters, he later made them invisible apparitions of Harry and his chauffeur's minds. As Eliot addressed in his 1951 lecture "Poetry and Drama," their physical presence on the stage did not function successfully in a modern play (37). This is one area where the Christian ethos of Eliot's rewrite is obvious. In addition to his incorporation of fury-type characters, Eliot combines blank verse with prose. He eliminates the official role of the chorus, but he includes some

choral-like commentary from Harry's uncles, Gerard and Charles, and aunts, Ivy and Violet. In many respects, this chorus provide background for the play and, at the same time, express an apprehension and confusion concerning the secrets and events in the house.

Martha Carpentier's "Orestes in the Drawing Room: Aeschylean Parallels in T. S. Eliot's 'Family Reunion'" compares Eliot's rewrite to Aeschylus' tragedy in the following areas. According to Carpentier, the play contains "rich pagan imagery" such as the replacing of the old system (Amy, the mother) through death with the new (Harry, the son). Eliot's play doesn't include the "pagan" gods of the Classical Greek plays, it builds on the pagan mythos of Ancient Greece. There is a fascination with the "symbolic ritual of murder" within the play, seen in Harry's desire to kill his wife. Like *Oresteia*, though much of the action is controlled by male characters, there is a dominance of "female archetypes" in both Aeschylus and Eliot (18-25).

As illustrated in R. G. Tanner's "The Dramas of T.S. Eliot and Their Greek Models," the main characters of *The Family Reunion* are counterparts of those in *Oresteia*. Harry, the eldest son of the family, is a modern day remaking of the fury that tortured Orestes. Harry's Chauffeur plays a Pylades and the family doctor, Dr. Warburton, a form of Aegisthus (although he is not a lover to the Clytemnestra-like character of Amy). Dowager Countess Monchensey (Clytemnestra) presides as the matriarch of the family estates, Wishwood, in Northern England. Mary, Harry's childhood friend and companion to Harry's mother, Amy, acts as an Electra. There are also "Electra" qualities in Harry's aunt Agatha, who was once in love with Harry's father (127-128). Despite these similarities and parallels between Eliot's play and that of

Aeschylus, there is a great theological, philosophical, and cultural divide between the two works. Eliot's rewrite strongly reflects its British and Christian roots. He does not use Aeschylus' Athenian democratic, religious, or judicious systems.

Norman Rosten's *Prometheus in Granada* is the only rewrite selected for this study that was written as a radio play. It is also the only distant relative of Aeschylus' plays written in verse. Rosten creates a parallel between the persecution and binding of Prometheus and the death of the poet/playwright Federico Garcia Lorca. Lorca was killed in 1936 by Franco's Nationalist party in Spain. The extremely short *Prometheus in Granada* is a political piece intended to condemn the murder of Lorca and the subsequent censorship of his works. This play includes a narrator who gives background and location information, creating sympathy for Lorca while following the basic structure of *Prometheus Bound*. More of a dramatic poem than a performable play, the parallel between the mythic Prometheus and Lorca is obvious from the Narrators opening speech,

Often they were unaware
as to the actual identity of the author;
more often they could not read his
lines but his poems were written in
their hearts. He gave the people songs
to sing in the fields, and fine stories for
the evening, he gave them a hatred for
their enemies (251).

After the narration, a runner speaks to the people of Granada as he searches for the missing poet, Lorca. Episodically, the action jumps back and forth between an observer in a military balloon monitoring the presence of the Civil Guard in the city (anticipating military activity) and to two soldiers marching the chained prisoner, Lorca, to a big rock atop a mountain. The observer is Rosten's rewritten daughters of Oceanus. Lorca's pleas that he has nothing to do with military matters or the upcoming war are dismissed by his

captors who compare his plight with that of Prometheus', "A thousand years ago they say / a man was chained to a rock / by the Gods, and birds tore his flesh, / but he did not die, being a special man. / You are a real man, eh?" (253). Lorca's crime is that, like Prometheus, he is a defender of the people (254).

After being abandoned on the side of the mountain, Lorca is met by the runner who desires to free the poet but is sent away by Lorca to warn the people of the upcoming battle. One of the original soldiers, a citizen of Granada, who chained Lorca to the mountain returns to save him. Before he can do so he is killed by his own men. The observer in the balloon cannot arrange Lorca's freedom and must watch as even more soldiers and a Captain enter the scene. The Captain, Oceanus-like, attempts to have the poet write songs of battle rather than songs of peace for the people. Lorca does not submit to the Captain, who then orders his execution. His soldiers, in awe of Lorca, will not fire their guns.

Lorca is next visited by the women of the town (Io-like) who want to know why they are persecuted by the war. Lorca replies, "They will kill you to prove / they can kill: to prove they are brave / and can conquer by claiming the weak / ones" (258). Enemy planes approach to kill Lorca and shoot the observer and his balloon from the sky. In this play, the fire given man by Prometheus is equal to the poetry and inspiration given the Spanish people by Lorca. This is emphasized by the "observers" final lines of the play, "they are killing our Lorca, the great poet of the world!" (259). Although there are similarities between the two works, *Prometheus in Granada* does not seek to relocate an ancient tragedy into a more "relevant" location and time, but rather to give authority and strength to the Spanish cause by appropriating the mythic story of Prometheus' binding

by Zeus. Rosten's point is that, as Zeus was unable to successfully censor Prometheus death could not silence Lorca.

Israel Horovitz's *Alfred the Great*, *Our Father's Failing*, and *Alfred Dies*, though a completely new story, deals with similar issues of murder, matricide, adultery, and insanity as found in *Oresteia*. *Alfred the Great* is set in an early nineteenth century New England home in Wakefield, Massachusetts. *Our Father's Failing* alternates between the living room in Wakefield and an asylum. *Alfred Dies* places the action in a prison room. Of all of the plays that rewrite the myth of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, this trilogy is probably the furthest from the original Greek.

In *Alfred the Great*, a forty year old Alfred returns to his hometown to confront his high school sweetheart, Margaret, and her husband, Will. The entire play is set in Margaret and Will's living room. The play's action revolves around the gradual revelation of three facts. (1) Margaret and Will are half-siblings and live in incest. (2) Alfred's brother was murdered years past by Will. (3) Alfred sired an illegitimate child with Margaret that she gave up for adoption. All of these facts were hidden from one or more of the characters and gradually revealed to all of them through out the play. Alfred's primary reason for returning to his hometown is his desire for vengeance for his brother's murder. He get's his retribution not by killing Will, his brother's murderer, but by cohering Will's wife, Margaret, into telling Will that she hates him and wishes him dead. As a result of these three revelationst, Margaret commits a murder-suicide, shooting Will and herself at the play's end.

There are no direct parallels between this play and *Oresteia*. Although the characters and plots are different, there are some subtle relationships. For instance,

Alfred the Great begins with Alfred's return to Wakefield to see Margaret. Alfred and Emily, although married, are Orestes and Electra like in their intent to have justice against Margaret and Will who now live in Orestes' childhood home. This is a homecoming play that ends, much like *Choephoroi* with the deaths of the Clytemnestra/Aegisthus characters. Just as Clytemnestra is concerned about the possibility of Orestes' return to Argos, Margaret is apprehensive about Alfred's sudden arrival. This is seen in *Alfred the Great's* opening passage,

ALFRED: Shall we, Margaret? Shall we begin?

MARGARET: Yes, I suppose. [Pauses.] It's not that I'm not delighted to see you. It's just that I'm really...well..surprised. There are knocks...I go to the door...and it's you: Alfred! What are you doing here?

ALFRED: [Angrily at first] I don't know. [Pauses; quietly] I don't know. I wanted to see you...to see my old house...see the town...see Wakefield...I wanted to see you.

MARGARET: [Embarrassed] I'm happy to see you, too. It's been ten years.

Alfred does not directly kill Margaret or her husband, Will. However, at the end of the play, Alfred forcefully insists that Margaret and Will confess their crimes and hidden desires in front of each other. Margaret wants her incestuous relationship with Will to end and Will secretly desires to be punished for his murder of Alfred's brother. This final confession leads to Margaret and Will's murder and suicide. Throughout the trilogy, Alfred suffers from a memory loss caused by shock. This psychological demise of the "hero" is reminiscent of the furies' plaguing of Orestes. A great portion of the play is spent revealing Alfred's forgotten history—a house of Atreus-type legacy.

Although there is not a strong connection between this distant relative and Aeschylus' original play, Dennis Klein's "The Influence of Aeschylus's *Oresteia* on Israel Horovitz's *Alfred Trilogy*" observes several key similarities in "elements of plot, theme, and characterization, as well as imagery and technique" (51). According to Klein,

Alfred the Great relates to *Agamemnon*'s theme of adultery, *Our Father's Failing* exposes issues of matricide, and *Alfred Dies* deals with a "trial" for murder. In all of these plays, Alfred is not at any one time an Agamemnon or an Orestes, but at various times represents both. His love affair with Margaret can easily be seen as a parallel between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra while, at the same time, exhibiting characteristics of Orestes' need to avenge himself on Clytemnestra.

In *Our Father's Failing*, it is revealed that Alfred murdered his own mother. The crime occurred after Alfred witnessed her sexual affair with Margaret and Will's father. Due to shock at the horrific nature of the crime, Alfred's mind created a fantasy reality in which his father perpetrated the deed. According to Alfred's wife Emily, he had also erased all memory that Emily was also his half sister. Although Alfred originally returned to Wakefield to have vengeance upon his father for this supposed crime, Alfred's memory returns and the matricide is revealed. Alfred concludes the second play by Horowitz, stating that "I've gotta be punished, Pa" (192).

In *Alfred Dies*, the final play of the Alfred trilogy, Emily in a Clytemnestra-like fashion charges Alfred with several deaths, including those of her four still-born children. This is an echo of Clytemnestra's indictment against Agamemnon for the death of her daughter Iphigenia. In Aeschylus' original, Clytemnestra also acted as judge and executioner of her husband. In the end, a final act of retribution and closure, Emily kills herself with a gun. Alfred shoots himself with the same weapon. Although he is still alive at the play's end, lying weakly by his dead wife and bleeding from a self-inflicted gunshot, the play's title, *Alfred Dies*, indicates that his death is eminent. Horowitz

rewrites the myth used by Aeschylus for the house of Atreus story, but he does not create a strong parallel with the plot structure and character development of Aeschylus' trilogy.

Just as Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca wrote plays based that shared the mythic system used by Aeschylus, these distant relatives have all appropriated certain characteristics and qualities of Aeschylus' plays to create new works that only slightly allude to the original plays. This is not translation or adaptation. It does not acknowledge the primacy Aeschylus' texts, but it is a form of rewriting and maintains some relationship with Aeschylus' plays. These plays inform the reader about the rewriter's relationship with these ancient myths and Greek tragedy as a genre more than they communicate the specific tragedies of Aeschylus. Many translations in performance present the foreignness of the Classical Greek play for a contemporary American audience. However, these distant relatives completely absorb the original myth and fully domesticate them. Not only do they make them appear a tightly knit part of the American culture, but they allow the classical myth to intertwine with American literary traditions and alter them. The source plays, in this instance, are not the authority for the rewrite, but a small part of multiple sources used to create the distant relative.

Performance Rewrites: Cultural Appropriations and Classical Greek Allusions

There is a second practice of cultural transference that differs from the one described in the previous section. This practice falls within the borders of both adaptation and the creation of distant relatives. It involves transferring the plot and characters of the source culture to that of the target, but also demands a certain amount of rewriting of the text and adding new ideas to the work. Unlike stage adaptations

(productions) that use costumes and set to relocate the play from its Greek original to another culture, these rewrites incorporate the relocation into the language of the play proper. Sometimes, very few changes are made to the story. However, the majority of these works significantly adapt the original text and combine Aeschylus' plays with other sources. Plays in this category are: Athol Fugard's *Orestes* (1971, a written scenario rather than play text), Albert Johnson's *Adrift with a myth* (1972), Maurice Valency's *Regarding Electra* (1976), Charles Mee's *Big Love* (1993) and *Agamemnon* (1994), David Foley *The Murders at Argos* (2003), and Yael Farber's *Molora* (2008, which blends portions of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*, Sophocles' *Electra*, and Euripides' *Electra*, to place the action in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which convened in Cape Town in 1995).

Fugard's depiction of Orestes is clearly rooted in modern South Africa, with reference to an historical terrorist act. Mee's plays continually substitute passages of Aeschylus with appropriated texts from American and ancient cultures (often including modern songs, technology, and setting). Farber's chorus of African tribal women sing and speak in Xhosa, as does a racially mixed Elektra [sic]. Much of the text includes English translations, such as Elektra's cry for her mother, "Mama...uyaphi? [Mama...where are you going?] / Mama...Mama...? / Uyaphi Mama? [Where Mama?]" (26). Elektra's inclusion in the tribal culture contrasts that of the white Klytemnestra's [sic] ethnic and cultural background. Unlike the bilingual Elektra, Klytemnestra speaks only English and represents "Christian" morality and European colonialism. Where direct passages from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*, Sophocles' *Electra*, and Euripides' *Electra* are used, Farber uses the translations of Louis MacNeice, Robert

Fagles, Ian Johnston, Richard Claverhouse Jeb, and Edward Paley Coleridge. Like Mee, this play represents the collection and arrangement of appropriated texts and translations. To a smaller degree, *Molora* represents the previously discussed practice of rewriting the house of Atreus story as much as it rewrites Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

Athol Fugard's *Orestes*, like *Molora*, resets portions of the story of *Oresteia* in a modern South African context. With three actors, a rehearsal space, and ten weeks, Fugard's *Orestes* resists traditional notions of a script-centered performance. *Orestes* was developed out of an actor workshop rather than from a script. It is scenario based rather than text based. Fugard acted as a scribe for the developed scenario rather than, as playwright and director of the action. What remains of this play comes from a letter Fugard sent a friend which summarized the exposure. This letter was later published with Fugard's other theatrical works. The program note to the event briefly summarized the story of Iphigenia, Agamemnon, and Clytemnestra's deaths concluding "From our history comes the image of a young man with a large brown suitcase on a bench in the Johannesburg station concourse. He was not travelling anywhere" (84). As Fugard sets it, *Orestes* is the story of a man who must decide whether to bomb a railway station or to walk away from his anger and stop the cycle of violence. This man with the briefcase, within the context of South African history, represents John Harris, a man who left an explosive in a train station and killed a child and severely wounded an elderly woman. It is an image/scene that is strong in the memory of South Africans.

The scene begins with the young man, Orestes, and after a short duration is joined by a young woman, Electra. They connect and play innocently until an older woman, Clytemnestra, enters and observes the scene. Fugard's exposure, as written in his letter,

is composed primarily of actions, not words, of sensations rather than speech. Through a series of movements and vocalizations, Electra and Orestes are separated from Clytemnestra by a metaphorical “sea,” a “shallow stretch of water on the beach” (88). Meanwhile, while on stage, Clytemnestra’s stomach grows heavy with pregnancy, she gives birth to Iphigenia, and she has the child taken away by Agamemnon for sacrifice. Agamemnon is metaphorically represented on the stage by a chair. Clytemnestra then destroys the chair (i.e., Agamemnon), ripping apart its upholstery and stuffing. Fugard interprets this action in his scenario as, “You can’t destroy without being destroyed... You can’t witness destruction without being damaged” (90).

The boy and girl attempt uselessly to reconstruct the chair until the boy is handed his suitcase and the scene returns to the train station where the girl counts down the seconds prior to the bomb explosion. The only “set” script used for the play is mentioned at the exposure’s end, and includes excerpts of John Harris’ testimony found in R.D. Laing’s *The Divided Self* and *The Bird of Paradise*. Harris’ testimony provokes each character’s actions. It is the motivation for the entire scene. Fugard retains much of the core of the original play’s mythic background, but he completely resets it (textually and visually) within another culture. In this sense, it is a distant relative based upon the myth rather than the tragedy. At the same time, it is a cultural transference through adaptation practices.

Albert Johnson’s *Adrift with a Myth* is a “short comedy with three blackouts” which rewrite Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* and *Prometheus Unbound* as one new work. This comedy begins with the dictator-like character, Colonel Zeus, sitting at his desk and running the world by a telephone. His daughter, Miss Athena, goddess of

victory and wisdom, enters his office to tell her father of the people's discontent. She wants to change the dysfunctional "system" of government but only by working with and through the already established system. She does not imagine an alternate method of change, such as anarchy, or revolt. Mr. Prometheus also enters to challenge Colonel Zeus' rule. Unlike Athena, he wants to change the system through outside means. After an unsatisfactory meeting, Prometheus leaves and gives the world fire, for which he is arrested and chained to a mountain by the dictator, Zeus. According to Athena, "when you help the oppressed, you're enemy to the oppressor" (15). Zeus revokes Prometheus' gift of fire to the people and establishes in its place a blackout on both the stage and in the world. When the lights return, Prometheus is chained upon the mountain-side and is visited by Miss Athena, Harry Heracles, and Hera who, in turn, free him to restore fire to the world and spread the message of love over hate. The play concludes with the dictator Zeus' death by an apparent heart attack and the gods falling asleep because they are no longer needed. The people can now, for better or for worse, rule themselves. Light is restored to the world when the people cut the circuit of the gods.

Although this play is flavored with a strong ancient Greekness (Greek names, Greek clothing such as the "Colonel's" military attire, and Greek gods) it equally references twentieth century articles such as telephones and circuits. Several modern references include the addition of titles to the character's names, such as Mr. and Colonel, modern phrases of speech, such as Prometheus' "Oh, baby, am I glad to see you", and contemporary political references, such as Athena's "I have my sphere of influence to protect," "stockpiling" of weapons, "civil disobedience," and the strong focus on the evils of dictatorship (15-20). The play's concluding message, "love over

hate,” is repeatedly drilled by the characters throughout the work alongside Athena’s “It’s a new age, a new faith, a new life” (28). *Adrift with a Myth* combines the cultural systems of both ancient Greece and twentieth century America not only rewrites Aeschylus’ original play but overlays references to the social movements and political unrest of the American 1960s.

Maurice Valency’s *Regarding Electra* is a dream-like blend between the modern world of tourism and Classical Greek myth. Rewriting the story of Electra and Orestes’ struggle after the death of their father, Agamemnon, *Regarding Electra* possibly adapts Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi*, Sophocles’ *Electra*, and Euripides’ *Electra*. It is difficult to locate its exact source because it appropriates the myth and abandons the original plot structures. Valency begins the play with a group of modern tourists guided through the ruins of Agamemnon’s palace in Argos. Through their discussion of the location, the modern characters retell the ancient story of the deaths of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Aegisthus, and Cassandra. The myth they retell is very similar to that told by Aeschylus in his *Oresteia*. A modern day Electra dressed in a white mini-skirt observes the tourists from afar. The group leaves the stage while some of the main characters remain in the modern setting of the ruins and others, such as the tour guide, are indescribably relocated to the *Oresteia*’s action in ancient Argos. The two worlds blend dreamily. The tour guide travels between both periods, at one time speaking with the tourists and at another time addressing Orestes. Orestes appears and speaks with Electra. This is a re-enactment of Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi* and/or Sophocles/Euripides’ *Electra*. The action is not presented as a play within a play, but as a ghostly interconnection between the ancient and modern worlds.

As the action develops, Aeschylus' story of Agamemnon is relived on the stage by the conversation of the tourists. Orestes returns home after receiving an oracle from Delphi, Electra is disgusted with her mother and wants vengeance for her father's death, Clytemnestra fears the return of Orestes because of a prophetic dream, and Aegisthus enjoys his position of power as Clytemnestra's husband. However, there are some clear plot shifts from the original. Orestes is not angry with his mother, he believes her crimes against Agamemnon were justified because as a child he was jealous of Agamemnon's pull over Clytemnestra. Orestes is described by Aegisthus as adoring his mother like a lover, not a son. Out of hatred for Agamemnon, Orestes retells the story of his father's rape of Clytemnestra. It was for fear of Agamemnon that Orestes fled, not out of fear for Aegisthus or Clytemnestra's murderous intentions. Electra, on the other hand, idolizes Agamemnon and does not have a kind word to say for Clytemnestra.

Valency portrays two children living through the same events but with completely different perspectives and interpretations of each moment. Like Horowitz play, it deals with lost and askew memories. In the end, Orestes has no desire to kill his mother and only does so when she confesses that she murdered Agamemnon out of jealousy, rather than for vengeance upon Agamemnon for his past treatment of her. At no point in this rewrite is Iphigenia mentioned as a motivation for Clytemnestra's hatred. Iphigenia does not exist in this story. It is Cassandra's presence and Agamemnon's disdain for Clytemnestra that causes her crime. Orestes kills Clytemnestra and Aegisthus because of his jealous and possessive love for his mother, not because he must follow an oracle of the gods. The play ends with the re-entrance of the group of tourists who return the action to the beginning of the play, tourists observing the ancient ruins of Agamemnon's

house. Because of this “tour group” bookend to the play, the characters in the ancient story relive the events surrounding the fall of the house of Agamemnon with each new group of tourists. The “retelling” is, for Electra and Orestes, a “reliving.”

Valency abandons the structure of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* and Sophocles’ *Electra* and Euripides’ *Electra*. At the same time, he appropriates some of the aspects of original Greek tragedy: a chorus, a prophet, and a strong emphasis on the role of fate in the lives of the characters. The tour group takes on the narrative role of the chorus, recounting the historical background at the beginning and end of the play. However, there is also a more “traditional” chorus of libation bearers who dance and chant prophetic warnings. This group is described by the tour guide as performers practicing a re-enactment of an original Greek chorus. Their cries of “cursed is the house of Atreus” coincide perfectly with the reenactment of the events surrounding Agamemnon’s death (33). The tour guide re-appears in the middle of the play to instruct Orestes to kill his mother. In this scene, the tour guide claims to have also been at the battle of Troy with Agamemnon. She was also at Agamemnon’s death. The tour guide fills the function of prophet, god, and narrator as he jumps through time and place to control the story. It is the guide who insists that Orestes’ actions are dictated by fate. However, Orestes does not kill his mother for any of the reasons supplied by Aeschylus’ plays. He does not want to kill her. Rather, he commits the deed in a moment of passion, prodded by knowledge of the oracle, and pushed forward by Electra, the guide, and Clytemnestra’s own fear. Valency completely rewrites Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides’ tragedies. This rewrite does not include the trial of Orestes in the *Eumenides* or address any of the myths that surround earlier events in the house of Atreus. The legendary and heroic-type characters

are made human by Valency's psychological depiction of their less-than-noble motivations.

Charles Mee's *Big Love* resets *Suppliants* as a serio-comedy located in Italy. However, it reflects the American culture of the late twentieth century more than that of Italy. Fifty brides have escaped an unwanted marriage by sailing into exile on a yacht and landing at an Italian villa. Pursued by the fifty grooms who are also their cousins, Mee's play is ripe with disturbingly serious moments, pop cultural references and sprinkles of comedic passages. *Big Love* ultimately explores the institution of marriage. Mee's website, the *(re)making project*, summarizes that "unable to escape their forced marriages, 49 of the brides murder 49 of the grooms-and one bride falls in love. About the same odds as today." Rather than seeking the sanctuary of the gods at Argos and the protection of the city as suppliants, these brides luxuriate along the coast of Italy. Danaus is not a character in this rewrite. Entering the stage to Mozart's wedding procession from *The Marriage of Figaro*, the first bride casts off her white wedding gown and bathes before the audience in the villa's bathtub. The hosts of the villa are in the midst of a dinner party. The villa's owners mistake the girls, at first, as party guests. After being briefed by three of the brides, Lydia, Olympia, and Thyona, he allow the women to stay as guests. These three women are the first of the 50 girls to appear and represent their sisters. When the grooms appear from a helicopter to reclaim their lost brides, a wedding is arranged at the villa where all but one of the women murders her groom.

Currently this play is the most popular rewrite of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* in the twentieth century. Mee's play reinvisions not only Aeschylus' *Suppliants* but the entire lost trilogy. It relocates portions of *Suppliants* into a twentieth century, Western culture.

Where Aeschylus' chorus of the daughters of Danaus humble themselves before the King of Argos and plead for mercy, Mee's "Danaiads" ask for shampoo and modern conveniences.

OLYMPIA:

You know, we've been travelling,
and when you've been travelling
you hope at the end of the journey that you might find
some, like,

Oil of Olay Moisturizing Body Wash
or like

John Freda Sheer Blond Shampoo and Conditioner for Highlighted Blonds

LYDIA

Olympia....

OLYMPIA

I know this is not a hotel, so you wouldn't have everything,
but maybe some Estee Lauder 24 Karat Color Golden Body Creme with
Sunbloc,
or Fetish Go Glitter Body Art in Soiree.

Big Love plays upon the dominance of American pop culture and commercial images.

Unlike Mee's *Agamemnon*, which follows the plot structure of the original tragedy, *Big Love* completely retells the myth for contemporary audiences, going beyond the tragedy by Aeschylus. According to Rehm's *Radical Theatre: Greek Tragedy and the Modern World*,

The stakes of *Big Love* never rise to the tragic dilemma of the original. Whatever transformation Mee's asylum-seekers undergo, it has less to do with fear than with an elite sense of outrage that things won't go exactly as they want. This releases wonderful comic energy and theatrical fun, but none of the emotional depth of Aeschylus' original. (51)

There is a clear difference in tone and character between the two works. Where Aeschylus concludes his *Suppliants* with the women being temporarily saved from marriage and taking refuge in the King of Argos's city, Mee completes the trilogy and has all but one bride kill their grooms. Lydia alone protects Nikos and, together, conclude the play with their marriage,

Lydia and Nikos, the bride and groom,
exit up the center aisle to the music.
Nikos's clothing is disheveled,
and he looks sheepish and uncertain,
even frightened, maybe even filled with foreboding--
in fact, they both look shellshocked and devastated--
as Nikos exits up the aisle with Lydia.

In many respects, Mee has to imagine the remainder of the trilogy because the second and third plays, *Egyptians* and *Danaids* is missing. It is not certain if *Big Love* concludes with a "happy" or "tragic" ending, or, in the post-modern tendency that denies the contrived closure found in the grand narratives of the early twentieth century, simply an ending.

David Foley *The Murders at Argos* (2003) re-examines the original tragedies of *Oresteia* in light of the school shootings at Columbine. By modernizing and relocating the play to the United States in the late twentieth century, Foley explores the psychology of Aeschylus' characters and the unraveling that leads children to kill their parents and guardians. He uses ancient myths to help explain modern events and human behaviour. In this work, there are no kings and queens, no gods or higher orders of fate. Foley presents a dysfunctional, lower-middle class family rife with abuse and psychosis as a means of exploring the "rise" in family and childhood violence. There is no ceremony or formality in *The Murders of Argos*. For instance, Foley's adaptation completely reduces the ceremony of Agamemnon's homecoming and murder by Clytemnestra. Aeschylus' tragedy depicts Clytemnestra and her attendants formally greeting Agamemnon to Argos by placing a scarlet/purple tapestry at his feet. After Agamemnon enters the palace, Clytemnestra ritualistically kills him. However, in Foley's rewrite, Agamemnon is met only by Clytemnestra and her daughters. This play does not mention war or a heroic homecoming. After casual discourse between Agamemnon and the devoted Electra,

Clytemnestra takes Agamemnon into the house and kills him without the formal speeches, ominous red carpet, or prophetic cries of Aeschylus' Cassandra.

The Murders at Argos begin with Orestes in handcuffs being interviewed by a detective. The play then travels back in time to present the moments addressed by Orestes confession. The opening scene reveals the outcome of the play and refocuses the work on the "why" instead of the "what." The language of Foley's play is very naturalistic in tone. The action realistically and, at times, graphically explores modern issues of family violence. Orestes is the sympathetic character of this play not because of his actions but because of the condition of his life and the violence he has experienced.

The Murders at Argos does not include a chorus. Foley presents this story as frighteningly possible—the myth is, in many respects, a reality. The contrast between feeling compassion for Orestes and, at the same time, horror at his "crime" is emphasized by the play's opening description of Orestes and the first scene between the Detective and the boy. Orestes is presented in the stage directions as

very young--fragile and exhausted. He wears jeans and sneakers and a T-shirt muddied and torn as if he has been apprehended after a long flight. There is blood on his shirt. His hands, yoked by handcuffs, lie in his lap. In every way--mentally, emotionally, physically--he is on the point of collapse (1).

Despite Orestes' visual weakness in the opening description, the dialogue of the subsequent scene conveys a remorseless son who seems adapted to the atrocities of matricide. Although obviously psychologically scarred, he is direct and concise in his description.

DETECTIVE: So tell me.
(*silence*)
Come on. You can do it. You told me everything else.
Come on, son. Tell me. What happened next?

(ORESTES covers his face with his hands. The DETECTIVE leans forward and pulls ORESTES' hand down, using the chain on the cuffs.)

What happened?

ORESTES: *(Starting to sob)* I--I--

DETECTIVE: Yeah?

ORESTES: I cut off her head.

DETECTIVE: *(backing away a little)* You cut off her head.

ORESTES: *(Looking up at him)* Yeah. Yeah. I cut off her head.

(Silence. The DETECTIVE puts his hands in his pockets. Then:)

DETECTIVE: Son? Can you tell me something? Can you tell me why?

(ORESTES looks down and mutters something unintelligible.)

What was that, son?

ORESTES: *(looking up.)* Evil. She was evil.

(Blackout).

Foley's play, although written for the stage, is very compatible with film techniques of flashbacks and quick-cut scenes. He completely naturalizes the speech and, through a rise in the attention given to violent acts caused by teenagers in America, emphasizes the relevancy of the original story.

Yael Farber's *Molara* relocates the original story to an African culture. It adapts the myth and tragedies concerning the house of Atreus story rather than focusing on any one particular play. As previously discussed, Farber creates *Molara* from several translations (MacNeice, Fagles, Johnston, Jeb, and Coleridge) and draws from the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. She adapts the story of the deaths of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, but does not conclude with the same judgment and "justice" found in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Instead, Farber leaves the deaths of Clytemnestra and her lover unpunished by the law. She concludes her play in much the same way as Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, Sophocles' *Electra*, and Euripides' *Electra* and *Orestes*. Although Farber creates much of the play from her own cultural experience and imagination, this closely follows the story line and character development of the original tragedies. Unlike *Big Love*, she does not abandon the ancient Greek plays, but adapts and

recycles them for modern performance. This is not a translation or even a structurally close adaptation. *Molora* is one of a few plays of this genre that retains the idea of a chorus, composed by Farber of Xhosa tribal women.

Farber's *Molora* (Sesotho for "ash") is set in the aftermath of the Apartheid regime of South Africa and deals with the idea of moving beyond the violence and laying aside the "ancient eye-for-an-eye, knee-jerk response" that was expected in South Africa's "transition into democracy" (7). In this rewrite of *Oresteia*, Farber uses the South African experience of "dispossession, violence and human-rights violations" to explore "the journey back from the dark heart of unspeakable trauma and pain—and the choices facing those shattered by the past" (8). This play deals not only with a history of violence and abuse, but also contrasts the race and religious backgrounds of the various communities of South Africa. It explores some of the cultural conflicts and confusion, such as the contrast between Christianity and native tribal religions, of a post-colonial society.

The main characters of this play are the women: the chorus of Xhosa women, Klytemnestra, and Elektra. Klytemnestra and her daughter spend much of the play seated at opposite tables, facing each other and speaking into microphones. This setting echoes that of South Africa's "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" and emphasizes the need for arbitration between the two generations. Both mother and daughter are unable to reconcile their different experiences without arbitration of the chorus. They face each other, each sitting at their own tables, and accuse each other of a long history of hurt and hate. They speak into a microphone placed before each of them rather than speaking

directly to each other. The stage separates them and this empty space enhances the emotional and experiential distance of their world-views.

The play is set against the background of an African tribal village where Agamemnon (a native black African man) has killed Klytemnestra's first husband and child. Agamemnon forced Klytemnestra into marriage through rape and enslavement. As a white Christian woman of European origins, she represents the colonizers of South Africa. She is now, "colonized" by Agamemnon. After she was made his wife, Agamemnon killed the daughter of her first marriage for retribution for the "holy wars" of Africa (39). This history is gradually revealed through Klytemnestra's speeches in the play and much of her later rage during the re-enactment of Agamemnon's murder comes from the treatment Agamemnon showed her husband and first daughter.

A large portion of the violence that occurs on stage in this play is symbolically represented. For instance, rather than killing Agamemnon with an axe on stage, Klytemnestra swings her axe into a table that represents Agamemnon's body. The children of Agamemnon and Klytemnestra, Electra and Orestes, although mixed race, appear black like their father. They have inherited Agamemnon's tribal heritage and religious beliefs, not the European Christianity of their mother, Klytemnestra. Although Agamemnon never appears in this work, he is represented through various objects such as a large pair of boots that are ever present on the stage. The play begins with mother and daughter facing each other at their respective tables and recounts the tale of abuse and hatred. Each woman retells her story from her own opposing perspectives and the visual elements of the play, Elektra's blackness and Klytemnestra's whiteness, only enhance the distance between these women.

Molona is divided into short episodes. In the first part, “Testimony,” Klytemnestra explains her murder of Agamemnon as “a Masterpiece of justice” and an escape from fear (23). However, Elektra responds by claiming that it was Klytemnestra who created fear in the home—fear for Elektra, who witnessed the death of her father and must live with her mother’s lover—concluding that “for if the dead lie in dust and / nothingness, / while the guilty pay not with blood for / blood-- / Then we are nothing but history without / a future (25). Both seek “justice” for their hurt, but there is no clear “right” or “wrong” in this play, only cycles of violence, vengeance, and prejudice that must stop in order for there to be peace in the home and community. After a seven year old Elektra witnesses her father’s murder, she secretly gives her brother, the baby Orestes, to the local tribal women to raise. Elektra fears that Klytemnestra and her lover will kill Orestes because he is Agamemnon’s son. The loss of a son causes Klytemnestra, in the episode titled “interrogation,” to torture Elektra by first drowning her and later by using the “wet bag method,” whereby the victim’s head is covered with a wet bag and they experience the sensation of drowning without being placed underwater. Klytemnestra hopes Elektra will reveal Orestes’ location, but Elektra never does.

In addition to the physical torture experienced by Klytemnestra at the hands of Agamemnon, and by Elektra under her mother’s rule, the relationship between mother and daughter is also emotionally tortured. Klytemnestra longs to be loved by Elektra and to feel close to her daughter, to have Elektra understand Klytemnestra’s actions. However, because of her physical violence towards Elektra, that closeness can never be established. Elektra hates her mother for Agamemnon’s murder, for Aygesthus presence in her home, and for Elektra’s “servant” position within her father’s own house. Elektra

embodies the South African argument, “How can we move on until the debt is paid” and Klytemnestra lives in fear of her children’s retribution. Eventually, the arbitration in the play ends to be replaced by re-enactments of each of the character’s crimes (such as Clytemnestra’s murder of Agamemnon).

Molora is not set in Ancient Greece, there is no Trojan war history or homecoming. It deals with racial, religious, and colonial conflicts and hatreds, crimes replaced with vengeance and a family that has completely disintegrated. Farber’s rewrite argues for an end to retribution, but demonstrates the strong role of fate and family loyalty in avenging prior crimes. *Molora* presents an apparently never ending cycle of hatred, where all are victims and participants are “shattered by the past” (8). The play concludes with Orestes return to his father’s home to kill Aygesthus and Klytemnestra. The final episodes reveal Klytemnestra’s fearful and weak state—the fear she lives in because of the cycle of violence she has perpetuated—and Orestes and Elektra’s struggle with the moral consequences of matricide. Orestes, in emotional torment, cannot kill his mother and asks Elektra to “rewrite this ancient end” (83). Only the intervention of the chorus of women who cradle a screaming, axe in hand, Elektra is able to calm the situation and give Elektra the peace and spiritual stillness she needs to face forgiveness. The need for retribution fades and the two children are reunited with their emotionally “broken” and destroyed mother. The play concludes with Klytemnestra’s “Look now—dawn is coming. / Great chains on the home are falling off. / This house rises up. / For too long it has lain in ash on the / ground” (87).

Performance Rewrites: Contemporary Modernizations

The practice of creating a modern translation is similar to the rewriting practice of cultural transference. In this instance, “modern” does not refer simply to the use of contemporary speech rather than the antiquating, “Victoriana” rewrites popular in the early twentieth century. “Modern” refers to the insertion of current ideas and references within the rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays. Only four plays reflect this practice: George Ryga’s *Prometheus Bound* (1982), Thomas Paulin’s *Seize the Fire* (1990), Robert Auletta’s *Persians* (1993), and Charles Mee’s *Agamemnon* (1994). All of these plays were written specifically for production.

In contrast to specific cultural relocations, Ryga’s *Prometheus Bound*, like *1984*, sets the play in an apocalyptic-type netherworld. In the play’s opening lines, Power and Force reference “sanitation trucks” and “rides through the cities in open state cars” (1). The location is described as,

an abandoned cavern under the earth where some military or isolated technological facility had once functioned, but has since been stripped away leaving torn piping, gathering moisture and decay, burning gas fires from poorly sealed cut pipes, etc. An enormous tomb for debris and dead things of the world above. (1)

The entire work, while remaining close to the plot sequence of Aeschylus’ play, references a dictatorial modern world. The opening sequence of the play, in which Prometheus is chained to a mountain, is portrayed in this play as a torture segment where the crimes of Prometheus are discussed by his past associate, Hephaestus (who has since left the political world for a job in civil service) and his torturers Power (a man) and Force (a woman). The violence performed against Prometheus is intense (his intestines are twisted, a knife is stuck into him, he is brutally beaten). Prometheus is then left

unguarded in an underground cave. It is clear that Hephaestus has no control over Force and Power who report secretly to “our First Minister” (114). Prometheus is not punished for sharing fire with the people, but for giving them intellectual and political freedom. The First Minister, in the name of national security, ordered a rush, and private, trial of Prometheus and, to keep the people from uprising, his death in the cavern.

There is another change in this work—the characters are not just modern parallels of Aeschylus’ characters, they are modern adaptations. Prometheus’ lines to Io that “executed by the blacksmith / of the secret service—Hephaestus. / (*Laughs*) In some previous life / Those two might have been farriers [sic] / In a smithy!” indicates that in some fashion this *Prometheus Bound* shows what would happen with the gods and characters if they were shifted to the modern world (140). It attempts more than equivalences. This play imagines how modern science, politics, and beliefs would change the character’s motivations and roles. Most of the work is in the common spoken prose of the twentieth century, dispersed with poetic moments. A “low,” prosaic, speech is contrasted with a “high,” more literary, form in order to contrast the different character types.

The visitors of Prometheus in this rewrite are a farmer and a worker who remain for the rest of the play on the stage, an admiral who once worked with Prometheus, Io who was Prometheus’ former lover, Argus who torments Io and is unseen to all but her, and Hermes who brings an ultimatum from the State which includes Prometheus death. With the exception of Prometheus, Io, and Hermes, all of the characters speak in colloquial prose. However, these “immortal” characters always speak in verse form. In this play, neither Prometheus nor the First Minister are god types. Ryga creates a modern

equivalent between the gods of ancient Greek mythology and the dictators of the modern world. However, Prometheus repeatedly states that he cannot die of “pain or punishments,” intimating a symbolic, metaphorical form of immortality (141). Near the end of the play, Prometheus states that “The will to struggle / For a human order on this earth / Lives on!...In the final song / Of victory my name lives on!” (154). Although Prometheus appears to die at the end of the play, this “physical” ending cannot kill or destroy his spirit.

Paulin’s adaptation, *Seize the Fire*, also contains modern references, although maintaining Aeschylus’ original location and character names. For instance, Paulin’s setting is described in the opening of the play as “an empty place, wet rock, shale. A cliff, below it a line of metal posts cemented into bare rock” (1). This play upholds a semblance of Aeschylus’ original sequence of speeches and choral interludes in a manner similar to Auletta and Mee. Paulin inserts contemporary moments into the play such as Io’s possession of potentially fatal prescription drugs (intended for suicide) and Mercury’s reference to State recognition and honorary titles. At the same time, the language is severely shortened and, although written in verse form, prosaic in tone. Consider the opening lines of Power and Violence,

POWER:

There’s fuck all here.

VIOLENCE:

No firing squad.

No nothing.

POWER:

(Fingerprodding bullet holes in cliff and chewing gum)

Ah, the man’s a god,

God’s a man—

we may bruise him

but we’ll never kill him.

VIOLENCE:

Hephaestus—hey—
you tie him to that post.
It was your fire he stole.
POWER:
Called Zeus *dictator*
and fell in love wi' humans. (1)

Paulin's introductory twelve lines, split between the two agents, are a far cry from Aeschylus' eleven line opening speech held only by Power. Although some of the same message and intent is present in both works. Made contemporary by its language and modern references such as bullet holes and wires in the set, *Seize the Fire* maintains the original mythic system found in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. This intertwining of ancient and modern references is exemplified by the Chorus' words to Io,

CHORUS:
Better you stayed inside
Your own race, class, tribe.
The roads around Olympus
Are patrolled by rapists.
Why, Zeus was out jogging
When he first saw Io. (49).

Written for an Irish audience, this work maintains the original "Olympus" and "Zeus" references, rather than seeking modern equivalences. In this manner, the relevancy to the target audience is enforced by the contemporary allusions to "rapists" and "jogging" while the action is "safely" distanced from a modern setting by classical references to "Olympus" and "Io."

Auletta's *Persians* recreates Aeschylus' tragedy to reflect American apprehension of the "East" in the late twentieth century and to indict American foreign war policies in Iraq. Peter Sellar's Introduction" to Auletta's *Persians* states, it "amplifies and elaborates upon the original...Auletta's voice utterly transforms the source material, giving us a complex and haunted portrait that is only hinted at in the Greek." From the beginning of

Auletta's rewrite, the chorus ground the action both in the realm of the historical Persian defeat against Greece and in current American/Iraq politics,

For we have gone against
The entire world,
Ready to sweep free the land and sea,
And the sky above;
Knowing it is God's will.
[...]
For we are a sea of men,
A flood, a cataract of God,
And no army of Europe, or America
Can dam us for long. (16)

The chorus' prologue ends with explosions of bombs and rockets, an electricity outage, and the telephones out of order. Contemporary moments of war are intertwined with ancient history.

In this play, Persia is destroyed not simply because of Xerxes' arrogance and violence, but because Athens (i.e., America) is warlike and prejudiced against the "Otherness" of Persia and its social and political system. America wants the oil fields of Iraq. "Persia" has grown too large and prosperous and its enemy, "Athens," desires its riches. In Auletta's rewrite, Persia doesn't invade Greece by land and sea; it isn't destroyed at the naval battle of Salamis. Persia goes out into the desert to stop invasion by foreign troops (technologically too strong and advanced to be repelled). Athens, "want[s] what lives under/ the desiccated, searing, / fruitless skin of our land--/ its hidden life, treasure... ' those dark, lubricating,/ percussive, sacred, slippery fluids, / civilization's dark emollient..." (33). In Auletta's *Persians*, war is unavoidable: the god of Persia sanctions destroying the "infidel" and Xerxes' pride will not give way to foreign influence. Equally, the arrogance, greed, and paranoia of the Western invasion leave Persia no option but to fight. This is a different practice from merely substituting modern

metaphors and images for Aeschylus' (as is the case with Ellen McLaughlin's 2005 *Persians*), in this play, new ideas are introduced in an attempt to re-create for the modern audience an equivalent cultural and political poignancy to that of Aeschylus' original performance. At the same time, Auletta's *Persians* acts as a commentary on current political and social conditions in America.

Performance Rewrites: Abridged, Rearranged, or Rewritten

In the majority of instances, adaptations and distant relatives are written and intended for stage performance. This is also true of many "versions," which frequently only stray from the original in an attempt to make the language more "actable," in modern terms, or the choral segments shorter. This section does not analyze those plays of the previous sections that are considered distant relatives or strong adaptations such as O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* or Charles Mee's *Big Love*. Rather, it seeks to answer the question: do translations and adaptations that remain close to the original tragedies in form and character but are intended to be performed directly, or having the potential for performance differ significantly from those rewrites that do not directly consider "performability" as a part of translation? This question is important because there has been a steady rise since the early twentieth century of performance-based rewrites of Aeschylus' tragedies (chart 8). As the production of Aeschylus' plays on the academic and non-academic stages increase in America, demand for rewrites that "function" in performance grows. As the fifth and final chapter of this dissertation will examine, is it necessary for a translation to be adapted for "performability" in order to be artistically and financially successful on the American stage?

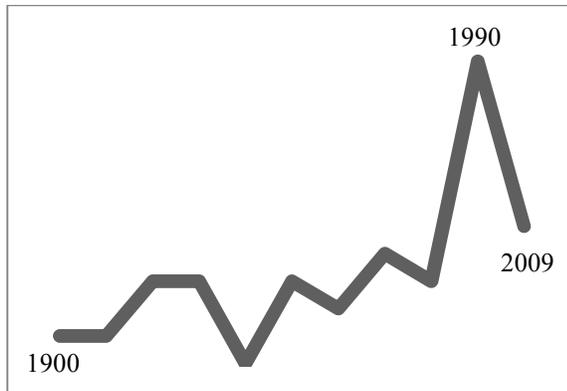


Chart 8. Rise in the Number of “Performance” Rewrites of Aeschylus’ Plays (1900 to 2009)

By far, the majority of performance rewrites are of *Oresteia*, or parts of the trilogy (*Agamemnon*). It was not until the 1960s that the first performance-oriented rewrites for *Prometheus Bound* were published, and not until the 1990s for *Persians*. Many a “Note on the Translation” declares the translator’s belief that, outside of *Oresteia*, Aeschylus’ original plays are not suited for the modern stage. This is especially true of *Seven Against Thebes*, which has never been produced in English translation on the American stage. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of “performance” rewrites stray considerably from Aeschylus’ tragedies in order to cater to the tastes of the modern theatre and American audience.

This section will examine those rewrites that do not completely abandon the “authenticity” and structure of the original play, yet are considered performable. These rewrites differ from other translations because they consider “performability” and “speakability” as part of the translation process. However, whether or not the translator’s intention translates to performance shall be discussed in chapter four of this dissertation. Chart 9 shows the rise in performance rewrites of Aeschylus’ play while demonstrating

the late arrival of performance-oriented rewrites of *Persians*, *Seven Against Thebes*, and *Suppliants* in the twentieth century. This ratio is similar to Hartigan’s list of the commercial productions in America of Aeschylus’ tragedies. There is a direct relationship between the number of published, and therefore publically available, rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays and the number of productions of those plays in the United States.

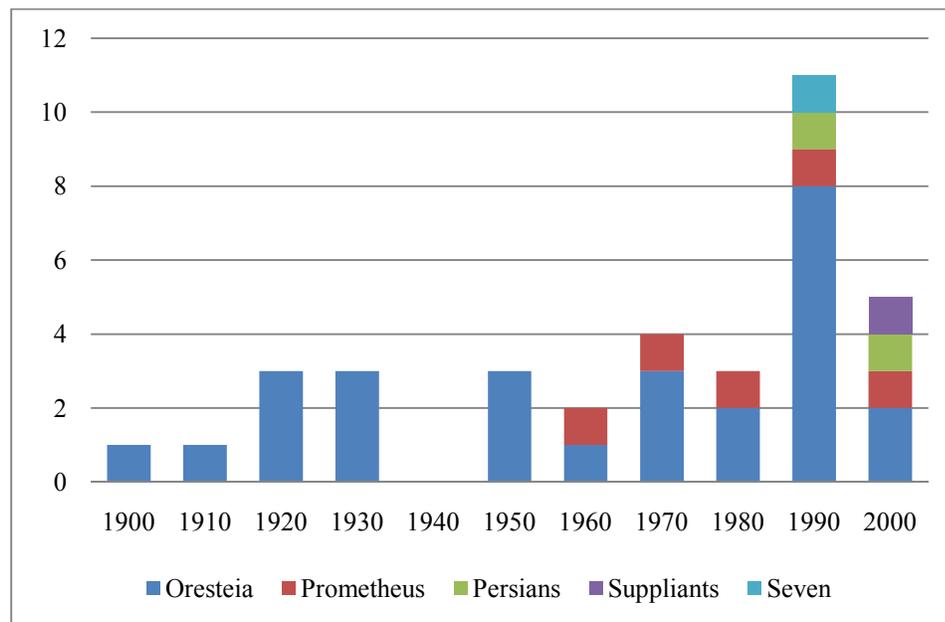


Chart 9. Published Performance Rewrites

The most common way in which these rewrites differ from Aeschylus’ play is that the translators have shortened the choral segments and lengthier speeches. It is possible to perform the entire *Oresteia* in the amount of time allotted a performance of an uncut *Agamemnon*. Richard Le Gallienne’s *Orestes* (1910), Robert Johnson’s *The Oresteia of Aeschylus* (1955), John Lewins’ *The House of Atreus* (1966), Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty & David Grene’s *Oresteia* (1989), David Miller’s *Orestes* (1994), John Chioles’ *Oresteia*

(1995), and William Whallon's *The Oresteia* (1997) all abridge, but do not significantly alter, the text for performance. There are many translations which are considered by their translators to be "performable," but only these works cut and alter the original tragedy for playability.

William Whallon's 1997 *The Oresteia* is one example of this type of adaptation through abridging of the trilogy. Whallon's preface claims that a production of a Classical Greek tragedy cannot sustain an American audience's attention if the play is not abridged for, according to Whallon, "our own stamina and devotion are not so great [as the Greeks]." However, unlike some of the other translations, this adaptation condenses and rewrites the original tragedies. This is especially apparent in the opening of *Agamemnon* where Whallon has replaced the Watchman and the Messenger's harbinger of Agamemnon's return with that of the Chorus. In prose (with occasional poetic sprinklings), the play opens with "Agamemnon has kissed the earth. King of the West and the East. Through winding streets, his chariot, cobble to cobble" (17). The anticipation of Agamemnon's arrival is removed, as is the shadowing of a disturbed home awaiting him. The play's first dialogue is between Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, immediately bringing Agamemnon onto the stage rather than building anticipation through the speeches of the Watchman, Messenger, and Clytemnestra. Although hardly in the antiquating style, the language feels archaic because of the formality of language. For example, Clytemnestra's opening lines to Agamemnon read "Hail, human inhuman, mortal immortal; hail, manly of men, godly of gods," to which Agamemnon replies, "Wife of my bosom, whom all things were done for..." (20-21). Whallon has adapted the language of the original, but, as stated in his introduction, keeps the play's action (he

also adds a satyr play, a new creation). He claims this work to be both modern and ancient, and he has abridged the original story and re-written much of the language. It is, perhaps, its length that sides in Whallon's interpretation with the modern, and the lofty speech of his characters that reflects an "ancientness."

Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty and David Grene co-published, side by side, an unabridged translation and an acting version of *Oresteia* (1989). The combination of both works in the same book facilitates a comparison of the full-length translation and the shortened version. One is considered by its authors to be appropriate for scholarship and the other for performance. Both rewrites remain true to the original play text, they do not alter or gloss, they simply cut. There is not the only publication to present two rewrites, demonstrating some belief in the need to alter translations for performance. Neither version contains stage directions beyond character entrances and exits. The major cuts to the original play are from the choral segments and lengthier speeches such as those sections considered "lectures" rather than "conversations" between the characters (18). Grene's intention was to create a "speakable" translation for modern actors performing "on a modern stage" while acknowledging that the director, Nick Rudall, would use as much of that translation as he thought "the needs of his theater could accommodate" (ix). The original translation was, therefore, published in conjunction with the cut performance version and offers an excellent source for comparing a performance text with a reader's text. The underlining difference is a prevalent idea that the modern stage cannot accept a "complete" translation of Aeschylus. Whether this is true or not shall be discussed in chapter five.

According to O’Flaherty, beyond the director’s adaptation of the performance version, the translators altered Aeschylus’ play in several key ways to enhance its “performability” and make it compatible with the stage practices and tastes in America. First, they attempted to use words with which the audience was familiar—words that were not confusing or ambiguous. One of Grene’s argument against previous translations, such as Richmond Lattimore’s, is that they require rereading in order to fully comprehend the imagery and sense. Second, whenever possible, O’Flaherty chose words which “conjured up colors, shapes, parts of the body, physical objects.” The translators considered the visual qualities of the text, the images that sound could convey (28). Supporting the publication of a translation which is meant principally for performance, O’Flaherty concludes that “one cannot understand a play without seeing it in a truly inspired production as well as by reading it in a careful translation (32). Where so many productions abridge and alter the play, this is one of the few published records of the director’s relationship to the received translation.

Similarly, John Chioles followed this method with his 1995 *Oresteia*. A parallel comparison of Chioles’ full-length translation and his stage adaptation demonstrates the slight changes he considered necessary for Aeschylus’ play to be successful in modern performance. The first is a full-length translation from the *parados* (strophe 5) of *Agamemnon*,

And when he put his head through the yoke
of compulsion, his temper blew impious, unholy,
shifting to resolve audacity,
the impure wind of a ruthless mind.
For men are made reckless by delusion,
evil companion that, the start of disaster. Agamemnon,
priest of sacrifice over his daughter;
to drive a war for a woman' sake,

he offered a dearly prized rite for his ships. (lines 217-226)

This translation is fuller than the adaptation which reads,

With the noose of Necessity
Tight on his neck, Agamemnon
Draws courage, the audacity
of sick minds who desecrate
And plunder for a cause,
Bringing down on their head
The primal source of ruin.
So he takes on the role
Of priest and executioner
Over his daughter's sacrifice
That he may wage war for a woman. (lines 217-226)

However, the adaptation is clearer in its meaning, it does not require second thought.

These are qualities required of a spoken play rather than one read. In many instances, Chioles adaptation uses simpler words and replaces lengthy thoughts with shorter ones.

Compare the last sentence of the above samples. Interestingly, both the

O'Flaherty/Grene and Chioles performance versions remove the final line about

Agamemnon's offering a sacrifice for the ships. This demonstrates the compactness considered necessary for performance. In many of the strict "translations" intended for performance, the only variance is this "compactness." Unlike O'Flaherty/Grene and Chioles, many of these rewrites do not significantly abridge the play, but simply replace or remove "gilded" passages such as the above reference to the Greek's ships. They, in effect, doctor Aeschylus' plays. The translations of this type that are used mostly in production appear linguistically simpler than other rewrites published at the same time, though they do not abandon the verse format for common speech.

In most instances, translations intended for performance are produced more than those which do not consider "speakability" or "performability" (see chapter four). This is true whether the translator alters the structure of the play or simplifies the language.

However, this is not entirely the case. For example, Robert Fagles' *Oresteia* and Richmond Lattimore's *Oresteia* have had several prominent productions in both the American commercial and academic theatres. In these situations, the translator often gives the production permission to cut and abridge the text themselves, fundamentally creating a performance adaptation in the style addressed above. Rarely does the translation remain unaltered in its stage adaptation.

In most instances where a translator has created and published both a "scholarly" translation and a "performance" adaptation, the translator has generally refrained from including copious stage directions in the translation (as Aeschylus' play contains none) but been more specific in the stage version. The specificity of Chioles' translation (opening scene of *Agamemnon*) is evident when compared to his adaptation. The translation reads, "The Scene is the Palace of Atreus at Mycenae. In front of the Palace stand statues of the gods, and altars prepared for sacrifice." The adaptation,

Act 1: Father Dead.
Scene: The House of Atreus at Argos.
It is a fortress of archaic Mycenaen built.
Aging cement blocks and sandbags.
The Watchman stands on top of a crumbling wall.

The majority of these rewrites follow a similar pattern, most simply mention the basics of the location and the characters in the scene and refrain from elaborating on the characteristics of the scenery, as seen in Chioles' adaptation. Of course, all stage directions are additions to the original plays and attempt in some form to act as a commentary. Either they attempt to interpret the original stage settings or to translate the plays for modern theatrical practices. Many translators' prefaces make some form of apology for their use of stage directions, but they explain them as a necessary addition for

the modern reader. The majority of translations include directions of this type, but directors rarely feel bound to adhere to these interpretations.

One of the most produced adaptations for performance in the United States is John Lewin's *The House of Atreus* (1966). Despite its name, this rewrite adapts only Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, not the entire saga of the house of Atreus. The language is, according to its author, "direct, poetically powerful, rich, and flexible as it was within my ability to do, lapsing neither into journalese flatness nor into self-conscious archaism" (3). Lewin makes no pretense of being "faithful" or having "reverent subordination...to the letter of the original" (3), but was created strictly for theatrical performance. It was first produced by Tyrone Guthrie with the Minnesota Theatre Company. There are a few additions to the text, intended as interpretations designed for an audience without an understanding of the source culture. There is also some cutting. Also, according to Guthrie's introduction of Lewin's play, consideration for the "sound" of the text was also important,

Verse translation which interestingly and faithfully conveys that meaning of an original poem is not always musical; if it is not, it is almost impossible to speak it intelligibly, let alone interestingly. Therefore we decided that a version which seemed to us highly musical should have preference over translations which, to a classical scholar, might seem more "faithful." (8)

There are clear shifts in verse style in Lewin's rewrite that appear to function tightly with Guthrie's goal of "performability," rather than for mere "speakability" or "singability." Most of these shifts occur within the choral segments. Compare the following two sections from the first choral odes of *House of Atreus*, the first is lines 156-159,

Thus the dark words of Calchas. Apollo our trust,
You see how men may be caught in a double snare,
Damned if we tug to the right, and damned if we pull
to the left,
Drowning in blood whichever way we turn. (lines 156-159)

This second section by Lewin is based on strophe 5 of *Agamemnon*,

Then Agamemnon
Was torn in heart,
For the ships must rot
For want of a wind,
Or his daughter must die
On the altar-stone
To fill the sails
With a Troyward wind. (lines 217-226)

Although there is no shift in style between these, and other, sections in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Lewin creates moments that could easily be sung. The contrast is similar to Shakespeare's inclusion of popular lyrical works in plays such as *Twelfth Night* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. Unlike many other "performance" adaptations, *The House of Atreus* maintains the three tragedies of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in their separate forms and does not merge them as one greatly shortened work.

Straying farther from the source text are works which alter Aeschylus' original characters. This is primarily seen in Charles Mee's *Agamemnon* (1994), Howard Rubenstein's *Agamemnon* (1998), and Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians* (2005). Mee and McLaughlin, among other things, both revamp Aeschylus chorus. Mee made the chorus of old men of Argos into Hesiod, Herodotus, and Thucydides and McLaughlin transformed the councilmen of Persia into specific heads of state. Rubenstein added a narrator, extended the action of the play to cover a week, and significantly relaxed the language for "speakability." Frequently, these are the sorts of adaptations created by the director. It is significant, therefore, that it is the playwright/translator who has made

these alterations because it represents the idea, prevalent in the American theatre, that stage adaptations are needed for the production of Aeschylus' plays. An examination of these rewrites and their relationship to the form and character of Aeschylus' tragedies will show, to a greater degree than the abridged categories, the ways in which the American stage asserts its influence on the production of these Classical Greek plays. All three of these authors translated and rewrote these plays principally for production.

Mee has introduced into his *Agamemnon* themes that were less strong in the Greek original; his focus on the brutality and senselessness of war outweighs that of Aeschylus. However, he has also retained much of the original play: Clytemnestra and Aegisthus' need for revenge, Cassandra's unheeded prophecies of doom, Agamemnon's pride as a victor of war, the waiting of the citizens of Argos for the return of their men, and the role of fate on the lives of the main characters. Mee includes many passages directly cut and pasted from a variety of twentieth century literary sources such as newspapers, books, songs, and internet blogs that were not from Aeschylus. These are not mere interpretations of the spirit of the Greek text, but complete fabrications (new creations). They do not introduce a new story-line or side thought, but, at the same time, cannot be seen as transpositions of the original text. One such speech, that of Agamemnon upon his entry to Argos, compares man's primary urge to war with that of man's bodily urges,

...the head--the eyes, the ears, the brain / are the complications of the buccal orifice the penis, the testicles / the female organs that correspond to these / are the complications of the anal orifice. / Thus one has the familiar violent thrusts / that come from the interior of the body / indifferently ejected / from one end of the body or the other / discharged, wherever they meet the weakest resistance / as in war.

Mee includes many passages of this type, passages that stray from the original play and interpret the myth for a twentieth century, post WWII/Vietnam audience. *Agamemnon 2.0* is more than a transference of the source culture into the target culture. It is a commentary on Mee's perception of both the cultural and political systems of Classical Greece and twentieth century America. However, there are many lines/moments where Mee's play appears as close to the original as rewritings in Walton's *Found in Translation* categories 3 ("faithful to the original butactable") and 4 ("intended for, or deriving from, production, with occasional license") (182-183). As an adaptation, *Agamemnon 2.0* significantly rewrites Aeschylus' play but, at the same time, preserves much of the original story line and action. Nonetheless, it was not Mee's intention to create an accurate retelling of Aeschylus' play but to use that play to tell the story of the twentieth century human condition in the presence of war.

A similar treatment of language exists in McLaughlin's rewrite, *Persians*. Although she does not, like Mee, rely upon appropriated texts who quilt-like cuts and pastes previously published works into his plays, McLaughlin's poetic interpretations equally stray from Aeschylus' original thought. Notice her introduction of an image of a great wave, almost tsunami like, into the opening lines of her *Persians*.

CHAIRMAN:

We are the trusted ones.
Left behind in this place, now emptied of young men.

STATE:

We protect the hollow shell of a vacant city.

TREASURY:

All of Persia is like a beach left bereft as a great
wave slides back to sea.

JUSTICE:

Sand sizzles and murmurs with absence
Wiped clean after the pounding water has pulled itself away. (line 1-5)

The opening lines by the Chorus in Aeschylus' play does not describe Persia as a beach wiped clean from the pounding of a great wave. This image belongs completely to McLaughlin.

Like Aeschylus' tragedy, Mee's adaptation relies upon spoken language to illustrate the events of the play. He does not perform the murders of Agamemnon and Cassandra on the stage. On stage action is a convention very appropriate to contemporary practices of staging and is seen in Howard Rubenstein's *Agamemnon* when the chorus pantomimes to narration the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Like Aeschylus, Mee includes a revealing of the bodies with the opening of the palace doors. It is interesting that Mee's play follows the plot structure and speech orders of the original so closely when his text is so firmly rooted in Mee's own culture. He substitutes passages from newspapers, songs, and popular literature that have similar messages as Aeschylus' original speeches. Where Mee's *Big Love* retells the myth of the Danaids more than Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, Mee's *Agamemnon* holds to Aeschylus' tragedy.

The basic plot structure and characters, with the altered chorus, are the same in Mee's play as in that of Aeschylus. However, the characters are more psychologically complex in Mee's rewriting than the original. Here we see Clytemnestra's various attempts to convince Agamemnon to walk the tapestry into the palace. The stage directions state, "She will try anything: seduction, flirtation, playfulness, humor." Directions of this type deal with character motivation and action and are typical for a performance workshop or rehearsal. They are less usual in the published rewrites of Aeschylus. The directions also intimate a great degree of flexibility of interpretation for the scene they describe. Rather than allowing the lines to speak to the readers/actors

themselves, Mee has purposefully dictated the direction the actor playing Clytemenstra should take in gaining Agamemnon's trust. This is not only seen in the occasional stage directions, but also in the language of the text of Mee's play. Since all stage directions in the rewrites of *Agamemnon*, or any Greek tragedy, are complete creations/imaginings of the rewriter, the type and nature of the directions given often reveals the adaptor's agenda. In general, stage directions for the Greek plays attempt to either (1) recreate the original production situation (i.e., state when characters, in the original Greek production, might have entered or exited), (2) create a production situation appropriate for a current production (using the stage conventions of the twenty-first century), or (3) blend the first and second interpretations. There is no attempt, in Mee's play, to keep his own ideology invisible.

Although Mee has exchanged the chorus of elders of Argos for a chorus composed of Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer, he never has the characters addressed by these names. Only production elements, such as design and acting, can reveal these traits. They do not read in unison, a convention that is foreign to our contemporary stage, but speak as individuals conversing in dialogue. There is no leader of the chorus. McLaughlin's *Persians* adopts a similar treatment. The chorus of Persian elders in McLaughlin's rewrite is composed of men designated as General, State, Religion, Treasury, Justice, Chairman, and Admiral. They, like Mee's chorus, only occasionally speak in unison as a group. For most of the play the chorus' lines are divided amongst the various cabinet members (i.e., General, State, and Religion). Like in Mee's play, the production elements are the primary means by which the playwright communicates his/her altered chorus (not the text). The musical qualities of the original

choral segments are briefly echoed in Mee's stage directions, but it is done in a manner extremely different from that of Aeschylus' play. "They [chorus] pull an old victrola from the detritus around them and play a section of Arvo Part's *Te Deum*. As the music plays, they sit or stand silently and listen." The music exists outside of the language of the text (as opposed to Tony Harrison's chanting choruses) and reflects less the practices of an ancient chorus and more that of the musicians accompanying that chorus. Rather than "dance," Mee's chorus member Hesiod periodically shakes and falls into an epileptic-type fit. This is hardly an attempt at equivalence, but a critical re-interpretation of the story.

To familiarize audiences with the mythic background of the tragedy, Rubenstein added a prologue and epilogue not present in Aeschylus' original. The prologue very briefly mentions the historical setting of the play and its playwright, the story of Thyestes and Atreus, Helen's flight to Troy, Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the Trojan War. Another alteration in the rewrite is the character of the chorus. In this version, the chorus includes three prominent characters with speeches: the narrator, the leader, and the prophet. These speeches are rearranged portions of Aeschylus' original choral segments. For instance, Rubenstein's chorus tell of Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter and the prophet speaks the sections pertaining to Calchas,

PROPHET: I am a master
At chanting prophecies
Of wondrous journeys and victories
Coming to kings.
And, old as I am,
By God's grace,
I can do it still.
The power of prophecy
Surges within me. (38)

McLaughlin altered the “nature” of the chorus, but made no drastic rewrites to the text-proper. Rubenstein altered the chorus’ speech by abridging and rearranging.

Despite their shift towards the theatrical conventions of the twentieth century American theatre, both plays by Mee and McLaughlin maintain the mythic and historical background of Aeschylus’ plays. They do not write “equivalents” from their own cultures into the text itself, such as the American war in Iraq used so heavily on Auletta’s adaptation. Both rely upon the speeches of the characters and chorus to give background mythic and historical information, such as the histories of the Trojan and Persian wars, or the myth of the house of Atreus, without including additional information not contained in Aeschylus’ plays. However, McLaughlin’s audience is at a severe disadvantage to that of Aeschylus’, who lived the historical events represented. Aeschylus fought against the Persian military at Marathon and Athens won the battle of Salamis. The American audience seeing these plays must enter the play with either (1) a basic knowledge of the mythic and historical background of the plays or (2) an understanding that such information is not important to the reception of the play.

Translations created for publication are able to incorporate footnotes, but stage productions can only rely upon production program notes. This has been an issue for performance rewrites and several, such as Howard Rubenstein and Steven Berkoff, have incorporated narrators or prologues to clarify the story. However, Mee’s *Agamemnon* and McLaughlin’s *Persians* do include additional information concerning the play’s mythic and historical background but remains within the framework given in Aeschylus’ original.

Bilingual Editions with Commentary

Many of the translations of Aeschylus' tragedies into prose are published alongside editions of the original Greek text. Nearly every translation that appears next to the Greek text invites direct comparison between Greek text and English rewrite. Many of these translations are literal (although not fully cribs) and rarely used for performance. They often rely heavily on footnotes and, such as Eduard Fraenkel's *Agamemnon* (1950), are somewhat stilted in their language. This is not always the case, though, as with Edith Hall's 1996 *Persians*. For the most part, these rewrites were created and intended primarily for scholars and their students.

However, not all are translated into prose and some, such as Hall's *Persians*, try not to conform to this pattern. In several instances, as with Fraenkel's *Agamemnon*, the translation acts simply as an aid to the edited Greek text and commentary. In this case, the translation was created and published alongside the Greek edition in order to act as a commentary and explanation of the Greek edition. For this reason, the English translation does not stand on its own as a literary rewrite, it relies upon the presence of the Greek text. Most bilingual editions (English translation placed next to the Greek edition) between 1900 and 2009 were published before 1950. These rewrites adhere to the "antiquating" method addressed in the subsection "Antiquating Aeschylus: Victoriana" of this chapter.

A few of the translations from this earlier period were intended for performance, or at least to accompany the Greek text in performance as a form of subtitle or guide to the performance. One such example is William Watson Goodwin's translation of *Agamemnon* (1906). Goodwin's translation claims that "The translation has been made

as literal as possible, for use at the presentation of the play in June, 1906. Professor Goodwin has also edited the Greek text" (cover page). Arthur Woolgar Verrall's translation of *Eumenides* (1908) was performed at Cambridge University, 1885. R.C. Trevelyan's *Oresteia* (1920) and Sir John Tressider Sheppard's *Oresteia* (1933) both present "the Greek text as arranged for performance at Cambridge with an English Verse Translation" (cover page). Such examples demonstrate the difficulty, and danger, of distinguishing between a primarily-for-scholarship translation and performance-worthy rewrites. And, with the exception of translations such as Fraenkel's, these translations are often envisioned by their creators as having literary, scholarly, and performance value.

In order to better facilitate a direct comparison between the translations and adaptations of Aeschylus' plays, the majority of quotes used in this section of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* are from the chorus opening passage, strophe 5, of *Agamemnon*. However, in many acting versions, this is the one section frequently omitted, as is the case with Trevelyan and Sheppard's translations. Only Goodwin's translation contains strophe 5 from *Agamemnon*. Sheppard's 1952 reprint of his *Agamemnon* includes strophe 5, but his 1933 version created to accompany a performance does not. Goodwin's translation conforms to the antiquating prose format popular in the early twentieth century. His *Agamemnon* reads, "And when he had bowed his neck to necessity's yoke, breathing now an impious change of heart, unblest and unholy, then he turned to contemplate the all-daring deed" (lines 217-226). Unlike so many works of this period, Goodwin's translation is not so "academic" as to require multiple readings in order to understand the lines—a practice that would distract from the play's performance.

As previously discussed, John Chioles bilingual edition *Aeschylus: Mythic Theatre/ Political Voice* (1995) includes a translation, the Greek text, and a stage adaptation of *Oresteia*. According to Chioles, “The hope of every theatre person who undertakes his own translation of an ancient play is that he will produce a playable text” (52). Nonetheless, Chioles felt it necessary to publish two separate rewrites, one a translation and the other a performance adaptation. Apparently for Chioles, no one translation could satisfy the needs of both the scholarly reader and the theatre director/audience. Chioles claims that “philologists will always compose commendable translations. Poets will spawn fascinating renditions. But the theatrical art needs a playable script first and foremost” (52). Chioles marked one work appropriate for “study” and the other performance worthy. The first is considered by Chioles to be an “accurate” and “reliable” rewrite while the second was changed to meet the aesthetic and ideological tastes of the American stage. Chioles’ creates a rift between “reliable” and “performable” that is not entirely supported in the production history of Aeschylus’ plays in the United States. A close examination of the rewrites and their author’s intentions, as well as their subsequent use, reveals that the strong polarity upheld by translators such as Chioles between “performable” and “scholarly” rewrites does not exist. Such labels are nearly always interpretive. However, with the exception of Goodwin, none of these translations has been produced in the United States. This is not necessarily due to their “scholarly” focus. There were very few productions in the United States of any of Aeschylus’ plays in the first half of the twentieth-century, whether the translation was “scholarly” or “performance-oriented.”

List 4 includes those translations (not adaptations) that appear in bilingual editions alongside the Greek text. The vast majority of these translations were published in the first half of the twentieth-century. Performance oriented translations dominated the latter half of the twentieth-century.

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|------|--|
| 1900 | Upper Sixth Form Boys of Bradfield (<i>Agamemnon</i>) |
| 1905 | Janet Case (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>) |
| 1906 | William W. Goodwin (<i>Agamemnon</i>) |
| 1908 | T. G. Tucker (<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>) |
| 1908 | Arthur Verrall (<i>Eumenides</i>) |
| 1920 | Edward Harman (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>) |
| 1920 | R. C. Trevelyan (<i>Oresteia</i>) |
| 1922 | Herbert Weir Smyth (All Seven Plays) |
| 1932 | George Derwent Thomson (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>) |
| 1932 | John Lawson (<i>Agamemnon</i>) |
| 1933 | Sir John Sheppard (<i>Oresteia</i>) |
| 1950 | Eduard Fraenkel (<i>Agamemnon</i>) |
| 1952 | Sir John Sheppard (<i>Agamemnon</i> , a reprint with additional text of the 1933 translation) |
| 1969 | Raymond Postgate (<i>Agamemnon</i>) |
| 1995 | John Chioles (<i>Oresteia</i>) |
| 1996 | Edith Hall (<i>Persians</i>) |
| 2005 | Anthony Podlecki (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>) |

List 4. Bilingual Translations (Classical Greek and English)

In addition to these bilingual editions, many translations of Aeschylus' plays publish an extensive commentary alongside the English translation. The purpose of this commentary is to aid the reader in understanding the historical, literary, and cultural background of the play as well as the translator's interpretative decisions. The bilingual publications listed in list 4 frequently include commentaries along with the Greek editions and English translations. However, the translations in List 5 do not include a Greek edition, only an English translation and commentary.

1938	George Derwent Thomson/Walter Headlam	(<i>Oresteia</i>)
1962	Paul Roche	(<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)
1970	Christopher Dawson	(<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>)
1970	Anthony Podlecki	(<i>Persians</i>)
1970	Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones	(<i>Agamemnon</i>)
1989	Anthony Podlecki	(<i>Eumenides</i>)
1993	D. W. Myatt	(<i>Agamemnon</i>)
2003	Philip De May	(<i>Agamemnon</i>)

List 5. Translations with Commentaries

Does the addition of the Greek text or a commentary signify that a translation is more or less performable? None of the translations in list 5 have been produced on the American stage, although many translations not on this list have. What makes a translation “performable” in the twentieth century and twenty-first century? An examination of theatre versions and adaptations in which the translator intentionally meant for the rewrite to be produced on the stage share several key attributes. First, they are often abridged (whole sections removed) or shortened (individual words or lines cut from larger sections). Second, the phrases and words used in the translation are easily understood with one hearing and do not require a rereading or second hearing. Third, performance translations tend to emphasize the way the English text sounds on the stage rather than the way it reads on the page. These are the more conservative interpretations. Liberal interpretations add and change characters much as Seneca’s *Agamemnon* added a chorus of Trojan women in addition to Aeschylus’ chorus of men of Argos. They also rearrange the order of the scenes and the action of the play. Finally, these rewrites add modern references such as telephones and recent war accounts. However, the fundamental qualities of the Greek text (the Aristotelian division of plot, thought, and character) do not have to be dramatically re-interpreted in order to produce a “performable” work.

This is clear by the production of many “foreign language” translations and adaptations such as Ariane Mnouchkine’s *Les Atrides* in the United States.

Carl Mueller suggests in the preface to his translation of *Oresteia*, that texts whose primary purpose is accuracy are not performable because “‘Accuracy’ has destroyed the poetry” (116). However, these terms are not mutually exclusive, as the productions of the translations of Richmond Lattimore, Robert Fagles’, and Stratos Constantinidis’ (2009) reflect. Like Chioles, Mueller’s statement reflects the idea that “accuracy” and “performability” are incompatible in rewriting Aeschylus’ tragedies. Frequently, productions and actors do not honor the “poetry” of the text to begin with. They break up rhymes and rhythms to get a more “speakable” “realistic” text. Despite the ability of the stage adaptation (production) to rewrite and change many elements in a translation, the fact is that very few of these “scholarly” translations have received a production in the United States. The director’s perception of the rewrite’s performance possibilities plays a large role in the selection process. As chapter four will discuss, many directors are drawn towards rewrites that have had a high-profile production and, therefore, the vast majority of performances are dependent on a very small pool of performance scripts (rewrites).

Edith Hall’s *Persians* (1996) and Anthony Podlecki’s *Persians* (1970), for the most part, translate the Greek text line for line. Despite the belief of many stage directors, this does not make the translations ill-suited for performance on the American stage (an issue examined in chapter five). Although a verse translation, Podlecki’s rewrite is better understood when presented by an actor as a prose rewrite where the actor does not pause at the end of each line and stanza, but reads through these breaks to the

end of each thought. This is because Podlecki has broken his sentences into poetic lines that only convey meaning when read as the whole sentence. The translator's poetic pauses are disruptive to the thought of the play. For example, Podlecki's translation of the chorus' opening lines in *Persians* reads,

We are the ones whom the Persians gone
To the land of Greece left behind
And entitled trustees of their rich
Estates laden with gold. 'Our years
Made Lord Xerxes, King,
Son of Darius,
Choose us to watch over the land. (line 1-5)

Any speaker, or actor, of these lines would need great lung power to complete the entire thought of the chorus' speech. Hall's translation of the same lines can be understood from the start, selecting a simpler sentence structure than Podlecki. Hall's *Persians* allows the performer to maintain the verse form and rhythm without losing the audience.

We are called 'The Faithful' of the Persians
who have gone to the land of Greece,
and we are guardians
of the sumptuous palace, rich in gold.
Lord Xerxes the King himself,
son of Dareios,
chose us by virtue of our seniority to oversee his domain. (line 1-5)

However, as will be addressed later in this chapter, Hall's translation also demonstrates the move at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century towards a simplifying of the English language in translating Aeschylus. And, as will be addressed in chapter five, her transliteration of verbal emotives (e.g., *oi-oi-oi*) rather than translating them to English is problematic.

Although Michael Ewan's *Persians* (1996) does not appear in a bilingual edition that contains the Greek text and commentary, it, like Hall's *Persians*, translates

Aeschylus' play without obscuring the thought with unruly sentences (such as Podlecki's *Persians*). Ewan's opening lines from his translation of *Persians* reads,

The Persians have gone
to Greece, and we are the faithful
Elders, appointed
to guard their rich and golden halls;
the King himself, Xerxes our lord,
the son of Dareios
chose us to oversee the land. (line 1-5)

One claim against the production of "scholarly" interpretations, such as Hall, Podlecki, and Ewan is that, as Mueller stated, they have exchanged "poetry" for "accuracy."

However, even works such as Janet Lembke and John Herington's *Persians* can abandon the sense of the original and, like Podlecki, obscure the simplicity of the lines. According to Mueller's argument, such a translation team that consists of a poet (Lembke) and scholar of Greek (Herington) should be the perfect blending of the poetry and accuracy.

The idea that accuracy and performability (or poetry) are incompatible is, to a large extent, an excuse used to justify poor translations that cannot fulfill the primary performance function of Aeschylus' original. Most translation prefaces (such as Lembke/Herington's) claim to be performable, it is one of their designated functions. For instance, not until the tenth line of the opening passage in Lembke/Herington's *Persians* is the meaning of the chorus' speech made clear,

We the old men
while Persia's young strength has gone
onto Greek soil stay at home
appointed their Faithful,
the lavish and goldwinning throne's
loyal regents
whose age and experience the
Lord Xerxes King son of Darius
chose himself
to safeguard his country. (line 1-5)

Despite these obscurities, the Lembke/Herington translation has been produced on the American stage—although only once, which demonstrates that even poor (unspeakable) translations can be staged.

Many of these “scholarly” translations read as clearly and easily as the “performance” oriented texts. For instance, neither D. W. Myatt’s *Agamemnon* (1993) or Philip De May’s *Agamemnon* (2003) have yet to be performed in the United States, although both are more “speakable” than Lembke/Herington’s *Persians*. The only great difference between works such as Myatt and De May is that, unlike many acting “versions,” they have not abridged or altered the structure of the Greek play to the degree of losing all of its original intention and tone. And, these translations have refrained from “glossing” in order to enhance cultural clarity or interpret long-forgotten mythic systems. Myatt’s translation of the chorus’ speech in strophe 5 reads,

But when he had put on that yoke of destiny
He breathed out changing reasons--disrespectful,
Without reverence, and profane. (lines 217-226)

Because of its strong lyricism and use of metaphor, strophe 5 is frequently an excellent measurement of the translator’s ability to negotiate the poetry, clarity, and compactness of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* without obscuring or destroying Aeschylus’ meaning. Philip De May’s translation is, like Myatt’s equally clear and “speakable.”

But when he buckled on the harness of necessity,
And blew his thoughts down an evil course,
Unholy, unsacred--from that moment
He set his mind on boundless audacity. (lines 217-226)

However, despite the lack of stage productions of bilingual translations and those with copious commentary, it is impossible to claim that these rewrites do not consider the performance aspects of translating dramatic works. John Harrison’s “Preface” to De

May's *Agamemnon* states that, as a part of the *Cambridge Translations from Greek Drama* series, this translation seeks to be "faithful" to the original while remaining "speakable" and aiming at "understanding and enjoyment" (vi). Merely containing commentary and/or the Greek text does not in anyway limit the scope and communicability of the work. However, it cannot be ignored that very few of these translations were produced on the American stage.

Translation Teams

A new trend in translating has arisen alongside a rise in the number of productions of Aeschylus' plays: team translating. With only a few exceptions (such as the Earl and Lady Longford's *Agamemnon* in 1933), translation partnerships of this sort have only been popular since the 1970s. Although both members of the translation team nearly always have a working knowledge of Classical Greek, frequently, one member is a classicist while the other has a background in creative writing or theatre. Also, in several instances, such as Walton and McDonald, translation partnerships bring together British and American nationals functioning in two separate English language traditions. Does this trend produce more sophisticated (graceful, yet accurate) interpretations? It is clear with biblical translation practices that "team" translation is believed to deliver more accurate interpretations. Although with biblical translations, significantly more than two people constitutes the team. In the case of Aeschylus' plays, is there an added benefit to such teams as the production of more performable, yet accurate, translations (the holy grail of stage translations)?

Four of these translations (Hecht/Bacon, Herington/Scully, Herington/Lembke, and Burian/Shapiro) were masterminded by editor William Arrowsmith (and later Peter Burian and Alan Shapiro) for *The Greek Tragedy in New Translations Series* with the idea of combining scholar and poet. Arrowsmith articulated his reasoning for such teams in “On Translating Greek Drama: A Self-Interview.” For him, the American translators “have adopted a hard colloquial naturalism rather than the Blimpish traditional blank that is still the norm of polite British or scholarly translation” (59). His intention was, through the poet/classicist translating team, to completely rethink the convention of translating Greek tragedy. Arrowsmith desired a translation that denied extreme interpretations of Greek tragedy on the part of poets and, at the same time, prevented the Classicist from producing in his translation another “colloquial,” “rhetorical,” “technical,” “prosodic,” “primitive” or “verse drama” (56-67). According to Arrowsmith’s foreword of the Lembke/Herington *Persians*,

The Greek Tragedy in New Translations is based on the conviction that poets like Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides can only be properly rendered by translators who are themselves poets...Collaboration between scholar and poet is therefore the essential operating principle of the series. In fortunate cases scholar and poet co-exist; elsewhere we have teamed able poets and scholars in an effort to supply, through affinity and intimate collaboration, the necessary combination of skills (vii).

For Arrowsmith, the collaboration of poet and classicist connected the classicist’s understanding of the source text and culture with the poet’s sense of the English language and American culture. Without the “under-reading” of the Greek play by, what Arrowsmith terms, “its professional custodians—the classicist,” the poet is likely to adapt and read the plays through a twentieth century lens because the cultural divide between the source text and translator’s culture is too great. Behind Arrowsmith’s collaborative pairings is the assumption that a “poet” has a better grasp on the English language than

the classicist. It neglects the role of creativity and inspiration in translating (qualities that can easily be found in the works of poets, classicists, dramatists, etc.) by creating independent “domains” within the translation process.

Arrowsmith assumes that poet/translators teamed with classicists should translate the Greek tragedies. He neglects to consider the performance context of the original Classical Greek plays. Although Aeschylus was a “poet,” that term meant more than it does today—he was not only a poet but an actor, director, and choreographer of the performance. The plays of Aeschylus were created to live on the stage, not in books. Arrowsmith’s premise that scholar/poet teams can best translate the dramatic works of the Classical Greeks emphasizes the literary qualities of the play at the expense of its performance qualities. He emphasizes the play’s appearance on the page rather than its ability to convey meaning and form through vocalization on the stage. Where Bassnett advised the translator to deal with the literary qualities of the play and allow the performability to fall into the realm of the director, Arrowsmith calls for a “prescriptive” approach when he tells the translator to “translate his original in such a way that the director must honor the script or look elsewhere” (64). The translator must be an advocate for the author, must represent him and, in performance, defend the integrity of the original play from dramatic license.

Many of the members of *The Greek Tragedy in Translation Series* teams have also published solo translations of other plays by Aeschylus, demonstrating that a scholar can often be a poet. In general, those that contain a poet/scholar team more frequently rewrite *Prometheus Bound*, *Seven Against Thebes*, *Persians*, and *Suppliants*. On the other hand, translation teams that contain a playwright or theatre scholar have mostly translated

Oresteia, and often for a specific production. List 6 shows all of the translation partnerships for Aeschylus' plays from 1900 to 2009.

1933	The Earl and Countess of Longford (<i>Oresteia</i>)
1972	Edwin Dolin and Alfred Sugg (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)
1973	Anthony Hecht and Helen Bacon (<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>)
1975	John Herington and James Scully (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)
1978	Harold and Ruth Birnbaum (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)
1979	Kenneth McLeish and Frederic Raphael (<i>Oresteia</i>)
1981	John Herington and Janet Lembke (<i>Persians</i>)
1989	Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty & David Grene (<i>Oresteia</i>)
1991	Kenneth McLeish and Frederick Raphael (<i>Suppliants, Seven Against Thebes, Persians, and Prometheus</i>)
2003	Peter Burian and Alan Shapiro (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2007	Michael Walton and Marianne McDonald (<i>Oresteia</i>)

List 6. Translation Teams

In several instances, such as O'Flaherty/Grene and Walton/McDonald, these translations have partnered scholars from both the United States and United Kingdom. Because the O'Flaherty/Grene *Oresteia* was translated for an American production, issues arose as to what "one had a right to expect of an *American* audience" (27). This is important because it addresses the issue of whether or not the American theatre requires an American translation. The production history of the American stage indicates that there is no distinguishable national divide in the selection of performance rewrites. However, certain productions, such as Nicholas Rudall's staging of O'Flaherty/Grene translation, desire an American English.

In the O'Flaherty/Grene instance, O'Flaherty was concerned that an American audience would not immediately recognize and understand the British word "leveret" (but not liking the alternative of "bunny") which was used for several of the productions and favored by Grene. Although O'Flaherty draws no conclusions concerning this issue,

merely using it as an example of language choice in the translation, it seems clear that, in many instances, the non-verbal qualities of a production over-come occasional vagaries in language caused by colloquial differences. In the O’Flaherty/Grene case, a third interpreter, a theatre director, worked with the text to ready it for production (primarily by cutting and abridging the play). The issue of O’Flaherty/Grene’s “leveret” demonstrates the “domesticating” of Aeschylus’ tragedies, that the language of the play is altered to appear “fluent” and aesthetically and intellectually comfortable for an American audience, effectually colonizing Aeschylus’ play.

In addition to translations by teams where both members are actively collaborating on the rewrite of Aeschylus’ play, several “team” translations have occurred posthumously. Both Alfred Chilton Pearson’s *Agamemnon* (1910) and George Derwent Thomson’s *Oresteia* (1938) rewrite Aeschylus’ plays using the notes and translations of the late Walter George Headlam. This is not a “collaborative” effort, but an appropriation and interpretation of Headlam’s work which, for the most part, would have remained unpublished. Thomson later published a solo translation of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* that, nonetheless, contained Headlam influences. In both situations, the collaboration was an attempt to honor the work of the late Headlam by exposing his “true” interpretation and work, and does not fall into the category of “team” translating.

Aeschylus Rewrites in the Twenty-First Century

The selection of plays translated in the first decade of the twenty-first century remains fairly consistent with the pattern of selection during the twentieth, only on a smaller scale: *Oresteia* (or one of the plays from the trilogy) translated thirteen times;

Prometheus Bound, four; *Persians*, three; *Suppliants*, two; and *Seven Against Thebes*, two. *Oresteia* is, by far, the most translated of the plays, as *Seven Against Thebes* and *Suppliants* are the least. Of the sixteen published rewrites of Aeschylus in the twenty-first century, Yael Farber's *Molona*, Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians*, David Johnston's *Eumenides*, and David Foley's *Murders at Argos* are adaptations. There are several literal translations which include commentary, several intended as poetic interpretations, and a few translations considered by their translators or editors to be for performance. In all, the plays of the twenty-first century follow a similar pattern of translation as those of the twentieth century with a small rise in the popularity of *Persians*. Both Ian Johnston and George Theodoridis have published their translations through the internet, where they are freely available to the public (as Charles Mee previously did with *Agamemnon 2.0* and *Big Love*). However, with the exception of Carl Mueller's poetic language and George Theodoridis' prose, each of these texts is rewritten into modern English verse.

List 7 shows all of the twenty-first century rewrites of Aeschylus' plays.

2001	James Kerr (<i>Suppliants</i>)
2001	Peter Vincent Arcese (<i>Agamemnon</i>)
2002	Carl Mueller (Complete Works of Aeschylus)
2002	W. S. Milne (<i>Agamemnon</i>)
2002	Ian Johnston (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2002	Christopher Collard (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2003	Alan Shapiro and Peter Burian (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2003	Philip De May (<i>Agamemnon</i>)
2003	David Foley (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2005	Ellen McLaughlin (<i>Persians</i>)
2005	Anthony Podlecki (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)
2005	James Kerr (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)
2005	George Theodoridis (<i>Agamemnon</i> and <i>Choephoroi</i>)
2006	George Theodoridis (<i>Prometheus Bound</i>)

Continued

List 7. Rewrites Published Since 2000

List 7 Continued

2007 George Theodoridis (<i>Eumenides</i>)
2007 J. Michael Walton and Marianne McDonald (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2007 Yuri Rasovsky (<i>Oresteia</i>)
2008 Yael Farber (<i>Agamemnon</i> and <i>Choephoroi</i>)
2008 Christopher Collard (<i>Suppliants</i> , <i>Persians</i> , <i>Prometheus Bound</i> , and <i>Seven Against Thebes</i>)
2008 Sommerstein, Alan H. (Complete Works of Aeschylus)
2009 Carson, Anne (<i>Oresteia</i>)

One apparent pattern present in the majority of these rewrites is simplicity of language.

Although not directly apparent when comparing works of the past ten years with those of the past twenty, an examination from 1900 to 2009 reveals that, gradually, without necessarily losing the poetic nature of the works, Aeschylus' tragedies are being made more "speakable" and down to earth. That is to say, they are less antiquating and thick in their language use, more clear. Examine the following choral segments from

Agamemnon's strophe 5, translations (not adaptations). The first is J. Michael Walton and Marianne McDonald's *Agamemnon*.

But once he had put on necessity's yoke,
The winds of his heart veered towards evil,
Unholy, wicked, and from that moment,
He began to think the most ruthless thoughts. (lines 217-226)

Compare Walton/McDonald's passage with the well-known, and produced, Richmond Lattimore's *Agamemnon* 1953

But when necessity's yoke was put upon him
he changed, and from the heart the breath came
bitter
and sacrilegious, utterly infidel,
to warp a will now to be stopped at nothing. (lines 217-226)

Walton (a theatre scholar) and McDonald (a classicist) have produced a translation which does not require second reading—a quality necessary in performance where lines are only heard once. Although Lattimore's text is approximately the same length as

Walton/McDonalds' it carries an archaic/literary quality that requires concentration and stamina—qualities considered by many to be lacking in modern audiences. Slight changes between this older and newer translation can be perceived.

Similarly, George Theodoridis, Carl Mueller, and Ian Johnston's *Agamemnon* achieve the same simplicity of language so common with the past few decades of translating. Theodoridis' strophe 5 from his *Agamemnon* reads, "But then, when he felt the yoke-straps of Fate tightening faster and faster around his neck, some rebellious winds rushed into his soul and spun it about" (lines 217-226). The "simplicity" is not solely due to Theodoridis' prose format, but to his word choice (i.e., "faster and faster" and "spun it about"). Mueller's strophe 5 from his *Agamemnon*, although in verse, reflects a similar simplicity,

With this,
Agamemnon bent low,
and Necessity strapped on him her yoke.
Madness took hold.
His mind changed course in the evil blast
and reeled in its utter ruthlessness. (lines 217-226)

It uses, roughly, half the words required of the verse translations of the early twentieth century, as does Ian Johnston's *Agamemnon*.

But when Agamemnon strapped on
the harsh yoke of necessity,
his spirits changed, and his intentions
became profane, unholy, unsanctified. (lines 217-226)

However, not all translations of *Agamemnon* for the past decade exemplify the simplicity of modern speech. The past decade represents a significant rise in the number of productions of Aeschylus' plays (addressed in chapter four) and an examination of the rewrites used reveals that many of them follow this "simplifying" trend. Nonetheless, there are still several prominent translations that have attempted to maintain the "lofty"

style for which Aristophanes' Euripides accused Aeschylus in *The Frogs*. Christopher Collard's 2002 *Agamemnon*, defies the "simplifying" trend and maintains a certain distance from contemporary English language use. However, unlike Lattimore's rewrite, which is equally "lofty," Collard has yet to be produced on the American stage. Lattimore's translation is frequently abridged and altered in its production. Such changes effect the length of the play but not its tone. Collard's *Agamemnon*, strophe 5 reads,

When he put on the yoke-strap of compulsion,
his mind's wind veering round to the unholy,
the impious, the impure, from then
his purpose changed to hard audacity;
for men get overbold from the cruel derangement
and its ugly schemes that begin their affliction. (lines 217-226)

It is not the length of sentences that are "simple" but the ease with which the meaning of those sentences is understood. Collard's text is not filled with archaic English words, such as the "antiquating" method used, but its sentence structure is difficult and unclear.

As translator Howard Rubenstein states in the introduction to his 1998 *Agamemnon*,

The great variety of emotions and ideas that Aeschylus describes are expressed with an economy of words characteristic of the classical Greek diction. Aeschylus' Greek is particularly lean, even condensed...to make the Greek clear in English, each idea has to be teased out and set into separate English phrases or sentences. (4)

Most staged texts elicit understanding immediately, they are not vague or obtuse. Poetry cannot conquer communication in the theatre and it appears that more and more translations are considering the "communication" qualities of the text, whether through reading or performance, as highly as they consider the concept of "faithfulness." As T. S. Eliot said in "The Sacred Wood; Essays on Poetry and Criticism," "We need an eye which can see the past in its place with its definite differences from the present, and yet so lively that it shall be as present to us as the present."

Chapter 4: Aeschylus Staged

Analyzing the rewriting and stage adaptation of Shakespeare's plays, Charles Morowitz's *Recycling Shakespeare* argues against treating classical plays as "sacred" texts that cannot be altered or adapted. Morowitz's stance against the use of terms such as "authenticity" and "fidelity" used by academics and "traditionalists" in their effort to reign in a director's creativity reflects a growing trend in the American theatre towards strong director/rewriters and performance-dominated, rather than text-dominated, interpretations. Morowitz asserts that

a classic in production makes demands that are never called for in the study," that "there is a factor in Shakespearian production which never enters into the academic study of a text. It is a stubborn factor and a transforming factor and, unfortunately, one that will not go away. I refer of course to the director. (2)

It is the director's adaptation of a translated play for production that complicates the study of Aeschylus' tragedies on the American stage. As Domis Plugge's *History of Greek Play Production in American Colleges and Universities from 1881 to 1936* observed in 1938, there are "two divergent technical approaches to Greek play production, the traditional and modern" (7). And, to a large extent, although greatly stratified, this division still exists. The traditional approach, according to Plugge, often attempts archaeological reproduction in the name of "authenticity" and "accuracy." This approach is primarily interested in reproducing the play's original theatrical conditions (i.e., Classical Greek). The modern approach incorporates contemporary theatrical

practices of the director's culture. As Morowitz states, this latter interpretation frequently involves the personality of the director's vision.

During the twentieth century, the most successful rewrites of Aeschylus' plays (i.e., those rewrites that were produced most frequently) were primarily adaptations and distant relatives. Even strict "translations" were often adapted for production. The approach and purpose of producing Greek tragedies have vastly changed since 1900. The change in approach affects audience expectations concerning classical Greek plays. As Marianne McDonald states in *Ancient Sun Modern Light*,

Scholars in previous generations were historically oriented in the sense that they tried to preserve the past; now scholars are actively reinterpreting the past to make it acceptable to the present and to assure that the future will not in the least resemble it. (3)

What McDonald has observed is the difference between preservation and recycling practices.

The translation of a Classical Greek play into English requires some form of alteration, and the transfer to the stage complicates matters because of the director's adaptation of the translation. Stratos E. Constantinidis described the tension between preservation and adaptation in his "Classical Drama in Modern Performances." In Constantinidis' analysis, two major debates concerning the recycling of Classical Greek tragedies in the twentieth century developed. The first asked whether classical drama was "a corpus of printed texts" or primarily "a corpus of recorded performances." The second debate concerned the reason for reviving these ancient plays for modern audiences. One side required directors, actors, and audiences to define the plays in terms of a past culture and the other side required the production to remake the play to reflect current issues and concerns. Constantinidis concluded that "The revival becomes a

process of (re)interpretation, (re)writing, and (re)vision of both the classical text and of the current theatrical tradition that (re)produces it but cannot replicate it” (9). The resulting production was not entirely classical or modern.

According to Morowitz, “The director who is committed to putting the play on the stage exactly as it is written is the equivalent of the cook who intends to make the omelet without cracking the eggs” (3). An examination of the production practices and interpretations of Aeschylus’ tragedies since 1900 reveals quite a bit of egg cracking. The traditionalist might ask why direct a play that needs changing? The Ohio State University staged six stage readings of Stratos E. Constantinidis’ translation of Aeschylus’ *Persians* in November 2009. A survey of the audience’s response to the readings was collected (appendix D) in order to gain valuable feedback on the translation and production reception. The staging of Constantinidis’ translation, analysed in chapter five of this dissertation, did not doctor or alter Aeschylus’ original play for performance purposes. The translation (second draft) was performed uncut and unaltered. According to the respondents of the staged readings, Aeschylus’ play was successfully received without any “egg” cracking on the part of the director. Ninety percent of the audience respondents claimed that the stage reading was excellent or good. The vast majority responded that the translation did not need to be altered in order for a production of the play to be successful.

There are a variety of director approaches to these plays and many of them stem from the director’s own personal agenda or mission in producing a Classical Greek play rather than any deficiency in the play text itself. For instance, Peter Meineck’s *Classical Receptions in Drama and Poetry in English from c. 1970 to the Present, Electronic*

Seminar Series Archive challenged “traditional notions” in the interpretation of the Classical Greek tragedies. Meineck wrote:

The general perception of Greek drama seems firmly rooted in 19th century ideals and audiences are often stunned and shocked, sometimes even deeply offended if a production deviates from these "traditional" notions. Some of the most exciting developments in our understanding of Greek drama that have occurred over the last 30 or so years do not seem to be trickling down and overtly affecting the man or woman in the street. Advances in our understanding of these plays have been huge and not just in the areas of ritual, civics, gender and other social issues. How can Classicists and Theatre scholars effectively communicate these exciting and enticing elements to the audiences and readers of today?

Behind Meineck’s final question about “how” and “why” to direct and produce the Classical Greek plays is the more complicated question of “who” should recycle and advance “our understanding” of these plays. Is it the translator, the director, or perhaps both? Many translators and adaptors of Aeschylus’ plays have cracked the classical “egg” themselves when they created allegedly playable texts through adaptation.

As Susan Bassnett concludes in her essay, “Still Trapped in the Labyrinth: Further Reflections on Translation and Theatre,”

the task of the translator is to work with the inconsistencies of the text and leave the resolution of those inconsistencies to someone else. Searching for deep structures and trying to render the text ‘performable’ is not the responsibility of the translator. (105)

Despite Bassnett’s assertions, translations and adaptations frequently consider the performance qualities of the text. After all, the original playwright considered such qualities when composing the play. Performance-oriented rewrites are, for the most part, the most produced forms of Aeschylus’ plays on the American stage. Despite these considerations, the productions of these plays generally follow one of Plugge’s two methods, i.e., they are either modern or traditional in style. In general, the modern approach overlays, or sometimes substitutes, the Classical Greek context of the original

play with aspects from the rewriters or director's own culture. The traditionalist approach attempts to maintain as much of the play's original setting and cultural imagery. This interpretation is not always linked to the rewrite itself, but to the director's concept and reading of the play. It is this third interpretation, the director's interaction with the translator/adaptor's rewrite, which is the focus of this chapter.

The translation of dramatic texts requires different considerations than the translation of poetry and novels (fiction). The poem and novel are transmitted from the written page to the reader, but the drama is transmitted through its production to the reader/audience. The text is not the starting point for all directors, as in Richard Schechner's *Dionysus in 69*. There are two major schools of thought: first, that the relationship is the same for dramatic works as poetic and prose works, that the "reader" is the director and any further transmission leaves the realm of translation and goes beyond the text's domain. Second, that the relationship is triangular, between text, director, and audience as "reader," and that the performance aspects are most certainly a consideration of the text. However, an examination of the texts used in performance in the United States, reveals that strict translations (which adhere to this first principle) are as popular in production as those of the second. However, it also reveals that these translations do not always maintain their original form on the stage. The rewrite is often rewritten. At the same time, rewrites that adhere to the second principle, the triangular relationship, are equally as popular.

Is there a noticeable difference between the staging practices of translations versus those of adaptations? Is it even possible to produce an "authentic" translation on the stage or must the stage adaptation (production) alter the received text for

performability? Do translations essentially become adaptations when produced? In practice (as opposed to theory) is it really, as Bassnett asserts, the role of the director, and not the translator to try “to render the text ‘performable’” (105)? Translations compose one-third of the produced rewrites of Aeschylus’ tragedies in the academic theatre. For the greater part of the twentieth century they have been the stalwart text of production. However, they are in many instances adapted and altered in some form for (or by) the performance. Chart 10 shows the types of rewrites (translations, adaptations, and distant relatives) used in the production of Aeschylus’ tragedies on the American stage since 1900. This table shows the steady growth in the popularity of Aeschylus’ plays and the sudden rise since the 1980s in their production (better noted in chart 11). For the greater part of the century, translations are used more than adaptations and distant relatives, although this ratio changed between 1980 and 2009.

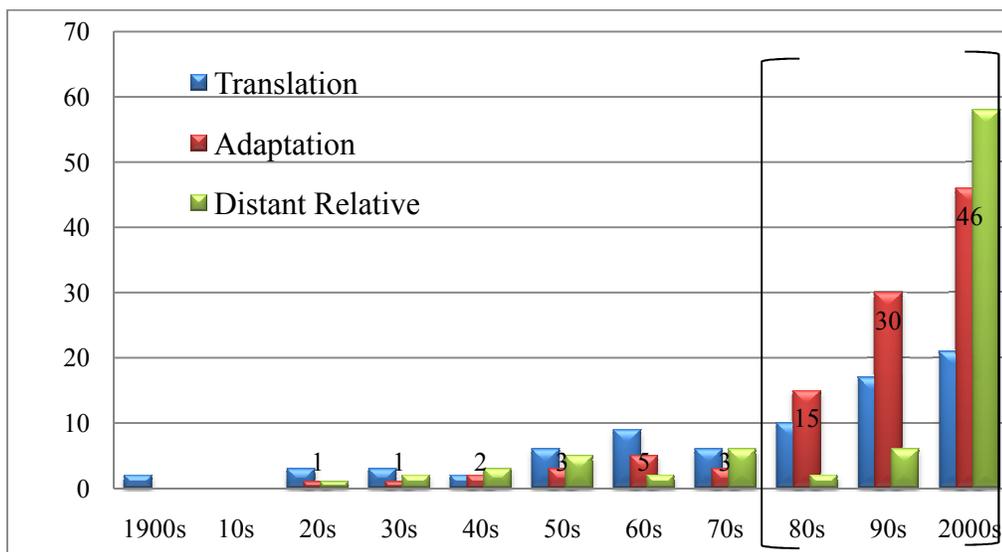


Chart 10. Production Types by Decade (Academic & Non-Academic Theatres)

In many instances, a new translation is treated in performance as a new play that requires workshop and revision, a process meant to make the play more performable. In other instances, translations were commissioned for production and “performable” qualities were translated directly into the text. Often a classicist was teamed with a dramaturg or a director to enhance the performance success of the translation.

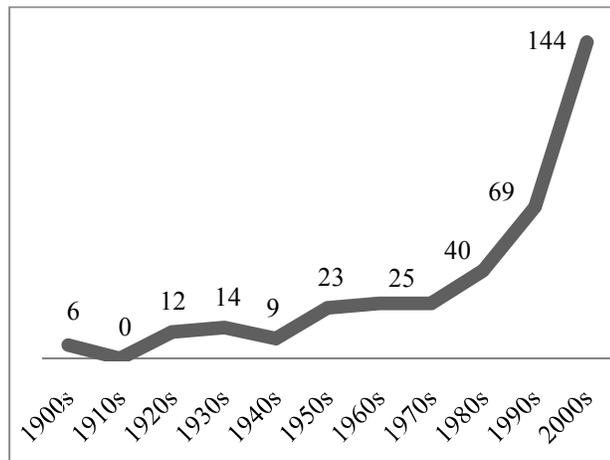


Chart 11. Productions of Rewrites of Aeschylus’ Tragedies in the U.S. Academic and Non-Academic Theatres

Of the modern and traditional approaches addressed by Plugge, there are several subcategories that fall within these two branches into which most productions can be divided. How does each of these interpretations speak to American recycling practices? Amy Green’s *The Revisionist Stage: American Directors Reinvent the Classics* claims that “Classical revival has always meant revision,” but Green also emphasizes that “because contemporary revisionist productions of the classics maintain original texts in radically altered theatrical presentations, they are distinctly different from the literary adaptations that came before (1-2). Both the rewrites and the stage adaptations of

Aeschylus' plays are dramatically varied in the twentieth century and twenty-first century. This variety of interpretations reflects the social and cultural changes in the century as well as a rise in the role of the director and the decline in the authority of the author. Sharon Friedman's *Feminist Theatrical Revisions of Classic Works* explores both the textual rewriting and performance adaptations of the twentieth century and, like Green, observes that,

Playwrights and directors, often collaborating with actors and scenic designers, continue to employ a range of strategies associated with modernist theatrical adaptation: transposing historical or geographical setting and using the skeletal plot to comment on contemporary experience (reminiscent of Eugene O'Neill's 1931 trilogy, *Mourning Becomes Electra*), or creating a more abstract setting using provocative state imagery, choreographed movement, and acoustical techniques (such as Andre Serban's 1972-1974 *Fragments of a Trilogy*). (2)

Such appropriations of the "historical or geographical setting" and "skeletal plot" on the part of the rewriters and directors reflect the personality of the production more than that of Aeschylus. As Green and Morowitz argue, the personality and interpretation of the director in many ways overshadows the personality of the translator. If the translator accurately represents the author in his rewrite, then the director's personality also overshadows that of the Classical Greek dramatist. The director's influence is best seen by comparing the different directorial interpretations used with a single translation (i.e., all productions of Robert Fagles' *Oresteia* compared to all productions of Ted Hughes' *Oresteia*).

Artistic tastes and the American relationship with the Classical Greek tragedies have changed. Directors no longer seek to validate their production interpretations through reliance on "ancient" authority. There is a discernable move from canonicity to the debunking and dissemination of such "ancientness." There has been a gradual decline

in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century in the “reverence” shown classical plays. They are seen as “useful” tools for modern expressions, but not sources of unquestionable authority. They rarely remain unchanged or altered on the stage. Modern experience has replaced Classical “authority.” This is seen in Yael Farber’s appropriation of the *Oresteia* in *Molora* and the manner in which she refocuses that house of Atreus myth through the lens of contemporary South African violence and political unrest.

Although there has not been a decline in the validity and usefulness attributed to Classical Greek plays, there has been a considerable attempt to “de-mystify” them (e.g., Charles Mee’s *Big Love*). According to Hardwick, “The issue of canonicity now tends to be associated with flexibility and transferability of language, situation, and meaning rather than implying exact reproduction of an ancient text or performance” (211). This is seen in the radical remaking and recycling of many of these ancient plays (especially through textual adaptations).

Green attributes the move away from “authenticity” and traditionalism in producing the classics to three factors: the rise in the dominance of the director, suspicion of the “text” in the late twentieth century, and the cultural dominance of United States pop culture on a global scale (8-10). Because of this “move” away from traditional concepts of authorship, it is often difficult to determine the “author” of any one stage adaptation. Is it Aeschylus, the translator, the adaptor, or the director? It is equally difficult to determine a “standard” from which to judge these productions. Are they to be treated as new plays or ancient plays, are they judged by new or ancient standards, or can a “touchstone” production act as an aesthetic meter for future productions? What is the

moment in the staging of a Classical Greek tragedy in which the play breaks with the “classical” and becomes a completely new play?

For instance, the most produced rewrite of any Aeschylean tragedy is Charles Mee’s *Big Love*. In production programs it is credited as, “*Big Love* by Charles Mee, based on *The Suppliants* of Aeschylus.” Although it is a distant relative, its relationship to Aeschylus’ play demonstrates what Helene Foley observes about American playwrights in “The Millenium Project: Agamemnon in the United States”: “Americans seem to want to rewrite the play(s) [of Aeschylus] themselves, even while they also view performance of the original as a highly significant theatrical challenge” (339). It is not only the distant relatives and the adaptations that “demystify” the Classical Greek tragedies by bringing them closer to the target culture. There are also traces of the “demystifying” in many of the supposed translations. Peter Meineck in the *Classical Receptions in Drama and Poetry in English from c. 1970 to the Present, Electronic Seminar Series Archive*, articulates this move away from the “sacredness” of the Classical Greek plays to accessible rewrites,

I am interested in ways we can further develop performance studies in Greek drama to a practical end, not a self serving one that aims to keep the base of knowledge circulating among a select group of specialized scholars but seeks to disseminate the often exciting research and reach firstly, directors, designers and actors and then in turn audiences.

Although the rise in the publication of rewrites has been erratic, the productions of such rewrites have steadily increased along with the role of the director on the American and British stages. This is due to the very limited number of published translations and adaptations being used as performance scripts in America. Of those “limited” rewrites, commonalities in interpretation can certainly be detected. In most instances, these “commonalities” are due to the nature and language of the rewrite and

the powerful influence of high-profile productions on future directors. However, there are always deviations in production that exemplify the strength of the director and his/her use of Aeschylus' play. Because the American academic theatre produces the greatest number of Aeschylus' plays in the United States (and often maintains excellent records of such productions), it is a prime source for studying the relationship between translations, adaptations, and the American stage.

Academic Theatre

Plugge reports that the first production of a Classical Greek play at an American university occurred at Harvard in 1881. This production, according to Plugge, was directed by Franklin Sargent and later toured New York and Boston in English translation (Goodwin). The majority of productions (from 1880 to 1915) were hosted by departments of classics rather than by departments of speech and theatre. This is not due to an issue of "domain" (who controls the production of these works), but simply to the late development of departments of theatre and speech in the American university system. After the establishment at most universities of departments of theatre and speech, these departments in most universities became the main producers of Classical Greek plays in English while departments of Greek or Classics continued to produce Classical Greek drama sometimes in Greek. Today, there are approximately 951 undergraduate programs of theatre and about forty-eight doctoral programs in the American university system.

There have been several important studies on the production of Classical Greek dramas in the commercial and non-academic theatres of Great Britain and the United

States. However, very few studies have examined the situation of the Classical Greek play in the academic theatre mainly because of the belief that there is a tension between the vision of the academic and the commercial theatres. It is assumed that commercial productions are the true barometer of a play's reception in society and that university productions are not as creative or influential as their non-academic counterparts. Indeed, in his call for the freedom to adapt Classical plays, Morowitz identified two major opponents: the traditionalists and academics (ix). And yet, it is only in academia that many of these Classical Greek plays have continued to be consistently performed. University theatres, often the most prolific and influential producers of Classical Greek tragedies, offer an excellent source for gauging the American interpretation of these plays because they (1) continually produce these plays, (2) maintain detailed production records, and (3) reflect academic, artistic, and commercial interpretations of the text. The commercial theatre strongly influences the interpretation and play selection of the academic theatre. Rewrites of Aeschylus' plays that are popular on the commercial stage tend to be popular on the academic stage. This is partially due to a study of the commercial stage by academic practitioners and the presence of professional artists as guest lecturers and directors in the university.

By far the greatest producer of Greek plays in America is the university theatre system. This does not include professional theatres in association with a university system, but only those run by academic programs. Of the 227 recorded productions of Aeschylus' plays at American universities, fifty-eight do not record the translator. This is approximately one fourth of the total. Of the remaining productions (minus the anonymous rewrites and productions in Ancient Greek) roughly one-third of the total

used adaptations, one-third used distant relatives, and one-third used translations (chart 12). However, the majority of those distant relatives were of one play, Charles Mee’s *Big Love*. In many examples, the translations used were either created for performance (often abridging the original tragedy and altering the style of the language for “performability”) or adapted by the directors (who commonly trim choral sections and rearrange the speeches).

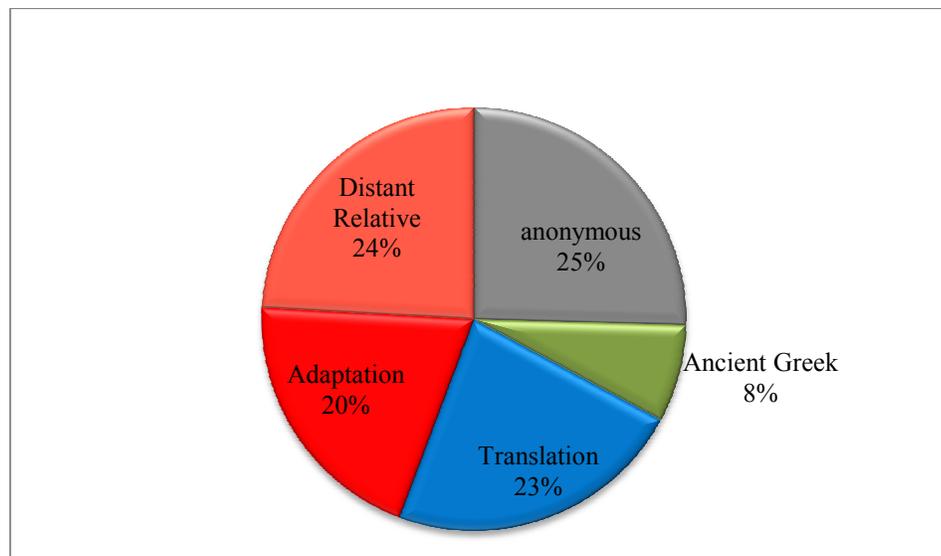


Chart 12. Breakdown of Rewrites used for U.S. Academic productions (1900-2010)

Only sixteen rewrites (including translations, adaptations, and distant relatives) have had at least two university productions. A similar pattern exists on the non-academic (commercial) stage, with a strong overlap in the used rewrites. List 8 shows the published rewrites with more than one production at the university level in order of popularity. Nearly all of these rewrites are from *Oresteia*, the most translated, adapted, and produced of Aeschylus’ plays. Many of these translations were produced many years after their original publications. The column labeled “Years” shows the number of years

between the publication of the rewrite and its last recorded production. Although both the academic and non-academic theatres use most of the same rewrites for their productions of Aeschylus' tragedies, the distance between the dates of publication and the dates of production are different for the academic theatre. Most productions on the non-academic stage occur within twenty years of the rewrite's publication. In many instances the production occurred prior to the publication date. The popularity and publicity of the production resulted in the publication of the text.

Translation/Adaptation/New Work	Publ. Date	Production Dates	Years
Charles Mee's <i>Big Love</i>	1994	1999-2009 [42 productions]	14
John Lewin's <i>The House of Atreus</i>	1966	1968, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1994, 2001, 2001	35
Robert Fagles' <i>The Oresteia</i>	1975	1966, 1989, 1989, 1993, 1994, 2008, [and one undated production]	19
John Barton & Kenneth Cavander's <i>The Greeks</i>	1981	1987, 1988, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2006	22
Edith Hamilton's <i>Agamemnon</i>	1937	1948, 1951, 1956, 1958, 1976	39
Richmond Lattimore's <i>The Oresteia</i>	1953	1960, 1960, 1962, 1974, 2001	48
Ted Hughes' <i>The Oresteia</i>	1999	2001, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2009	5
William Alfred's <i>Agamemnon</i>	1954	1947, 1948, 1953, 1972	18
Eugene O'Neill's <i>Mourning Becomes Electra</i>	1931	1956, 1958, 2004, 2005	28
Gilbert Murray's <i>The Oresteia</i>	1920	1925, 1932, 1933, 1934	23
Tony Harrison's <i>The Oresteia</i>	1981	1991, 2001, 2004	23
Steven Berkhoff's <i>Agamemnon</i>	1977	1999, 2003, 2009	10
Tadashi Suzuki's <i>Clytemnestra</i>	1986	1990, 1993, 1996	10
Robinson Jeffers' <i>Tower Beyond Tragedy</i>	1924	1926, 1932, 1962	8
Jean-Paul Sartre's <i>Les Mouches</i>	1943	1951, 1965, 1997	8
Peter Meineck's <i>Oresteia</i>	1998	1998, 1999	10

List 8. Aeschylus Rewrites with Multiple Academic Productions

Although this type of theatre is, as Michael Walton put it in "Translation or Transubstantiation," "thirstier for originality than for the original," the university stage

continues to explore and work with older translations (191). In this way, the academic stage is an invaluable source for examining the effects of artistic and social change on production and text. Often rewrites created for an audience with a different cultural sensitivity and artistic model are adjusted by later interpretations, demonstrating the flexibility of their language. John Lewin's *The House of Atreus* is still produced in the United States forty years after its publication. Walton's statement that "A shelf-life of twenty years may be a bonus for the stage translator," can be only truly applied to the non-academic productions (191).

The practice of producing translations written for one artistic paradigm (e.g., Modernism) in a theatre dominated by a different artistic taste (e.g., Post-Modernism) shows the translations' flexibility. Susan Bassnett's "Theatre and Opera" suggests that the issue of the aging of the language of translations and adaptations is more a problem of plays "not written in verse." She states that,

It is commonly held that plays require retranslating at regular intervals, usually every 20 years or so. There is no adequate explanation of this assumption, but it does seem that spoken language ages at a faster rate than written language, and since a play is essentially a transcript to be spoken, it follows that the ageing process will be more marked in a play translation than in other types of written text because the source text will contain more time-bound markers. (99)

The rewrites of Aeschylus' tragedies with the longest performance shelf-life are those in verse form. However, certain translations become creative works in their own right. These are nearly always rewrites that have the clear mark of the translator's personality. Their revival marks a historical return to the ideas and thoughts of a period. For example, a revival of Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* often reflects a returning interest in the Modern era rather than Classical Greece. Translations and adaptations can have a considerable shelf-life, as is indicated by the original publication

dates and the dates of their subsequent productions, but only when the texts are flexible enough to accommodate updates of language and production styles.

The Anonymous and Uncredited Translator: Aeschylus as Author

By far the greatest producer of Classical Greek plays in America is the academic theatre. Of the 227 recorded productions at the university level of Aeschylus' plays, fifty-eight are anonymous rewrites, containing no record of the translator even though the name of the translator is known to the production team. This is approximately twenty-five percent of all recorded productions. However, this is not, in most instances, an issue of the universities failing to record the translator's name in their season records. It is a problem of the production's neglecting to include the translator's name in the performance's billing, press release, and subsequent newspaper reviews. In most cases, authorship is given solely to Aeschylus with no account for the translation process. However, only ten percent of all university productions are produced in Classical Greek. The rest of the university productions of Classical Greek plays are based on translations or adaptations.

In many of the newspaper reviews and press announcements of such productions, short histories of Aeschylus' life and the Classical Greek theatres in Athens are included even when the production is completely modernized and not reflective of the practices of the Classical Greek theatre at Athens. Karelisa Hartigan has suggested that there is little change in the translations themselves except those due to the natural changes that occur in language over time. If that were the case, then there would be little harm in such practices. However, an examination of all of the translations and adaptations of

Aeschylus' plays from 1900 to 2009 reveals that there are frequently great differences between the translation and its stage adaptation. A press release by Tarleton State University for their 2000 production of *Agamemnon* is an excellent example of bypassing the translator. In this release, director and faculty member, Mark Holtorf stated that "The poetry in this play is some of the finest in Western literature." Holtorf is right in his assessment of Aeschylus' poetry, but Aeschylus' play is being received through an English translation that is, most likely, not the "finest in Western literature" (the translator's name was not disclosed).

Indeed, there are a number of translations which completely disregard the "poetry" of Aeschylus, and many translators create a poetic style of their own. Without including the translator in a press release or program, it is impossible to identify the person responsible for quality of the poetry in the translation. These types of newspaper reviews and production programs demonstrate the prevalent, but false, idea that there is little difference between English translations and English adaptations of the Greek plays. They attempt to sell the "author," Aeschylus, to the audience, whether the play they receive is significantly rewritten by the adaptor or stage director. This practice does not include "distant relatives" which are always billed under their "author's" name—sometimes crediting the influence of Aeschylus with captions that read "based on" or "influenced by".

There are three basic assumptions behind the practice of neglecting, not giving credit to, the translator and/or the adaptor. The first assumption is that all translations of the same play are relatively similar. The second assumption is that translation is not a creative act equal to authorship, and therefore does not require separate creative credit.

The third assumption is that the audience is primarily seeing a tragedy by Aeschylus so the translator must be kept invisible.

The first assumption, that translations of the same play are relatively similar, is supported by Karelisa Hartigan. “I consider it worth noting” she wrote “how these classical plays have been interpreted in such widely divergent ways while their texts have remained (apart from updated translations) fairly constant” (x). Hartigan’s assumption is not supported by the facts as chapter three demonstrated, the rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays are quite diverse. As Hartigan observed, it is often visually easier to see a strong difference between the productions of Aeschylus’ plays (that range from the incorporation of disco-tech balls, post-apocalyptic underground caverns, modern machine guns, and toga toting priestesses) and the rewrites which can be more subtle in their deviations. Many of these stage adaptations are influenced by the language and style of the rewrite more than that by Aeschylus’ original play. Such is the case with the production of Tony Harrison’s *Oresteia* and Ted Hughes’ *Oresteia*. The rewrite’s influence does not determine the stage adaptation of the translation, but the style of the translation (its language and tone) is often reflected in the style of the production.

Hartigan’s examination of the productions of Aeschylus’ plays includes both the stage adaptations of translations and adaptations. Her statement that these works have remained “fairly constant” in style might reflect some of the translation practices which tend to maintain the original plot structure and character development of Aeschylus’ plays. It does not account for the vast number of adaptations in print. For instance, Hartigan’s analysis of *Persians* on the American stage focuses primarily on two rewrites—one by Robert Auletta and another by Ellen McLaughlin. As revealed in

chapter three, Auletta's *Persians* substitutes modern America for ancient Athens and McLaughlin's adaptation rewrites the imagery of the play and the chorus. According to Foley, "Adaptations and radical remaking of Aeschylus' original(s) have from the beginning until a rash of millennial performances in 2000-1 played a dominant, and perhaps the formative, role in the play(s)' reception history" (311). Foley's study demonstrates that it is not just the performance trends that have altered Aeschylus' plays (as suggested by Hartigan), but the re-writing process itself. Although the translations appear structurally alike and many follow the same plot order, character speeches, and dramatic structures, the adaptations and "radical remakes" are noticeably different (as demonstrated by Auletta's and McLaughlin's adaptations).

The second assumption rests on the idea that translations are not creative works of art worthy of critical examination in the same manner as the works they rewrite. Although this argument is rarely stated, it is implied when producers fail to give credit the translator of the play and mention only the author. Twenty-five percent of the produced rewrites on the academic stage mentioned the director and, in some instances, the production team, but they neglected to acknowledge the creative work of the translator. This unspoken assumption upholds the idea that translations only reflect the language and culture of Aeschylus, not the translator. This is what Andre Lefevere's "Changing the Code: Soyinka's Ironic Aetiology" refuted when he wrote against the idea that "translations are somehow 'not creative writing' and that they are hardly worthy of critical study" (145).

Productions of adaptations include the adaptor's name more often than translations. However, thirteen percent of non-academic productions also leave out the

name of the adaptor. Those works which have received the most critical examination in performance at the academic level are reworkings of translations and adaptations with high-profile first productions (i.e., Ted Hughes' *Oresteia*, John Barton & Kenneth Cavender's *The Greeks*, John Lewin's *Oresteia*, and Tony Harrison's *Oresteia*). These are high-profile translations and are, by far, the most produced rewrites of Aeschylus tragedies. The translator "creativity" is clearly imprinted upon the text and its debut production.

The third assumption upholds the idea of the translator's invisibility. The impossibility of such invisibility is addressed by Lawrence Venuti, in *The Translator's Invisibility*. He claims that,

Translators are very much aware that any sense of authorial presence in a translation is an illusion, an effect of transparent discourse, comparable to a 'stunt,' but they nonetheless assert that they participate in a 'psychological' relationship with the author in which they repress their own 'personality.' (7)

Invisibility is often considered the desirable goal for a translator, and an invisible translation is one that "reads fluently" and contains no "stylistic peculiarities" (1).

However, Venuti concludes that such a situation is impossible. For him, invisibility is a "stunt," an illusion and, at the same time, a concept that promotes the domestication and reduction of the foreign text by the target culture. See, for example, the quotations in List 9. All of them are from Clytemnestra's first dialogue with Agamemnon in *Agamemnon* during which she persuades him to enter the palace by walking upon a red carpet. Each example reflects the idea that a man (i.e., Agamemnon) who is not worthy of envy is not a great man. Each rewrite uses a different manner of expressing that shared idea.

ο δ αφθονητος γ ουκ επιζηλος πελει	(Aeschylus, 472 B.C.)
Good lack! / Unenvied never yet was fortunate!	(G.M Cookson, 1906)
Greatness wins hate. Unenvied is unenviable.	(Phillip Velacott, 1956)
Yes, but a man can't be famous without provoking jealousy.	(Raymond Postgate, 1969)
And where's the glory without a little gall?	(Robert Fagles, 1975)
Mangrudge is proof that a man's reached great heights.	(Tony Harrison, 1981)
But no one can be praised who is not envied too.	(Michael Ewans, 1995)
They always envy the man of good fortune.	(Howard Rubenstein, 1998)
The only sure defense against man's envy is not to be enviable.	(David Slavitt, 1998)
But the unenvied man is unenviable.	(Peter Meineck, 1998)
No man can be a winner on this earth Without being cursed by the envy of the rest. The courage to win is the courage to face envy.	(Ted Hughes 1999)
But to be envied you must be worth envying.	(Peter Vincent Arcese, 2001)
True, but the man whom people do not envy is not worth their envy.	(Ian Johnston, 2002)
Yes, but the man free of their jealousy never draws envy.	(Christopher Collard, 2002)
And people envy great men. What else is greatness?	(Carl Mueller, 2002)
A life unenvied is an unenviable life.	(Peter Burian and Alan Shapiro, 2003)
Only those with something to envy are resented.	(Philip De May, 2003)
Still, a man not hated is a man not worthy of respect.	(George Theodoridis, 2005)
The insignificant man excites no envy.	(Marianne McDonald and J. Michael Walton, 2007)

List 9. Comparison of Agamemnon Rewrites

The tension between “domestication” (i.e., transporting the author to the reader) and “foreignisation” (i.e., bringing the reader to the author) attempted by translators is also reflected in adaptations and distant relatives. Certain rewrites domesticate Aeschylus, such as Robert Auletta’s *Persians*, and seek to make the play identifiable through staged adaptations and translations to the audience of the target culture. However, while the translator’s “invisibility” is considered the mark of a “quality” translation and “fluency” is listed as the goal of many of the twentieth century translations of Aeschylus’ plays, Venuti argues that this phenomenon is a “self-annihilation” of the translator (8). In contrast to the translator’s goal of “invisibility,” “visibility,” or the director’s stamp, is the goal of most modern stage directors.

Frequently, “translations” (or adaptations) of translations (i.e., Robert Lowell’s *Prometheus Bound*) demonstrate the adaptor’s fluency with English, but also their lack of knowledge of the source language. They often produce very popular and successful rewrites. This is also seen in the teaming of classical scholars with poets who operate on the premise that a translation must appear “natural” in English and “must” bring the Greek text and the Greek culture closer to the reader who does not understand the Classical Greek language or Classical Greek civilization. The resulting adaptations demonstrate the impossibility of attaining “invisibility” in translation. Such translations reveal more of the rewriter’s own culture and the translator’s style than the Greek culture and Aeschylus’ style.

The nineteenth century and twentieth century hierarchy of interpretation states that the author is served first by the translator and then by the director. Productions after 1970 have often liberated themselves from author-controlled interpretations by

considerably adapting the “translation” or the adaptation (by cutting and rearranging Aeschylus’ plays) to the director’s concept or the needs of the production. In roughly eighteen percent of the 218 productions of Aeschylus’ plays in the United States (from 1990 to 2009) the directors chose and used unpublished adaptations. Most of these adaptations were created specifically for their productions. In many of these cases, the director created the rewrite with no working knowledge of Greek. Venuti’s argument against domestication and “invisibility” addressed only published translations, but what about similar practices in the theatre “reading” by the director? According to Venuti,

I want to suggest that insofar as foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others. (20)

Hartigan’s examination of the trends in producing the Greek plays in America suggests that certain plays are popular because of their perceived relevancy to American society and politics. For example, *Persians* gained popularity after American military involvement in Iraq. Do adaptations and Greek culture appropriations violate the Greek plays, or do they give life and possibility to these plays that might otherwise go unseen?

In Venuti’s analysis, the active role of interpretation lies in the hands of the translator. He either brings the reader to the author or the author to the reader. However, in both of these examples, the reader is a passive entity. As chapter five will show, there is a strong assumption on the part of adaptors and directors that audiences cannot digest the Classical Greek plays in English translation. There is a belief that these works need to be adapted for performance. This is, in fact, an erroneous assumption (as supported by the audience survey found in appendix D and outlined in chapter five). Audiences, and readers, today are equally capable of understanding and enjoying the tragedies of

Aeschylus without significant adaptation. The adaptation of the Classical Greek plays is meant to serve the director more than the audience.

Stage adaptations that present themselves, through use of the author's name, as translations and representations of the original play do not necessarily violate the Classical Greek play. However, in many cases these radical remakes violate their audience's expectations, who have been lead to believe that what they are seeing is a play by Aeschylus. This is frequently a problem with the promotion and billing of the play by the theatre rather than the rewriting by the adaptor. The question is not if these works give new life to Aeschylus' plays but whether that life is Aeschylus' or a construct of the twentieth century. The translators and adaptors of Aeschylus' plays are never invisible in their rewrites. Whether foreignizing or domesticating the original Greek plays, very few audiences in the American theatre have ever seen a tragedy by Aeschylus. Most rewrites, even the most "scholarly" of translations, are adapted in the staging process by the director.

Another reason for neglecting to include the translator's name with the production information is that in many cases, the rewrite infringes on the copyright of one or more published translations. In several of the productions of Aeschylus' plays that have neglected to include the translator's name in the billing, the director/adaptor created his/her script from blending multiple published translations and adaptations. The extent of this practice is difficult to determine because the adaptors are reluctant to discuss their creative appropriations. Since their rewrites remain unpublished, it is impossible to see how much of each new rewrite is a paraphrase of older rewrites and how much of it is simply cut and pasted. It is unclear to what extent this practice reflects an act of

creativity or an unethical appropriation of previously published rewrites. In something of a Charles-Mee fashion, directors and rewriters have appropriated these “texts” to form “new” adaptations. Although “compilers” like Charles Mee, Yael Farber, and Robert Lowell list their translation sources, many of these other “compilers” do not credit their sources. Nor have they limited their appropriations to the copyright allowance of only 200 words. They simply report the play in the program notes and production publicity ads as being by Aeschylus. A similar practice is also evident when one examines all of the unpublished adaptations (i.e., those which list the name of an adaptor). In several cases multiple translations and/or adaptations were rearranged, cut, and pasted together to create a stage adaptation by the “recyclers.”

In many of these instances, the “recycler” did not read Greek. Translation in the sense of rendering “the single element of written text into another language,” did not take place (Bassnett, “Theatre and Opera,” 97). One form of adaptation, on the other hand, is defined by Bassnett as “the process of dramatizing a novel...when the source text is not set out in the form of a play” (100). Although the original translations used were intended for readers (not audiences), the stage adaptations were created for “performance.” This practice is as if the director and/or adaptor believed the translation, like Bassnett’s “novel” to not be “set out in the form of a play” and requiring “dramatization.” Several of Aeschylus’ tragedies (i.e., *Seven Against Thebes* and *Persians*) were considered primarily “poetic” (intended to be read) rather than “dramatic” (intended for performance) by their translators.

Ekaterini Nikolarea argues that the boundaries between “readability” and “performability” are fuzzy, and Bassnett states that “a translator can only be a translator,

perhaps with some awareness of the factors involved in performance, even with a fantasy about an eventual performance, but no more than that” (98). However, many of the translations of Aeschylus’ tragedies are not performable because of their obscure use of language. This belief is reflected in the multiple publications of “theatre versions” alongside “translations” (such as John Chioles’ *Oresteia* and Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty and David Grene’s *Oresteia*). In other words, the stage adaptations of translations show that translations are frequently perceived by directors to be in need of adaptation to successfully function on the American stage. The second example of “adaptation” given by Bassnett also applies to this situation: “in these cases, a translation is produced by a writer with knowledge of the source language, and the playwright then takes it over and rewrites it” (100). These practices exemplify the blending (blurring) of the boundaries between translation, adaptation, and distant relatives. It is the blurring between these forms of recycling that leads to misunderstandings concerning authorship in all of these rewrites of Aeschylus’ plays.

Translations and Stage Adaptations

This section will compare and analyze productions of the English-language translations and stage adaptations (productions) in order to better understand the relationship between text, tradition, interpretation, and production. How are the “literary” qualities of a stage adaptation represented by directors in production? Is there a noticeable difference between the production of adaptations and translations (both rewrites of the same Greek plays)? How do textual interpretations relate to performance interpretations? As previously stated, Hartigan argues that the “scripts of Aeschylus,

Sophocles, and Euripides have remained relatively unchanged...there have been, naturally, updated versions... Nevertheless, the old legend shows through” (3).

Contrasting translations to adaptations, Hartigan asserts that the translations are not radically different from the Greek plays, but that the productions of these translations act as adaptations and are very different. However, translations significantly differ from adaptations in their published forms and these differences frequently effect stage adaptations (productions). Charles Mee *Agamemnon* or Steven Berkoff’s *Agamemnon* call for a production very different from that of Richmond Lattimore *Agamemnon* or Robert Fagles’ *Agamemnon* because they contain references from the rewriter’s culture that are not in Aeschylus’ original play.

Many prefaces by translators and adaptors of Aeschylus’ plays reveal that most of these “rewriters” desire to emphasize various qualities of a play that are not “adequately” addressed by previous rewriters. They attempt to make the Greek play more compatible to the Anglo-American culture and its theatrical/literary practices or to amend previous “inaccuracies” and reveal new interpretations of the Greek play. In “Greek Tragedy in Translation” Ekaterini Nikolarea asks if a dramatic text can be “translated in the same way as a narrative text or should it be read and translated differently” (24). She concludes that the polarity between “readability” and “performability” is “blurred” (36). This “blurring of the borderlines” is frequently due to the stage adaptation of the translation because it takes the translation beyond its published form (36). However, there are qualities in certain rewrites (if not all) that lend themselves more appropriately and easily to specific interpretations in theatrical production. These are rewrites with strong “personalities” such as Tony Harrison’s *Oresteia* and Ted Hughes *Oresteia*.

As listed earlier in this chapter, there are only six adaptations and seven translations that have been produced multiple times on the academic stage. The rewrites used for production on the non-academic stage is slightly different because, in addition to those plays produced on the academic stage, it also includes Robert Lowell's *Oresteia*, Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians*, Charles Mee's *Agamemnon*, Andrew Ordovery's *Agamemnon*, and David Rabe's *The Orphan*. These additional rewrites are all adaptations or distant relatives and show the non-academic theatre's taste for radically remaking Aeschylus' plays. These additional plays have been produced on the academic stage, but not to the degree and number of the non-academic productions. Nonetheless, the number of rewrites used for stage production is staggeringly low in comparison to the number of published rewrites available for use. Only thirty-six of the 193 published rewrites have had at least one production on the academic stage. There are qualities in these rewrites that must make them attractive for stage production. Qualities that directors do not believe exist in the other 193 unproduced translations and adaptations. List 10 chronologically lists translations that have had more than one production on the academic stage.

Gilbert Murray's <i>The Oresteia</i> (1921)
Edith Hamilton's <i>Agamemnon</i> (1937)
Richmond Lattimore's <i>The Oresteia</i> (1953)
Robert Fagles' <i>The Oresteia</i> (1975)
Tony Harrison's <i>The Oresteia</i> , (1981)
Peter Meineck's <i>Oresteia</i> (1998)
Ted Hughes' <i>The Oresteia</i> (1999)

List 10. Translations Used For More Than One Academic Production

All of these rewrites are of the Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. The translations and their stage adaptations are very different from one another. List 11 records only the adaptations used for more than one production on the academic stage.

Robinson Jeffers <i>Tower of Tragedy</i> (1924) John Lewin's <i>House of Atreus</i> (1966) John Barton and Kenneth Cavander's <i>The Greeks</i> (1981) Steven Berkoff's <i>Agamemnon</i> (1977) Tadashi Suzuki's <i>Clytemnestra</i> (1995) (adapted into Japanese, but later translated into English)

List 11. Adaptations Used For More Than One Academic Production

There is also the issue of distant relatives. In production, distant relatives are critically received as new works, yet their relationship to Aeschylus' plays, as established in chapter three, cannot be ignored. Like adaptations, distant relatives are still forms of rewriting, even though they can often stray far from the source text. There have only been three distant relatives (list 12) produced more than once on the academic stage.

William Alfred's <i>Agamemnon</i> (1954) Eugene O'Neill's <i>Mourning Becomes Electra</i> (1931) Charles Mee's <i>Big Love</i> (1994)

List 12. Distant Relatives Used For More Than One Academic Production

There are four major trends in producing the rewrites of Aeschylus' plays between 1900 and 2009. The first, and earliest, trend is the "classical" approach. This trend makes use of togas, columns, and graceful, flowing (almost feminized) movements. It is exemplified in Bates College's 1922 production of *Agamemnon* (see figure 2a). This photograph shows a female actress in the role of either Cassandra or Clytemnestra

(unspecified). She is gracefully dressed in draping fabric, toga-like, with sandals covering bare feet. She is not masked, nor is her costume designed to make her appear larger than life or stylized in any fashion. The scenic and costumes designs of this type show a strong influence from the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood paintings of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Depictions of women from classical antiquity in the paintings of John William Waterhouse (figure 2b) and Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (figure 2c) reveal a strong resemblance to that of Bates College's design in figure 2a.



Figure 2a. Bates College's *Agamemnon*, 1922 (translator unknown)



Figure 2b. J.W. Waterhouse, "Psyche Opening the Door into Cupid's Garden" (1904)



Figure 2c. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, “Under the Roof of Blue Ionian Weather” (Detail, 1901)

In productions of this “classical” approach, women play the female roles and, sometimes, the chorus. Movements are often curved and graceful. Costumes are flowing and the characters do not, for the most part, wear masks. This representation is less popular in the later part of the twentieth century, before it was replaced by an “archaic” style in the 1980s. The “archaic” style in producing the Classical Greek plays is more masculine in its approach. It is the style made popular by Peter Hall’s production of Tony Harrison’s *Oresteia*. For the most part, the “classical” interpretation is used in the production of translations such as Hamilton and Lattimore’s graceful but full translations.

The second trend which is still prevalent is that of “cultural transference.” This is seen in the relocating of the Greek play to another culture. Charles Mee’s *Big Love*, Tadashi Suzuki’s *Clytemnestra* (figure 3), and Yael Farber’s *Molara* exemplify the trend of “cultural transference” in their stage adaptations. Although Suzuki’s rewrite was originally composed in Japanese, it was translated into English in 1995 and has been produced multiple times on the American stage. It is considered in the production history of Aeschylus rewrites, although not originally an English-language rewrite.



Figure 3. State University of New York at Stony Brook's *Clytemnestra* (1990)

The stage productions of translations can also fit into this trend of “cultural transference,” although unlike the adaptations listed above, no one translation is consistently produced in this way. In these instances, it is the director that dictates the interpretation, not the translator. Elements of this trend are scattered throughout more traditional types of production (the “classical” and “archaic” approaches), although not always consistently locating the play in one place. This is true of Baylor University’s 2002 production of *Oresteia*, adapted by Stan Denman (figure 3). Director Stan Denman described his interpretation of *Oresteia* in Amber Bradley’s *The Lariat Online* press release as “we have opened it up beyond a traditional Greek interpretation of a play...We are using music and design elements such as henna tattoos, hair extensions and dread locks, clothing and jewelry styles from the Middle East, Africa, South Asia and Africa” (figure 4) The “cultural transference” used in this production (or stage adaptation) is a pastiche, hodge-podge, appropriation, of various cultures meant to give an impression of ancientness, while locating the play in no one single national context. This is what Mark

Fortier's *Theatre/Theory* describes as a focus on "reproduction" rather than "production," "a borrowing from anywhere without a commitment to anything" (177).



Figure 4. Baylor University's *The Oresteia* (2002)

In most productions of this type, the rewrite itself dictates the cultural transference and the production follows suit, although this is not always the case. Many modernizations of Aeschylus' plays could be considered "cultural transferences," especially when the modernization is of a time period earlier than the production date, such as setting a 2009 production in a 1930s America.

The third major way the plays of Aeschylus are interpreted through production was epitomized in the 1980s in two high-profile British productions: the Royal Shakespeare Company's *The Greeks* (John Barton and Kenneth Cavander) and The National Theatre of Great Britain's *Oresteia* (Tony Harrison). Both of these productions utilized the "archaic" approach in their design, music, movement, and actor delivery as they attempted to break from Victorian traditions of production and the "classical" approach. Best viewed in opposition to the "classical" style, the "archaic" style is more

rough and deliberate in its use of language and movement. Where the many productions of the “classical” approach attempt to recreate a twentieth century perception of the play’s original performance period (fifth century Athens), the “archaic” approach often focuses on the play’s designated location (a time period around the fall of Troy). The “archaic” interpretation often has a strong masculinity that is seen in The National Theatre of Great Britain’s use of a masked, all-male cast. The music of this production was harsh and percussive, the colors were striking blood reds, grays, and earth tones (natural colors, not synthetic blends). Both Wabash College’s 1981 *Agamemnon*, translator unknown (figure 5) and Coffeyville Community College’s 2002 *Oresteia*, translator unknown (figure 6) represent the archaic staging of Aeschylus’ plays. Both of these images show stylized and deliberate gestures. The characters appear slightly larger than life, an impression strengthened by the use of tall headpieces and long costumes. Although the actors in figure 5 are unmasked, they do not appear as soft and approachable as the actress in figure 1a.



Figure 5. Wabash College’s *Agamemnon* (1981)



Figure 6. Coffeyville Community College's *Oresteia* (2002)

To a great extent, this trend in production is due to the influence of the video recording of Peter Hall's *Oresteia* (Harrison's translation). Hall's production is one of the most recognizable stage adaptations of Aeschylus' plays in the twentieth century. The primary attempt of such stage adaptations is to reproduce the original production qualities of the Classical Greek open-air theatre (although most of these plays are produced indoors). Both the "classical" and stylized "archaic" approaches were a re-envisioning of the play's original performance context that was highly influenced by the art of the nineteenth century and twentieth century. The earlier "classical" interpretation is reflective of the art of the time period (figure 2b and figure 2c) and the latter "archaic" style is seen in such recent films as *300*, starring Gerard Butler, and Oliver Stones' *Alexander*. Neither

approach is consistently faithful to the play's original fifth century B.C. production conventions. For many of productions of both of these styles, an impression of the "ancient" is created instead of a direct historical reproduction. This is true in the case of masks, many productions neglect the "mask" convention entirely or relegate it only to the chorus. The same is true of strong gestures on the part of the actors. Where there are masks, the gestures tend to be stylized and expressive, where there are no masks, movements are often more natural and emotions realistically represented. However, the design aspects are frequently similar: minimal, strong colors, symbolic in nature, and representative of ancient Greek customs and art.

The fourth major trend, and the most popular from 1990 to 2009 is the "modern" approach. The use of this approach after 1990 often contains political messages relevant to these two decades. This trend was especially prevalent in the production of Charles Mee's *Agamemnon*, Ted Hughes' *Oresteia*, and Peter Meineck's *Oresteia* (recorded in film by the London Aquila Theatre Company). This stage interpretation simply relocates the play in a modern setting and often replaces swords and spears with guns and togas with modern dress. Sometimes the translation itself alters the location, but more frequently, it is simply the director's concept that relocates the play. California Institute of the Arts' *Agamemnon* (2000), translator unknown (figure 7) and University of Utah's *Oresteia* (1999), adapted by Peter Meineck (figure 8) both are modernizations of Aeschylus' play. The University of Utah's production set the play against a Venice Beach biker gang gathering. In some cases, such as that of the University of Utah, the production concept was not derived from any specific stage direction in the rewrite. Meineck's play does not reference the biker gangs or Venice Beach used in the

University of Utah's adaptation. This trend updates the ancient Greek tragedies to address modern concerns in an attempt to enhance the play's relevancy and connect with modern audiences. In this situation, the "relevancy" does not come from the play itself, but is imposed upon the play by the director. There have only been four rewrites (translations and adaptations) which incorporate modern references within the text proper. This number is remarkably low when compared to the number of stage adaptations that use this approach.



Figure 7. California Institute of the Arts' *Agamemnon* (2000)



Figure 8. University of Utah's *Oresteia* (1999)

Influences on the Stage Adaptations

There is a relationship between the trends in translation and stage adaptations. In the situation of director-translator collaborations, the relationship is stronger and more overt. The translation was made for a specific production, and that production was designed around that translated text. The similarity between the translations and their stage adaptations is strong. However, there is just not enough data to support the statement that the qualities of a specific translation determine the qualities of its stage adaptation. The limited evidence available seems to suggest that there is some core influence between translation and stage adaptation, but not in every situation. There appear to be three dominant practices of interpreting or adapting Aeschylus' translations (and adaptations) for stage production: (1) influenced by, or in rebellion to, the

translation's internal literary qualities; (2) influenced by, or in rebellion to, a "touchstone" (high-profile) production; and (3) influenced by, or in rebellion to, a current artistic trend such as modernism and postmodernism. In addition, there is also the personality of the director to consider: his/her agenda or purpose in producing the play. This is seen in feminist interpretations where the director's concept and reading of the play affects the production qualities by changing the focus and messaging of Aeschylus' tragedies.

When examined as a whole, there appear to be certain interpretational styles that gravitate to specific translations. This is partially because the rewrite influences the director's interpretation of Aeschylus' play and partially because the director seeks out a rewrite that functions within his/her vision. Not all productions of that rewrite follow suit, but there is a core strain that can be seen in many of the productions. For instance, Robert Fagles (1975) *Oresteia* is often interpreted with an "archaic" style of design. Fagles' translation is repeatedly produced on the American stage. This rewrite was not created for any specific production, or for performance in general. Although its production history attests that the rewrite is performable, it is frequently abridged and cut when produced on the stage. Even though Fagles language is more simple than that of the ever popular Lattimore translation, and less stylized than that of Harrisons, it remains, nonetheless, strongly poetic. For example, Fagles' Strophe 5, *Agamemnon*, reads:

And once he slipped his neck in the strap of Fate,
his spirit veering black, impure, unholy,
once he turned he stopped at nothing,
 seized with the frenzy
 blinding driving to outrage--
frenzy wretched frenzy, cause of all our grief! (lines 217-226)

His verse is beautiful to read, but also, at times, dense and wordy. According to Mark Griffith's *Greek Tragedy Goes West*, it is "conscientious but plodding and strained" when compared to more recent translations intended for performance (571). Fagles translation has had five productions on the academic stage and five in the non-academic theatre. For the most part, nearly every production has hinted at an Ancient Greekness. However, applying the term "traditional" to Fagles' rewrite would be a misrepresentation. Several of the non-academic productions combined ancient costumes and masks with moments of modern dress in order to stress the play's contemporary political and social importance. The majority of productions (academic and commercial) focus on the primordial and ancient qualities of Aeschylus' play (qualities stressed by Fagles' choice of language).

According to Griffith, "Fagles's translation, serviceable although it has been for college classes over the decades (it was completed in 1975), was never intended for use in a stage production" (571). Not surprisingly, two of its academic productions (Harvard University's Classical Club, 1993, and Princeton University, 2008) came from classroom readings of Aeschylus and were formed, through the studies of that course, into productions. Princeton University published photographs of the theatre at Epidaurus alongside descriptions of the production stressing its academic, classroom origin. Of the four dominant styles of producing Classical Greek tragedies, Fagles' translation is mostly associated with "classical" and "archaic" stage interpretations. The "archaic" method for Fagles' text is seen in the images of Kutztown University of Pennsylvania's production of Fagles' *Oresteia* (figure 9). The characters wear period type costumes (creating a stylized, Ancient Greekness). Productions of this type are stereotypes of the Classical Greek and Ancient Greek cultures. However, the theatricality of the event is not denied

by a strong “realism.” The stage is clearly a stage, not an actual palace, and the horses pulling the chariot are designed to give the impression of horses while not denying the presence of the actors body. It is much more presentational than representational in its interpretation. Although not all of the characters are masked or played by male actors, this production shows some influence from the Peter Hall and Oliver Taplin 1981 National Theatre of Great Britain production of Tony Harrison’s *Oresteia* (filmed). And it is this influence that highlights the second dominant interpretational influence on stage adaptations: productions that are influenced by other high-profile stage adaptations.



Figure 9. Kutztown University of Pennsylvania’s *Oresteia* (unknown date)

Many academic productions of translations respond to the translations’ debut, high-profile production. These are what Hartigan called “touchstone” productions (3). Although Hartigan used this term to refer to the standard set for aesthetic judgment (setting one production as a standard to judge future productions), her statement

concerning “touchstone” productions also applies to the influence such a production has on subsequent stage adaptations. According to Hartigan, “it seems that certain productions become the touchstone for an era and often remain the standard by which future performances are judged” (3). For Hartigan, the touchstone performance is nearly always a non-academic production that has been highly publicized, photographed, and often filmed. Rewrites produced in high-profile commercial productions are more likely to be published than those produced on the academic stage, making them more available to the public and perpetuating the interpretation.

One of the major touchstone productions, already mentioned, is the National Theatre’s 1981 production of Tony Harrison’s *Oresteia*. Partly because this production is readily available on film, and partly because of the strong stylized speech of the rewrite, Harrison’s play has almost always been interpreted on the stage with an “archaic” design. Such was the case in the University of Utah’s 2004 production, where the director was clearly influenced by the National Theatre production’s use of masked chorus, unison and solo readings, and tribal-type music accompaniment. However, this production did include female actresses. As figure 10 shows, the set design is minimal, suggestive but not prescriptive in its use of flowing banners and primal masks to indicate location rather than a fully mounted reproduction of ancient Greek landscape. It is by no means a direct reproduction of Hall’s staging, but shows some influence.



Figure 10. University of Utah's *Agamemnon*, directed by Sarah Shippobotham (2004)

Oliver Taplin and Peter Hall's original production in many ways sought to recreate the original production environment of Aeschylus' play. Composed of an all-male cast wearing robes and masks, even the pace and speech inflections attempted to break with twentieth century concepts of psychological realism and reflect the stylized poetry of the rewrite. An examination of Harrison's Strophe 5 from *Agamemnon* reveals the irregular spacing between lines and words intended to be reproduced on the stage through pauses in speech,

Necessity he kneels to it neck into the yokestrap
 the General harnessed to what he can't change
 and once into harness his whole life-lot lurches
 towards the unspeakable horror the crime. (lines 217-226)

Harrison's rewrite is what Adrian Poole in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* describes as "craggy with consonants, unabashed alliteration, and thudding compounds; the rhythms are popular, earthy, carnival...Harrison's own strong rhythms express the defiance he finds at the heart of Greek tragedy" (359). This rewrite appears to be a descendent of Ezra Pounds anglo-saxon translations (e.g., *The Seafarer*) that do

not attempt a modern English equivalent of the the rewriter's own period but a stylized archaism. Similarly, John Chioles' *Aeschylus: Mythic Theatre, Political Voice* states that "Aeschylus does shine through Harrison's text; but there's no denying that the contemporary poet appropriated the ancient one and made the text his own" (43). According to Chioles, director Peter Hall made Harrison's rewrite the protagonist of the production; the text controlled the image and movement (43). In many ways, Harrison's translation dominates any production interpretation because it is too stylized and characteristic to allow strong directorial flexibility. Of the four productions to use Harrison's rewrite, three used masks (University of New Hampshire, 1991), one had an all male cast (University of Iowa, 2001), and one clearly plays with the "archaic" style of interpretation (University of Utah, 2004, figure 10). All of these demonstrate the force of the translation and influence of the Peter Hall production on subsequent stage adaptations.

The original 1981 production design of Peter Hall's staging is echoed in the design elements of many later productions of translations other than Harrison's. However, these other productions do not always conform to all of Hall's staging techniques such as masks, all male cast, and minimal gesture and choreographed movements. In such instances, it is not Tony Harrison's translation that acts as the "touchstone" interpretation, for there have not been strong imitations of his style and poetic technique in other publications of Aeschylus' plays. The "touchstone" interpretation is that of Peter Hall and Oliver Taplin's stage adaptation (the production concept). And yet, in its original 1981 production, the text and direction cannot be separated. As Poole states,

It [Harrison's text] is one of several productions in the last 20 years, of the *Oresteia* and other Greek tragedies, that support the (controversial) argument that for all the inevitable anachronisms, theatrical performance can provide a truer 'translation' of an ancient Greek text than any mere words on the page. (359)

The translation created the production, and the production created the translation. This is reflected in Peter Thurnell's *Deseret Morning News* review of the University of Utah's production of *Agamemnon*, "What sparks this production is a 1980 translation of the play by Tony Harrison." Because translation and production are so integral with Harrison's rewrite, of all of the translations of Aeschylus, his is probably the most recognizable in style and interpretation.

Another production of the "archaic" style that has strongly influenced subsequent productions of the same rewrite is John Barton and Kenneth Cavander's adaptation, *The Greeks*. Although only a portion of this play recycles Aeschylus' plays (drawing from ten tragedies, and all three tragedians), its Royal Shakespeare Company 1979/80 production (figure 11) is echoed in this adaptation's production history (as well in other works).



Figure 11. Royal Shakespeare Company's *The Greeks* (1979/80)

The Greeks was produced at Wayne State University (1987), The Ohio State University (1988), University of Wisconsin (1999), Augustana College (2001), Providence College (2003), Dordt College (2004), and Pacific University (2006). All but the 2003 Providence College (Rhode Island) production directed by John Garrity, interpreted this play with a strong ancient “archaism” in design (seen in figure 11). This is demonstrated in production photographs from the first and almost last academic productions: Wayne State University, 1987 (figure 12), The Ohio State University, 1988 (figure 13) and Dordt College, 2004 (figure 14). The 1987 Wayne State production merged a Greek “archaism” with contemporary sounds and images. According to Lawrence DeVine’s *Detroit Free Press* review, “Glorious Return for ‘The Greeks,’” the production created an “aural atmosphere of clangs, droning and almost subliminally felt synthesizer music.” Edward Hayman’s *The Detroit News* review “Second part of ‘The Greeks’ could use a blessing,” also described the production style. According to Hayman,

the vaguely sci-fi-fantasy animal skins and such of part one have given way to costumes (by S.Q. Campbell) that look as if they were cut from old draperies and carpet remnants. And the set (by John Wade and Russell Smith) has become an assemblage of marbleized slabs that look like the Greco-Roman section of the Metropolitan Museum of Art after an earth quake.

Wayne State “tried to create an original world that has an ancient feel without using the traditional tunics and such.”

The Ohio State University’s production also attempted the “archaic approach.” In a filmed interview of the production process, one of the three directors of the production, Ionia Xelenka articulated her impression of the play’s meaning and significance. “It strikes me that Cavander and Barton are trying to make a statement about war in general,

through anytime at all, and particularly for us. We're at a time like that. What causes war...the effect of war on society and largely on women and survival?" From this directorial reading of *The Greeks*, the design team envisioned their production to "not look like Classical Greece" but to "look like a much earlier, barbaric, more crude piece." There is a strong stylistic similarity between the images in the Royal Shakespeare Company's production (figure 11) and that of Wayne State University (figure 12) and The Ohio State University (figure 13a and figure 13b).



Figure 12. Wayne State University's *The Greeks* (1987)



Figure 13a. The Ohio State University's *The Greeks* (1988)

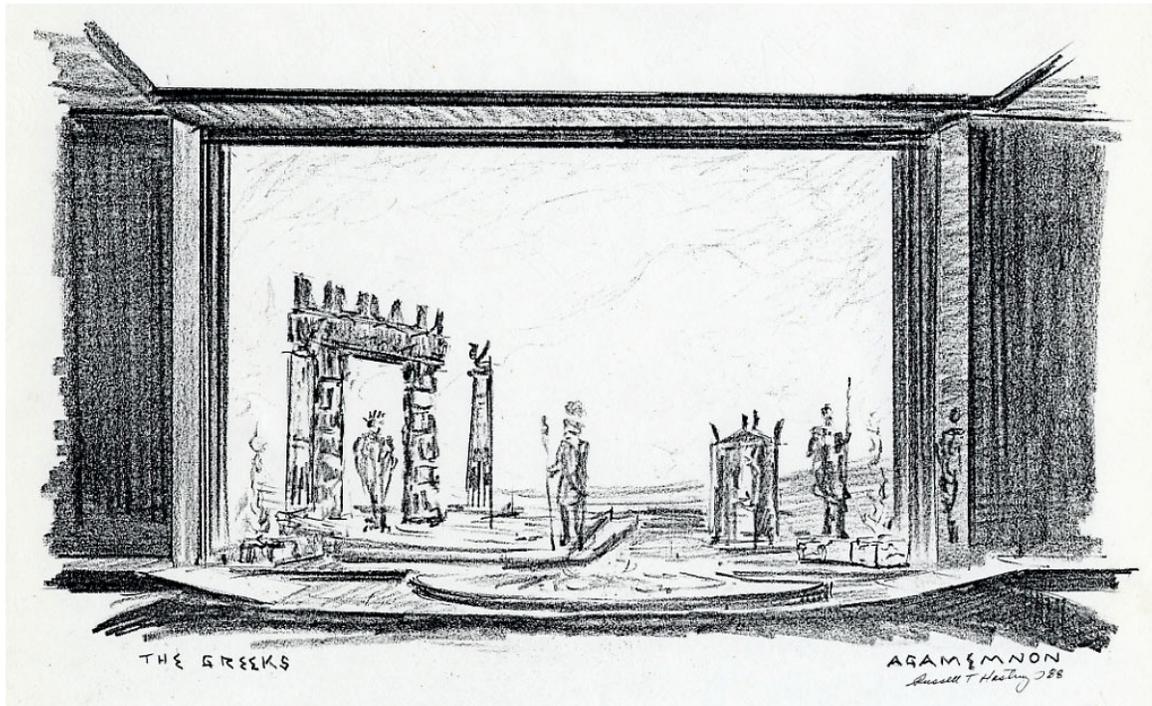


Figure 13b. The Ohio State University's *The Greeks* (1988)

Dort College's 2004 production (figure 14a-b) incorporated masks for the chorus and tunic-like costuming for the characters. However, like the Wayne State University Production, this stage adaptation did not try for an accurate, museum-like, Classical Greek staging methods or the more feminized "classical" reproductions seen in productions of the early twentieth century. Instead, the play is set in a small theatre on an uneven thrust stage. It gives the impression of a strong "archaic" past, but clearly represents the staging techniques of the twenty-first century. It is very similar to The Ohio State University's production interpretation.



Figure 14a. Dordt College's *The Greeks* (2004)



Figure 14b. Dordt College's *The Greeks* (2004)

Although most of *The Greeks* adapts the works of Sophocles and Euripides, and includes comedic moments not found in most of the surviving Greek tragedies, it does exemplify several trends in producing Classical Greek plays. *The Greeks* removes much of the original choral lines, abandons the idea of masked actors, combines several plays to show the entire cycle of guilt and vengeance, and challenges audiences' expectations of

production length. The play cycle, like Ariane Mnouchkine's nine hour *Les Atrides*, runs roughly nine hours. The only rewrites to be produced more than *The Greeks* on the United States academic stage are Robert Fagles' *Oresteia* and John Lewin's *House of Atreus*. Barton and Cavander's play demonstrates the popularity of abridging and combining multiple Greek tragedies into one performance event. It is similar to Peter Hall's production of Tony Harrison's *Oresteia*, reflecting an "archaism" and "paganism" in its production design. At the same time, it evokes a similar atmosphere as that found in Pier Pasolini's 1969 film, *Medea*, starring Maria Callas. Where Hall's production was strongly stylized and theatrical in its acting and speech and reflected the strong verse of Harrison's text, most productions of *The Greeks* utilize psychological realism in the acting alongside a conversational English. This play is clearly an adaptation and, in some respects, a distant relative. Nonetheless, the production design of *The Greeks* is similar in its approach to that frequently used for productions of Robert Fagles and Richmond Lattimore's translations.

New translations and adaptations are popular in productions because their older counter-parts are often considered out-dated. However, the issue is more complex than simple linguistic changes that occur with time. As Andre Lefevere has stated, translation must consider, amongst other things, the linguistic, historical, social, and performance traditions of both the source play and the translator's own time period. The recycling of classical texts during the twentieth century and twenty-first century displays equally complex reasons for interpretational variations in the rewrites. Lorna Hardwick's "Staging *Agamemnon*: The Language of Translation" concludes,

...the relationship between verbal and non-verbal theatrical language in any production is shaped by the aims of both the translator and director in their interpretation of the source text (whether ancient or modern), by the context of the theatrical tradition and culture within which the play is received and, especially, by the perceptions and knowledge of the assumed audience, including its sensitivity to both ancient and modern allusion. (221)

Equally, Hartigan states that “the alteration lies in the interpretation,” both in translation and production (3). As the tragedies of Aeschylus are recycled year after year, even the most literal translations reflect the artistic and social values of their time. Because of this, the non-academic theatre favors new translations and adaptations and, in the case of the classics, rewrites that make the ancient Greek plays appear new. However, many translations and performance adaptations which have simply abridged the original play rather than completely rewriting it, remain in circulation for years following their original debut or publication.

A change in language is not as important in the turnover of rewrites as a change in artistic style and director agendas. Therefore, rewrites of the early twentieth century’s antiquating mode, such as Gilbert Murray’s translations, are now rarely used. This is not because their language is “older.” Their language was “older” even to Murray’s generation. The purpose of his translation was to affect a sense of “ancientness” and, through this ancientness, to gain a sense of “authority” in his rewrite. By the second half of the twentieth century, this form of “Victoriana” in translating the Classical Greek plays was abandoned for a more simple, modern English. The structural differences are best exemplified by the variations found between O’Neill’s 1930s *Mourning Becomes Electra* and Farber’s 2000s *Molora*. Similar differences can be seen between Murray’s *Oresteia* and Hughes’ recent *Oresteia*.

In most instances, translations of the Murray type were produced with a strong “classical” feel. However, this interpretation is not to be mistaken with archaeological reproduction on the stage. Rarely did these stage productions maintain an all-male cast, three actors rotating roles, or masks. They attempted to place the action of the play in the “Classical” period and selectively reproduced qualities of the theatre at that time. This is true of the Theosophical University’s 1922 *Eumenides*, translator unknown (figure 15).



Figure 15. Theosophical University’s *Eumenides* (1922)

In this image, women are draped in flowing robes and strings of flowers, they appear to barely touch the floor with their dainty toes. This is different from the firmly grounded, stomping Agamemnon seen in the filmed production of Hall’s *Agamemnon*. The figures of the Theosophical University production appear to move ballet-like without the hindrance of masks.

The English language has not changed drastically in the past century, but the artistic interpretations, the goals of the translators, and the tastes of the times have. Those translations and adaptations used on the American academic stage in the 1990s and 2000s reveal a simplifying of language, though not necessarily a loss of poetry. Although the

published translations do not always reflect this trend, most of the rewrites that deny this model have not been used in production. Directors appear to appreciate plays which do not require footnotes or additional explanation to be understood. They want plays that appear “fluent” to the audience. For example, Charles Mee’s adaptation, *Agamemnon*, replaced passages from the Greek with American popular cultural references and modern song lyrics. Ted Hughes simplified and cut the language so tightly in his 1999 *Oresteia* translation that nothing appears “grand.” He brings Aeschylus down from, what Christopher Collard’s *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, described as the “flexible and daring, sometimes clear and easy, especially in speech, sometimes complex, dense, and full of suggestive imagery” of Aeschylus (lxxi). Hughes’ translation is more simple and terse in its wording than Edith Hamilton’s “fuller,” yet modern, *Agamemnon*. Hughes, *Agamemnon*, Strophe 5,

With these words, Agamemnon surrendered
To necessity. As if snatched up
Into the chariot
Of his own madness. (lines 217-226)

There is no difficulty in understanding this lyrical passage, no rereading is necessary.

However, the same is true of Edith Hamilton, *Agamemnon*, Strophe 5,

But when he bowed beneath the yoke of fortune,
shifting his sails to meet a wind of evil,
unholy, impious, bringing him to dare to think
what should not be thought of—. (lines 217-226)

Although both are clear and “speakable,” Hughes’ is more terse and simple in its phrasing. This is partially because Hamilton translated from the Greek text and Hughes from other translations in English (not reading the Greek). Hamilton’s translation reflects images and ideas not found in Hughes’, and because of this, Hughes’ appears less “loaded” and more simple.

Artistic tastes have changed since Hamilton's 1937 translation, but the English language has not changed considerably. Indeed, Hamilton's translations are still in use. Rewrites like hers have been most frequently interpreted with a "classical" approach (although not exclusively) while Hughes' rewrite has had several "modernistic" interpretation. This is significantly due to Katie Mitchell's 1999 staging of Hughes' text. How much of Aeschylus' plays are being preserved in translations such as Hughes? Has this de-compacting of the language removed much of the repetitive and fullness that Aristophanes' *Frogs* charged against Aeschylus' style? In many respects, these rewrites have tried to "doctor" Aeschylus' plays in order to communicate with the English speaking audience. Hughes' speech is simpler and less repetitive than Aeschylus' original. In English, it reads fluently and is more suggestive of contemporary speech than many earlier translations. It represents a domesticating of Aeschylus' plays because it brings them significantly closer to the reader. However, in so doing, it loses much of Aeschylus' original images and compact phrasing. This is true of many translations of translations.

Although Hughes' translation is frequently staged in the "modern" approach, it does not directly dictate this interpretation. Even though it does not locate the action of the play in the twentieth century, its language sounds modern and is very compatible with such interpretations. Both 2001 productions by St. Mary's College of Maryland's, directed by Michael Ellis-Tolaydo (figure 16) and The University of New Mexico, director David Richard Jones (figure 17), follow the modernizing approach to staging Hughes' play.



Figure 16. St. Mary's College of Maryland's *Oresteia* (2001)



Figure 17. The University of New Mexico's *Oresteia* (2001)

Both of these productions appear to have been influenced by the 1999 London National Theatre's "touchstone" production directed by Katie Mitchell (figure 18). Figure 14 shows the characters in modern tuxedos while figure 15 displays the knee length skirt and men's dress suit popular in America between the 1930s and 1950s. However, the source for these interpretations could not have sprung from Hughes' rewrite but from the London National Theatre's production.



Figure 18. London National Theatre's *Oresteia* (1999)

Edith Hamilton's translation was the first American translation created in the modern style of speech. It broke with Victorian approaches dominant in the early twentieth century. However, unlike Hughes' speakable translation, most productions of Hamilton's translation were not done in the "modern" style of the twentieth century. This is, perhaps, because Hamilton's *Agamemnon* never received a "touchstone" type production that, like the plays of Harrison, Barton/Cavander, and Hughes, were publicized and dissipated through film, photographs, critical review, and scholarly publications. Hamilton's translation of Euripides' *Trojan Women* was filmed in 1971 (starring Katherine Hepburn and Vanessa Redgrave) and, because of its popularity, became an influential "touchstone" staging for Euripides' rewrites.

Not all stage productions of Hughes translation imitate Katie Mitchell's production approach, demonstrating that, although there are dominant trends in the stage adaptation of specific translations, these interpretations are not always dictated by the rewrite itself. Several productions have attempted an "archaic" (and stylized) paganism (more common when staging Harrison's *Oresteia*). An example of this deviation from the "modernization" is seen in The University of Richmond's 2004 production, *The*

Furies, and Hendrix Colleges' 2009 production, *Eumenides*, directed by Anne Muse (figure 19). Both are stage adaptations of Hughes translation and, as seen in figure 18, not modernized stagings.



Figure 19. Hendrix Colleges' *Eumenides* (2009)

Director Adaptations:

Another trend in producing translations of Aeschylus' plays is the practice of directors adapting the translations. This is done in several ways: the translation is cut or abridged; the translation is rearranged; the translation composes the majority of the text, but the director supplements his own interpretations throughout the work; or several translations are cut and pasted together to form a new adaptation. This last method is different from taking two or three plays and coupling them to form a trilogy. All of these alternatives reflect the director's attempts to adapt the translation to the production

concept. This is often done for “modernized” productions and those that relocate the Greek play to a new culture (such as Cornerstone Theater Companies Native American setting of *The House on Walker River*, an adaptation of *Oresteia*). The third and fourth options are, in a sense, translations of translations. Unlike Robert Lowell’s rewrites, very few of these plays have been published. Credit in the production is frequently given to the translator of the appropriated play, the director or dramaturg of the adaptation of the translation, or simply to Aeschylus. Many productions that create adaptations from multiple translations often credit the production authorship solely to Aeschylus and neglect to mention the translators. In this manner, they inadvertently avoid copyright complications since they “borrowed” much or most of their work from other translators.

Another popular practice is grouping different translations to form a trilogy or a longer production. In addition to staging *Oresteia* with three different translations (one for each play), some productions have added a fourth play to the trilogy. In so doing, they change the tone and meaning of the whole. Euripides’ *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Electra*, *Trojan Women*, and *Orestes* as well as Sophocles’ *Electra* are often included in productions of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* and in some instances they replace Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*. The proliferation of this practice is addressed by Foley’s “The Millennium Project: Agamemnon in the United States”: “Dissatisfaction with the resolution of the trilogy has led to radical experiments with tone in the performance of *Eumenides*, rewriting, or substitution of another Greek tragedy for an alternative conclusion” (339). When this is done, it is common for the directors to use different translations for the various plays. Different directors are also frequently used to direct each of the plays.

This practice enhances the eclecticism of the event and reducing the possibility of an organic whole.

Several benefits to this practice are: the stage production is not limited to the interpretation of one single translation and, therefore, gains greater control over the production's message. For example, productions that include *Iphigenia at Aulis* frequently attempt to make Clytemnestra a more sympathetic character by further explaining the cause of her anger to the audience. At the same time, using multiple translations and directors can add stylistic variety to a potentially long production. This is especially true if the entire trilogy is shown, unabridged, in one night. These productions ignore the fact that there are differences of style and substance in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Even though the Greek dramatists pull from the same myths, their plots and characters are not drawn in the same way. Each playwright tells the story differently. Any stage adaptation which juxtaposes these Greek plays fragments the whole. However, this is exactly the aim of many postmodern productions: the fragmentation and disintegration of the "organic" whole in order to examine its various components. Such fragmentation is seen in adaptations such as Charles Mee's *Agamemnon* and Yael Farber's *Molona*, but not as frequently in the production of translations.

Even when translations are faithful to Aeschylus' play, their stage adaptations are frequently not. Translations are the only rewrite to have "accuracy" as one of their main defining goals. Great pains are taken by many translators in their introductions to stress the faithfulness of their translations and the translation's ability to capture the essence of Aeschylus' meanings. However, there has not been a good connection drawn between

the rewriting practices of the American stage and the translations of Aeschylus tragedies. There are several studies (such as Bassnett and Lefevere) on the unique nature of translating dramatic texts that are intended for performance over the translation of prose and poetry. However, there is little research on the stage adaptation of translations and adaptations. Several excellent studies (such as Foley's and Hartigan's) address the current trends in producing *Agamemnon*, but none of these grapple with the strong differences found in the rewrites of Aeschylus' plays in the twentieth century.

According to Foley, the first official commercial production in the United States of *Oresteia* was of Richmond Lattimore's translation in 1957 (309). However, there were several productions of "radical" remakes prior to this date. Although strongly influenced by Aeschylus' plays, they are not "authentic" or "accurate" enough to be classified as a production of one of Aeschylus' tragedies. There is an unspoken criterion of "authenticity" that qualifies certain plays as being productions of Aeschylus' plays. This is seen in such works as Walton's *Found in Translation*, where the adaptations and distant relatives that form half of the productions of Aeschylus' plays are ignored.

Frequently, translations and adaptations are handled similarly in productions, and translations rarely remain completely intact through their staging. While certain rewrites such as Harrisons' and Hughes' appear to elicit a certain type of stage interpretation because of the play's language, there is no rule of thumb stating that a specific translation produces a specific response. In other words, some rewrites (such as Fagles) reflect more "traditional" "classical" qualities while others (such as Hughes) tend towards the "modern" and contemporary speech. There are no clear demarcations between the production of adaptations and translations because many translations are adapted in the

production process. If such great pains are taken to ensure and uphold the “authenticity” of a translated work—to the degree that adaptations are frequently ignored in the study of Aeschylus’ tragedies—should the production not be held to equal standards of “authenticity”?

There are two major views concerning adaptations and the stage adaptation of translation. The first, articulated by Morowitz and other stage directors and adaptors, claims that Classical Greek plays need to be freed from traditional interpretations by the director. “Reverence” for the original Greek play and authenticity of the translation are irrelevant to the production’s aims. Translations rarely remain intact through the production process, and the difference between translations, adaptations, and distant relatives is significantly reduced, if not eliminated by the production concept. The second view, frequently held by classicists and translators, claims that translations reflect the meaning and format of the original Greek plays more accurately than adaptations and distant relatives. Therefore, translations are more valid representations of Aeschylus’ plays in performance. However, with this view is the idea that productions must remain “faithful” to the intent of the Classical Greek play and its translation, instead of adapting them. As reinforced by Foley’s decision to not include adaptations and distant relatives as models of the earliest commercial productions of Aeschylus’ plays in the United States, productions of adaptations are frequently not considered to be valid reproductions of Aeschylus’ plays. If the translation of dramatic texts is truly different from the translation of other literary works, then the end performance must in some form be considered a part of that process. However, to what degree that consideration must be

made is strongly contested by the two major viewpoints on the production of Aeschylus' plays.

Fundamentally, it is held that a translation should take the reader to the author (without their needing to understand the foreign text) and an adaptation takes the author to the reader (the final reader of the dramatic text being the audience). However, this is complicated by current production practice. According to Hardwick,

Few staged translations are now 'close' translations in the traditional sense. Many could be categorized as 'adaptations' or 'versions' and in any case modern critical approaches question the stability of language, thus problematizing the traditional categories used to describe translations as 'faithful' or 'foreignizing' or 'domesticating'. Even when the translation appears to follow the Greek text closely it depends for some of its impact on the way in which it is presented on the stage. (208)

Productions of Classical Greek plays frequently attempt to bring the author to the reader, but in the process they frequently repaint and touch up that "author." Productions translate not only the spoken word but also the non-verbal, visual qualities of the play.

They leave the text-proper of the play and explore the performative, unwritten qualities of the work. This is especially true in the "modernizing" model that gained popularity in the late twentieth century after Katie Mitchell's production of Ted Hughes *Oresteia*. Should a translation be treated in production differently from an adaptation? Or, as Morowitz claims, must there be some "egg cracking" (3)? Plugge's dichotomy of "traditional" versus "modern" appears too simple a categorization, but essentially still contains relevance for production practices in the twenty-first century.

Directors who make great changes to the text of Classical Greek plays in an attempt to make these ancient plays more digestible and relatable to modern audiences fail to honor the intelligence of their patrons. As Chapter five will show, the Classical Greek plays can be performed, understood, and enjoyed by audiences without

considerable textual adaptation. The concluding chapter of this dissertation will examine the production implications of staging an adapted translation for an American audience as a means of better understanding the reception possibilities of translations on the American stage. An examination of the recent translation of Aeschylus' *Persians* by Stratos E. Constantinidis at The Ohio State University reveals the tensions that frequently exist between the director's desire to stage a Classical Greek play according to his/her own directorial concept and the translator's endeavors to render Aeschylus' authorial concept.

Chapter 5: Trashing the Translations

The first four chapters discussed the trend in rewriting Aeschylus' tragedies when produced in the United States for the academic and, to a lesser extent, the commercial stages. This chapter examines the process by which Aeschylus' *Persians* was translated by Stratos E. Constatinidis and was "produced" in the form of six staged readings at The Ohio State University in 2009. In this chapter I postulate that, given the current trend across the United States, even readable translations of Aeschylus' tragedies will be adapted before they are presented to American audiences for many years to come. At the same time, I question the untested hypothesis and practice endorsed by American directors in recent decades that frequently regard translations as ill-equipped for production. The production case of *Persians* at The Ohio State University followed and reinforced the current trend concerning the translation, adaptation, and production of Aeschylus' tragedies on the American academic stage. Although translations were used in approximately half of the stage productions of Aeschylus' plays in the United States from 1900 to 2009, these translations were often adapted or work-shopped by directors and dramaturgs during the production process in order to make them more "digestible" for audiences.

In many instances, a new translation was treated like a new play that needed to be work-shopped to meet a director's criteria for performability. There is some hesitation (at times, trepidation) on the part of producers and directors in handling the production of one of Aeschylus' plays. American producers and directors feel more at ease with the

tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides. There have been sixty more productions of Sophocles' plays than those of Aeschylus since 1900 in the United States. Similarly, there have been 320 more productions of Euripides' plays than those of Aeschylus.

Nonetheless, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* was the most produced Classical Greek tragedy in the twentieth century. According to the *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD)*, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* was produced 245 times; Sophocles' *Antigone* (his most popular play) was produced only 181 times; and Euripides' *Medea* 125 times from 1900 to 2009. Even so, Aeschylus' plays are less produced than the larger corpus of Euripides' plays. The production history of Aeschylus' tragedies at The Ohio State University's Department of Theatre since 1949 is representative of the nation-wide trend.

There has been more critical attention given to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides than to the plays of Aeschylus. One reason is that the tragedies of Euripides, which are less lyrical and contain more character dialogue, can be adapted more easily than the tragedies of Aeschylus to fit the dominant model of modern realism. Aeschylus plays have choruses that dominate the action in most of his plays. Likewise, Sophocles' plays fit into the Aristotelian model for tragedy better than Aeschylus' plays. In Aeschylus' plays the chorus is often the dominant character. Consequently, the plays of Sophocles and Euripides are taught more frequently than the plays of Aeschylus in high schools, colleges, and universities, giving American students more exposure for these plays.

Persians was rewritten twenty-two times in English from 1900 to 2009. However, there is still much disagreement over the purpose and nature of this play. Because of

Aeschylus' strong reliance on music and dance, many directors on small budgets (who do not have the luxury of a music composer or dance choreographer) are daunted by the task of producing it. In many other instances, directors simply do not know how to handle the tragedies of Aeschylus and they feel uncomfortable with the text.

Stratos E. Constantinidis' translation of Aeschylus' *Persians* that had six staged readings at The Ohio State University in 2009 encountered many of the above-stated hesitations and objections on the part of (1) the season selection committee, (2) the director, (3) the dramaturg, and (4) the actors. Early in the production process, it became clear from the responses of the season selection committee that its members shared many of the above-mentioned misconceptions and anxieties about the staging of Aeschylus' plays. The season selection committee was concerned about the relevancy of such an ancient play for the audience—mainly students, faculty and staff at the Ohio State University.

In 2008, The Ohio State University had produced Charles Mee's adaptation of Euripides' *Trojan Women* as a main stage production in the department's Bowen Theatre. The first major task of the dramaturg of this production was to assist in the selection of a performance text. All English language translations and adaptations of the play since 1950 were given to the director for selection. After sampling every translation published since 1900, the director, a female faculty in the Department of Theatre, selected Mee's adaptation based on Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Like Mee's adaptations of Aeschylus' other plays, *Trojan Women 2.0* includes popular culture references (i.e., songs such as "I've Got Candy") and many contemporary messages of war and sexual abuse.

The second major task of the dramaturg was to replace several of Mee's original monologues from the war victims of World War II and Vietnam with updated journal entries from victims of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as victims in the Sudan and other countries with a high level of violence against women. Mee's text, with the dramaturg's additions, so completely rewrote Euripides' *Trojan Women* that the stage adaptation was almost unrecognizable as a Classical Greek tragedy.

The decision to use Mee's *Trojan Women 2.0* rather than a translation reflects the director's desire to work with a new play that, in her opinion, engaged in social and political issues she believed to be important, such as genocide in the Sudan, women's social position in Afghanistan, and political and religious unrest in the Middle East. The "director's concept" began with a statement that summarized the director's interpretation of the meaning and significance of the play.

We live in a place where we are sheltered from the devastation of wars that are currently being waged as we read this in the safety of this solid room. Women in Darfur are being raped and mutilated; children are being shot and whole villages burned. A suicide bombing may be happening at this moment. Genocide is unimaginable, but it's going on right now. The unimaginable is not acceptable. (1)

For the director of Mee's *Trojan Women 2.0*, the focus of the production was on immediate crises in the Middle East. Her directorial concept worked exceptionally well with Mee's rewrite which, as in Mee's other play, *Agammonon*, presents a collage of cultural appropriations from both the fifth century B.C. and twentieth century America. In this spirit of alteration, appropriation, and remaking of the Classical Greek story, the Ohio State University's production of Mee's *Trojan Women 2.0* added more characters and images to the play.

In Act I, we want to add a character who is a photographer, a photo journalist, who is documenting the atrocities. This is an echo of the current efforts by photographers in Darfur who have donated their photos for an exhibit that is traveling around the country. It was originally projected on the outside walls of the Holocaust Museum.... We were thinking that we could project fragmented images of Darfur, Iraq, Afghanistan – any contemporary hotbed -- as the photographer shoots photos in Act I, but they would be very broken images, not identifiable because walls or any potential projection surfaces would be fragmented. (5)

The director took every opportunity to modernize Euripides' story and to reflect Mee's statement concerning cultural collage. According to an interview of Charles Mee by Erin Mee in "Mee on Mee,"

My ambition is to do the same for a new form of theatre, composed of music, movement as well as text like the theatre of the Greeks, and of American musical comedy and of Shakespeare and Brecht, and of Anne Bogart and Robert Woodruff, and of Robert Le Page and Simon Burney, and of Sasha Waltz and Jan Lauwers and Alain Platel, and of Pina Bausch and Ivo van Hove, and of others working in Europe today, and of theatre traditions in most of the world forever. (97-98)

By selecting Mee's rewrite rather than a translation of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, this academic director at The Ohio State University demonstrated the same preference shared by many twenty-first century directors for updating the content of Classical Greek plays. For this group of directors, a Classical Greek play is one of many appropriated texts for the production and, because of this, it rarely remains unaltered. Although the season selection committee chose to produce a Classical Greek play and assigned a director to facilitate that choice, the rewrite selection was, ultimately, the director's decision. The director chose *Trojan Women 2.0*, and her choice shows that adaptations and distant relatives are selected for production in place of translations because the directors (not necessarily the audiences) are unable to relate to the Classical Greek plays.

Another issue that arises in the production of a translation, rather than adaptation, of Aeschylus' plays is that of "successful" reception. If an academic director feels ill-

equipped or uncertain about interpreting and staging a Greek tragedy, there is some trepidation concerning the success of that production. Is it better for a theatre department to avoid producing Aeschylus' plays than to stage an ill-equipped production of any of his plays? What is the educational mission of a theatre department in a research institution? The answer of the season selection committee of the Department of Theatre at the Ohio State University to these two questions is to be found in its decision in the spring of 2009 to give Constantinidis' new translation of *Persians* a staged reading (instead of a fully-mounted production) during the 2009-2010 theatre season before the translation is reconsidered for a fully-mounted production in a future season. None of the faculty directors in the Department of Theatre at the Ohio State University in 2009 were willing to direct Aeschylus' *Persians* in a translation that had not been tested, adapted, or work-shopped.

The production of Constantinidis' translation as a staged reading rather than as a fully mounted production in November 2009 reflects the reluctance of academic directors and season selection committees to produce Aeschylus' plays in translations instead of adaptations or "radical" rewrites. This "reluctance" is common in many universities in the United States and it reflects the larger trend in American theatre to favor adaptations over translations for the production of Classical Greek plays.

The rise in the number of "translators" who do not read Classical Greek indicates how popular adaptations and radical rewrites were in the 1990s. Both Robert Auletta and Ellen McLaughlin's *Persians* rewrote Aeschylus' play. Most productions of Aeschylus' tragedies in the United States are adaptations, distant relatives, or translations adapted and altered through production. Translations are rarely produced in their entirety.

The academic mission statement of the Department of Theatre at the Ohio State University focuses on the creation of new works for the stage while maintaining “connections to our history through productions of classic, modern and contemporary texts.” Constantinidis added extensive stage directions and footnotes to his translation of *Persians* (which are absent from Aeschylus’ Greek text) to help the production team get a better grip on Aeschylus’ play. The record of productions kept by the Department of Theatre at The Ohio State University shows that there were no productions of a translation of Aeschylus’ tragedies at The Ohio State University from 1949 to 2009. The six staged readings of *Persians*, translated by Constantinidis in 2009, was The Ohio State University’s only contribution to produce a tragedy by Aeschylus.

Two decades earlier, in 1988, Constantinidis organized a three-day interdisciplinary conference, “Classical Drama in Modern Performances,” at The Ohio State University, and had asked the Department of Theatre to supplement the conference with the production of a Classical Greek tragedy in translation, not adaptation. The conference was supplemented instead by a three evening performance of *The Greeks*, an adaptation by John Barton and Kenneth Cavander. Cavander, invited by Constantinidis, participated in the conference and attended the performance of *The Greeks*. However, like *Trojan Women 2.0*, *The Greeks* was the theatre department’s top choice for producing a Classical Greek play! Including *The Greeks*, only twelve of the 485 productions of the Department of Theatre at The Ohio State University from 1949 to 2009 were of Greek plays. This is only two and half percent of all productions. At least half of the Classical Greek plays produced at The Ohio State University are adaptations or distant relatives.

Play	Author	Translator/Adapter	Year
<i>Trojan Women: A Love Story</i>	Euripides	Adapted, Charles Mee	2007-2008
<i>Elektra</i>	Sophocles	A Version by Ezra Pound and Rudd Fleming	2001-2002
<i>The Bacchae of Euripides: A Communion Rite</i>	Euripides	Adapted, Wole Soyinka	1998-1999
<i>Lysistrata</i>	Aristophanes	Translated, Douglas Parker	1991-1992
<i>The Greeks: Part I, II, and III</i>	Euripides, Sophocles, & Aeschylus	Adapted, John Barton & Kenneth Cavander	1987-1988
<i>The Bacchae</i>	Euripides	Adapted, Charles C. Ritter	1977-1978
<i>Lysistrata</i>	Aristophanes	Translated, Douglas Parker. Adapted, Charles Ritter	1969-1970
<i>Oedipus the King</i>	Sophocles	Translated, H. D. F. Kitto	1966-1967
<i>Lysistrata</i>	Aristophanes	Translated, Dudley Fitts	1961-1962
<i>Antigone</i>	Sophocles	Translator/Adaptor not recorded	1957-1958
<i>Medea</i>	Euripides	Translated, Frederic Prokosch	1956-1957
<i>Alcestis</i>	Euripides	Translated, Dudley Fitts & Robert Fitzgerald	1949-1950

List 13. Productions of Classical Greek Plays at The Ohio State University

List 13 shows, in chronological order, all productions of plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes by the Department of Theatre at The Ohio State University. Aristophanes' comedy, *Lysistrata* was the clear favorite of the faculty and students of this department. Euripides' *Bacchae* was their second favorite, with two productions. Euripides' tragedies were produced at the Ohio State University more often than the tragedies of Aeschylus or Sophocles, a trend that reflects the popularity of Euripides' plays in the American academic and non-academic theatres.

The Defensible Case of a Translation of Aeschylus' *Persians*

Any dramaturg who wants to consult the production history of Aeschylus' *Persians* on the American stage will soon find out that the popularity of *Persians* is due almost exclusively to the notoriety of two rewrites: Robert Auletta's adaptation, *Persians* (1993) and Ellen McLaughlin's adaptation, *Persians* (2005). Prior to Auletta's 1993 adaptation, Aeschylus' *Persians* was rarely produced. None of the twenty translations of *Persians* listed in Appendix A were produced more than once. The only rewrites to have had more than one production were Auletta and McLaughlin's adaptations. These rewrites "doctor" Aeschylus' original play by adding scenes and changing the nature and speech of the characters.

The translation history of *Persians* reveals a severe disconnection between the practice of interpreting Aeschylus' play either for classroom reading or for stage performance. Many of the translators of the first half of the twentieth century regarded *Persians* as "undramatic" or lacking in action. So, it was staged only when the rewrites made *Persians* performable by their current standards of performance. The Classical Greek play was appropriated and rewritten to appear to be a product of the twentieth century. This practice calls for a "fluency" in the rewrite that Laurence Venuti termed "domestication."

America's political involvement in the Middle East in the 1990s, and the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centers, gave immediate "relevancy" to productions of *Persians* in America. The "relevancy" being the play's "perceived" applicability and resonance with current political and cultural issues in America. Aeschylus' *Persians* was not widely produced prior to 1993 because it had yet to resonate

with the American political and social climate. It was seen as essentially lacking action and requiring “doctoring” for the modern stage. Must Aeschylus’ plays be radically rewritten in order to successfully function on the American stage? An examination of six staged readings of Aeschylus’ *Persians*, translated by Stratos E. Constantinidis in 2009, will demonstrate that a translation directly affects the success or failure of Aeschylus’ *Persians*.

The six staged readings of *Persians* at The Ohio State University were accompanied by a one-page questionnaire distributed to the audience (appendix D). The respondents were ranked as “student,” “faculty,” “staff,” and “other” in order to determine whether education and age played a role in the reception of the play (chart 13). There were 173 completed questionnaires gathered from the six staged readings of *Persians*: 106 were from “students,” fourteen from “faculty,” seven from “staff,” and forty-six from “other.”

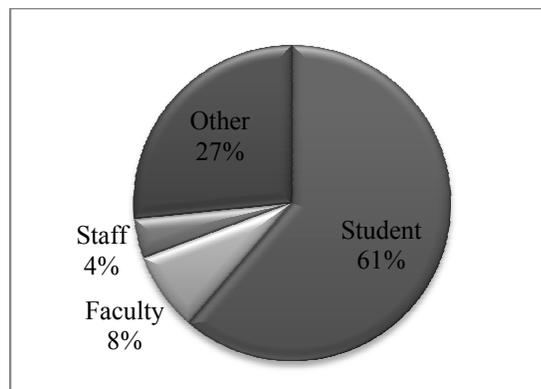


Chart 13. Demographic breakdown of questionnaire respondents

One major purpose of this questionnaire was to determine the attitude of the audiences towards translations through their responses to Constantinidis’ translation.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents said that they would like to see *Persians* as a fully staged production, (chart 14). Seventy-seven percent of the respondents said that they could understand the play, as presented by this translation, without any additional background information, (chart 14). This finding was significant because most of the stage adaptations of Aeschylus' plays add some form of background information to the original story. Some adaptations include a prologue to introduce the events and explain the characters, or they "gloss" the translation to fill in gaps in knowledge.

The responses to the questionnaire highlighted three major issues in producing and staging Aeschylus' *Persians* for a twenty-first century audience. The first issue concerns the repetitive nature of Aeschylus' language. This includes Aeschylus' choice of words as well as the characters' emotional cries and wails that have no strong equivalent in American culture. The second issue highlighted by the responses is that there is some disagreement concerning the audiences' perception of who is the protagonist in this play. The third issue deals with the meaning and significance of the play's ending and how it affects the message of the play.

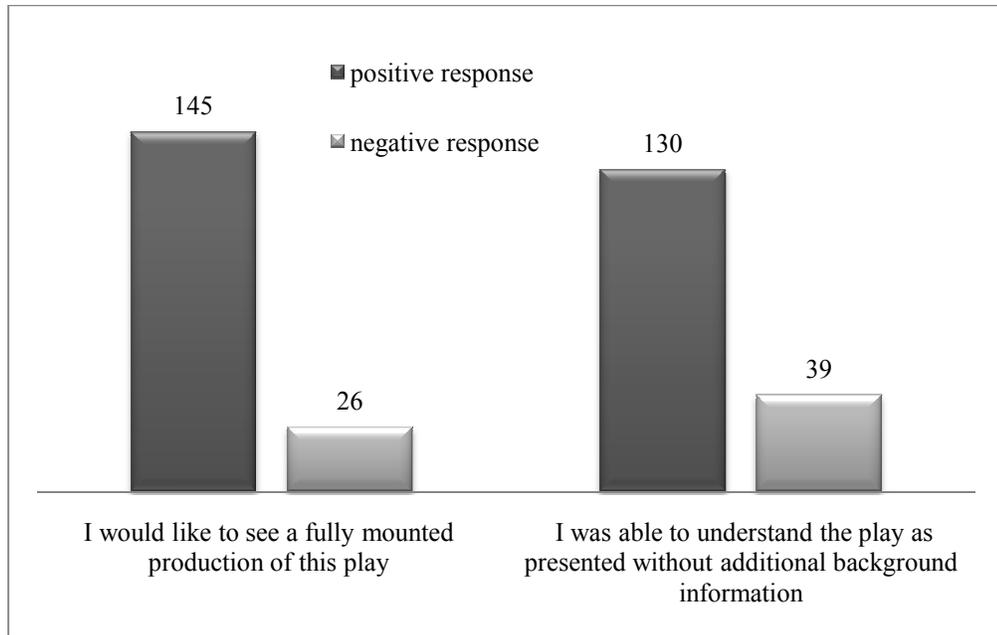


Chart 14. *Persians* questionnaire responses

One major difficulty in producing Aeschylus' *Persians* for an American audience is Aeschylus' use of emotive verbalizations such as *oi-oi-oi* and *ai ai ai ai*. Rewrites of these exclamations and laments might appear natural when read on the page, but immediately challenge a stage adaptation as culturally foreign. For instance, the Hellenic Student Association of The Ohio State University hosted a touring production from Greece of Euripides' *Troades*, in Michael Cacoyannis' English translation, at the Ohio Historical Museum in October 2009. In this performance, great stress was laid on the sorrowful moaning of the Trojan victims. The cries of the actresses impersonating the Trojan women were overly loud and emotive. In addition, the chorus frequently sang lamentations in the Greek language while the actors delivered their lines in broken English.

The director of the staged reading of *Persians* at The Ohio State University encouraged the cast selected for the staged reading to attend the performance of *Trojan*

Women by the Greek touring company in order to expose themselves to one way of performing Greek tragedy because none of the students in the cast had ever seen a Greek tragedy. The cast members who saw the performance of the Greek touring company in October 2009 said that they disliked the emotional articulations of the Greek actors. The Greek actors' expressions of pain, sorrow, and grief were foreign to them.

It would seem that a translation of Aeschylus' *Persians*, a play filled with exclamations of this type, should either fall in line with the performance style of the Greek actors causing discomfort to American audiences or alter the Aeschylus' play by making it more comfortable and compatible to American taste. Philip Vellacott's 1961 translation makes heavy use of exclamations like "Alas, alas," and in many places it simply omits these exclamations completely. Prior to Vellacott, the antiquated exclamations, "alas, alas" or "alack, alack" were the two most common ways of rendering these expressions into English. More popular in the later part of the twentieth century was the method used by Janet Lembke and John Herington's 1981 translation; they removed these exclamations entirely.

Deletion has been a widely practiced method of rewriting Aeschylus' *Persians*: bypassing the problem by removing it. However, such practices changed the nature of Aeschylus' play and, when presented as "translations" mislead audiences. Both McLaughlin's and Auletta's adaptations follow this practice. A third method is that of transliteration. Edith Hall's 1996 translation retained all of these sounds. Hall transliterated them instead of attempting to find their equivalent in English. Hall justified this method in her introduction by saying: "in order to preserve something of the effect of estrangement they were intended to create" (23).

Constantinidis noted in his translation of Aeschylus' *Persians* that "there is a 'realism' in Aeschylus' Greek" that he tried to render into English because he had not found it in previous translations (21). Therefore he, "made a concerted effort to render Aeschylus' repetitions, clichés, compressions, and juxtapositions" by going against the grain of the interpretive tradition by Anglophone translators to this date (21). By rejecting the first three methods, Constantinidis was left with the difficult task of finding some form of English equivalent. He retained the English equivalent of every exclamation in his translation. Each exclamation presented a great challenge to the director and the actors of the staged reading. For example, in the second draft of his translation, Constantinidis rendered *αιαι* as "ah-ah," *οτοτοι* as "good grief," and *παπαι* as "ouch." Although Constantinidis gave the director and the dramaturg permission to remove these exclamations if they wanted to, they kept them because they wanted to preserve the authenticity of the translation and test the hypothesis that a translation cannot function successfully without textual adaptation.

The director and cast faced two major challenges during the staged readings at the Ohio State University. The first was making the cast comfortable and "at home" with expressing outwardly their character's internal pain. Expressions of grief are traditionally not expressed with words and tears by American men. The second challenge was making the audience comfortable with these expressions of pain and grief. During rehearsals, there were moments when an exclamation produced an effect that was the opposite of the one intended by the actor. For example, in the early phase of rehearsal, the chorus' *ah-ahs*, performed in unison, appeared slightly orgasmic (which was not the intended interpretation). "Good grief" made the actors chuckle during rehearsals because of its

strong association with *Peanuts*' Charlie Brown. These unintended effects lessened during the rehearsal process as the actors became more comfortable with their roles.

In his translation, Constantinidis' tried to "convey in English the full meaning of every word, interjection, phrase, hint, and silence that Aeschylus wrote into the Greek text" (6). Because of this, Constantinidis did not abridge the lengthier speeches in the play and did not remove the repetitive nature of some of Aeschylus' words. In the case of Constantinidis' translation, the long list of proper names and place names in Aeschylus' play did not hinder the respondents' understanding of the story line, but it did distract some of them. Interestingly, McLaughlin's adaptation of *Persians* keeps these lists. Auletta's adaptation does not. Where Aeschylus used one Greek word or phrase multiple times in his play, Constantinidis used one English word or phrase multiple times in his translation. Because of this, there are moments where the repetition is obvious, such as his translating the Greek expression "*men... de*" as "on the one hand...on the other hand" throughout the play. Similarly, Constantinidis consistently translated *πεμψω* as "dispatch," a verb which becomes especially important at the conclusion of *Persians*. Hall on the other hand, removes this kind of repetition from her translation. For instance, she translates *πεμψω* as "let forth" and sometimes as "escort." Vellacott removes the first reference in line 936, and translates "escort" in line 1077, as do Collard and Ewans. This is a small example of how some translators edit Aeschylus' text for the sake of "readability." Repetition in English is often considered poor writing—thus the presence of many a thesaurus on the desks of writers. Almost all of the translations and adaptations of *Persians* have reduced or eliminated Aeschylus' repetitive word choice from their English language rewrites.

Constantinidis' adherence to the repetitive nature of Aeschylus' original Greek text limits the variety of words allowed the actor in English. Surprisingly, eighty-eight percent of the questionnaire respondents claimed that the repetition of words in the play was justified and did not bother them. This high percentage shows that Aeschylus' *Persians* does not need to be doctored by translators and adaptors to be understood and appreciated by American audiences.

The translation principles to which Constantinidis and other translators adhere have not hindered or effected adaptors who prefer rewrites which are often based on English translations rather than on the original Greek text. Greek plays are adapted and transformed through "work-shopping" that allegedly enhances their performability. When a word or phrase appears repetitive or overly used, it can simply be dropped or replaced. However, in so doing, these rewrites move further and further away from Aeschylus' plays and, eventually, become new works in their own right.

One of the greatest differences between Constantinidis' translation and previous rewrites is his reading of the final line and purported action of the chorus of Councilmen at the end of the play. Constantinidis' reading has significant implications because it offers the option for the chorus of Councilmen to attempt to kill King Xerxes backstage. The implication of his translation of the final line of *Persians* is immense for the producers of the play because it changes the arc of the action and the thematic significance of the play. According to Constantinidis, the dramatic conflict in *Persians* is between the Persian Councilmen and Xerxes, their "hereditary leader" (10).

In the final scene, Xerxes returns to Sousa a defeated and humiliated king. He is met by a disappointed, angry, and sorrowful chorus of Councilmen. Xerxes' mother, the

Queen, is not present upon his return. However, she had earlier informed the chorus that she was worried about Xerxes safety and that she would not “betray” her “dearest who is in harm’s way” (line 850 in Constantinidis’ translation). The “harm” can only refer to some future action against Xerxes such as sedition or assassination. Constantinidis’ translation (line 1077) suggests that an assassination will be attempted against Xerxes. Previous rewrites have read the ending of the play as a climactic moment of sorrow for Xerxes and the chorus, the final humiliation and acceptance of the loss of his great military might. However, Constantinidis’ translation of the chorus’ final line alters the tone from a sorrowful procession to a final act of getting rid of a disastrous leader like Xerxes. The chorus’ line 1077 at the play’s close read, “I will dispatch you, indeed, with pitiful laments.” The “dispatch” has violent undertones.

The majority of translations from 1900 to 2009 use “escort” rather than “dispatch.” Janet Lembke and John Herington 1981 translation reads, “To slowdinning dirges we shall lead you home,” Edith Hall 1996 *Persians* has the chorus say, “I will indeed escort you with harsh-voiced wails,” and most recently, Alan Sommerstein’s 2008 translation reads, “Yes, I will escort you, with loud wails of grief.” The adaptations of *Persians* have been more varied in their interpretations. For instance, David Slavitt’s 1998 adaptation reads, “No, sir, / you are not a hero. There is no /hero here. You cannot have / the last word.” Auletta and McLaughlin completely rewrite the ending and have the Queen comforting her son, rather than the chorus. Although it appears that the translations are all similar while the adaptations vary, this is not true. There are great differences in the body of these translations.

The first major significance of Constantinidis' choice to translate "pempso toi" as "I will dispatch you" (implying, I will "kill" you) is that it expands the arc of action (i.e., the climax of the play) to the last scene of *Persians*. The extended arc in his translation justifies the chorus as the protagonist and Xerxes (as the scion of the royal house) as the antagonist. This is a radically new and different interpretation. Christopher Collard's 2008 translation thought that the Queen was the "dominant and unifying figure of the play" (xxviii). Ellen McLaughlin's adaptation dismisses the chorus as "middle-aged men" equally culpable in the defeat of the Persian military as Xerxes (257) and focuses strongly on the Queen and Xerxes (adding a concluding scene between the two). Xerxes is the central character in Robert Auletta's adaptation, which, like McLaughlin's adds a scene between Xerxes and his mother, the Queen. Auletta has Xerxes renounce his throne and kingship at the end of the play, telling his mother to dress the chorus in royal garments instead of himself (94).

Fifty-five percent of the respondents who saw the six staged readings at The Ohio State University in 2009 said that the chorus was the protagonist in *Persians*. Only twenty-two percent of the respondents said that the protagonist was the Queen. More tellingly, only sixteen percent said that the protagonist was Xerxes. Clearly, the conflict in *Persians* is not, as Edith Hall's 1996 translation indicates, between the characters and their acceptance of Persia's defeat (Hall 18). As Constantinidis' translation shows the conflict is between the members of the chorus and the members of the royal house (represented by the Queen and Xerxes). Kenneth McLeish and Frederic Raphael state in the introduction to their translation of *Persians* that "there is no suggestion that Persia will not revive or that the Great King will present no further threat to Greek freedom"

(xix). Constantinidis' translation suggests that Xerxes and Persia are not the only enemies that the Greeks must fear, because the real enemy is imperialism itself (whether democratic or autocratic). This point in his translation makes Aeschylus' *Persians* especially relevant to American audiences. Seventy-seven percent of respondents to the questionnaire claimed that the issues presented in the play were relevant to current issues in their culture.

The strong trend among American producers is to stage Aeschylus' *Persians* in adaptation rather than translation. As the popularity of Auletta and McLaughlin's rewrites reveals, many directors desire rewrites that domesticate Aeschylus' plays and make them more "digestible" for American audiences. Word repetitions, strong exclamations of pain and sorrow, the dominant position of the chorus, and the lengthy speeches in Aeschylus' plays have deterred many directors from producing it. And, when "read" through the dominant performance mode of American method acting, and produced as a "straight drama" (without dance or music), *Persians* can certainly appear out of place and time.

The translators of Aeschylus' plays are left with two options: Either they can transform the plays by making them compatible with the tastes of the directors through textual adaptation and stage adaptation; or, they can ask the directors and the audiences to adapt to the demands of Aeschylus' plays. The second option implies a reexamination of the modern stage adaptation practices used for Aeschylus' plays. It also challenges the aesthetic sensibilities of the twenty-first century directors. Translations can be as effective as adaptations in production, but only when the translator and director allow Aeschylus' "foreignness" to come through. As there has yet to be a fully-staged

production of Constantinidis' translation of Aeschylus' *Persians* at The Ohio State University, it is impossible to know if, following the second option, *Persians* will be as successful in performance as McLaughlin's adaptation. Will future producers and directors endorse Constantinidis' translation of Aeschylus' play and wordplay which, when properly understood, changes so much of our traditional views about Persians?

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Appendix A: The Tragedies of Aeschylus in Translation, Adaptation, and Distant Relatives (1900 to 2009)

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- 1957—**Russ Vliet**. *Agamemnon*. Mason City, Iowa: Drama Shop, 1957. [Adaptation].
- 1969—**Raymond Postgate**. *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*. Cambridge: Rampant Lions Press, 1969. [Translation].
- 1969—**Anthony Holden**. *Agamemnon by Aeschylus*. London and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969. [Translation].
- 1972—**William Sylvester**. *An Anthology of Greek Tragedy*. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972. [Translation].
- 1977—**Steven Berkoff**. *Agamemnon*. London: John Calder, 1977. [Adaptation]. Reprint: *Agamemnon/ The Fall of the House of Usher*. Oxford: Amber Lane Press, 1977, 1990. Reprint: *East/Agamemnon/ The Fall of the House of Usher*. London; New York: J. Calder; Riverrun Press, 1982.
- 1981—**William R. Link**. *Agamemnon/ by Aeschylus*. Dublin, New Hampshire: William L Bauhan, 1981. [Version].
- 1993—**D. W. Myatt**. *The "Agamemnon" of Aeschylus*. Shrewsbury, Shropshire, England: Thormynd Press, 1993. [Translation]. Reprint: *The "Agamemnon" of Aeschylus*. Shrewsbury, Shropshire, England: Thormynd Press, 1994.
- 1994—**Charles Mee**. "Agamemnon." *The (Re)making Project*. <<http://www.charlesmee.org/html/plays.html>> 1994. [Adaptation].
- 1994—**Andrew Ordovery**. *Agamemnon*. Winnipeg, Canada: International Readers' Theatre, 1994. [Adaptation].
- 1995—**Sidney Harold Landes**. *Agamemnon/ Being of the House of Atreus*. Studio City, California: Players Press, Inc., 1995. [Translation]. (This translation was possibly published posthumously, it feels very old in its style and language).
- 1998—**Howard S. Rubenstein**. *Agamemnon*. El Cajon, California: Granite Hill Press, 1998. [Translation]. Reprint: *Agamemnon: A Play by Aeschylus*. El Cajon, California: Granite Hill Press, 2003.
- 2001—**Peter Vincent Arcese**. *Aeschylus/ The Agamemnon*. Middletown, New York: Lintel, 2001. [Translation].
- 2002—**W. S. Milne**. *Aeschylus' Agamemnon in Scots*. London: Agenda Editions, 2002. [Translation].
- 2003—**Philip De May**. *Agamemnon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. [Translation].
- 2005—**George Theodoridis**. "Aeschylus: Agamemnon." *From the Greek*. 2005. <<http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Greek/Greekhome.htm>> [Translation].

Choephoroi Rewrites

- 1901—**T. G. Tucker**. *The Choephoroi of Aeschylus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901. [Translation].
- 1905—**Walter George Headlam**. *The Plays of Aeschylus/ The Choephoroe*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1905. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909.
- 1923—**Gilbert Murray**. *The Choephoroe (Libation-Bearers) of Aeschylus*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1923. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Oresteia*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1928. Reprint: *Ten Greek Plays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1935, 1936. Reprint: *Fifteen Greek Plays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1952. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. Limited ed., Franklin Center, 1978.
- 1976—**Maurice Jacques Valency**. *Regarding Electra*. New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1976. [Adaptation].
- 2005—**George Theodoridis**. "Aeschylus: Choephoroi." *From the Greek*. 2005.

<<http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Greek/Greekhome.htm>> [Translation].

Eumenides Rewrites

- 1901—**Francis Gifford Plaistowe**. *Aeschylus: Eumenides*. London: W. B. Clive, 1901. [Translation].
- 1908—**Walter George Headlam**. *The Plays of Aeschylus/ The Eumenides*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1908. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus*. C.E.S. Headlam and Walter Headlam. London: George Bell and Sons, 1909.
- 1908—**Arthur Woolgar Verrall**. *The Eumenides of Aeschylus*. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1908. [Translation].
- 1925—**Gilbert Murray**. *The Eumenides (The Furies) of Aeschylus*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1925. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Oresteia*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1928. Reprint: *Ten Greek Plays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1935, 1936. Reprint: *Fifteen Greek Plays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1952. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. Limited ed., Franklin Center, 1978.
- 1931—**Charles H. Hitchcock**. *The Eumenides of Aischulos*. Walton, New York: Reporter Company, 1931. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Oresteia of Aeschylus: The Agamemnon, The Coephoroi, the Eumenids*. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1932.
- 1939—**T. S. Eliot**. *The Family Reunion*. New York; London: Harcourt, Brace; Faber & Faber, 1939. [New work].
- 1981—**Marguerite Yourcenar**. *Fires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. [New work].
- 1989—**Anthony J. Podlecki**. *Eumenides*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989. [Translation].
- 2006—**David Johnston**. *Playing with the Canons*. New York: The New York Theatre Experience, Ind., 2006. [Adaptation].
- 2007—**George Theodoridis**. "Aeschylus: Eumenides." *From the Greek*. 2005.
<<http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Greek/Greekhome.htm>> [Translation].

Prometheus Bound Rewrites

- 1902—**Edwyn Robert Bevan**. *The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. London: David Nutt, 1902. [Translation].
- 1903—**Edmund Spencer Bouchier**. *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Vincetus*. Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1903. [Translation].
- 1903—**James Guy Burr**. *Prometheus*. New York; London: The Abbey Press, 1903. [New work].
- 1904—**William Vaughn Moody**. *The Fire-Bringer*. Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904. [Adaptation].
- 1905—**Janet Case**. *The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. London; New York: J.M. Dent and Co.; Dutton, 1905. [Translation].
- 1906—**G. M. Cookson**. *Aeschylus: Plays*. London; New York: Dent; Dutton (Everyman's Library), 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Four Plays of Aeschylus*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1922. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus*. Chicago: Williams Benton (Encyclopaedia Britannica), 1952, 1955, 1984. Reprint: *Aeschylus: Plays*. London, Dent; New York, Dutton, 1956, 1960, 1967.
- 1906—**Lewis Campbell**. *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse*. London: Oxford University Press, 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse*. London: Oxford University Press, 1912, 1923, 1925, 1928.
- 1906—**Arthur Sanders Way**. *Aeschylus in English Verse, Part I*. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: "Prometheus Bound." *Attic Tragedy*. ed. Henry H. Harper. Boston: Bibliophile Society, 1927.
- 1907—**Robert Whitelaw**. *Prometheus Bound*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. [Translation]. Reprint: *Fifteen Greek Plays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943.
- 1908—**Walter George Headlam**. *The Plays of Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound*. London: George Bell and

- Sons, 1908. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus*. C.E.S. Headlam and Walter Headlam. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909.
- 1916—**Marion Clyde Wier**. *The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. New York: The Century Co., 1916. [Translation].
- 1920—**Edward George Harman**. *Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. London: Edward Arnold, 1920. [Translation].
- 1922—**Herbert Weir Smyth**. *Aeschylus (2 vol.)*. London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus (2 vol.)*. London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1963, 1973.
- 1922—**William James Byram**. *Prometheus Bound*. Brisbane: Simpson, Halligan and Co., Ltd. 1922. [Translation].
- 1924—**Charles H. Hitchcock**. *The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. Walton, New York: Reporter Co., 1924. [Translation].
- 1925—**James Morgan Pryse**. *A New Presentation of the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. Los Angeles; London: Wayside Press; John M. Watkins, 1925. [Translation].
- 1926—**Clarence W. Mendell**. *Prometheus*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press; Oxford University, 1926. [Version].
- 1931—**Gilbert Murray**. *Aeschylus Prometheus Bound*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. [Translation]. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1952. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus/ Limited edition*. Franklin Center, Pa.: Franklin Library, 1978.
- 1932—**George Derwent Thomson**. *Aeschylus/ The Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932. [Translation]. Reprint: *Prometheus Bound/ Aeschylus*. New York: Dover Publications (Dover Thrift Edition), 1995. Reprint: *Aeschylus / The Laurel Classical Drama*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1965.
- 1935—**T. G. Tucker**. *Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1935. [Translation].
- 1936—**Lennox James Morison**. *Aeschylus/ The Binding of Prometheus*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936. [Translation].
- 1937—**Edith Hamilton**. *Three Greek Plays*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1937. [Translation].
- 1938—**Paul Elmer More**. *Seven Famous Greek Plays*. New York: Vintage Books, 1938. [Translation]. Reprint: *Seven Famous Greek Plays*. New York: Vintage Books, 1950.
- 1939—**R. C. Trevelyan**. *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939. [Translation].
- 1941—**Norman Rosten**. "Prometheus in Granada/ a Verse Play." *One Hundred Non-Royalty Radio Plays*. New York: Greenberg, 1941. [New work].
- 1942—**David Grene**. *Three Greek Tragedies in Translation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus II/ The Complete Greek Tragedies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Reprint: *Vol. 1: Aeschylus/ The Complete Greek Tragedies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, 1960. Reprint: *Aeschylus I and II/ The Complete Greek Tragedies*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1967, 1972. Reprint: *Classical Tragedy, Greek and Roman: 8 Plays*. ed. Robert Corrigan. New York: Applause Theatre Book Publishers, 1990.
- 1947—**Rex Warner**. *The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus*. London: Bodley Head, 1947. [Translation]. Reprint: *Prometheus Bound by Aeschylus*. New York: Heritage Press, 1966.
- 1951—**Eric A. Havlock**. *The Crucifixion of Intellectual Man*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951. [Translation]. Reprint: *Prometheus, With a Translation of Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968.
- 1961—**Philip Humphrey Vellacott**. *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound, Suppliants, Seven Against Thebes, Persians*. New York: Penguin Books, 1961. [Translation].
- 1961—**Marjorie L. Burke**. *Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound*. Athens, Greece: C. Toufexis Press, 1961. [Translation].
- 1962—**Paul Roche**. *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound*. New York: New American Library, 1962. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound*. New York: New American Library, 1964. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound*. Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-

- Carducci Publishers, 1984, 1990.
- 1963—**Warren D. Anderson**. *Prometheus Bound/ Aeschylus*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, 1963. [Translation].
- 1964—**Lawrence Wunderlich**. *Prometheus Rebound*. 1964 [unconfirmed publication]. [Adaptation].
- 1966—**Michael Townsend**. *The Oresteia Trilogy: Agamemnon, the Choephoroe, the Eumenides; and Prometheus Bound*. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Co., 1966. [Translation].
- 1968—**Peter D. Arnott**. *Seven Against Thebes and Prometheus Bound*. London; New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1968. [Translation].
- 1969—**Robert Lowell**. *Prometheus Bound*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969. [Adaptation]. Reprint London: Faber and Faber, 1970.
- 1970—**Kenneth McLeish**. *The Frogs, and Other Greek Plays*. London: Longman (Heritage of Literature Series), 1970. [Translation].
- 1972—**Edwin Dolin** and **Alfred Sugg**. *An Anthology of Greek Tragedy*. Indianapolis; New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972. [Translation].
- 1972—**Albert Johnson**. *Adrift with a Myth*. Boston, Massachusetts: Baker's Plays, 1972. [New work].
- 1975—**John C. Herington** and **James Scully**. *Prometheus Bound*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. [Translation]. Reprint: *Prometheus Bound*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- 1975—**Linda Appelblatt Barnes**. *Prometheus: A Play in One Act*. Boston, Mass.: Baker's Plays, 1975. [New work].
- 1978—**Ruth F. Birnbaum**. *The Prometheus Trilogy*. Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1978. [Translation].
- 1978—**Harold F. Birnbaum**. *The Prometheus Trilogy*. Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1978. [Translation].
- 1980—**Emily Hilburn**. *The Tenth Muse*. Athens, Ohio: The Ohio University Press, 1980. [Translation].
- 1982—**George Ryga**. *Two Plays: Paracelsus and Prometheus Bound*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: Turnstone Press, 1982. [Adaptation].
- 1990—**Thomas Neilson Paulin**. *Seize the Fire*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1990. [Version].
- 1991—**Kenneth McLeish** and **Frederic Raphael**. *Aeschylus: Plays I*. London; Portsmouth, N.H.: Methuen Drama; HEB, 1991. [Translation]. Reprint: *Six Greek Tragedies*. London: Methuen, 2002.
- 1996—**Michael Ewans**. *Aeschylus Suppliants and Other Drama*. London; Vermont: J. M. Dent (Everyman); Charles E. Tuttle, 1996. [Translation].
- 1998—**William Matthews**. *Aeschylus, 2*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. [Translation].
- 2002—**Carl R. Mueller**. *Aeschylus/ The Complete Plays*. Hanover, N.H.: Smith and Kraus, 2002. [Translation].
- 2005—**Anthony J. Podlecki**. *Prometheus Bound*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2005. [Translation].
- 2005—**James Kerr**. *Prometheus Bound: In a New Translation*. London: Oberon Books, 2005. [Translation].
- 2006—**George Theodoridis**. "Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound." *From the Greek*.
<<http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Greek/Greekhome.htm>> 2006. [Translation].
- 2008—**Christopher Collard**. *Aeschylus/ Persians and Other Plays*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. [Translation].

Persians Rewrite

- 1906—**G. M. Cookson**. *Aeschylus: Plays*. London; New York: Dent; Dutton (Everyman's Library), 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Four Plays of Aeschylus*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1922. Reprint: *Aeschylus: Agamemnon, Choephoroe, Eumenides*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1924. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus*. Chicago: Williams Benton (Encyclopaedia Britannica), 1952, 1955, 1984. Reprint: *Aeschylus: Plays*. London, Dent; New York, Dutton, 1956, 1960, 1967.

- 1906—**Lewis Campbell**. *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse*. London: Oxford University Press, 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse*. London: Oxford University Press, 1912, 1923, 1925, 1928.
- 1906—**Arthur Sanders Way**. *Aeschylus in English Verse, Part I*. London; New York: Macmillan and Co., 1906. [Translation].
- 1909—**Clinton Edward Sowerby Headlam**. *The Plays of Aeschylus*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909. [Translation].
- 1922—**Herbert Weir Smyth**. *Aeschylus (2 vol.)*. London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus (2 vol.)*. London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1963, 1973.
- 1927—**C. B. Armstrong**. *The Persians of Aeschylus*. Dublin and Cork: The Talbot Press Ltd., 1927. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Persians of Aeschylus*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1928.
- 1935—**T. G. Tucker**. *The Persians of Aeschylus*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1935. [Translation].
- 1939—**Gilbert Murray**. *Aeschylus/ The Persians [Persae]*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. [Translation]. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1952. Reprint: *Complete Plays*. Franklin Center, Pa.: Franklin Library, 1978.
- 1956—**Seth G. Benardete**. *Aeschylus II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956 (reprinted regularly). [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus II*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1967
- 1961—**Philip Humphrey Vellacott**. *Aeschylus/ Prometheus, Suppliants, Seven Against Thebes, Persians*. New York: Penguin Books, 1961. [Translation].
- 1970—**Anthony J. Podlecki**. *The Persians by Aeschylus*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Persians by Aeschylus*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1991.
- 1981—**John C. Herington and Janet Lembke**. *Aeschylus/ Persians*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. [Translation].
- 1991—**Kenneth McLeish and Frederic Raphael**. *Aeschylus: Plays I*. London; Portsmouth, N.H.: Methuen Drama; HEB, 1991. [Translation]. Reprint: *Six Greek Tragedies*. London: Methuen, 2002.
- 1993—**Robert Auletta**. *The Persians of Aeschylus*. Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1993. [Version]. Reprint: *The Persians of Aeschylus*. New York: Broadway Play Pub., 2006
- 1996—**Michael Ewans**. *Aischylos Suppliants and Other Drama*. London; Vermont: J. M. Dent (Everyman); Charles E. Tuttle, 1996. [Translation].
- 1996—**Edith Hall**. *Aeschylus/ Persians*. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1996. [Translation].
- 1998—**David R. Slavitt**. *Aeschylus, 2*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. [Adaptation].
- 2002—**Carl R. Mueller**. *Aeschylus/ The Complete Plays*. Hanover, N.H.: Smith and Kraus, 2002. [Translation].
- 2005—**Ellen McLaughlin**. *The Greek Plays*. New York: Theatre Communications Group, 2005. [Adaptation].
- 2008—**Christopher Collard**. *Aeschylus/ Persians and Other Plays*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. [Translation].
- 2008—**Alan H. Sommerstein**. *Aeschylus/ Persians, Seven Against Thebes, Suppliants, and Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008. [Translation].

Suppliants Rewrites

- 1900—**Walter George Headlam**. *The Plays of Aeschylus/ The Suppliants*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1900. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909.
- 1906—**G. M. Cookson**. *Aeschylus: Plays*. London; New York: Dent; Dutton (Everyman's Library), 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Four Plays of Aeschylus*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1922. Reprint:

- Aeschylus/ Agamemnon, Choephoroe, Eumenides.* London: Chapman & Hall, 1924. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus.* Chicago: Williams Benton (Encyclopaedia Britannica), 1952, 1955, 1984. Reprint: *Aeschylus: Plays.* London; New York: Dent; Dutton, 1956, 1960, 1967.
- 1906—**Lewis Campbell.** *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse.* London: Oxford University Press, 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse.* London: Oxford University Press, 1912, 1923, 1925, 1928.
- 1907—**Arthur Sanders Way.** *Aeschylus in English Verse, Part II.* London; New York : Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1907. [Translation].
- 1922—**Herbert Weir Smyth.** *Aeschylus (2 vol.).* London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus (2 vol.).* London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1963, 1973.
- 1930—**Gilbert Murray.** *Aeschylus The Suppliant Women (Supplices).* London; New York: Allen and Unwin; Oxford University Press, 1930. [Translation]. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1952. Reprint: *Complete Plays.* Franklin Center, Pa.: Franklin Library, 1978.
- 1956—**Seth G. Benardete.** *Aeschylus II.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956 (reprinted regularly). [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus II.* New York: Washington Square Press, 1967.
- 1961—**Philip Humphrey Vellacott.** *Aeschylus/ Prometheus, Suppliants, Seven Against Thebes, Persians.* New York: Penguin Books, 1961. [Translation].
- 1975—**Janet Lembke.** *Aeschylus/ Suppliants.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975. [Translation].
- 1980—**Richard Caldwell.** *The Tenth Muse.* Athens, Ohio, Chicago, and London: The Ohio University Press, 1980. [Translation].
- 1986—**Lindley Williams Hubbell.** *The Suppliants/ Aeschylus.* Kobe, Japan: The Ikuta Press, 1986. [Version].
- 1991—**Kenneth McLeish and Frederic Raphael.** *Aeschylus: Plays I.* London; Portsmouth, N.H.: Methuen Drama; HEB , 1991. [Translation].
- 1991—**Peter H. Burian.** *Aeschylus/ The Suppliants.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991. [Translation].
- 1994—**Charles Mee.** *Big Love. The (Re)making Project.* < <http://www.charlesmee.org/html/plays.html>> 1994. [New work]. Print: “Big Love.” *The Best Plays of 2001-2002.* Ed. Jeffrey Eric Jenkins. New York: Limelight Editions, 2003.
- 1996—**Michael Ewans.** *Aeschylus Suppliants and Other Drama.* London; Vermont: J. M. Dent (Everyman); Charles E. Tuttle, 1996. [Translation].
- 1998—**Gail Holst-Warhaft.** *Aeschylus, 2.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. [Translation].
- 2001—**James Kerr.** *Aeschylus/ Suppliants/ Sophocles/ Ajax.* London: Oberon Book, 2001. [Translation].
- 2002—**Carl R. Mueller.** *Aeschylus/ The Complete Plays.* Hanover, N.H.: Smith and Kraus, 2002. [Translation].
- 2008—**Christopher Collard.** *Aeschylus/ Persians and Other Plays.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. [Translation].

Seven Against Thebes Rewrites

- 1906—**G. M. Cookson.** *Aeschylus: Plays.* London; New York: Dent; Dutton (Everyman's Library), 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Four Plays of Aeschylus.* Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1922. Reprint: *The Plays of Aeschylus.* Chicago: Williams Benton (Encyclopaedia Britannica), 1952, 1955, 1984. Reprint: *Aeschylus: Plays.* London, Dent; New York, Dutton, 1956, 1960, 1967.
- 1906—**Lewis Campbell.** *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse.* London: Oxford University Press, 1906. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ The Seven Plays in English Verse.* London: Oxford University Press, 1912, 1923, 1925, 1928.
- 1906—**Arthur Sanders Way.** *Aeschylus in English Verse, Part I.* London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1906. [Translation].

- 1908—**T. G. Tucker**. *The Seven Against Thebes of Aeschylus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908. [Translation].
- 1909—**Clinton Edward Sowerby Headlam**. *The Plays of Aeschylus*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909. [Translation].
- 1912—**Edwyn Robert Bevan**. *The Seven Against Thebes of Aeschylus*. London: Edward Arnold, 1912. [Translation]. Reprint: *The Seven Against Thebes of Aeschylus*. London: Edward Arnold, 1931.
- 1922—**Herbert Weir Smyth**. *Aeschylus (2 vol.)*. London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus (2 vol.)*. London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1963, 1973.
- 1931—**Henry B. Lister**. *Teiresias: a Tragedy in Three Acts*. San Francisco: La Boheme Club of San Francisco, 1931. [New work].
- 1935—**Gilbert Murray**. *Aeschylus/ The Seven Against Thebes*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1935. [Translation]. Reprint: *Complete Plays of Aeschylus*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1952. Reprint: *Complete Plays*. Franklin Center, Pa.: Franklin Library, 1978.
- 1956—**David Grene**. *Aeschylus II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956 (reprinted regularly). [Translation].
- 1961—**Philip Humphrey Vellacott**. *Aeschylus/ Prometheus Bound, Suppliants, Seven Against Thebes, Persians*. New York: Penguin Books, 1961. [Translation].
- 1968—**Peter D. Arnott**. *Seven Against Thebes and Prometheus Bound*. London; New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1968. [Translation].
- 1970—**Christopher M. Dawson**. *The Seven Against Thebes*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. [Translation].
- 1973—**Helen H. Bacon** and **Anthony Hecht**. *Aeschylus/ Seven Against Thebes*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. [Translation]. Reprint: *Aeschylus/ Seven Against Thebes*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- 1991—**Kenneth McLeish** and **Frederic Raphael**. *Aeschylus: Plays I*. London; Portsmouth, N.H.: Methuen Drama; HEB, 1991. [Translation].
- 1996—**Michael Ewans**. *Aischylos Suppliants and Other Drama*. London; Vermont: J. M. Dent (Everyman); Charles E. Tuttle, 1996. [Translation].
- 1996—**Robert Emmet Meagher**. *Aeschylus/ Seven Against Thebes*. Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc., 1996. [Translation].
- 1998—**Stephen Sandy**. *Aeschylus, 2*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. [Translation].
- 2002—**Carl R. Mueller**. *Aeschylus/ The Complete Plays*. Hanover, N.H.: Smith and Kraus, 2002. [Translation].
- 2008—**Christopher Collard**. *Aeschylus/ Persians and Other Plays*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. [Translation].

Appendix B: Academic Productions of Aeschylus' Tragedies (1900 to 2009)

Oresteia (Agamemnon, Choephoroi, and/or Eumenides)

Year:
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director:
Company: Kutztown University of Pennsylvania (Dept. of Speech & Theatre)
Theatre: Schaeffer Main Stage
Location: Kutztown Pennsylvania

Year: 1901
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: Katherine Tingley
Company: Theosophical University?
Theatre: outdoor theatre
Location: Point Loma California

Year: 1904
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Kaarin S. Johnston
Company: College of Saint Benedict
Theatre: Gorecki Theater, Benedicta Arts Center
Location: St. Joseph Minnesota

Year: 1906
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director:
Company: Harvard University (Harvard Classical Club)
Theatre:
Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1907

Title: Eumenides
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Charles von Neumayer
Company: University of California, Berkeley
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 1908
Title: Choephoroi
Translator: Branch, Anna Hempstead
Director: Charles Johlinger
Company: American Academy of the Dramatic Arts
Theatre: Empire Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1908
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Goodwin, William Watson
Director: Professor Wilkie
Company: College of Emporia (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Emporia Kansas

Year: 1922
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Bates College (Senior Class Production)
Theatre:
Location: Lewiston Maine

Year: 1922
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: Katherine Tingley
Company: Theosophical University
Theatre: outdoor theatre
Location: Point Loma California

Year: 1923
Title: Clytemnestra
Translator: Lister, Henry Bertram
Director:

Company: Le Boheme Club
Theatre:
Location: San Francisco California

Year: 1924
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: Katherine Tingley
Company: Theosophical University
Theatre: outdoor theatre
Location: Point Loma California

Year: 1925
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Murray, Gilbert
Director: Evalyn Thomas
Company: Stanford University
Theatre:
Location: Palo Alto California

Year: 1926
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Thomas Job
Company: Carleton College (Carleton English Club)
Theatre: Skinner Memorial Chapel
Location: Northfield Minnesota

Year: 1926
Title: Orestes [=Oresteia]
Translator: Davenport, Basil
Director: Edgar Montillion Woolley & David Stanley Smith
Company: Yale University (Dramatic Association)
Theatre:
Location: New Haven Connecticut

Year: 1926
Title: The Tower Beyond Tragedy
Translator: Jeffers, Robinson
Director: Lincoln Kirstein
Company: Harvard University
Theatre:
Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1927
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: Katherine Tingley
Company: Theosophical University
Theatre: outdoor theatre
Location: Point Loma California

Year: 1929
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Fitzgerald, Edward
Director: Harold King
Company: Carolina Playmakers/ University of North Carolina (Summer School)
Theatre:
Location: Chapel Hill North Carolina

Year: 1929
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Bates College (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Lewiston Maine

Year: 1930
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Modern Greek
Director:
Company: Company of Marika Kotopouli, Greece
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1931
Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director: Philip Moeller
Company: Theatre Guild
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1932
Title: The Tower Beyond Tragedy
Translator: Jeffers, Robinson
Director: Edwin Duerr

Company: University of California, Berkeley (Mortar Board Dramatic Group)
Theatre: University Little Theatre
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 1932
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director:
Company: College of Wooster (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Wooster Ohio

Year: 1932
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Murray, Gilbert
Director: Evelyn Thomas
Company: University of California, Los Angeles (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1932
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 1933
Title: Choepori
Translator: Murray, Gilbert
Director: Evelyn Thomas
Company: University of California, Los Angeles (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1934
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Murray, Gilbert
Director: Evelyn Thomas
Company: University of California, Los Angeles (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1935
Title: Choephoroi
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Agnes Scott College (dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Atlanta Georgia

Year: 1941
Title: The Tower Beyond Tragedy
Translator: Jeffers, Robinson
Director: John Gassner
Company: Forest Theater Guild
Theatre:
Location: Carmel-by-the-Sea California

Year: 1941
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Robinson, Cyril E.
Director: Matthew A. Coyle
Company: University of Notre Dame
Theatre: The University Summer Theatre
Location: Notre Dame Indiana

Year: 1943
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Barbara McCarthy
Company: Wellesley College
Theatre:
Location: Wellesley Massachusetts

Year: 1945
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 1947
Title: The Flies (Choephoroi, Eumenides, Sophokles Elektra)
Translator: Sartre, Jean-Paul

Director: Erwin Piscator
Company: New School Dramatic Workshop
Theatre: President Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1947
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Helen Roach
Company: Brooklyn College (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Brooklyn New York

Year: 1947
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: MacNeice, Louis
Director: Bob Carter
Company: University of Chicago (University Theatre)
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1948
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Helen Roach
Company: Brooklyn College (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Brooklyn New York

Year: 1948
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Natalie White
Company: George Washington University (Dept. of Speech)
Theatre:
Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 1950
Title: The Tower Beyond Tragedy
Translator: Jeffers, Robinson
Director:
Company: American National Theatre & Academy (ANTA)
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1951
Title: Les Mouches (Choephoroi, Eumenides, Sophokles Elektra)
Translator: Sartre, Jean-Paul
Director: James Clancy
Company: University of San Jose State, California
Theatre:
Location: San Jose California

Year: 1951
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Henry Williams
Company: Dartmouth College (The Experimental Theatre of the Dartmouth Players)
Theatre: Robinson Hall
Location: Hanover New Hampshire

Year: 1952
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Robert Johnston
Company: Wright Junior College (Little Theatre Group)
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1953
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 1953
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Nancy Davids
Company: Harvard University
Theatre:
Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1954
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Ancient Greek

Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 1954
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Delmar Solem
Company: Knox College
Theatre:
Location: Gaylesburg Illinois

Year: 1956
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Brady, Leo
Director: James Waring
Company: Catholic University of America (Speech and Theater Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Washington, DC. Washington, DC,

Year: 1956
Title: The Homecoming (Mourning Becomes Electra)
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director: Robert Kase
Company: University of Delaware (E 52 University Theatre)
Theatre:
Location: Newark Delaware

Year: 1956
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Day, Cyrus
Director: Robert Kase
Company: University of Delaware (E 52 University Theatre)
Theatre:
Location: Newark Delaware

Year: 1956
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Mary Baldwin College
Theatre:
Location: Staunton Virginia

Year: 1957
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Wayne Richardson
Company: Theater Marquee
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1958
Title: The Oresteian Trilogy
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Fred O. Harris
Company: University of California, Berkeley (Dept. of Speech & Drama)
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 1958
Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director:
Company: Alfred State College
Theatre:
Location: Alfred New York

Year: 1958
Title: The Oresteian Trilogy
Translator: Thomson, George Derwent
Director: Fred O. Harris
Company: University of California, Berkeley (Dept. of Speech & Drama)
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 1958
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Alfred State College
Theatre:
Location: Alfred New York

Year: 1959
Title: Homecoming (Mourning Becomes Electra)
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director: Curtis Canfield

Company: Repertory Theatre (Yale School of Drama)
Theatre:
Location: New Haven Connecticut

Year: 1959
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Nikos Psacharopoulos
Company: Repertory Theatre (Yale School of Drama)
Theatre:
Location: New Haven Connecticut

Year: 1960
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Harry Thompson
Company: Hardin-Simmons Univeristy
Theatre:
Location: Abilene Texas

Year: 1960
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Columbia University (Queen's Revels Group)
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1960
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Boston University
Theatre:
Location: Boston Massachusetts

Year: 1960
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Walter Boughton
Company: Amherst College
Theatre:
Location: Amherst Massachusetts

Year: 1960
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Harvard University
Theatre:
Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1961
Title: The Choephoroi & The Eumenides
Translator: Modern Greek
Director: Dimitris Rondiris
Company: Peiraikon Theatron [Piraeus Theatre], Greece
Theatre: City Center
Location: New York New York

Year: 1962
Title: Tower Beyond Tragedy
Translator: Jeffers, Robinson
Director:
Company: University of Alabama--Tuscaloosa (main campus)
Theatre:
Location: Tuscaloosa Alabama

Year: 1962
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Robert Gray
Company: University of Washington (School of Drama)
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 1965
Title: Les Mouches (The Flies)
Translator: Sartre, Jean-Paul
Director:
Company: University of Hawaii at Manoa (Dept. of Theatre and Dance)
Theatre:
Location: Honolulu Hawaii

Year: 1966
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Alexis Solomos

Company: Ypsilanti Greek Theatre Festival
Theatre:
Location: Ypsilanti and Michigan

Year: 1966
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Tyrone Guthrie
Company: Minnesota Theatre Co.
Theatre: Guthrie Theatre
Location: Minneapolis Minnesota

Year: 1966
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Richard Herd
Company:
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1966
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Anthony Stimac
Company: Princeton University
Theatre: McCarter Theatre
Location: Princeton New Jersey

Year: 1968
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director:
Company: Minnesota Theatre Co.
Theatre: Billy Rose Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1968
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director:
Company: Minnesota Theatre Co.
Theatre: Mark Tapor Forum
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1968
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director:
Company: Pomona College
Theatre:
Location: Claremont California

Year: 1968
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Townsend, Michael
Director: David Margulies
Company: Southwark Theatre Company
Theatre: Theatre of the Living Arts
Location: Philadelphia Pennsylvania

Year: 1968
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Webster University (Conservatory of Theatre Arts)
Theatre:
Location: St Louis Missouri

Year: 1971
Title: Blood: From the Heart of America
Translator: Dyer, Doug
Director: Doug Dyer
Company: New York Shakespeare Festival
Theatre: Public Theater
Location: New York New York

Year: 1972
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Hovhanness Pilikian
Company: Princeton University (Professional Theatre Programme)
Theatre:
Location: Princeton New Jersey

Year: 1972
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Edward Payson Call

Company: McCarter Theatre Company?
Theatre: McCarter Theatre
Location: Princeton New Jersey

Year: 1973
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: St. Louis Community College, Meramec
Theatre:
Location: Meramec Missouri

Year: 1973
Title: Seeds of Atreus
Translator: Blau, Herbert
Director: Herbert Blau
Company: Oberlin College
Theatre:
Location: Oberlin Ohio

Year: 1973
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Marina Ponghis
Company: Wellesley College
Theatre:
Location: Wellesley Massachusetts

Year: 1973
Title: The Orphan
Translator: Rabe, David
Director: Jeff Bleckner
Company: New York Shakespeare Festival
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1974
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Arnott, Peter
Director: Peter Arnott
Company: Marionette Theatre of Peter Arnott/ University of Michigan
Theatre:
Location: Ann Arbor Michigan

Year: 1974
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Herman Middleton
Company: University of North Carolina, Greensboro (Theater Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Greensboro North Carolina

Year: 1974
Title: The Orphan
Translator: Rabe, David
Director: Barnet Kellman
Company: Manning Street Actor's Theater of Philadelphia/ N.Y. Shakespeare Festival
Theatre:
Location: Philadelphia Pennsylvania

Year: 1974
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Franklin and Marshall College
Theatre:
Location: Lancaster Pennsylvania

Year: 1974
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Richard Ohanesian
Company: New York Theatre Ensemble
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1975
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Nan Richardson
Company: Wellesley College
Theatre:
Location: Wellesley Massachusetts

Year: 1976
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Chioles, Ioannis
Director: Ioannis Chioles

Company: Stanford University
Theatre:
Location: Palo Alto California

Year: 1976
Title: Electra
Translator: Valency, Maurice
Director: Susan Lehman
Company: HB Playwrights Foundation
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1976
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Charlene Bletson
Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: Marriott Library
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 1977
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Andrei Serban (& Elizabeth Swados?)
Company: New York Shakespeare Festival
Theatre: Vivian Beaumont Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1977
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Brady, Leo
Director: Leo Brady
Company: Catholic University of America (Drama Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 1977
Title: The Daughter's Cycle: 1 Daughters; 2 Sister/Sister; 3 Electra Speaks (Oresteia, Euripides)
Translator: Coss, Clare, Roberta Sklar, Sondra Segal
Director:
Company: Women's Experimental Theatre
Theatre:

Location: New York New York

Year: 1977

Title: Oresteia

Translator: Unknown

Director:

Company: Renaissance Theatre Co.

Theatre:

Location: New York New York

Year: 1979

Title: Agamemnon

Translator: Ancient Greek

Director:

Company: Amherst College (Classics Dept.)

Theatre:

Location: Amherst Massachusetts

Year: 1979

Title: Agamemnon

Translator: Unknown

Director:

Company: Tufts University

Theatre:

Location: Medford Massachusetts

Year: 1981

Title: The Greeks (1 The Cursed; 2 The Blessed)

Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander

Director: Nikos Psacharopoulos (&Kenneth Cavender?)

Company: Williamstown (MA) Theatre Festival. American Conservatory Theatre, Seattle.

Theatre:

Location: Williamstown Massachusetts

Year: 1981

Title: The Eumenides

Translator: Ancient Greek

Director: Carla Antonaccio & Katherine Weeks

Company: Wellesley College

Theatre:

Location: Wellesley Massachusetts

Year: 1981
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: James Fisher
Company: Wabash College
Theatre: Wabash College Theater
Location: Crawfordsville Indiana

Year: 1982
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Jonathan Ringkamp
Company: Greek Theatre of New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1982
Title: Orestes and the Three Furious Ladies (parody)
Translator: Kaplan, Melya & Evris Tsakiride
Director:
Company: Gallery Theater
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1982
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director:
Company: Hartford Stage Company
Theatre:
Location: Hartford Connecticut

Year: 1982
Title: The Greeks: The War, The Gods
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director:
Company: A Contemporary Theatre (ACT)
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 1983
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander

Director:
Company: The Playmakers Repertory Company
Theatre:
Location: Chapel Hill North Carolina

Year: 1984
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Molly D. Smith
Company: Perseverance Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Douglas Alaska

Year: 1984
Title: Oresteia (1 Agamemnon; 2 Elektra/ Orestes) [Oresteia & Euripides Iphigenia
Among the
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Christopher Martin
Company: CSC: City Stage Co.
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1984
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: KISS Theatre Group of Leeuwarden, Netherlands
Theatre: Stony Brook State University of New York (SUNY)
Location: Stony Brook New York

Year: 1984
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Steven Berkoff & Susan Loewenberg
Company: LA Theatreworks/ Univ. of California, L.A. (Center for the Performing Arts)
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1985
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Erik Vos
Company: Missouri Repertory Theatre
Theatre:

Location: Kansas City Missouri
Year: 1985
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Marilyn Holt
Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: PTSP
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 1985
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Lowell, Robert
Director: Douglas McKeown
Company: Jean Cocteau Repertory
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1986
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Allen Miller
Company: Back Alley Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1986
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Kenneth Cavender & Nikos Psacharopoulos
Company: Back Alley Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Hollywood California

Year: 1986
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Grene, David & Wendy O'Flaherty
Director: Nicholas Rudall
Company: University of Chicago (Court Theatre)
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1986

Title: Clytemnestra
Translator: Japanese (with some English)
Director: Tadashi Suzuki
Company: Suzuki Company of Toga, tour.
Theatre:
Location:

Year: 1986
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Upstart Crow Theatre Company
Theatre: The Dairy Center for the Arts
Location: Boulder Colorado

Year: 1986
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: J. Lundstrom
Company: University of Louisville
Theatre:
Location: Louisville Kentucky

Year: 1987
Title: The Greeks (Part I, The Cursed; 2, The Blessed)
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Robert Emmett McGill & Von H. Washington
Company: The Hilberry Repertory Theatre (Wayne State University)
Theatre:
Location: Detroit Michigan

Year: 1987
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Boston University
Theatre:
Location: Boston Massachusetts

Year: 1987
Title: Klytemnestra: The Nightingale of Argos
Translator: Eichelberger, Ethyl
Director:
Company: P.S. 122

Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1988
 Title: The Greeks (Part I, The Wars; Part II, The Murders; Part III, The Gods)
 Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
 Director: Firman Brown, Rex McGraw, Ionia Zelenka
 Company: The Ohio State University
 Theatre: Thurber Theatre
 Location: Columbus Ohio

Year: 1988
 Title: The House on Walker River (Oresteia)
 Translator: Fagles, Robert
 Director: Bill Rauch
 Company: Cornerstone Theater Co.
 Theatre:
 Location: Schurz Nevada

Year: 1988
 Title: Oresteia
 Translator: Lowell, Robert
 Director:
 Company: Indiana Univeristy--Bloomington (Dept. of Theatre and Drama)
 Theatre: Brown County Playhouse
 Location: Bloomington Indiana

Year: 1988
 Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
 Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
 Director:
 Company: The Playmakers Repertory Company
 Theatre:
 Location: Chapel Hill North Carolina

Year: 1988
 Title: Oresteia
 Translator: Unknown
 Director: Gregg Dugan & Kathelin Gray
 Company: Caravan of Dreams Theater (a.k.a. Theatre of All Possibilities)
 Theatre:
 Location: Fort Worth Texas

Year: 1989
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Dennis Carroll
Company: University of Hawaii at Manoa (University Theatre)
Theatre:
Location: Honolulu Hawaii

Year: 1989
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Dale Luciano
Company: Southern Oregon University (Theatre Arts Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Ashland Oregon

Year: 1989
Title: The Dreams of Clytemnestra (I sogni di Clitennestra)
Translator: Maraini, Dacia (from Italian, Tim Vode)
Director: Greg Johnson
Company: City Troupe
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1989
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Morshead, E. D. A.
Director: Bevy Rosten
Company: New York University (Tisch School of Arts, Dept. of Drama)
Theatre: Main Stage at 721 Broadway
Location: New York New York

Year: 1989
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Carmen Sauerbeck
Company:
Theatre: Julian Theatre
Location: San Francisco California

Year: 1989
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Andrew Arnold

Company: Slaves of Dionysos, U.K./ University College London, U.K. (Trinity College)
Theatre: toured U.S. Universities
Location: Connecticut, Virginia, New York, Florida, North Carolina

Year: 1989
Title: Honey, I'm Home
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Bryn Mawr College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Bryn Mawr Pennsylvania

Year: 1990
Title: Les Atrides
Translator: French
Director: Ariane Mnouchkine
Company: Theatre du Soleil, France
Theatre: Park Slope Armory, Brooklyn
Location: New York New York

Year: 1990
Title: The Orphan
Translator: Rabe, David
Director: Paul Berman
Company: Barnard College
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1990
Title: Clytemnestra
Translator: Suzuki, Tadashi
Director: Yukihiro Goto
Company: State University of New York at Stony Brook
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1990
Title: The House
Translator: Unknown
Director: Helen Kaplow
Company: Society of New Things
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1990
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Tufts University (Pen, Paint & Pretzels)
Theatre: Tufts Arena Theater
Location: Medford Massachusetts

Year: 1990
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Beck, Gary & Carol Carvana
Director: Gary Beck
Company: Sidewalks Theatre, New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1991
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Meineck, Peter
Director: Peter Meineck & Graham Mitchell
Company: Aquila Productions, England
Theatre: toured England & U.S.
Location:

Year: 1991
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Harrison, Tony
Director: John Edwards
Company: University of New Hampshire
Theatre:
Location: Durham New Hampshire

Year: 1992
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Peter Lackner
Company: University of California, Santa Barbara (Dept. of Dramatic Arts)
Theatre:
Location: Santa Barbara California

Year: 1992
Title: The Furies

Translator: Gamel, Mary-Kay
Director: Jennifer Chan & Carolyn Jones
Company: University of California, Santa Cruz
Theatre:
Location: Santa Cruz California

Year: 1992
Title: The Clytemnestra Project: Iphegeneia at Aulis; Agamemnon; Sophocles' Electra
Translator: Lowell, Robert
Director: Garland Wright
Company: Guthrie Theater
Theatre: Guthrie Theater
Location: Minneapolis Minnesota

Year: 1992
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Gerry Large
Company: Hamilton College
Theatre:
Location: Hamilton New York

Year: 1992
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Mee, Charles
Director: Robert Woodruff
Company: University of California, Sand Diego
Theatre:
Location: Sand Diego California

Year: 1992
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Douglas Hunt
Company: Theater Schmeater
Theatre: Gasworks Park
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 1993
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Therese Sellers
Company: Harvard University (Harvard Classical Club)
Theatre: Sanders Theatre

Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1993

Title: The Greek Project

Translator: McLeish, Kenneth & Frederic Raphael

Director: Tim Ocel

Company: Emory University (Theater Studies Dept.)

Theatre:

Location: Atlanta Georgia

Year: 1993

Title: Shifting Landscapes: The Oresteia Story

Translator: Suzuki, Tadashi

Director: Katherine Moller

Company: Fort Lewis College (Dept. of Theatre)

Theatre:

Location: Durango Colorado

Year: 1993

Title: Oresteia

Translator: Unknown

Director: William Foeller

Company: Catholic University of America

Theatre:

Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 1994

Title: Oresteia

Translator: Auletta, Robert

Director: Francois Rochaix

Company: American Repertory Theatre (ART) [part of Harvard University]

Theatre: Loeb Drama Center

Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1994

Title: Clytemnestra

Translator: Davis, Richard

Director: Bill Allard

Company: University of San Francisco (Fine and Performing Arts Dept.)

Theatre:

Location: San Francisco California

Year: 1994

Title: Oresteia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director:
Company: New World School of Arts
Theatre:
Location: Miami Florida

Year: 1994
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Patrick Kelly
Company: University of Dallas (Drama Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Dallas Texas

Year: 1994
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director:
Company: Augsburg College
Theatre:
Location: Minneapolis Minnesota

Year: 1994
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Mee, Charles
Director: Brian Kulick (Tim Robbins?)
Company: Actors' Gang Theatre of Los Angeles
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1994
Title: The Orphan
Translator: Rabe, David
Director: James Lynch
Company: National Pastime Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1994
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Montgomery, Peter & Keith Scales
Director: Keith Scales
Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University & Reed College)

Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 1994
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ordover, Andrew
Director: Dave Mowers
Company: Common Ground Stage and Film Company
Theatre: Ohio Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1995
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Dale Goulding
Company: European Repertory Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1995
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Kennesaw State University (Classic TheatreWorks)
Theatre:
Location: Kennesaw Georgia

Year: 1995
Title: Libation Bearers
Translator: Montgomery, Peter & Keith Scales
Director: Keith Scales
Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University & Reed College)
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 1995
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Wuchte, John
Director: John Wuchte
Company: Rakka-Thamm!!!
Theatre: Washington Square Park
Location: New York New York

Year: 1996
Title: The Furies
Translator: Montgomery, Peter & Keith Scales
Director: Keith Scales
Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University)
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 1996
Title: Clytemnestra
Translator: Suzuki, Tadashi
Director: Yukihiro Goto
Company: University of Pittsburgh (Dept. of Theatre Arts)
Theatre:
Location: Pittsburgh Pennsylvania

Year: 1996
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Heidelberg College
Theatre:
Location: Tiffin Ohio

Year: 1996
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Alexander Harrington
Company: La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1997
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Rubenstein, Howard
Director: Barry Bosworth
Company: Granite Hills Acting Workshop
Theatre:
Location: El Cajon California

Year: 1997
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Gregory Boyd

Company: Alley Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Houston Texas

Year: 1997
Title: Les Mouches (The Flies)
Translator: Sartre, Jean-Paul
Director: Guy Durichek
Company: University of Southern Maine
Theatre:
Location: Portland Maine

Year: 1997
Title: The Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Classic Theatre Company
Theatre: University of Detroit Music Theatre, Mercy
Location:

Year: 1998
Title: Atreus Dawn
Translator: Basch, Abi
Director: Sara Ciarelli
Company: Brown University
Theatre:
Location: Providence Rhode Island

Year: 1998
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Bousel, Stuart
Director: Stuart Bousel
Company: Quicksilver Productions
Theatre:
Location: Tucson Arizona

Year: 1998
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Meineck, Peter
Director: Robert Richmond
Company: University of South Carolina, Columbia (Dept. of Theatre, Speech & Dance)
Theatre:
Location: Columbia South Carolina

Year: 1998
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Roisman, Hannah & Saylor Creswell
Director: Richard Sewell
Company: Colby College (Dept. of Theater & Dance)
Theatre: Strider Theater
Location: Waterville Maine

Year: 1998
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Schultz, Steve
Director:
Company: University of Louisville
Theatre:
Location: Louisville Kentucky

Year: 1998
Title: The Earth Rock of Argos (based on The Oresteia)
Translator: Soulis, Tim
Director: Tim Soulis
Company: Transylvania University
Theatre: Lucille C. Little Theater
Location: Lexington Kentucky

Year: 1998
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Kreizenbeck, Alan
Director: Alan Kreizenbeck
Company: University of Maryland, Baltimore County (Theatre Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Baltimore Maryland

Year: 1998
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Lowell, Robert
Director: Royce Gehrels
Company: Different Stages Repertory
Theatre: Acting Studio
Location: Austin Texas

Year: 1998
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ordovery, Andrew
Director:

Company: Peregrine Theater
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1998
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Unknown
 Director: Dick Caram
 Company: Pennsylvania State University (Dept. of Theatre)
 Theatre:
 Location: Altoona Pennsylvania

Year: 1998
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Unknown
 Director: Claire Graham
 Company: Emerson College
 Theatre:
 Location: Boston Massachusetts

Year: 1999
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
 Director: Aminta Goyel
 Company: Cornell University (Risley Theatre)
 Theatre:
 Location: Ithaca New York

Year: 1999
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Unknown
 Director: John Green
 Company: Butler University (Dept. of Theatre)
 Theatre:
 Location: Indianapolis Indiana

Year: 1999
 Title: Oresteia
 Translator: Aitken, James & Jude Donski
 Director: Jude Donski
 Company: University of Washington (School of Drama)
 Theatre: Playhouse
 Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 1999
Title: The Libation Bearers
Translator: Meineck, Peter
Director: Helen Richardson
Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: Babcock Theatre
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 1999
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director:
Company: Odyssey Theatre Ensemble
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1999
Title: The Greeks (1 The War & The Murders; 2 The Gods)
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: James DePaul & Bill Walters
Company: University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Theatre:
Location: Milwaukee Wisconsin

Year: 1999
Title: The Family Reunion
Translator: Eliot, T. S.
Director: Adrian Noble
Company: Royal Shakespeare Co., England
Theatre: England and U.S.
Location: New York New York

Year: 1999
Title: Athena, Live!
Translator: Dresden, Danielle
Director: Jo Scheder
Company: TAP-IT New Works
Theatre:
Location: Madison Wisconsin

Year: 2000
Title: Cracks Between the World—The Goddess Returns
Translator: Kamman, Sandra
Director:

Company: Studio Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 2000
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Dunn, James & Carla Smith-Zilber
Director: James Dunn & Carla Smith-Zilber
Company: College of Marin (Drama Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Kentfield California

Year: 2000
Title: The Murders at Argos
Translator: Foley, David
Director: Samuel Buggeln
Company: Charas/ElBohio
Theatre: FringeNYC
Location: New York New York

Year: 2000
Title: The Clytemnestra Project
Translator: Fuller, Ivan
Director: Ivan Fuller
Company: Augustana College (Theatre Company)
Theatre:
Location: Sioux Falls South Dakota

Year: 2000
Title: Messenger #1
Translator: Jackson, Mark
Director: Mark Jackson
Company: Art Street Theater
Theatre: EXIT Stage Left
Location: San Francisco California

Year: 2000
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Meineck, Peter
Director: Shepard Sobel
Company: Pearl Theatre Co.
Theatre:
Location: New York, New York

Year: 2000
Title: The Millennium Project
Translator: Russell, Amy
Director: Henry Baranowski
Company: Clarence Brown Theater Co. (University of Tennessee)
Theatre:
Location: Knoxville Tennessee

Year: 2000
Title: Furious Blood (Oresteia & Euripides' Elektra & Iphigenia at Aulis)
Translator: Stuart, Kelly
Director: Kirsten Brandt
Company: Sledgehammer Theatre
Theatre:
Location: San Diego California

Year: 2000
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Grene, David & Wendy O'Flaherty
Director: student directed
Company: Winthrop University (Dept. of Theatre & Dance)
Theatre: Black Box theatre
Location: Rock Hill South Carolina

Year: 2000
Title: Agamemnon 2.0
Translator: Mee, Charles
Director: Tali Gai
Company: International WOW Company, Access Theater, New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2000
Title: Agamemnon vs. Liberace
Translator: Schloff, Aaron Mack
Director: Samuel Buggeln
Company: HERE
Theatre: HERE Arts Center
Location: New York New York

Year: 2000
Title: Agamemnon

Translator: Unknown
Director: Zachary Morgan
Company: Arrowhead Center for the Arts
Theatre: Grand Marais Playhouse
Location: Grand Marais Minnesota

Year: 2000
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Michael Iannoli
Company: California Institute of the Arts (CalArts)
Theatre:
Location: Valencia California

Year: 2001
Title: Clyt at Home: The Clytemnestra Project
Translator: DeWan, Chris and Katherine Noon. Review by Mueller:
Director: Katharine Noon
Company: Ghost Road Company, Los Angeles/ Theatre of NOTE
Theatre: Theatre of NOTE
Location: Los Angeles, California

Year: 2001
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Harrison, Tony
Director: Kristin Horton
Company: University of Iowa (University of Theatres Second Stage)
Theatre: David Thayer Theatre
Location: Iowa City Iowa

Year: 2001
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Harrison, Tony
Director: Peter DeLaurier & Ceal Phelan
Company: People's Light & Theatre Company
Theatre: Malvern Theater
Location: Malvern Pennsylvania

Year: 2001
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hughes, Ted
Director: Michael Ellis-Tolaydo
Company: St. Mary's College of Maryland (Dept. of Dramatic Arts)
Theatre:

Location: St. Mary's City Maryland

Year: 2001

Title: Agamemnon

Translator: Lattimore, Richmond

Director:

Company: Morningside College

Theatre:

Location: Sioux City Iowa

Year: 2001

Title: Agamemnon

Translator: Unknown

Director: Mark Holtorf

Company: Texas A&M University--Tarleton State University

Theatre: Clyde H. Wells Fine Arts Center

Location: Tarleton Texas

Year: 2001

Title: The Oresteia

Translator: Blumberg, Life

Director: Life Blumberg

Company: Berea College (Theatre Laboratory)

Theatre:

Location: Berea Kentucky

Year: 2001

Title: Agamemnon and His Daughters (Aeschylus' Agamemnon, Choephoroi;
Euripides')

Translator: Cavander, Kenneth

Director: Molly Smith

Company: Arena Stage

Theatre:

Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 2001

Title: Oresteia

Translator: Chantry, Kaitlin

Director: Kaitlin Chantry

Company: Dartmouth College (Players)

Theatre:

Location: Hanover New Hampshire

Year: 2001

Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Tony Taccone & Tony Wadsworth
Company: Berkeley Repertory Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 2001
Title: Klytaemnestra's Unmentionables
Translator: Grace, Rob
Director: Jennifer Wineman
Company: Studio 42
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2001
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Hughes, Ted
Director: David Richard Jones
Company: University of New Mexico (Theatre & Dance Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Albuquerque New Mexico

Year: 2001
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Brian Sajko
Company: Eureka College
Theatre:
Location: Eureka Illinois

Year: 2001
Title: The Tears of Clytemnestra (Ta Dakrua tis Klitemnesistras) Monologue
Translator: Sideropoulou, Avra
Director: Kristin Linklater
Company: Donnell Library Center, New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2001
Title: The Furies
Translator: D'Amour, Lisa & Michelle Hensley
Director: Michelle Hensley
Company: Ten Thousand Things

Theatre:
Location: Minneapolis Minnesota

Year: 2001
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: Jamie Nelson (Bennett)
Company: University of Dallas (drama dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Dallas Texas

Year: 2002
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Demos, Iason & Yiannis Papatheodorou
Director: Ianthe Demos
Company: One Year Lease Theater Company
Theatre: toured europe and New York
Location: New York New York

Year: 2002
Title: Libation Bearers
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Amy Cohen
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 2002
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Denman, Stan
Director: Stan Denman
Company: Baylor University (Dept. of Theatre Arts)
Theatre: Mabee Theatre
Location: Waco Texas

Year: 2002
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Harrington, James
Director:
Company: Biola Univeristy (Torrey Honors Institute Theatre)
Theatre:
Location: La Mirada California

Year: 2002
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Hughes, Ted
Director: Dale Luciano
Company: Southern Oregon University (Theatre Arts Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: Ashland Oregon

Year: 2002
Title: Letter to Orestes
Translator: Kambanellis, Iakovos (from Greek Ken Tsziteli and Melina Sardi)
Director: Robert McNamara
Company: Scena Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 2002
Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
Translator: O'Neill Eugene
Director:
Company: A Contemporary Theatre (ACT)
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 2002
Title: Oresteia: Agamemnon and Libation Bearers
Translator: Unknown
Director: Dan Ambrose
Company: Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne
Theatre:
Location: Fort Wayne Indiana

Year: 2002
Title: Mythos
Translator: Yerushalmi, Rina
Director: Rina Yerushalmi
Company: Itim Ensemble, Israel
Theatre: Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts
Location: New York New York

Year: 2002
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Dale Goulding

Company: European Repertory Company
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 2002
Title: Bad Women
Translator: Goldfarb, Sidney
Director: Sidney Goldfarb & Tina Shepherd
Company: Talking Band
Theatre: Here Arts Center
Location: New York New York

Year: 2002
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Rubenstein, Howard
Director: Robert Drummond
Company: Palm Beach Atlantic University (Theatre Dept.)
Theatre:
Location: West Palm Beach Florida

Year: 2002
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Coffeyville Community College
Theatre: Spencer/ Rounds Performing Arts Theatre
Location: Coffeyville Kansas

Year: 2002
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Nigel Sanders-Self
Company: University of California, Santa Cruz
Theatre:
Location: Santa Cruz California

Year: 2003
Title: The Murderers: Agamemnon and Electra
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: John Garrity
Company: Providence College
Theatre:
Location: Providence Rhode Island

Year: 2003
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Cassandra Wormser
Company: University of Hawaii--Manoa
Theatre: Ernst Lab Theatre
Location: Honolulu Hawaii

Year: 2003
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: James Dean Carter
Company: Gorilla Theatre Productions
Theatre: Wheeler Amphitheatre, Theis Park
Location: Kansas City Missouri

Year: 2003
Title: Dipteracon; or, Short Lived S%’t Eaters—Rock’n Roll
Translator: Bode, Raine & Felicia Carter Shakman (and LaMAMa company)
Director: Raine Bode
Company: La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2003
Title: Agamemnon and His Daughters
Translator: Cavander, Kenneth
Director: Adrienne Krstansky
Company: Brandeis University (Dept. of Theater Arts)
Theatre:
Location: Waltham Massachusetts

Year: 2003
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Lawrence Kornfeld
Company: Purchase College (Theatre Ensemble)
Theatre:
Location: Purchase New York

Year: 2004
Title: The Mourners; or Mourning is a Form of Activism
Translator: Sharon, Yuval
Director: Yuval Sharon

Company: Theater Faction
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2004
Title: The Libation Bearers
Translator: Unknown
Director: James Dean Carter
Company: Gorilla Theatre Productions
Theatre: Performed at the Piano
Location: Kansas City Missouri

Year: 2004
Title: The Greeks: The Murders
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director:
Company: Dordt College
Theatre:
Location: Sioux Center Iowa

Year: 2004
Title: The Swallow Song
Translator: Koniordou, Lydia
Director: Lydia Koniordou
Company: Getty Center
Theatre: Getty Center
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 2004
Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director: The Homecoming, Mary Maiella; The Hunted, Monica Weigel; The Haunted, Erik Singh
Company: University of Dallas (Drama Department)
Theatre:
Location: Dallas Texas

Year: 2004
Title: The Oresteia: The Legacy of Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Oklahoma Baptist University
Theatre:
Location: Shawnee Oklahoma

Year: 2004
Title: The Furies
Translator: Hughes, Ted
Director: Dorothy Holland
Company: University of Richmond (University Players)
Theatre: Alice Jepson Theatre, Modlin Center for the Arts
Location: Richmond Virginia

Year: 2004
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Johnston, David
Director: Kevin Newbury
Company: Theater Faction
Theatre: American Theater of Actors
Location: New York New York

Year: 2004
Title: The Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: Sheila Gordon
Company: Missouri State University
Theatre: Balcony Theatre
Location: Springfield Missouri

Year: 2004
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Harrison, Tony
Director: Sarah Shippobotham
Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: The Babcock Theatre
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 2004
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hayes, Rachael & Frank LaFrazia
Director: Frank LaFrazia
Company: Main Street Stage
Theatre: Main Street Stage
Location: North Adams Massachusetts

Year: 2004
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Meineck, Peter
Director: Robert Richmond

Company: Aquila Productions, England
Theatre: John Jay College Theater (Purchase College)
Location: New York New York

Year: 2004
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Nelson, Erik
Director: Erik Nelson
Company: Theater Faction
Theatre: American Theater for Actors
Location: New York New York

Year: 2005
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Yourcenar, Marguerite
Director: Gisela Cardenas
Company: Vortex Theatre Company
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2005
Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director: Geoff Elliott & Julia Rodriguez Elliott
Company: Noise Within
Theatre: Masonic Temple Building
Location: Glendale California

Year: 2005
Title: Eumenides
Translator: Unknown
Director: James Dean Carter
Company: Gorilla Theatre Productions
Theatre: Wheeler Amphitheatre, Theis Park
Location: Kansas City Missouri

Year: 2005
Title: Mourning Becomes Electra
Translator: O'Neill, Eugene
Director:
Company: Old Dominion University
Theatre:
Location: Norfolk Virginia

Year: 2005
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Unknown
Director: Michael Donahue
Company: Harvard University
Theatre: Loeb Mainstage
Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 2006
Title: The Greeks: The War
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Ellen Margolis
Company: Pacific University
Theatre:
Location: Forest Grove Oregon

Year: 2006
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Hughes, Ted
Director: Rick DesRochers
Company: The Post Theatre Company (the not-for-profit resident theatre company of the
Theatre:
Location: Long Island New York

Year: 2006
Title: The Oresteia Project
Translator: Unknown
Director: Rick Des Rochers
Company: Long Island University--C.W. Post Campus (Post Theatre Company)
Theatre:
Location: Brookville New York

Year: 2006
Title: Three by Mee: Part 1, Agamemnon
Translator: Mee, Charles
Director: Frederique Michel
Company: City Garage
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 2007
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Unknown
Director: Ron Spangler

Company: Keene State College
Theatre:
Location: Keene New Hampshire

Year: 2007
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Johnston, David
Director: Stephen Speights
Company: Blue Coyote Theater Group
Theatre: Access Theater
Location: New York New York

Year: 2007
Title: The Barbie-steia: Curse of the House of Malibu
Translator: Levinton, Michael & Mallery MacKay-Brook
Director:
Company: Target Margin Theatre, New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2007
Title: The Oresteia Project
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Carnegie Mellon University
Theatre:
Location: Pittsburgh Pennsylvania

Year: 2008
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Allison Arkell Stockman & Tom Teasley
Company: Constellation Theatre Co.
Theatre: Clark Street Playhouse
Location: Crystal City Virginia

Year: 2008
Title: Good Breeding
Translator: O'Hara , Robert
Director:
Company: American Conservatory Theater (ACT)
Theatre: Zeum Theater
Location: San Francisco California

Year: 2008
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Stephen Wadsworth
Company: Getty Villa
Theatre: The Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman Theater
Location: Malibu California

Year: 2008
Title: Troy: After and Before
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Michael Cadden
Company: Princeton University
Theatre: Berlind Theatre
Location: Princeton New Jersey

Year: 2008
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Sinnott, Ethan
Director: Ethan Sinnott
Company: Gallaudet University
Theatre: The Gilbert C. Eastman Studio Theatre
Location: Washington D.C.

Year: 2009
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Stephen Davis
Company: Kean University
Theatre: Wilkins Theatre
Location: Union New Jersey

Year: 2009
Title: Breaking the Cycle
Translator: Unknown
Director: Kevin Black
Company: Providence College (Dept. of Theatre, Dance, and Film)
Theatre: John Bowab Studio Theatre
Location: Providence Rhode Island

Year: 2009
Title: An Oresteia
Translator: Carson, Anne
Director:

Company: Classic Stage Company (CSC)
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2009
Title: The Eumenides
Translator: Hughes, Ted
Director: Anne Muse
Company: Hendrix College (Hendrix Players)
Theatre: Caba Theatre
Location: Conway Arkansas

Year: ? (1990-2009?)
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: unknown
Director: Betty Bartlett
Company: Kutztown University of Pennsylvania (Dept. of Speech & Theatre)
Theatre: Schaeffer Main Stage
Location: Kutztown Pennsylvania

Prometheus Bound

Year: 1930
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Modern Greek
Director:
Company: New York City. Theatre at Delphi
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1934
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 1936
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Barbara McCarthy

Company: Wellesley College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Wellesley Massachusetts

Year: 1956
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Fred Harris
Company: University of California, Berkeley
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 1956
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director: James Elliott
Company:
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1957
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Eastern Mennonite University
Theatre:
Location: Harrisonburg Virginia

Year: 1961
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Eastern Mennonite University
Theatre:
Location: Harrisonburg Virginia

Year: 1962
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: University of Michigan
Theatre:
Location: Ann Arbor Michigan

Year: 1963
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Grene, David
Director: Jon Skinner
Company: Carleton College (Carleton Players)
Theatre: Nourse Little Theater
Location: Northfield Minnesota

Year: 1964
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Group of Ancient Drama
Theatre: East River Amphitheatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1965
Title: Prometheus Unbound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Morningside College
Theatre:
Location: Sioux City Iowa

Year: 1965
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Vellacott, Philip
Director: Erik Vos
Company: Stanford University (Repertory Theater)
Theatre:
Location: Palo Alto California

Year: 1967
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Lowell, Robert
Director: Jonathan Miller
Company: Yale University's Drama School
Theatre:
Location: New Haven Connecticut

Year: 1971
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director: Keith Engar

Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: The Rocks
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 1979
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Herington, John & James Scully
Director: Kenneth Washington
Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: Mar Lib Fountain
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 1984
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Arnott, Peter
Director: William Reichblum
Company: Shadow Theatre Company [La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club]
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1985
Title: The Prometheus Project
Translator: Unknown
Director: Richard Schechner
Company: The Wooster Group
Theatre: Performing Garage
Location: New York New York

Year: 1988
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Schultz, Charles
Director: Charles Schultz
Company: N.W. Missouri State University (dept. of comm., theatre, & languages)
Theatre:
Location: Maryville Missouri

Year: 1988
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: University of Hawaii at Manoa (dept. of theatre and dance)
Theatre:
Location: Honolulu Hawaii

Year: 1991
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Qwirk Productions
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1997
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director: David Brisco Luby
Company: Gorilla Theatre Productions
Theatre:
Location: Kansas City Missouri

Year: 1998
Title: Prometheus
Translator: Gamel, Mary-Kay (P)
Director: Greg Fritsch
Company: University of California, Santa Cruz
Theatre:
Location: Santa Cruz California

Year: 1999
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Avramovich, Dejan
Director: Dejan Avramovich
Company: TinFish Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1999
Title: Steelbound
Translator: Carey, Alison
Director: Bill Rauch
Company: Cornerstone Theatre Company; Touchstone Theatre Company
Theatre:
Location: Bethlehem Pennsylvania

Year: 2001
Title: Lo, Princess of Argos!
Translator: Jackson, Mark and Marci Karr
Director: Mark Jackson
Company: Art Street Theater
Theatre: EXIT Stage Left
Location: San Francisco California

Year: 2002
Title: Prometheus
Translator: Burnham, Sophy
Director: Joy Zinoman
Company: Studio Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Washington D. C. Washington D. C.

Year: 2002
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: Saint Mary's University of San Antonio
Theatre:
Location: San Antonio Texas

Year: 2003
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director: Diane Mountford
Company: Arrowhead Center for the Arts
Theatre: Grand Marais Playhouse
Location: Grand Marais Minnesota

Year: 2004
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Scales, Keith
Director: Keith Scales
Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University & Reed College)
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 2007
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Kerr, James

Director: Richard Nimke
Company: University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire
Theatre: Riverside Theatre
Location: Eau Claire Wisconsin

Year: 2007
Title: Prometheus Bound in New Orleans
Translator: Nassivera, John
Director:
Company: Green Mountain College
Theatre:
Location: Poultney Vermont

Year: 2007
Title: Prometheus
Translator: Unknown
Director:
Company: James Madison University
Theatre:
Location: Harrisonburg Virginia

Persians

Year: 1928
Title: Persians
Translator: Unknown
Director: Vance Martin
Company: University of Iowa (dept. of speech)
Theatre:
Location: Iowa City Iowa

Year: 1970
Title: A Ceremony for Our Time
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Gordon Duffy
Company: St. George's Church, New York & Phoenix Theatre
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1974
Title: Persians
Translator: Unknown

Director: Rob Thirkield
Company: Circle Repertory Theatre Company
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1993
Title: Persians
Translator: Auletta, Robert
Director: Peter Sellars
Company: Mark Taper, Los Angeles
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1993
Title: Persians
Translator: Herington, John & Janet Lembke
Director: Sandra Shotwell
Company: University of Utah (Classical Greek Theatre Festival)
Theatre: Red Buttte Gardens
Location: Salt Lake City Utah

Year: 1994
Title: The Persians
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Theodoros Terzopoulos
Company: ATTIS Thiasos, Greece
Theatre: unknown venue
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 2003
Title: The Persians
Translator: McLaughlin, Ellen
Director: Ethan McSweeney
Company: The National Actors Theatre/ Pace University
Theatre: Michael Schimmel Center for the Arts
Location: New York New York

Year: 2004
Title: The Persians
Translator: McLaughlin, Ellen
Director: Barbara Oliver
Company: Aurora Theatre Company, Berkeley, CA
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 2005
Title: Persians
Translator: Auletta, Robert
Director: Erin B. Mee
Company: Swarthmore College
Theatre: Pearson-Hall Theatre
Location: Swarthmore Pennsylvania

Year: 2005
Title: The Persians, A Comedy About War with Five Songs
Translator: Waterwell: Hanna Cheek; Rodney Gardiner, Arian Moayed, Tom Ridgely
Director: Tom Ridgely
Company: Waterwell Productions Inc.
Theatre: Under St. Marks
Location: New York New York

Year: 2006
Title: The Persians
Translator: McLaughlin, Ellen
Director: Ethan McSweeney
Company: Shakespeare Theatre Company, Washington D.C.
Theatre:
Location: Washington D.C. Washington D.C.

Year: 2006
Title: Persai
Translator: Modern Greek
Director: Lydia Koniordou
Company: Ethniko Theatro [National Theatre of Greece], Greece
Theatre: City Center
Location: New York New York

Suppliants

Year:
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: University of Arkansas--Fayetteville
Theatre:
Location: Fayetteville Arkansas

Year: 1936
Title: Suppliants
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 1995
Title: Les Danaïdes
Translator: French
Director: Silviu Purcarete
Company: National Theatre of Craiova, Romania
Theatre: Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts
Location: New York New York

Year: 1999
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Eastern Mennonite University
Theatre:
Location: Harrisonburg Virginia

Year: 1999
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Les Waters
Company: University of California, San Diego (Dept. of Theatre and Dance)
Theatre:
Location: San Diego California

Year: 2000
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Les Waters
Company: Actors' Theatre of Louisville, Humana Festival of New
Theatre:
Location: Louisville Kentucky

Year: 2000
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Stephen Weeks

Company: Lewis & Clark College
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 2001
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Les Waters
Company: Berkeley Repertory Theatre
Theatre: toured Long Wharf Theatre, New Haven, CT; Goodman Theatre, Chicago,
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 2001
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Eastern Mennonite University
Theatre:
Location: Harrisonburg Virginia

Year: 2001
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: A Contemporary Theatre (ACT)
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 2001
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Brian Kulick
Company: Contemporary Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 2002
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Howard Shalwitz
Company: Woolly Mammoth Theatre Company
Theatre: AFI Theater
Location: Washington D.C. Washington D.C.

Year: 2002
Title: Big love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Salisbury University
Theatre:
Location: Salisbury Maryland

Year: 2002
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Whitman College
Theatre: Freimann Stage
Location: Walla Walla Washington

Year: 2003
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: University of Virginia
Theatre:
Location: Charlottesville Virginia

Year: 2003
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Marie Brown
Company: University of Puget Sound
Theatre:
Location: Tacoma Washington

Year: 2003
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Gettysburg College
Theatre:
Location: Gettysburg Pennsylvania

Year: 2003
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Diane Stewart

Company: Florida Gulf Coast University
Theatre:
Location: Fort Myers Florida

Year: 2004
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Old Dominion University
Theatre:
Location: Norfolk Virginia

Year: 2004
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: K. Elizabeth Stevens
Company: Bryn Mawr College
Theatre: Goodhart's main stage
Location: Bryn Mawr Pennsylvania

Year: 2004
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Tony Horne
Company: Rhodes College
Theatre:
Location: Memphis Tennessee

Year: 2004
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Greensboro College
Theatre:
Location: Greensboro North Carolina

Year: 2005
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Maureen Ryan
Company: Red Herring Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Columbus Ohio

Year: 2005
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Devon Allen
Company: Portland State University
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 2005
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Suzanne Ramczyk
Company: Bridgewater State College
Theatre:
Location: Bridgewater Massachusetts

Year: 2005
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Hendrix College (Hendrix Players)
Theatre: Caba Theatre
Location: Conway Arkansas

Year: 2006
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Erin B. Mee
Company: Swarthmore College
Theatre: Pearson-Hall Theatre
Location: Swarthmore Pennsylvania

Year: 2006
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Jeff Dintaman
Company: Luther College
Theatre:
Location: Decorah Iowa

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Stacy Pendegraft

Company: University of Arkansas--Little Rock
Theatre: University Theatre
Location: Little Rock Arkansas

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Kathleen Normington
Company: California State University--San José State University
Theatre:
Location: San José California

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Chuck Harper
Company: Southern Illinois University--Edwardsville
Theatre: Dunham Theater
Location: Edwardsville Illinois

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Maya Roth
Company: Georgetown University
Theatre:
Location: Washington D.C.

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Todd Olson
Company: Eckerd College
Theatre: Binger Theatre
Location: St. Petersburg Florida

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Jean-Bernard Bucky
Company: Williams College
Theatre: Adams Memorial Theatre
Location: Williamstown Massachusetts

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Indiana University--Bloomington
Theatre: Wells-Metz Theatre
Location: Bloomington Indiana

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Johnson State College
Theatre:
Location: Johnson Vermont

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Tufts University
Theatre:
Location: Medford Massachusetts

Year: 2007
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Harry McEnery IV
Company: Castleton State University
Theatre:
Location: Castleton Vermont

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: David B. Jaffe
Company: Wesleyan University
Theatre:
Location: Middleton Connecticut

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Ellen Morbyrne

Company: Smith College
Theatre: Hallie Flanagan Studio Theatre
Location: Northampton Massachusetts

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Pennsylvania State University--Altoona
Theatre:
Location: Altoona Pennsylvania

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Jonathan Berry
Company: Lake Forest College
Theatre:
Location: Lake Forest Illinois

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Melissa Rynn
Company: University of Pittsburgh (Dept. of Theatre Arts)
Theatre: Henry Heymann Theatre
Location: Pittsburgh Pennsylvania

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Franchelle Stewart Dorn
Company: University of Texas
Theatre: Oscar G. Brockett Theatre
Location: Austin Texas

Year: 2008
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Kelly Russell
Company: Texas A&M University--Corpus Christi
Theatre: Warren Theatre
Location: Corpus Christi Texas

Year: 2009
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Hope College
Theatre:
Location: Holland Michigan

Year: 2009
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: Barry University
Theatre: Broad Auditorium
Location: Miami Shores Florida

Year: 2009
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Mary Susan Sinclair-Kuenning
Company: Sweet Briar College
Theatre: Babcock Performing Arts Center
Location: Sweet Briar Virginia

Year: 2009
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: James R. Taulli
Company: California State University--Fullerton
Theatre: Young Theatre
Location: Fullerton California

Year: 2009
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Desdemona Chiang
Company: University of Washington
Theatre: Meany Studio Theatre
Location: Seattle Washington

Seven Against Thebes

Year: 1930
Title: Teiresias
Translator: Lister, Henry Bertram
Director: Frederic Smith
Company: La Boheme Club
Theatre:
Location: San Francisco, California

Year: 1950
Title: Seven Against Thebes
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Mabel Whiteside
Company: Randolph-Macon Women's College (Dept. of Greek)
Theatre:
Location: Lynchburg Virginia

Year: 2001
Title: Seven Against Thebes
Translator: Stewart, Ellen
Director: Ellen Stewart
Company: Great Jones Repertory Company
Theatre: La MaMa
Location: New York New York

Year: 2006
Title: The Seven
Translator: Power, Will
Director: Jo Bonney
Company: New York Theatre Workshop
Theatre: New York Theatre Workshop
Location: New York New York

Year: 2009
Title: The Seven
Translator: Power, Will
Director: Lee Kenneth Richardson
Company: Temple University
Theatre: Tomlinson Theater
Location: Philadelphia Pennsylvania

Appendix C: Non-Academic Productions of Aeschylus' Tragedies (1900 to 2009)

Oresteia (Agamemnon, Choephoroi, and/or Eumenides)

Year:	1923	Commercial
Title:	Clytemnestra	
Translator:	Lister, Henry Bertram	
Director:		
Company:	Le Boheme Club	
Theatre:		
Location:	San Francisco	California
Year:	1930	Foreign Tour
Title:	Oresteia	
Translator:	Modern Greek	
Director:		
Company:	Company of Marika Kotopouli, Greece	
Theatre:		
Location:	New York	New York
Year:	1931	Commercial
Title:	Mourning Becomes Electra	
Translator:	O'Neill, Eugene	
Director:	Philip Moeller	
Company:	Theatre Guild	
Theatre:		
Location:	New York	New York
Year:	1941	Commercial
Title:	The Tower Beyond Tragedy	
Translator:	Jeffers, Robinson	
Director:	John Gassner	
Company:	Forest Theater Guild	
Theatre:		
Location:	Carmel-by-the-Sea	California
Year:	1947	
Title:	The Flies (Choephoroi, Eumenides, Sophokles Elektra)	

Translator:	Sartre, Jean-Paul		
Director:	Erwin Piscator		
Company:	New School Dramatic Workshop		
Theatre:	President Theatre		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1950		Commercial
Title:	The Tower Beyond Tragedy		
Translator:	Jeffers, Robinson		
Director:			
Company:	American National Theatre & Academy (ANTA)		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1957		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Lattimore, Richmond		
Director:	Wayne Richardson		
Company:	Theater Marquee		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1959		Regional
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Hamilton, Edith		
Director:	Nikos Psacharopoulos		
Company:	Repertory Theatre (Yale School of Drama)		
Theatre:			
Location:	New Haven	Connecticut	
Year:	1959		Regional
Title:	Homecoming (Mourning Becomes Electra)		
Translator:	O'Neill, Eugene		
Director:	Curtis Canfield		
Company:	Repertory Theatre (Yale School of Drama)		
Theatre:			
Location:	New Haven	Connecticut	
Year:	1961		Foreign Tour
Title:	The Choephoroi & The Eumenides		
Translator:	Modern Greek		
Director:	Dimitris Rondiris		
Company:	Peiraikon Theatron [Piraeus Theatre], Greece		
Theatre:	City Center		
Location:	New York	New York	

Year: 1966 Foreign Tour
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Lattimore, Richmond
Director: Alexis Solomos
Company: Ypsilanti Greek Theatre Festival
Theatre:
Location: Ypsilanti and Paris, Michigan

Year: 1966 Commercial
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Tyrone Guthrie
Company: Minnesota Theatre Co.
Theatre: Guthrie Theatre
Location: Minneapolis Minnesota

Year: 1966 Commercial
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Alfred, William
Director: Richard Herd
Company:
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1968 Commercial
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director:
Company: Minnesota Theatre Co.
Theatre: Billy Rose Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1968 Commercial
Title: The House of Atreus
Translator: Lewin, John
Director:
Company: Minnesota Theatre Co.
Theatre: Mark Tapor Forum
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1968 Commercial
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Townsend, Michael
Director: David Margulies

Company:	Southwark Theatre Company		
Theatre:	Theatre of the Living Arts		
Location:	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	
Year:	1971		Commercial
Title:	Blood: From the Heart of America		
Translator:	Dyer, Doug		
Director:	Doug Dyer		
Company:	New York Shakespeare Festival		
Theatre:	Public Theater		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1972		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Alfred, William		
Director:	Edward Payson Call		
Company:	McCarter Theatre Company?		
Theatre:	McCarter Theatre		
Location:	Princeton	New Jersey	
Year:	1973		Commercial
Title:	The Orphan		
Translator:	Rabe, David		
Director:	Jeff Bleckner		
Company:	New York Shakespeare Festival		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1974		Commercial
Title:	The Orphan		
Translator:	Rabe, David		
Director:	Barnet Kellman		
Company:	Manning Street Actor's Theater of Philadelphia/ New York Shakespeare		
Theatre:			
Location:	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	
Year:	1974		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	Richard Ohanesian		
Company:	New York Theatre Ensemble		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1976		Commercial
Title:	Electra		

Translator: Valency, Maurice
 Director: Susan Lehman
 Company: HB Playwrights Foundation
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1977 Commercial
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Hamilton, Edith
 Director: Andrei Serban (& Elizabeth Swados?)
 Company: New York Shakespeare Festival
 Theatre: Vivian Beaumont Theatre
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1977 Commercial
 Title: The Daughter's Cycle: 1 Daughters; 2 Sister/Sister; 3 Electra Speaks
 Translator: Coss, Clare, Roberta Sklar, Sondra Segal
 Director:
 Company: Women's Experimental Theatre
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1977 Commercial
 Title: Oresteia
 Translator: Unknown
 Director:
 Company: Renaissance Theatre Co.
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1981 Commercial
 Title: The Greeks (1 The Cursed; 2 The Blessed)
 Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
 Director: Nikos Psacharopoulos (& Kenneth Cavander?)
 Company: Williamstown (MA) Theatre Festival. American Conservatory Theatre,
 Theatre:
 Location: Williamstown Massachusetts

Year: 1982 Regional
 Title: The Greeks
 Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
 Director:
 Company: Hartford Stage Company
 Theatre:
 Location: Hartford Connecticut

Year: 1982 Commercial
Title: Orestes and the Three Furious Ladies (parody)
Translator: Kaplan, Melya & Evis Tsakiride
Director:
Company: Gallery Theater
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1982 Commercial
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Hamilton, Edith
Director: Jonathan Ringkamp
Company: Greek Theatre of New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1982 Regional
Title: The Greeks: The War, The Gods
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director:
Company: A Contemporary Theatre (ACT)
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 1983 Commercial
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director:
Company: The Playmakers Repertory Company
Theatre:
Location: Chapel Hill North Carolina

Year: 1984 Commercial
Title: The Greeks
Translator: Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander
Director: Molly D. Smith
Company: Perseverance Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Douglas Alaska

Year: 1984 Commercial
Title: Oresteia (1 Agamemnon; 2 Elektra/ Orestes) [Oresteia & Euripides Iphigenia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Christopher Martin
Company: CSC: City Stage Co.

Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1984		Foreign Tour
Title:	Oresteia		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:			
Company:	KISS Theatre Group of Leeuwarden, Netherlands		
Theatre:	Stony Brook State University of New York (SUNY)		
Location:	Stony Brook	New York	
Year:	1984		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Berkhoff, Steven		
Director:	Steven Berkoff & Susan Loewenberg		
Company:	LA Theatreworks/ University of California, Los Angeles (Center for the		
Theatre:			
Location:	Los Angeles	California	
Year:	1985		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Lewin, John		
Director:	Erik Vos		
Company:	Missouri Repertory Theatre		
Theatre:			
Location:	Kansas City	Missouri	
Year:	1985		Commercial
Title:	The Oresteia		
Translator:	Lowell, Robert		
Director:	Douglas McKeown		
Company:	Jean Cocteau Repertory		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1986		Commercial
Title:	The Greeks		
Translator:	Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander		
Director:	Kenneth Cavander & Nikos Psacharopoulos		
Company:	Back Alley Theatre		
Theatre:			
Location:	Hollywood	California	
Year:	1986		Commercial

Title:	The Greeks	
Translator:	Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander	
Director:	Allen Miller	
Company:	Back Alley Theatre	
Theatre:		
Location:	Los Angeles	California
Year:	1986	Commercial
Title:	Oresteia	
Translator:	Greene, David & Wendy O'Flaherty	
Director:	Nicholas Rudall	
Company:	University of Chicago (Court Theatre)	
Theatre:		
Location:	Chicago	Illinois
Year:	1986	Foreign Tour
Title:	Clytemnestra	
Translator:	Japanese (with some English)	
Director:	Tadashi Suzuki	
Company:	Suzuki Company of Toga, tour.	
Theatre:		
Location:		
Year:	1986	Commercial
Title:	Oresteia	
Translator:	Unknown	
Director:		
Company:	Upstart Crow Theatre Company	
Theatre:	The Dairy Center for the Arts	
Location:	Boulder	Colorado
Year:	1987	Commercial
Title:	Klytemnestra: The Nightingale of Argos	
Translator:	Eichelberger, Ethyl	
Director:		
Company:	P.S. 122	
Theatre:		
Location:	New York	New York
Year:	1988	Commercial
Title:	The House on Walker River (Oresteia)	
Translator:	Fagles, Robert	
Director:	Bill Rauch	
Company:	Cornerstone Theater Co.	
Theatre:		

Location:	Schurz	Nevada	
Year:	1988		Commercial
Title:	Mourning Becomes Electra		
Translator:	O'Neill, Eugene		
Director:			
Company:	The Playmakers Repertory Company		
Theatre:			
Location:	Chapel Hill	North Carolina	
Year:	1988		Commercial
Title:	Oresteia		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	Gregg Dugan & Kathelin Gray		
Company:	Caravan of Dreams Theater (a.k.a. Theatre of All Possibilities)		
Theatre:			
Location:	Fort Worth	Texas	
Year:	1989		Commercial
Title:	The Dreams of Clytemnestra (I sogni di Clitennestra)		
Translator:	Maraini, Dacia (from Italian, Tim Vode)		
Director:	Greg Johnson		
Company:	City Troupe		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1989		Commercial
Title:	Oresteia		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	Carmen Sauerbeck		
Company:			
Theatre:	Julian Theatre		
Location:	San Francisco	California	
Year:	1990		Foreign Tour
Title:	Les Atrides		
Translator:	French		
Director:	Ariane Mnouchkine		
Company:	Theatre du Soleil, France		
Theatre:	Park Slope Armory, Brooklyn		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1990		Commercial
Title:	The House		
Translator:	Unknown		

Director: Helen Kaplow
 Company: Society of New Things
 Theatre:
 Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1990 Commercial
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Beck, Gary & Carol Carvana
 Director: Gary Beck
 Company: Sidewalks Theatre, New York
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 1991 Foreign Tour
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Meineck, Peter
 Director: Peter Meineck & Graham Mitchell
 Company: Aquila Productions, England
 Theatre: toured England & U.S.
 Location:

Year: 1992 Regional
 Title: The Clytemnestra Project: Iphigeneia at Aulis; Agamemnon; Sophocles'
 Translator: Lowell, Robert
 Director: Garland Wright
 Company: Guthrie Theater
 Theatre: Guthrie Theater
 Location: Minneapolis Minnesota

Year: 1992 Commercial
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Unknown
 Director: Douglas Hunt
 Company: Theater Schmeater
 Theatre: Gasworks Park
 Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 1994 Commercial
 Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Montgomery, Peter & Keith Scales
 Director: Keith Scales
 Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University & Reed College)
 Theatre:
 Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 1994 Commercial
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Ordover, Andrew
Director: Dave Mowers
Company: Common Ground Stage and Film Company
Theatre: Ohio Theatre
Location: New York New York

Year: 1994 Regional
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Auletta, Robert
Director: Francois Rochaix
Company: American Repertory Theatre (ART) [part of Harvard University]
Theatre: Loeb Drama Center
Location: Cambridge Massachusetts

Year: 1994 Commercial
Title: Oresteia
Translator: Mee, Charles
Director: Brian Kulick (Tim Robbins?)
Company: Actors' Gang Theatre of Los Angeles
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1994 Commercial
Title: The Orphan
Translator: Rabe, David
Director: James Lynch
Company: National Pastime Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1995 Commercial
Title: Libation Bearers
Translator: Montgomery, Peter & Keith Scales
Director: Keith Scales
Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University & Reed College)
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Year: 1995 Commercial
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Dale Goulding
Company: European Repertory Theatre

Theatre:			
Location:	Chicago	Illinois	
Year:	1995		Commercial
Title:	Eumenides		
Translator:	Wuchte, John		
Director:	John Wuchte		
Company:	Rakka-Thamm!!!		
Theatre:	Washington Square Park		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1996		Commercial
Title:	The Furies		
Translator:	Montgomery, Peter & Keith Scales		
Director:	Keith Scales		
Company:	Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University)		
Theatre:			
Location:	Portland	Oregon	
Year:	1996		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Lattimore, Richmond		
Director:	Alexander Harrington		
Company:	La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1997		Other
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Rubenstein, Howard		
Director:	Barry Bosworth		
Company:	Granite Hills Acting Workshop		
Theatre:			
Location:	El Cajon	California	
Year:	1997		Regional
Title:	The Greeks		
Translator:	Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander		
Director:	Gregory Boyd		
Company:	Alley Theatre		
Theatre:			
Location:	Houston	Texas	
Year:	1998		Commercial

Title:	The Oresteia		
Translator:	Bousel, Stuart		
Director:	Stuart Bousel		
Company:	Quicksilver Productions		
Theatre:			
Location:	Tucson	Arizona	
Year:	1998		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Lowell, Robert		
Director:	Royce Gehrels		
Company:	Different Stages Repertory		
Theatre:	Acting Studio		
Location:	Austin	Texas	
Year:	1998		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Ordovery, Andrew		
Director:			
Company:	Peregrine Theater		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1999		Commercial
Title:	The Greeks		
Translator:	Barton, John & Kenneth Cavander		
Director:			
Company:	Odyssey Theatre Ensemble		
Theatre:			
Location:	Los Angeles	California	
Year:	1999		Foreign Tour
Title:	The Family Reunion		
Translator:	Eliot, T. S.		
Director:	Adrian Noble		
Company:	Royal Shakespeare Co., England		
Theatre:	England and U.S.		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1999		Commercial
Title:	Athena, Live!		
Translator:	Dresden, Danielle		
Director:	Jo Scheder		
Company:	TAP-IT New Works		
Theatre:			

Location:	Madison	Wisconsin	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	Cracks Between the World—The Goddess Returns		
Translator:	Kamman, Sandra		
Director:			
Company:	Studio Theatre		
Theatre:			
Location:	Washington, DC	Washington, DC	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	The Murders at Argos		
Translator:	Foley, David		
Director:	Samuel Buggeln		
Company:	Charas/ElBohio		
Theatre:	FringeNYC		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	Messenger #1		
Translator:	Jackson, Mark		
Director:	Mark Jackson		
Company:	Art Street Theater		
Theatre:	EXIT Stage Left		
Location:	San Francisco	California	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	The Oresteia		
Translator:	Meineck, Peter		
Director:	Shepard Sobel		
Company:	Pearl Theatre Co.		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York,	New York	
Year:	2000		Regional
Title:	The Millennium Project		
Translator:	Russell, Amy		
Director:	Henry Baranowski		
Company:	Clarence Brown Theater Co. (University of Tennessee)		
Theatre:			
Location:	Knoxville	Tennessee	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	Furious Blood (Oresteia & Euripides' Elektra & Iphigenia at Aulis)		
Translator:	Stuart, Kelly		

Director:	Kirsten Brandt		
Company:	Sledgehammer Theatre		
Theatre:			
Location:	San Diego	California	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon 2.0		
Translator:	Mee, Charles		
Director:	Tali Gai		
Company:	International WOW Company, Access Theater, New York		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	2000		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon vs. Libera		
Translator:	Schloff, Aaron Mack		
Director:	Samuel Buggeln		
Company:	HERE		
Theatre:	HERE Arts Center		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	2000		Community
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	Zachary Morgan		
Company:	Arrowhead Center for the Arts		
Theatre:	Grand Marais Playhouse		
Location:	Grand Marais	Minnesota	
Year:	2001		Commercial
Title:	Clyt at Home: The Clytemnestra Project		
Translator:	DeWan, Chris and Katherine Noon. Review by Mueller:		
Director:	Katharine Noon		
Company:	Ghost Road Company, Los Angeles/ Theatre of NOTE		
Theatre:	Theatre of NOTE		
Location:	Los Angeles,	California	
Year:	2001		Commercial
Title:	The Furies		
Translator:	D'Amour, Lisa & Michelle Hensley		
Director:	Michelle Hensley		
Company:	Ten Thousand Things		
Theatre:			
Location:	Minneapolis	Minnesota	

Year: 2001 Regional
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Harrison, Tony
Director: Peter DeLaurier & Ceal Phelan
Company: People's Light & Theatre Company
Theatre: Malvern Theater
Location: Malvern Pennsylvania

Year: 2001 Regional
Title: Agamemnon and His Daughters (Aeschylus' Agamemnon, Choephoroi;
Translator: Cavander, Kenneth
Director: Molly Smith
Company: Arena Stage
Theatre:
Location: Washington, DC Washington, DC

Year: 2001 Regional
Title: The Oresteia
Translator: Fagles, Robert
Director: Tony Taccone & Tony Wadsworth
Company: Berkeley Repertory Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 2001 Commercial
Title: Klytaemnestra's Unmentionables
Translator: Grace, Rob
Director: Jennifer Wineman
Company: Studio 42
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2001 Commercial
Title: The Tears of Clytemnestra (Ta Dakrua tis Klitemnesistras) Monologue
Translator: Sideropoulou, Avra
Director: Kristin Linklater
Company: Donnell Library Center, New York
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 2002 Commercial
Title: Agamemnon
Translator: Berkhoff, Steven
Director: Dale Goulding

Company:	European Repertory Company	
Theatre:		
Location:	Chicago	Illinois
Year:	2002	Commercial
Title:	Bad Women	
Translator:	Goldfarb, Sidney	
Director:	Sidney Goldfarb & Tina Shepherd	
Company:	Talking Band	
Theatre:	Here Arts Center	
Location:	New York	New York
Year:	2002	Commercial
Title:	Oresteia	
Translator:	Demos, Iason & Yiannis Papatheodorou	
Director:	Ianthe Demos	
Company:	One Year Lease Theater Company	
Theatre:	toured europe and New York	
Location:	New York	New York
Year:	2002	Commercial
Title:	Letter to Orestes	
Translator:	Kambanellis, Iakovos (from Greek Ken Tsitzei and Melina Sardi)	
Director:	Robert McNamara	
Company:	Scena Theatre	
Theatre:		
Location:	Washington, DC	Washington, DC
Year:	2002	Regional
Title:	Mourning Becomes Electra	
Translator:	O'Neill Eugene	
Director:		
Company:	A Contemporary Theatre (ACT)	
Theatre:		
Location:	Seattle	Washington
Year:	2002	Foreign Tour
Title:	Mythos	
Translator:	Yerushalmi, Rina	
Director:	Rina Yerushalmi	
Company:	Itim Ensemble, Israel	
Theatre:	Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts	
Location:	New York	New York

Year:	2003	Commercial
Title:	Dipteracon; or, Short Lived S%'t Eaters—Rock'n Roll	
Translator:	Bode, Raine & Felicia Carter Shakman (and LaMAMa company)	
Director:	Raine Bode	
Company:	La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club	
Theatre:		
Location:	New York New York	
Year:	2003	Not-for-Profit
Title:	Agamemnon	
Translator:	Unknown	
Director:	James Dean Carter	
Company:	Gorilla Theatre Productions	
Theatre:	Wheeler Amphitheatre, Theis Park	
Location:	Kansas City Missouri	
Year:	2004	Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon	
Translator:	Hayes, Rachael & Frank LaFrazia	
Director:	Frank LaFrazia	
Company:	Main Street Stage	
Theatre:	Main Street Stage	
Location:	North Adams Massachusetts	
Year:	2004	Foreign Tour
Title:	Agamemnon	
Translator:	Meineck, Peter	
Director:	Robert Richmond	
Company:	Aquila Productions, England	
Theatre:	John Jay College Theater (Purchase College)	
Location:	New York (Purchase, New York	
Year:	2004	Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon	
Translator:	Nelson, Erik	
Director:	Erik Nelson	
Company:	Theater Faction	
Theatre:	American Theater for Actors	
Location:	New York New York	
Year:	2004	Commercial
Title:	The Mourners; or Mourning is a Form of Activism	
Translator:	Sharon, Yuval	
Director:	Yuval Sharon	
Company:	Theater Faction	

Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	2004		Not-for-Profit
Title:	The Libation Bearers		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	James Dean Carter		
Company:	Gorilla Theatre Productions		
Theatre:	Performed at the Piano		
Location:	Kansas City	Missouri	
Year:	2004		Commercial
Title:	The Swallow Song		
Translator:	Koniordou, Lydia		
Director:	Lydia Koniordou		
Company:	Getty Center		
Theatre:	Getty Center		
Location:	Los Angeles	California	
Year:	2004		Commercial
Title:	Eumenides		
Translator:	Johnston, David		
Director:	Kevin Newbury		
Company:	Theater Faction		
Theatre:	American Theater of Actors		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	2005		Commercial
Title:	Mourning Becomes Electra		
Translator:	O'Neill, Eugene		
Director:	Geoff Elliott & Julia Rodriguez Elliott		
Company:	Noise Within		
Theatre:	Masonic Temple Building		
Location:	Glendale	California	
Year:	2005		Not-for-Profit
Title:	Eumenides		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	James Dean Carter		
Company:	Gorilla Theatre Productions		
Theatre:	Wheeler Amphitheatre, Theis Park		
Location:	Kansas City	Missouri	
Year:	2005		Commercial

Title: Agamemnon
 Translator: Yourcenar, Marguerite
 Director: Gisela Cardenas
 Company: Vortex Theatre Company
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 2006 Commercial
 Title: Three by Mee: Part 1, Agamemnon
 Translator: Mee, Charles
 Director: Frederique Michel
 Company: City Garage
 Theatre:
 Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 2006 Commercial
 Title: Oresteia
 Translator: Hughes, Ted
 Director: Rick DesRochers
 Company: The Post Theatre Company (the not-for-profit resident theatre company of
 Theatre:
 Location: Long Island New York

Year: 2007 Commercial
 Title: Oresteia
 Translator: Johnston, David
 Director: Stephen Speights
 Company: Blue Coyote Theater Group
 Theatre: Access Theater
 Location: New York New York

Year: 2007 Commercial
 Title: The Barbie-steia: Curse of the House of Malibu
 Translator: Levinton, Michael & Mallery MacKay-Brook
 Director:
 Company: Target Margin Theatre, New York
 Theatre:
 Location: New York New York

Year: 2008 Commercial
 Title: The Oresteia
 Translator: Fagles, Robert
 Director: Allison Arkell Stockman & Tom Teasley
 Company: Constellation Theatre Co.
 Theatre: Clark Street Playhouse

Location:	Crystal City	Virginia	
Year:	2008		Commercial
Title:	Agamemnon		
Translator:	Fagles, Robert		
Director:	Stephen Wadsworth		
Company:	Getty Villa		
Theatre:	The Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman Theater		
Location:	Malibu	California	
Year:	2008		Regional
Title:	Good Breeding		
Translator:	O'Hara , Robert		
Director:			
Company:	American Conservatory Theater (ACT)		
Theatre:	Zeum Theater		
Location:	San Francisco	California	
Year:	2009		Commercial
Title:	An Oresteia		
Translator:	Carson, Anne		
Director:			
Company:	Classic Stage Company (CSC)		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	

Prometheus Bound

Year:	1930		Other
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Modern Greek		
Director:			
Company:	New York City. Theatre at Delphi		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1956		Commercial
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	James Elliott		
Company:			
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	

Year:	1964		Other
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:			
Company:	Group of Ancient Drama		
Theatre:	East River Amphitheatre		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1984		Regional
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Arnott, Peter		
Director:	William Reichblum		
Company:	Shadow Theatre Company [La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club]		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1985		Commercial
Title:	The Prometheus Project		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	Richard Schechner		
Company:	The Wooster Group		
Theatre:	Performing Garage		
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1991		Commercial
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:			
Company:	Qwirk Productions		
Theatre:			
Location:	New York	New York	
Year:	1997		Not-for-Profit
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Unknown		
Director:	David Brisco Luby		
Company:	Gorilla Theatre Productions		
Theatre:			
Location:	Kansas City	Missouri	
Year:	1999		Commercial
Title:	Prometheus Bound		
Translator:	Avramovich, Dejan		
Director:	Dejan Avramovich		
Company:	TinFish Theatre		

Theatre:
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 1999 Commercial
Title: Steelbound
Translator: Carey, Alison
Director: Bill Rauch
Company: Cornerstone Theatre Company; Touchstone Theatre Company
Theatre:
Location: Bethlehem Pennsylvania

Year: 2001 Commercial
Title: Lo, Princess of Argos!
Translator: Jackson, Mark and Marci Karr
Director: Mark Jackson
Company: Art Street Theater
Theatre: EXIT Stage Left
Location: San Francisco California

Year: 2002 Commercial
Title: Prometheus
Translator: Burnham, Sophy
Director: Joy Zinoman
Company: Studio Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Washington D. C. Washington D. C.

Year: 2003 Community
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Unknown
Director: Diane Mountford
Company: Arrowhead Center for the Arts
Theatre: Grand Marais Playhouse
Location: Grand Marais Minnesota

Year: 2004 Commercial
Title: Prometheus Bound
Translator: Scales, Keith
Director: Keith Scales
Company: Classic Greek Theatre of Oregon (Portland State University & Reed College)
Theatre:
Location: Portland Oregon

Persians

Year: 1970 Commercial
Title: A Ceremony for Our Time
Translator: Lewin, John
Director: Gordon Duffy
Company: St. George's Church, New York & Phoenix Theatre
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1974 Commercial
Title: Persians
Translator: Unknown
Director: Rob Thirkield
Company: Circle Repertory Theatre Company
Theatre:
Location: New York New York

Year: 1993 Regional
Title: Persians
Translator: Auletta, Robert
Director: Peter Sellars
Company: Mark Taper, Los Angeles
Theatre:
Location: Los Angeles California

Year: 1994 Foreign Tour
Title: The Persians
Translator: Ancient Greek
Director: Theodoros Terzopoulos
Company: ATTIS Thiasos, Greece
Theatre: unknown venue
Location: Chicago Illinois

Year: 2003 Commercial
Title: The Persians
Translator: McLaughlin, Ellen
Director: Ethan McSweeny
Company: The National Actors Theatre/ Pace University
Theatre: Michael Schimmel Center for the Arts
Location: New York New York

Year: 2004 Commercial
Title: The Persians
Translator: McLaughlin, Ellen

Director: Barbara Oliver
Company: Aurora Theatre Company, Berkeley, CA
Theatre:
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 2005 Commercial
Title: The Persians, A Comedy About War with Five Songs
Translator: Waterwell: Hanna Cheek; Rodney Gardiner, Arian Moayed, Tom Ridgely
Director: Tom Ridgely
Company: Waterwell Productions Inc.
Theatre: Under St. Marks
Location: New York New York

Year: 2006 Commercial
Title: The Persians
Translator: McLaughlin, Ellen
Director: Ethan McSweeney
Company: Shakespeare Theatre Company, Washington D.C.
Theatre:
Location: Washington D.C. Washington D.C.

Year: 2006 Foreign Tour
Title: Persai
Translator: Modern Greek
Director: Lydia Koniordou
Company: Ethniko Theatro [National Theatre of Greece], Greece
Theatre: City Center
Location: New York New York

Suppliants

Year: 1995 Foreign Tour
Title: Les Danaïdes
Translator: French
Director: Silviu Purcarete
Company: National Theatre of Craiova, Romania
Theatre: Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts
Location: New York New York

Year: 2000 Regional
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Les Waters
Company: Actors' Theatre of Louisville, Louisville Kentucky. Festival: Humana Festival

Theatre:
Location: Louisville Kentucky

Year: 2001 Regional
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Les Waters
Company: Berkeley Repertory Theatre
Theatre: toured: Long Wharf Theatre, New Haven, Connecticut; Goodman Theatre,
Location: Berkeley California

Year: 2001 Regional
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director:
Company: A Contemporary Theatre (ACT)
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 2001 Commercial
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Brian Kulick
Company: Contemporary Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Seattle Washington

Year: 2002 Commercial
Title: Big Love; or, The Wedding of the Millennium
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Howard Shalwitz
Company: Woolly Mammoth Theatre Company
Theatre: AFI Theater
Location: Washington D.C. Washington D.C.

Year: 2005 Regional
Title: Big Love
Translator: Mee, Charles (S)
Director: Maureen Ryan
Company: Red Herring Theatre
Theatre:
Location: Columbus Ohio

Seven Against Thebes

Year: 1930 Commercial
Title: Teiresias
Translator: Lister, Henry Bertram
Director: Frederic Smith
Company: La Boheme Club
Theatre:
Location: San Francisco, California

Year: 2001 Commercial
Title: Seven Against Thebes
Translator: Stewart, Ellen
Director: Ellen Stewart
Company: Great Jones Repertory Company
Theatre: La MaMa
Location: New York New York

Year: 2004 Commercial
Title: Seven: Seven Greek Myths in Repertory
Translator: Stewart, Ellen
Director: Ellen Stewart
Company: The Great Jones Repertory Company
Theatre: La MaMa Etc.
Location: New York New York

Year: 2006 Commercial
Title: The Seven
Translator: Power, Will
Director: Jo Bonney
Company: New York Theatre Workshop
Theatre: New York Theatre Workshop
Location: New York New York

Year: 2009 Commercial
Title: The Seven
Translator: Power, Will
Director: Jo Bonney
Company:
Theatre: Potiker Theatre at La Jolla Playhouse
Location: La Jolla California

Appendix D: Questionnaire About the Staged Reading of Aeschylus' *PERSIANS*
On the Campus of The Ohio State University

Would you please complete this questionnaire? Your feedback is valuable to us and to Bethany Rainsberg's doctoral dissertation project. When you are finished answering the questions, place this form on your seat. It will be collected by Bethany when everyone leaves the room.

1. I am

(a) student	(b) faculty	(c) staff	(d) other	
[106]	[14]	[7]	[46]	[173 TOTAL]
2. The stage reading was

(a) excellent	(b) good	(c) average)	(d) poor
[79]	[74]	[14]	[2]
3. I understand that a staged reading is not a fully mounted production. I would like to see a fully mounted production of this play with music, dance, costumes, sets, and makeup.

(a) strongly agree	(b) agree	(c) disagree	(d) strongly disagree
[67]	[78]	[21]	[5]
4. My overall response to the issues in the play was

(a) very positive	(b) positive	(c) negative	(d) very negative
[55]	[97]	[13]	[2]
5. The issues presented in the play were relevant to current issues in my culture:

(a) strongly agree	(b) agree	(c) disagree	(d) strongly disagree
[47]	[81]	[30]	[9]
6. I was able to understand the play as presented without any background information.

(a) strongly agree	(b) agree	(c) disagree	(d) strongly disagree
[35]	[95]	[32]	[7]
7. I thought that the speeches of the characters were:

(a) too long	(b) long	(c) just right	(d) short	(e) too short
[16]	[64]	[89]	[1]	[0]
8. I thought that the repetition of words in the play was justified and did not bother me

(a) strongly agree	(b) agree	(c) disagree	(d) strongly disagree
[57]	[91]	[14]	[6]
9. In my opinion the lead character in this play was:

(a) The Queen	(b) Darius	(c) Xerxes	(d) The Chorus (collectively)
[36]	[11]	[27]	[90]
10. The top two things that I liked about this play were:
 - (a) the emotion and passion of the play
 - (b) use of actors (rather than reading the play, seeing it)

11. The top two things that I disliked about this play were:
 - (a) Long speeches and complicated language
 - (b) the use of the chorus (static movement, pacing, and unison speaking)

12. The top two things that confused me about this play were:
 - (a) The Names and Places mentioned in the play (having no background information)
 - (b) The Language of the Play