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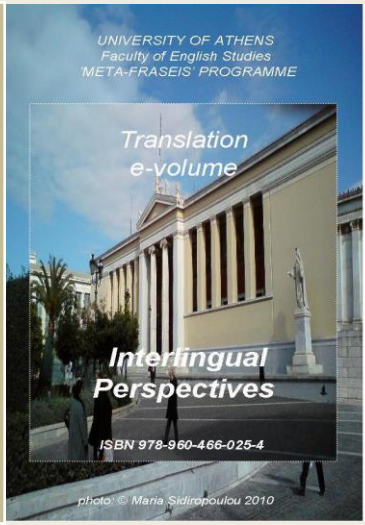

SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES IN TRANSLATING HOMER'S *ILIAD*

Zoi Antonopoulou

Abstract

The paper contrasts features of male and female rhetoric in an inter-lingual and an intralingual translation of the *Iliad*, i.e. Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version (20th c., TT1) and Pope's version (18th c., TT2). It shows how rhetoric registers socio-cultural variation to reflect aspects of the intended identity of respective audiences. Special reference is made to the phenomenon of politeness and address, with a view to highlighting traces of socio-cultural shifts in discourse. It attempts to shed light on translators' decision-making by paralleling the outcome of intra-lingual and inter-lingual mediation processes to show shifting aspects of language variation, in agreement with socio-cultural variables.

Key words
Homer, male/female rhetoric, Kazantzakis, Kakridis, politeness, address, directness, Pope, commercial society, demotic, women issue, source text (ST), target text (TT).

1. Rhetoric in two target versions of the *Iliad* of Homer

Discourse is assumed to be able to register and construct identities, be it gender, age, racial, religious, class, social, political etc. Translation practice offers a first rate opportunity for redesigning discourse parameters to reflect intended versions of identities. This paper compares and contrasts features reflecting gender identities, to highlight the contribution intra-/inter-cultural variation may make in this direction. It examines male and female oratory in two translations of

the *Iliad*, one intralingual into Modern Greek (Ioannis Kakridis and Nikos Kazantzakis, 1955) and one interlingual into English (Alexander Pope, 1715/20). It attempts to show how rhetoric conforms to socio-cultural standards, reflects the identity of the intended audience and reveals shifting priorities in terms of politeness and address. Rhetoric capitulates the action and by far outweighs the narrative throughout the epic. The speeches selected can be considered representative examples of the *Iliad's* rhetoric, as they are indicative of the main dynamics of the epic, are made by the major characters and in many cases determine the action. They cover all strata of the epic's hierarchy, from gods and semi-gods to sovereigns and mortals.

Kakridis and Kazantzakis' translation was written in the midst of many challenges for Greek society. "In 1942, in the dark days of the (Nazi) Occupation" the translators "decided to collaborate for this work" (Kazantzakis and Kakridis 2006: 11, my translation). After both the Nazi occupation (1941-44) and a gory civil war (1946-49), Greece had to keep up with the rest of Europe, whilst still struggling with its own contradictions. The project was finished in 1955, just three years after Greek women gained the right to vote and stand for MPs. Moreover, in the mid-fifties women gained access to jobs in the public sector and also to the legal profession (Doulkeri 1986).

At the same time, there was an ongoing dispute concerning the use of the "low" or demotic variety of Greek (Yule, 1995: 246) which was then only spoken, not written. In written discourse, the "high" variety (katharevousa) was used, a rather artificial compilation of Ancient Greek forms which did not follow the natural process of change and evolution. Katahrevousa was supposed to underline the connection of Modern to Ancient Greek, with all the cultural and political implications this brings. This phenomenon of the two forms of the Greek language created confusion, hindered the expressiveness of the language and estranged many people from the world of learning. Kazantzakis was a literary man who was involved in the political and social life. He was a strong supporter of the demotic, and was delighted to translate the *Iliad* into it.

In the introduction of the translation, Kakridis and Kazantzakis state: "[The translators] struggled not only to broaden Homer's art, but also to get to know better the expressive power of Modern Greek, and use it in a better way" (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 11, my translation). Kazantzakis considered the translation of the *Iliad* a "monument of literature, to glorify the demotic" and shared the joy he felt "experiencing its richness, harmony and plasticity. [...] What a language, he added, what a sweetness and what strength" (Stefanakis, 1997: 324, my translation). Another translation of the *Iliad* into Modern Greek had been published at the beginning of the 20th century, but the translators felt that they had to contribute a new perspective, as perception of the Homeric world was progressing:

> [S]ince then, half a century has passed; during which the knowledge of Homeric life and language has been enhanced, and the Modern Greek language has been further elaborated and studied. So, it was time to try its beauty over the unforgettable classic text yet again (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 11-12, my translation).

In eighteenth-century Britain, the classics were a widespread means of education. At the same time, circumstances were such that required a particular observance of the rules of politeness. The codes were changed, as the ancients

> aspired to a more sublime species of Eloquence than is aimed at by the Moderns. Theirs was of the vehement and passionate kind, by which they endeavoured to inflame the minds of their hearers, and hurry their imaginations away (Blair, 2005: 283).

Pope made his *Iliad* appealing to his contemporaries by adjusting scenes and characters to resemble the patterns of refinement suggested by genteel culture (Thomas 1990). The *Iliad*, an epic poem "form'd upon anger and its ill effects" (Shankman, 1996: 48), is structured on a pattern of fervent speeches. In his notes, Pope points out the scarcity of narrations in relation to the size of the poem, a fact which underlines the importance of the rhetoric in the action. Speaking of the poem's "unequal'd fire and rapture" (ibid: 7), he stressed that the speeches "flow from the characters, being perfect or defe-

ctive as they agree or disagree with the manners of those who utter them" (ibid: 8). The speeches "have something venerable, and as I may say *oracular*, in that unadorn'd gravity and shortness with which they are deliver'd" (ibid: 18).

Both translations are assumed to reflect the concerns of their respective era about a changing world and their relationship to the classics. In the case of Kakridis and Kazantzakis, the target language is coming to terms with its own identity, by having its oldest piece of discourse rendered into its modern form. In the case of Pope, on the other hand, it reflects the shift in values from the rough, austere epic world, to a new world, emphasizing commerce and diplomacy, to which subtlety and indirectness seemed to be a *sine qua non*. Both versions reflect the changed position of women, who come in contact with the classics for the first time (in the case of Pope's) or who have for the first time gained access to the public sphere (in the case of Kakridis and Kazantzakis). At no place are all these more apparent than in the heroes' and heroines' speeches.

2. Male discourse: a shift in style and social values

It has been stated that Pope viewed the Homeric society as a "status society", which directly contrasted to the developing commercial society in England (Connelly, 1988: 13). In the notes of the *Iliad*, Pope often castigates those who surround a person of importance in order to gain favour and power, as "in truth it is rather a weakness and imperfection to stand in need of the assistance and ministry of others" (Shankman, 1996: 461) despite the "corrupt idea of modern luxury and grandeur" (ibid).

The father of all gods, Jove, could not but form an important voice throughout the epic. His supreme power is constantly implied, but his actions are surprisingly human, thus adding an interesting dimension to his character. In the following extract Jove is the recipient of Thetis' plea to punish the Argeans who treated her son, Achilles, unfairly.

Example 1: Jove speaking to Thetis

ST Ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἔργ᾽ ὅ τέ μ᾽ ἐχθοδοπῆσαι ἐφήσεις /Ἥρῃ ὅτ᾽ ἄν μ᾽ ἐρέθῃσιν ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν·/ ἣ δὲ καὶ αὖτως μ᾽ αἰεὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι/ νεικεῖ, καί τέ μέ φησι μάχῃ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγειν. (Homer, 1975: 68).

TT1 Ωχού μπελάδες! Σε φαγώματα με βάζεις με την Ήρα/ που θα μ' αρχίσει τα μαλώματα και θα μ' αγκυλοχεύει./ Έτσι κι αλλιώς μες στους αθάνατους θεούς θυμώνει εκείνη / μαζί μου, *τάχα* πως μες στον πόλεμο τους Τρώες συντρέχω πάντα. (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 29)
Oh, trouble! you are making me quarrel with Juno/ who will start scolding and stinging me./ One way or another, among the immortal gods she is angry/ with me and thinks that I always defend the Trojans. [1]

TT2 What hast thou ask'd? ah, why should *Jove* engage/ in foreign contests and domestic rage/ the gods' complaints and Juno's fierce alarms/ while I, too partial, aid the Trojan arms? (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 19-20)

In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version, he openly complains about his wife, using exclamatory discourse. By contrast, Pope's Jove is more detached (refers to himself indirectly, in the 3rd person, by his own name, *Jove*, not by *me*), seems to admit to his preference for the Trojans[2] and only mentions his wife in a secondary sentence. The ensuing domestic quarrel between the god and his wife is presented in a mollified way, with its details withheld from Pope's public.

Example 2 also provides evidence of direct address and interpersonal proximity. Jove has announced to Juno his decision to aid the Trojans, and she is jealous of what she views as a partiality to Thetis.

[1] The back-translation of Kakridis and Kazantzakis' extracts into English is my own.

[2] The *τάχα* adverb (TT1 – translated as *thinks that, supposedly)* cancels the truth of the proposition, so Jove appears to be overtly presenting Juno's accusations as inaccurate. Absence of such a marker in TT2, obscures this issue, which can only be inferred from context.

Jove is quick to rebuff her. Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version abounds in everyday expressions, consists of three elliptic sentences (indicative of Jove's indignation towards a rather powerful female spouce) and favours interpersonal proximity through the direct address to Juno. Pope's translation, on the other hand, supports the poetical style, avoids any direct address and even maintains the rhyming couplet. The rhyming couplets illustrate Pope's "acute sense of decorum" and artistic fitness (Sowerby, 2004: 51).

Example 2: Jove speaking to Juno

ST Δαιμονίη, αἰεὶ μὲν ὀΐεαι οὐδέ σε λήθω· (Homer, 1975: 70)

TT1 Δαιμονισμένη! Πάντα το κακό στο νου σου! Δε γλιτώνω! (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 30)
You mischievous! Always thinking of evil! I have no rescue!

TT2 O restless fate of pride, / That strives to learn what heaven resolves to hide! (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 21)

Moving from gods to semi-gods, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon presents a lot of challenges to the poetical style. The authority of the semi-god, to whom heaven has bestowed power, at the price of dying young, clashes with that of the arrogant and corrupt sovereign. The climax of their contention comes when Agamemnon challenges Achilles to leave the army. Achilles' reply illustrates the statement that the "way of balancing an unfavourable passion or disposition is by conjuring up some other passion or disposition which may overcome it" (Bizzell and Herzberg, 1990: 786). Achilles accuses Agamemnon of being a coward and useless to the army, although he is the monarch.

Example 3: Achilles speaking to Agamemnon

ST Οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ᾽ ἔχων, κραδίην δ᾽ ἐλάφοιο, / οὔτέ ποτ᾽ ἐς πόλεμον ἅμα λαῷ θωρηχθῆναι / οὔτε λόχον δ᾽ ἰέναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν/ τέτληκας θυμῷ· τὸ δέ τοι κὴρ εἴδεται εἶναι. (Homer 1975: 42)

TT1 Μεθύστακα, με μάτια εσύ σκυλιού και με καρδιά αλαφίνας! / Πότε η καρδιά σου εσένα βάστηξε ν' αρματωθείς και να

βγεις / με τα φουσάτα μας στον πόλεμο; Πότε να πας να στήσεις / καρτέρι με τους πιο αντρειωμένους μας; Το τρέμεις σαν το Χάρο! (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 22)
You drunkard, with the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer! / When did you find it in your heart to wear your suit of armour and / join our troops to the war? When (did you find it in your heart to) wait in ambush with our most gallant men? You fear it like Death itself!

TT2 O monster! Mix'd of insolence and fear, / thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer! When wert thou known in ambush'd fights to dare, / Or nobly face the horrid front of war? (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 10)

In example 3 it is remarkable that Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version uses shorter rhetorical questions, adding to the tension by enhancing directness, whilst Pope uses a long sentence followed by one long rhetorical question. This gives a literary and almost elegiac tone in TT2. In TT1, rhetorical questioning and emotionally loaded items (*σου βάστηξε η καρδιά*) adds to the persuasive force of the discourse by enforcing interpersonal proximity. Pope uses a passive construction in *When wert thou known…*, which has distancing effect; the alleged cowardice of Agamemnon is conveyed to the reader indirectly. This may be due to the fact that the institution of royalty was well-established in the minds of Pope's audience, and such a direct insult to a king –be it the corrupt Agamemnon- would not be approved.

In example 4, in Pope's version, the 'people-eating' ruler simile is silenced, as well as the insult to his subjects, directing Achilles' anger solely towards Agamemnon. In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version, the *'people-eating' ruler* expression assumes a cultural context where suppressive rulers are considered highly deplorable, while evaluation is extended to the context (see *τιποτένιους/good-for-nothings*).

Example. 4: Achilles speaking to Agamemnon

ST δημοβόρος βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις (Homer, 1975: 42)

TT1 Χαρά στο λαοφαγά τον άρχοντα, που ορίζει τιποτένιους! (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 22)
Joy to the people-eating nobleman, who rules over good-for-nothings!

TT2 Scourge of thy people, insolent and base! (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 10)

In example 5, Pope's Achilles appears more composed, giving vent to his anger in a considerably longer and more descriptive text fragment. The exclamation *ωχού* in Modern Greek is negatively marked in that it expresses annoyance and is used in very informal contexts, assuming personal involvement on the part of the speaker. On the other hand, the exclamation *O* in English is more widely used as a direct address, and conveys deference. In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version, reference to royalty is avoided, as irrelevant, apparently in agreement with the socio-political context. On the contrary, Pope's expression *unworthy of a royal mind!* makes it clear that it is only the person of Agamemnon, and not royalty as an institution, which is criticized. Agamemnon's doleful speech when he realizes the forthcoming defeat is an example of how the same orator can change tactics according to the nature of his discourse. Agamemnon is humble at this time, as his aim is to appease the wrath of the warriors, who consider him responsible for their defeat, and regain their trust.

Example 5: Achilles speaking to Agamemnon

ST Ὦ μοι, ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε, κερδαλεόφρον (Homer 1975: 34)

TT1 Ωχού μου, από κορφής ξεδιάντροπε και συμφεροντονούση! (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 20)
Oh me, you shameless and interest-seeker, from head to toe!

TT2 O tyrant, arm'd with insolence and pride! / Inglorious slave to interest, ever join'd / with fraud, unworthy of a *royal* mind! (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 7)

He invokes the people's memory in order to stress the plausibility of his previous decision to continue the war. Agamemnon is a striking

example of moral downfall occasioned by power and acquisitiveness. The image of the king's crushed egoism could serve as a warning to Pope's contemporaries, whose commercial background promoted a materialistic set of values. Pope employs passive constructions (e.g. *was promised, our wealth, our people, and our glory lost* – in the passive the agent is left unspecified), therefore his Agamemnon contrasts to Kakridis and Kazantzakis' Agamemnon who openly attributes the blame on Jove. Pope's Agamemnon is more humble and avoids direct accusations of Jove (*ruthless*, *played an ugly game* etc.) In example 6, directness is also preferred in the Greek version as manifested by Greek active constructions vs. English passive ones (see, for instance *μου το 'ταξε* vs. *a safe return was promised*, or, *πολύ στρατό αφού ξέκανα* vs. *our wealth, our people, and our glory lost*). The active-passive option relates to the positive politeness orientation of Greek (Sifianou 1992) vs. the negative politeness orientation of English (Brown and Levinson 1987). In/directness is assumed, in the literature, to be an intercultural variable and the present data seems to provide ample evidence of this.

Example 7 provides another instance of a shift in the treatment of socio-cultural issues (as ex. 5 did with the 'royalty' issue). Sexual intercourse is equated to 'injury' in Pope's version (see *she stay'd, uninjured)*, whereas in Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version negative vocabulary is avoided and the activity is described in positive terms: *as we all use to do on earth, women and men*.

The final battle between Achilles and Hector does not prevent them from speaking to each other. According to Pope, "we see a sedate, calm courage, with a contempt of death, in the speeches of Hector (…) full of courage, but mixt with Humanity: That of Achilles, of resentment and arrogance" (Shankman, 1996:1039).

Example 6: Agamemnon speaking to the people

ST ὦ φίλοι Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες / Ζεύς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρείῃ / σχέτλιος, ὃς τότε μέν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν / Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ᾽ εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι, /νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλεύσατο, καί με κελεύει / δυσκλέα Ἄργος ἱκέσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν./ οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέϊ φίλον εἶναι (Homer 1975:384)

TT1 Φίλοι μου εσείς, Αργίτες άρχοντες και πρωτοκεφαλάδες, / ο Δίας, ο γιός του Κρόνου, μ' έμπλεξε σε συφορά μεγάλη, / ο ανέσπλαχνος, που πριν *μου το 'ταξε* και δέχτηκε, πριν πάρω / πρώτα την Τροία την ωριοτείχιστη, να μη διαγείρω πίσω./ Και τώρα δόλο μου στησε άσκημο και με προστάζει στο Άργος, / τόσο *πολύ στρατό αφού ξέκανα*, να γύρω ντροπιασμένος. / Έτσι μαθές στον παντοδύναμο του Κρόνου υγιό θ' αρέσει. (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 131)
You, my friends, Argeans, rulers and heads of the people, / Jove, son of Cronus, has got me into a big misfortune, / the ruthless, who promised *it to me, and accepted, before I first seize / the well-built Troy, I do not turn homewards. / And now he has played an ugly game on me and orders me back to Argus,/ after* I killed off *so much of the army, to return ashamed. / You see, the almighty son of Cronus will like it this way.*

TT2 Ye sons of Greece! Partake your leader's care; / Fellows in arms and princes of the war! / Of partial Jove too justly we complain, / and heavenly oracles believed in vain. / A safe return *was promised* to our toils, / With conquest honour'd and enrich'd with spoils: / Now shameful flight alone can save the host; / our wealth, our people, and our glory *lost*. / So Jove decrees, almighty lord of all! (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 397)

Example 7: Agamemnon speaking to the people

ST τὰς μέν οἱ δώσω, μετὰ δ᾽ ἔσσεται ἣν τότ᾽ ἀπηύρων / κούρη Βρισῆος· ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι/ μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἠδὲ μιγῆναι, /ἣ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν. (Homer 1975: 390)

TT1 Και αυτές θα δώσω, κι από πάνω τους την που του πήρα τότε, / τη Βρισοπούλα κόρη, δίνω του, κι όρκο τρανό του κάνω, / πως δεν ανέβηκα στην κλίνη της, δεν έσμιξα μαζί της, / *καθώς το συνηθίζουμε όλοι μας στη γη, γυναίκες κι άντρες.* (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 134)
I am going to give these, and on top of them the one I took from him then, / the Briseis daughter I am giving him, and I make him a strong oath, / that I did not go to her bed, I did not unite with her, / as we all use to do on earth, women and men.

TT2 And join'd with these the long-contested maid; / With all her charms, Briseis I resign, / And solemn swear those charms were never mine; / untouch'd *she stay'd, uninjured* she removes, / Pure from my arms, and guiltless of my loves, / this instant shall be his. (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 163)

In example 8, it is worth observing how Pope avoids Achilles' direct equation to nature ("like a bull"), and replaces it with a description in parentheses. It could be claimed that Pope's audience had an urbanized perspective in viewing nature and might find it inappropriate to compare a hero with an animal. The difference may be due to intercultural variation in the frequency of certain metaphor use: some languages are more tolerant to the HUMAN=ANIMAL metaphor (Kövecses 2006), which in the present context seems to be the case with Greek, but not with English[3].

[3] I am not suggesting that the HUMAN=ANIMAL conceptual metaphor is absent from the English version (see ex.3: *thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer*!). The data seem to be showing that the realization of the equation is more frequent in Greek.

Example 8: Achilles speaking to Hector

ST τὸν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς· / Ἕκτορ μή μοι ἄλαστε συνημοσύνας ἀγόρευε· (Homer 1975: 911)

TT1 Κι είπε ο Αχιλλέας ο γοργοπόδαρος ταυροκοιτάζοντάς τον: / Έχτορα σκύλε, τα συβάσματα καταμεριά παράτα! (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 348)
Said Achilles the fast-feeted, looking at him like a bull: Hector, you dog, leave the reverances aside!

TT2 Talk not of oaths (the dreadful chief replies, / while anger flash'd from his disdainful eyes) (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 397)

Translated versions of text often register socio-cultural difference to meet expectations of intended audiences. Male discourse in the two versions of the *Iliad* registers socio-cultural preference embedded in culturally and temporally varied contexts and reflects the identity of the respective audiences. Translation choices seem to regulate interpersonal distance between interlocutors and treat socio-culturally relevant issues differently.

3. Female discourse: style and gender identities

The *Iliad* is an epic with male protagonists, and the women in it, mortals or goddesses, are bound to men. Women are a counterweight to the male aggression but they are no less eager to defend what is dear to them. Humans and goddesses illustrate and reinforce the traditional ideas of submission, yet at times they display an extraordinary power along with their weakness. The female speeches in the *Iliad* are limited in number and address the sentimental part of human nature. The difference between male and female discourse is a difference of scope and argument, as the latter is mainly addressed to the moral faculties.

Intercultural variation in interaction and in the treatment of sociopolitical issues, as manifested in male discourse, merges in this section with variation due to social change with reference to the position of women in society, across time. The position of women in Greece, at the time of Kakridis and Kazantzakis' translation, was

characterized by a duality between fragility and strength, submission and emancipation (Igglesi 1997). More often than not, a woman was in charge of the family – yet she was self-effacing in order to show that the man was the head. That is, she had learnt to conceal her power so that the male ego would not be traumatized. (Doulkeri 1986). As has been mentioned earlier, Kakridis and Kazantzakis' translation coincides with the enactment of liberties for women, such as the right to vote, the access to the public sector and to the legal professsion. Yet, such changes would take some time before they are consolidated into everyday reality.

Pope's translation of *the Iliad* into English made the epic world accessible to women, whose sex had hitherto excluded them from classical learning. As a result, he had to limit his approach to certain issues. It has been stated that Pope's fragile health had condemned him to a domestic lifestyle, and he was unable to understand the rough world of the epic heroes. Therefore, he was more sympathetic towards women (Williams 1993). It has also been suggested that Pope's stance towards his female audience assumed a dual perspective. Pope "invited women to participate, albeit as consumers, in their male-dominated culture" but at the same time "he defined women's role as passive participants in that culture" (Thomas 1990: 2). In both translations one can discern how the image of the woman is manipulated: it was made to appear subtler or more powerful, modest or emancipated, in accordance with the cultural context.

A figure with remarkably human characteristics, and very much defined by her relationship to a man is Juno. In example 9, her position as the wife of Jove is varied in the two contexts. In the Greek version she is powerful enough to be accusing her husband and the rest of the Gods of conspiracy (see *τα ταίριαξε μαζί σου;*). In Pope's version, the rhyming couplets and the avoidance of every-day expressions ("deceitful-minded") make her seem more submitted to a powerful husband. At the same time, her discourse is more dignified and detached.

Example 9: Juno speaking to Jove

ST Τίς δ᾽ αὖ τοι δολομῆτα θεῶν συμφράσσατο βουλάς; (Homer, 1975: 68)

TT1 Ποιος πάλε απ᾽ τους θεούς, δολόγνωμε, τα ταίριαξε μαζί σου; (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 30)
Of all gods, who conspired again with you, you deceitful-minded?

TT2 Say, artful manager of heaven (she cries)/Who now partakes the secrets of the skies? (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 20)

Another goddess, who plays a small but crucial part in the action is Minerva. In example 10, her speech to Achilles, in which she stops him from physically attacking Agamemnon, is self-effacing and polite, yet effective. In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version she is human-like, but aware of her power to intervene (see *Μον᾽ έλα* [*But come on*]). Pope's Minerva is again more detached. Minerva knows that Achilles is very religious and therefore will listen to her opinion. This creates favourable circumstances for the goddess to fulfill her aim (Bizzel and Herzberg 1990). According to Pope's notes, she is a symbol of Achilles's prudence which "checks him in the rashest moment of his anger, it works upon him unseen to others but does not entirely prevail upon him to desist" (Shankman, 1996: 59).

Example 10: Minerva speaking to Achilles

ST ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε λῆγ᾽ ἔριδος, μηδὲ ξίφος ἕλκεο χειρί· /ἀλλ᾽ ἤτοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ὀνείδισον ὡς ἔσεταί περ· (Homer, 1975: 40)

TT1 Μον᾽ έλα, σκόλνα τα μαλώματα και το σπαθί μη σέρνεις / με λόγια ωστόσο, αν θέλεις, βρίσε τον, κι όπου σε βγάλει η γλώσσα! (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 22)
But come on, away with quarrels and don't drag the sword / insult him still, if you want, with words, and let the tongue lead you!

TT2 The force of keen reproaches let him feel/ but sheathe, obedient, thy revenging steel. (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 9)

Thetis combines knowledge of the future as a goddess and motherly love as a human being in order to enhance the effect of her eloquence. Her inability to help her son in a direct way and the tears she

sheds over his plight make her sound poignant. Her speech to Jove is impassioned and fervent, with appeal to emotion.

Example 11: Thetis speaking to Jove

ST	Νημερτὲς μὲν δή μοι ὑπόσχεο καὶ κατάνευσον/ ἢ ἀπόειπ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἔπι δέος, ὄφρ᾽ ἐῢ εἰδέω/ ὅσσον ἐγὼ μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτη θεός εἰμι. (Homer 1975: 68)
TT1	Ξάστερα δώσε μου το λόγο σου και στρέξε αυτά που σου ‘πα/ για αρνήσου μου, τι εσύ δε σκιάζεσαι κανένα, για να ξέρω καλά / η θεά πως είμαι από όλους σας η πιο παραριγμένη. (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 29) *Give me your word clearly and do what I asked you / or refuse me, for you fear no one, so I know well / that of all gods I am the most undervalued.*
TT2	Refuse, or grant; for what has *Jove* to fear?/ Or oh! declare, of all the pow’rs above/ is wretched *Thetis* least the care of *Jove*? (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 19)

Here, again, Pope’s Thetis is more reserved, despite her pain. She humbly pleads, accepting the possibility of defeat. Pope uses a rhetorical question at the climax of her plea, which makes her more of a humble suppliant than a goddess. In/directness, an intercultural variable, also seems to permeate women’s speech, as it did men’s: indirectness in English (Thetis refers to herself by her name, in 3rd person), directness in Greek (see *me*/*your* personal pronouns)[4].

Helen and Andromache constitute the two archetypes of woman, the vicious seductress and the virtuous mother. It has been stated (Jones, 1944: 327) that the image of a woman compared to a man has always been “different, more spiritual, more angelic and on a higher plane altogether than man, except of course when she was on a lower plane, and then she was a great deal lower and was, in fact, a devil”.

In Pope’s version, Helen may well be considered the scapegoat of the epic, as she is guilty of many sins, her beauty not the least. In her

[4] The same holds for example 15, below, where Andromache addresses Hector in the 3rd person, in Pope’s version.

speech to her brother-in-law she questions even her rights to family ties. She speaks in self-destructive mood, and makes a poignant rhetorical question. The repetitive apostrophes add to the tension of her discourse. In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version, she is even more impassioned, calling herself "accursed bitch", while the negative evaluative items (*bad whirlwind* and *bustling sea*), in the Modern Greek version, add to the expressiveness intention. In both target environments, however, she seems to have been received rather favourably. Kazantzakis describes this favourable reception as follows:

> Today the world is drowning in blood, passions are bursting in the hell of today's anarchy, and Helen stands immortal, untouched, into the air of the superb verses, and in front of her time flows. […] *Helen has come into our blood, all men are in communion with her, all women reflect her shining* (Kazantzakis, 2007: 158-159, my translation, my emphasis).

In Kazantzakis' view, therefore, she is a counterweight to violence, a symbol of vitality and life as opposed to aggression and death. Pope omits the equation of a human to an animal (see *καταραμένης σκύλας*)[5], in an attempt to endow her with self-respect, and at the same time to serve his poetical style. He commented on her speech as follows:

> [h]er stars foredoom'd all the mischief, and Heaven was to blame in suffering her to live: Then she fairly gets quit of the infamy of her lover, and shows she has higher sentiments of honour than he (Shankman, 1996: 332).

Thus Pope's Helen is somewhat justifiable for her mistakes as the blame is put – at least in part – on the gods and on her lover. It has been stated that "his characterization of the epic's 'unfortunate beauty' capitalizes on popular fascination with doomed heroines, fallen but ennobled with repentance" (Thomas, 1990:3).

[5] See also similar shift in example 8.

Example 12: Helen speaking to Hector

ST δᾶερ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης, /ὥς μ᾽ ὄφελ᾽ ἦματι τῷ ὅτε με πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ / οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα / εἰς ὄρος ἢ εἰς κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,/ ἔνθά με κῦμ᾽ ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι. (Homer 1975: 310)

TT1 Κουνιάδε εμένα της κακοέργαστης, καταραμένης σκύλας, / να ‘ταν τη μέρα που με γέννησεν η μάνα μου να ‘ρχόταν / να με σηκώσει ανεμορούφουλας *κακός* και να με πάρει / για στο βουνό για στου *πολύβογγου* πελάου μακριά το κύμα / πριν όλα αυτά γενούν, να μ’ έπαιρνε το κύμα να με πνίξει. (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 100)

Brother-in-law to me, the bad day’s work, the accursed bitch, / if only the day my mother bore me a bad *whrilwind had come / to lift me and take me away / either to the mountain or to the* bustling *sea / before it all happened, if only the wave would have drowned me.*

TT2 O generous brother! If the guilty dame/ That caus’d those woes, deserves a sister’s name! / Would heaven, ere these dreadful things were done / The day that showed me to the golden sun / Had seen my death! Why did not whirlwinds bear/ the fatal infant in the fowles of air? (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 119)

Helen’s discourse conveys her misery and is an active discouragement to other women from fleeing from their appointed secondary role. At the same time, her lack of responsibility places her again in an unequal position with men, who always acknowledge their shortcomings.

The episode of Hector’s parting with Andromache is one of the epic’s most memorable scenes as they embody the unfairness of war. As Pope points out, Homer “has assembled all that love, grief and compassion could inspire” (Shankman, 1996: 332). Andromache’s speech is very eloquent as she stresses the unfairness of war, which is interconnected with her personal tragedy, and pleads with Hector

not to leave her alone. In example 13, she has a presentiment that Hector will die, which in due course comes true.

Example 13: Andromache speaking to Hector

ST δαιμόνιε φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, οὐδ᾽ ἐλεαίρεις/παῖδά τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἔμ᾽ ἄμμορον, ἢ τάχα χήρη/σεῦ ἔσομαι· τάχα γάρ σε κατακτανέουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ/ πάντες ἐφορμηθέντες· (Homer 1975: 312)

TT1 Απ' την ορμή την ίδια σου, άμοιρε, θα βρεις το θάνατό σου, / και το μωρό σου δε σπλαχνίζεσαι κι ουδέ τη μαύρη εμένα, / που γρήγορα θα μείνω χήρα σου, *τι εντύς οι Αργίτες όλοι / θα σε σκοτώσουνε χιμίζοντας.* (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 101)

You will find your death from your own ardour, wretched man / have you no pain for your baby and neither for me, the black-fated, / soon to be left your widow, for all Argeans will / rush into killing you.

TT2 Too daring prince! Ah, wither dost thou run? / Ah, too forgetful of thy wife and son! / And think'st thou not how wretched we shall be/ A widow I, and helpless orphan he! (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 121)

In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version her tone is more accusatory while interrogating him (*have you no pain for the baby and neither for me*) and confronts him with a detailed description of his ensuing death at the hands of the enemy (see the reason-giving tendency manifested through *for all Argeans will / rush into killing you,* which Pope omits). Reason-giving is a positive politeness device favoured in the Greek context (Sifianou 1992). Pope's avoiding this piece of information allows additional evidence for the negative politeness orientation of English (Brown and Levinson 1978/1987) and also favours a weaker version of Andromache in the English context, in that Andromache is not made to be employing reasoning in argumentation: instead, she is presented as a widow and her son an orphan (see *orphan* added to the English version).

Still, she well knows that it is impossible to defy Fate, however convincing her arguments. Her arguments are reasonable but they are unsuccessful because they move in a different sphere. She is aware of that, and is resigned to her destiny. That renders her a unique figure in an epic in which the heroes try to defy theirs. Unlike the great heroes of the war, she knows from the beginning that her speech is going to make no difference. She expresses her vulnerability in the face of adversity in a tone which is pensive and melancholic, but always dignified.

In example 14, it is worth noting that Pope omits the open reference to Hector and Andromache's conjugal relationship, as if taboo or inappropriate to be used by a virtuous wife (see also variation in the treatment of sexual intercourse in ex. 7, above). By contrast, the Modern Greek version allows the *robust* (*λεβεντόκορμος*) adjective which points to the physical bond they shared, and is a strong reminder of life in an encounter which is overshadowed by death. Example 14 also shows another instance of a preference for evaluation, on the Greek side (see *respected mother* apart from *my robust companion*), which is claimed, in the literature, to be a positive politeness device[6] favoured in the Greek context, to assist discourse intentions: the *respected mother* evaluation intention assumes familial hierarchy and a more powerful mother figure.

Example 14: Andromache speaking to Hector

ST Ἕκτορ ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ/ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης·/ ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν᾽ ἐπὶ πύργῳ,/μὴ παῖδ᾽ ὀρφανικὸν θήῃς χήρην τε γυναῖκα·/λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ᾽ ἐρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα/ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος. (Homer 1975: 314)

TT1 Έχτορα, τώρα εσύ πατέρας μου και *σεβαστή* μου μάνα / κι

[6] The *here in the tower* expression in the Greek version favours specificity and definiteness (in contrast to indefiniteness) another positive politeness device, which is not allowed in Pope's version.

αδέρφι, εσύ και *λεβεντόκορμος* στην κλίνη σύντροφός μου. / Αχ έλα τώρα *πια*, σπλαχνίσου μας, και μείνε *εδώ στον πύργο*, / μην κάνεις ορφανό το σπλάχνο σου, μην κάνεις χήρα εμένα. (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 102)

Hector, now you are my father and respected mother / and sibling, you are my robust companion in bed too. / Ah, come on, have mercy on us, and stay here in the tower, / don't make your flesh and blood an orphan, don't make me a widow.

TT2 Yet while my Hector still survives I see/ My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. / Alas, my parents, brothers, kindred, all/ Once more will perish if my Hector fall, / Thy wife, thy infant, in thy danger share: / oh, prove a husband's and a father's care! (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 122)

The comparison of Helen's speech with Andromache's, with which they are in close succession, is indicative of their differences. As Pope points out in his notes, "What an amiable picture of conjugal love, opposed to that of unlawful passion?" (Shankman, 1996: 133). Pope approves of Andromache, as the positive pole of the feminine image, although he is sympathetic to Helen. In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version the comparison of the two heroines points to the traditional dichotomy between Eva (Eve) and Panagia (mother of God). From an anthropological point of view, these two poles are considered the two archetypes of the feminine image in Greece (Dubish 1986). The set of values is not radically changed as the virtuous woman is always exemplified. No matter how deplorable Andromache's plight may be, she still has the supreme distinction of being the perfect mother and wife. Helen has nothing but ephemeral beauty. Having been raised in a male-dominated culture, she finds it impossible to oppose its norms until the end.

Hecuba, the mother of Hector, is a moral exemplar analogous to Andromache. Her parting speech to her son as he goes to battle is, according to Pope, "a silent kind of oratory, and prepares the heart to listen, by prepossessing the eye in favour of the speaker" (Shankman, 1996: 1031). In Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version she is more poignant and at the same time has the matronly authority of a

queen. Pope avoids the description of breastfeeding (probably as offensive) and provides the image of a motherly embrace instead. Breastfeeding is assumed to highlight a hierarchical relationship of a mother to a child, whereas an embrace can refer to more equal relationships. A mother-child hierarchical relationship is also favoured in the Modern Greek version of ex. 12, whereas in the English version the mother-child hierarchy is silenced altogether (see, for instance, *the day my mother bore me* (*τη μέρα που με γέννησεν η μάνα μου*) vs. *the day that showed me to the sun*).

In the Greek version of ex. 15, breastfeeding seems to be enforcing a collectivistic version of a family context, where hierarchies in the family are favoured. In addition, the use of the word *βυζαίνω* as opposed to the more formal *θηλάζω* reflects Kazantzakis' views on the language issue, previously mentioned in the present article and enforces the mother-child bond. The demotic allows connotations which highlight natural bonds and familial hierarchies. He has stated that "we have been taught that it is a shame to write such words" (Stefanakis, 1997: 339, my translation) and that "the first place katharevousa will never set foot on, is the first conceptions of the world, the foundation of our soul's richness" (ibid: 339, my translation).

Example 15: Hecuba speaking to Hector

ST Ἕκτορ τέκνον ἐμὸν τάδε τ᾽ αἴδεο καί μ᾽ ἐλέησον/αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον·/τῶν μνῆσαι φίλε τέκνον ἄμυνε δὲ δήϊον ἄνδρα/τείχεος ἐντὸς ἐών, μὴ δὲ πρόμος ἵστασο τούτῳ/σχέτλιος· (Homer 1975: 900).

TT1 Έχτορα, γιέ μου, αυτά σεβάσου τα, σπλαχνίσου εμέ την ίδια! / Κάποτε αν βύζαξες τα στήθη μου και ξέχασες τον πόνο, / βάλ'τα στο νού σου τούτα, αγόρι μου, και τον οχτρό πολέμα / μεσ' απ' το κάστρο μας, μη στέκεσαι στήθος στήθος μπρός του. (Kakridis and Kazantzakis, 2006: 344)

Hector, my son, respect those, have mercy on me! / If you ever sucked my breasts and forgot the pain, / bear these in mind, my boy, and fight the enemy / from within our castle, don't stand

before him breast to breast.

TT2 Have mercy on me, O my son! Revere / The words of age; attend a parent's prayer! / If ever thee in these fond arms I press'd / Or still'd thy infant clamours at this breast; / Ah, do not thus our helpless years forego / But, by our walls secured, repel the foe. (Pope in Buckley, 1874: 392-3)

The enforced version of the mother-child bond has been attributed a different motive in social psychological terms: in Greek society, women are claimed to be placing emphasis on their motherhood in order to "bolster their own sense of worth" (Dubish 1986: 21). For many generations, Greece's mainly rural economy was intertwined with the number of members of household, thus "connecting biological circle of life with economy" (Dertilis 2006: 232).

The section shows that female discourse conforms to expected features of intercultural variation in communication style and literary conventions. Pope's heroines are more reserved than the present day female figures depicted in the 20th century Greek version whose 'powerfulness' in discourse is enforced by variation in intercultural style.

4. Homer in 18th century England and 20th century Greece

The transformation (or manipulation) of values is assumed to be a common strategy in literary translation. Bassnett (1980/1988: 109) highlights shifts allowed in two English translations of one of Petrarch's sonnets and describes the translation outcome as follows:

> Both English translations, products of a socio-cultural system vastly different from that of Petrarch's time, subtly (and at times not so subtly) adjust the structural patterns of meaning within the SL text (ibid),

as the translator "struggles to combine his own pragmatic reading with the dictates of the TL cultural system" (ibid:104). Both translations of the *Iliad* reflect similar concerns on the part of mediators.

Pope was concerned with preserving the spirit of the original and meeting the expectations of his readership. In his notes, Pope stated

that he knew "no liberties one ought to take, but those which are necessary for transfusing the spirit of the original, and supporting the poetical style of the translation" (Shankman, 1996: 16). Most importantly, he wanted to conform to the tastes and expectations of his own era. "Any work must conform somewhat to cultural expectations, generic and ideological, or risk appearing outrageous or even unintelligible" (Thomas, 1990: 2). It has been claimed that Pope used the *Iliad* to articulate his criticism "on the commercial and self-seeking ethic of his time" (Nicholson 2005: 80). He wanted to promote the set of values proposed by the *Iliad*, but in a way which would be suited to his male and female audience. Even at their worst moments, the heroes do not lose their gentlemanly aura, and the principles of politeness and sociability do not fail them so much. The heroines, at the same time, are more suited to a modern audience while still representing the traditional values. By moderating their vehemence, and eradicating a part of the protagonists' individuality, Pope's *Iliad* suggests that no passion should be followed blindly, as it can lead to extremes.

The Kazantzakis and Kakridis 20th century Greek version, on the other hand, conforms to socio-cultural standards by: avoiding the royalty issue in ex. 5, referring to sexual intercourse in positive terms in ex. 7, employing metaphorical mappings which draw on language-/ genre-specific preference in ex. 8, favouring positive politeness devices in interaction (a Greek preference) through direct forms of address in exs. 1-2, direct questioning and repetition in ex. 3, active structures rather than passive ones in ex.6, and making female figures more powerful than Pope's heroines. Moreover, the publication of the *Iliad* into the demotic form of the language seems to be an eloquent movement in favour of establishing the demotic as the official language. Like Pope, Kazantzakis and Kakridis *are* concerned with meeting the expectations of their audience. In the preface of the Greek translation, the translators state that successful translation involves verses flowing "easily and in an unconstrained manner", which assumes a rather broad view of fidelity:

> A translation is always a capitulation; subjective and objective difficulties prevent you from thoroughly covering the original. […] We wish that the reader feels nothing of our toils, whilst reading the translation; only if (the reader) feels the verses flowing easily and in an unconstrained manner, as if blowing directly from the poet under the godly breath of the Muse, only then will we say that the translation has been successful" (Kazantzakis and Kakridis 2006: 11-13, my translation).

In their attempt to meet the expectations of their readerships, both versions of the *Iliad* conform to socio-cultural aspects of experience, thus providing an eloquent imprint of the *identity* of their contexts. In discussing fidelity and time, Cronin (2003) points to Delisle and Woodsworth's views on the potential of intralingual or interlingual translation *to promote identities*:

> An important function of translation has been to promote specific regional, local or national identities (Delisle and Woodsworth 1955:25-100). This can be done through *intralingual* translation producing classics of national literatures in modern versions, or through *interlingual translations,* importing prestigious foreign literary works into the national canon (ibid: 69, my emphasis).

The two types of *Iliad* translation, intralingual (Kakridis and Kazantzakis' version, 20th c.) and interlingual (Pope's version, 18th c.) delineate identities and show aspects of the notion of fidelity. Moreover, awareness of the fact that translators' decision-making is rooted in and directly connected to shifting socio-cultural parameters, as the translations of the *Iliad* display, enhances perception of what processes are involved in translation.

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