Garyfallia Athanasiadou, Vasileios Pappas, Sotirios Stathis, Vasileios Fyntikoglou Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Ovid in the Greek world from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century

This paper has been composed in the frame of a research program entitled "Greek Translations of Latin works in the Greek world from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the end of the 19th century", which is implemented through the Operational Program "Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning" and is co-financed by the European Union (European Social Fund) and Greek national funds. The research takes place at the Laboratory for Translation and Commentary on Latin Literature of the Department of Philology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, and its results are recorded in a data base (still under construction) available at http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/.

The main aim of our research program is to collect and study the translations of Latin works that were produced in the Greek speaking world during the aforementioned period. The reason behind our interest in this subject lies to the fact that such translations constitute a precise and clear indication concerning the study of Latin, which differs from other aspects of intercultural relations (e.g. literary reception, education, language knowledge). Moreover, in comparison to other translated languages in the Greek speaking world during the period under discussion, the case of translations from Latin literature seems to be a peculiar and understudied one, hence not entirely unjustified, if someone flashes back to their scanty presence as well as to the fact that Latin did not have the Greek scholars' favour due to historical reasons. So, the objectives of our research are to collect all, as possible, the translations that were produced and published during this period and to present this material in a way that will allow the researchers to consider them as a cultural and historic phenomenon, that is to investigate their dispersion in time and space, to associate this production with the historical circumstances, to understand the reasons that dictated the choice of the specific Latin works, and finally to determine and ascertain their influence; to examine these translations closely on criteria both of philology and translatology; to write down and to interpret translation theories and practices, wherever these are expressed; to consider especially the rendering techniques, namely, to ascertain the accuracy of each translation in relation to the original; to identify, if possible, the editions that were used for the translation; last, but not least, to study the

language of the translation within the peculiar cultural and ideological context of the so-called 'Greek language question'.

Before starting our discussion about Ovid's reception in the Greek speaking world from 1453 to end of the 19th century it is crucial to sketch the historical peculiarities of this period. Within this specific time frame the Greek world was neither self-existed nor united. Both its mainland and islands were under the Ottoman rule, while the Ionian islands belonged to the Venetian Republic. Greeks lived scattered in a vast geographical area consisting of today's Greece, of various territories of the Ottoman Empire, and of several European countries. Under these circumstances, the 'Greek world' is based on common cultural aspects and characteristics (mainly language and religion), while its people were under different cultural influences and they had developed different preferences according to their place of residence. The Modern Greek State was founded in 1830, but its limited borders enclosed only a few regions of modern-day Greece. Most Greek speaking people were still living in territories of the Ottoman Empire. Before 1830, or rather before the Revolution of 1821 against the Ottomans, the education of Greek people, which flourished during the so-called neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, was thus mostly based on private initiatives; it served an ideological agenda, focusing primarily on the nation's awakening and preparation for the Revolution. In this context the study of Latin was selective and not prioritized. Meanwhile, in the context of the huge number of translations made during the same period – which primarily aimed at transmitting scientific knowledge and new ideas to the Greek population – translations from Latin constituted a barely significant part. Indicative of the utilitarian perspective of this production is the fact that the translators showed interest in historical works which were related to ancient Greece (Nepos' Lives of eminent men, Greek men in fact, and Justin's Epitome of Trogus' Philippics), or that could offer a concise history of Rome (Eutropius and Florus), which was interpreted as being part of a unified history stretching from ancient Greece to the Sultans [Nikitas 2001, 2004 and 2012; Fyntikoglou 2014; Pappas 2015 and 2016]. However, we can surprisingly trace at the same time a number of translations from neo-Latin treatises that offered knowledge on philosophy, theology, mathematics, physics etc. So we can conclude that several Greek scholars clearly knew Latin, but used it for specific purposes according to the needs of the time.

This picture changed significantly after 1830, when Latin gradually became a part of the official and systematic education in the newly founded Greek state, mainly due to the Bavarian kingship that planned the first curricula (around 1836) according to German specifications; Latin was also taught in the Ottonian University of Athens, which was founded in 1837. In this context there was an increasing interest in specific authors who made up the canon, but the translations

which were produced responded primarily to the needs of pupils and students and were of philological character; only a few literary translations can be found. Moreover, a belief in the superiority of the ancient Greek language had resulted in not only the certainty that ancient Greek was sufficient to represent classical culture, but also in the imposition of an ancient-like language in formal education. Latin was thus underestimated and the translations from Latin were normally composed in a language that was far from the spoken language.

The main reason of our decision to present here an overview of Greek Ovidian translations lies to the fact that these renderings are representative of all kinds of linguistic and translation tendencies, while Ovid is the only Latin author whose works are translated during the whole time space under discussion. The history of Ovid's reception in the Greek speaking world can already be traced before the period of our interest, back to Maximus Planudes' translations of the Ovidian oeuvre. Apart from the well-known rendering of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides*, the Byzantine scholar is also considered to be the translator of passages from *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris* in prose and Ancient Greek language [Fodor 2004]. Nevertheless, this was rather a scholarly activity than a work targeting to a wide spread circulation.

The first Ovidian translation during the period of our main research occurs in the second half of the 16th century by a Venetian-Cretan scholar, Thomas Trivizanos who, during his studies in Italy rendered the 16th poem of the *Heroides*, Paris' epistle to Helen, in the Ancient Greek language using elegiac couplets. Both the subject of the Ovidian poem, which echoes the Troian myth, as well as the linguistic and metrical approach adopted by Trivizanos constitute clear indications of his engagement with the views and the concepts of archaic Humanism of the period. In this way, Trivizanos stands as a peculiar and isolated case [Kallergis 1980].

After Trivizanos we note an increasing interest in the *Metamorphoses* which undoubtfully was the most popular Ovidian work among the Greek translators. The subject-matter of the poem, consisting mainly of ancient Greek myths and its educational potentials turned this epic poem into a major translation challenge. Furthermore, the lively style and the witty character of the Ovidian text appealed to its readers. All these issues as well as the beneficial aspect of the Ovidian poem is explicitly stated by the Greek scholars who translated *Metamorphoses* between the 16th and the 18th c. in the prefatory notes of their editions, namely Makolas, Daponte, and Frangopoulos / Vlantis [see below 'Index of translations']. The basic feature of these translations is that they are written in the colloquial spoken Greek and are published in prose form.

The earlier edition of the these translations, the one published by Ioannis Makolas in Venice in 1686 comprises twelve myths of the Ovidian epic rendered freely in prose and without much

precision into the common Greek language [Nikitas 2012], while the hitherto unpublished partial translation of the *Metamorphoses* by Kesarios Daponte, written also in prose and common Greek, was based on an Italian rendering of the Ovidian text [Kechagioglou 1986]. Finally, the last translation of the *Metamorphoses* in this specific period ascribed to Spyridon Vlantis in 1799 differs from the previous ones since it consists of all the 15 books of the Ovidian poem. Yet, it is arranged in 'Myths', with a short preceding presentation of its 'Hypothesis' and an 'Allegory' after it, as a kind of an allegorical commentary on each myth. It is obvious from this sketchy outline that these first attempts at translating *Metamorphoses* in prosaic common Greek language take full advantage of the allegorical and pedagogical aspects of the Ovidian epic. We must note here that Vlantis' edition was a revision of the (lost today) translation made by Ioannis Frangopoulos in 1760's [Iliou 1981, on the history of this translation; Nikitas 1998, on Vlantis' work].

The establishment of the Greek state and the gradual introduction of Latin studies and the *Metamorphoses* in particular in the curriculum of the educational system signal a remarkable change in the quantity of the published editions, since the need for suitable textbooks and translations emerged. Therefore, a series of books written in prose form and in katharevousa appeared on the second half of the 19th century regarding the Ovidian poem, including the publications of two unknown authors with the initials I.Δ.-Γ.T. in 1872, Panagis Kavvadias in 1873, Andreas Papas Georgiou and Georgios Papas Photiou in 1875 (and 1886), Vasileios Vythoulkas in 1890 and 1891 and Tsakalotos in 1895 [see below 'Index of translations'].

Unlike these rather stereotyped and ordinary renderings, a prose translation in katharevousa of a small part of the last book of the *Metamorphoses* that thematizes the changes of the universe has markedly different aims. The author of this text was Anthimos Papadimos [see below 'Index of translations'], who explicitly states on the prefatory note of his text that he translated the Ovidian poem based on a French translation. Despite its prose form, though, and the claim of the author that he did not translate directly from the Latin text, this translation should be listed as an example of a more demanding and self conscious translation approach with a broader intended readership.

We now turn to the discussion of the verse translations which can be divided in two main categories based on their language varieties and their intended readership. The only case of rendering some books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in ancient Greek language using dactylic hexameter (as also the *Epistles of Heroids* 1 and 7 in elegiac couplets, on which see Michalopoulos A. 2015) is the translation of Philippos Ioannou, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Athens. Ioannou's translation is a part of his book entitled $\Phi\iota\lambda o\lambda o\gamma\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$ $\Pi\dot{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$ (1st edition in 1865, 2nd edition in 1874 with additions). Even though this tendency to archaizing language and prosodic meters is not a unique case in the Greek speaking world, since this approach goes back to Voulgaris

rendering of the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics* (cf. Philitas' translation of the Catullan '*Lock of Berenice*'), Ioannou nevertheless remains a *sui generis* scholar in the history of the Modern Greek philology without any traceable and significant influence.

Even more interesting is the second group of verse translations using either katharevousa or the colloquial spoken Greek that were released mainly on literary journals and addressed literary and aesthetic issues, while targeting at a wider readership. The first of those more demanding verse translations comes from Antonios Matesis, an Heptanesian poet, who rendered a small section of the myth of Apollo and Daphne in the vernacular Greek. This text was published much later in the edition of Matesis' collective works [see below 'Index of translations'] without any specific reference to its date. Yet, judging by its style and language we can reasonably assume that it was written in the first decades of the 19th century. Despite its small length, only 42 verses, Matesis's text is a significant one since it marks the first attempt to translate Metamorphoses with specific metrical restrictions in mind, consisting alternatively of one trochaic 8syllable and one trochaic 7syllable verse in pairs of two in order to form a four-lined stanza (8-7-8-7), which can be read as a distich consisting of two 15syllable rhyming trochaic verses, thus reminding a lot of Solomos' metrical preferences. Besides, Solomos' linguistic effect is present throughout Matesis' translation: we indicatively mention here v. 6-8 where Eros runs behind Apollo and does not cease to prod his efforts (τρέχει ο Απόλλωνας σιμά / τρέχει ο Έρωτας ξοπίσω / και δεν παύει να κεντά.). The symbolic appearance of the personified Eros does not exist in the Latin text and very much echoes Solomos' noted verse of The Eleftheroi Poliorkimenoi ('The Free Besieged') ο Απρίλης με τον Έρωτα χορεύουν και γελούνε ('April along with Eros keep dancing and laughing').

In 1862 a translator with the initials A.A. published a rendering of the myth of Daphne and Apollo in the journal *Edem* [see below 'Index of translations'], using the katharevousa and the dactylic but not prosodic 17syllable, a metrical pattern made up the proponents of the archaism in the 19th century in order to revive Ancient Greek meters. Judging by the fact that this specific journal was released in Constantinople on the second half of the 19th century we can assume that the translator of the Ovidian myth was under the influence of the so called intellectual movement of the Phanariots. Another Ovidian translation with the same features was written by Alexandros Kasdaglis on the last decade of the 19th Century. On 1892 Kasdaglis published on the journal $N\epsilon o\lambda \dot{o}\gamma ov$ $E\beta\delta o\mu o\lambda \delta ia$ $E\pi i\theta\epsilon \dot{o}\rho\eta\sigma i\varsigma$ the sections of the 12th and the 13th book of the *Metamorphoses* that refers to the sack of Troy and the judgement of Arms in four sequences [see below 'Index of translations']. Kasdaglis is fond of the katharevousa as well, but adopts the metrical scheme of iambic 15syllable, a standard form of the folk poetic tradition, that in a way puts the language in tension with the metrical form. In any case, Kasdaglis explicitly states his concerns

about the rendering of a synthetic language into an analytical one. It should also be noticed that Kasdaglis on his comments regarding the first part of his rendering hints at the translation of the whole Ovidian epic poem which took place sixteen years later on the Alexandria of Egypt [Michalopoulos Char. 2015]. But this picture is modified when we take into account the information given by the *Great Greek Encyclopaedia*, that Kasdaglis translated and published *Metamorphoses* in 1893 in Alexandria, the full version of which appeared in 1908. Although we cannot know the relationship between the two translations, since the one of 1893 is missing, at least the comparison between the translations of the '*Trojan section*' that Kasdaglis published in 1892 with the translation of the same section in 1908 shows that there have been no significant changes.

Metam. 1.548-552: a comparison of the translations made by Matesis, A. A. and Kasdaglis

We shall now proceed in the discussion of a short Ovidian passage which occurs in all three Greek verse translations of *Metamorphoses*. So, if we take a closer look at the verses of Daphne's transformation (548-552) and their translation by Matesis, the unknown author and Kasdaglis, we will shape a rather concrete view concerning their rendering approach. These three translators are representative of various translation techniques, beginning with Matesis, who appears to be rather selective, since he does not hesitate to omit entire verses of the original and ending up to Kasdaglis who systematically makes additions to the Latin text, yet without deviating from its meaning; somewhere in between, the unknown translator seems to try hard to maintain the number of the model's verses and to remain as close to it as possible. This approach concerning the extent of the translations should be compared with the technique adopted by avid Heptanesian translators, such as Polylas and Kogevinas, who had successfully rendered Latin elegies into vivid spoken Greek language, simultaneously retaining in their translations the exact number of the verses of the Latin original [Athanassiadou *et al.* 2019].

vix prece finita torpor gravis occupat artus, mollia cinguntur tenui praecordia libro, in frondem crines, in ramos bracchia crescent, pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret ora cacumen habet: remanet nitor unus in illa.

Met. 1.548-552

Scarce had she thus prayed when a down dragging numbness seized her limbs, And her soft sides were begirt with thin bark.

Her hair was changed to leaves, her arms to branches.

Her feet, but now so swift, grew fast in sluggish roots, and her head was now but a tree's top. Her gleaming beauty alone remained.

Transl. F. J. Miller

Transl. Matesis Μόλις είπε, που βαρειά τα μέλη όλο αναισθησία έπιασε τα τρυφερά.

Λεπτή φλούδα την τυλίζει φυλλοκάρδια τα απαλά, εις κλαδιά τα χέρια απλώνουν, εις φύλλα τα μαλλιά.

Transl. A. - A.

Μόλις αυτά εδεήθη, και νάρκη βαρεία τα μέλη καταλαμβάνει αυτής, τρυφερός τα αβρά της τα σπλάγχνα περικαλύπτει φλοιός, μεταβάλλετ' η κόμη εις φύλλα, γίνονται κλάδοι αι χείρες, ο πους ο ταχύς προ ολίγου εις στερεάν ήδη ρίζαν πατεί, και το πρόσωπον κρύπτει η κορυφή επί τέλους· πλην μένει εκεί η στιλπνότης·

Transl. Kasdaglis

Μόλις η κόρη την ευχήν προσλιπαρούσα είπεν, αυτής τα μέλη επαχθής καταλαμβάνει νάρκη· λεπτός δε κάτωθεν φλοιός επί τα άνω έρπων, τα στήθη τ' απαλόχροα κατά μικρόν καλύπτει· και η μεν κόμη αύξεται εις κορυφήν κομώσαν, οι δε λευκοί βραχίονες εις πυκνοφύλλους κλάδους· ο πους ο πρότερον ταχύς υπό ρίζων κρατείται, και ανθηρόν τι φύλλωμα την όψιν πάσαν σκέπει·

Και τα πόδια, που επηδούσαν ωσάν να ήταν πτερωτά λίγο πρότερον, 'ς το χώμα ερριζώσαν οκνηρά.

The very first stage of the transformation opens this way:

Vix prece finita torpor gravis occupat artus (v. 548).

In Matesis' text, the ablative absolute construction *vix prece finita* is replaced by the simple and colloquial μόλις είπε ('she has just said') and, as a result, the effect of the prayer is lost; on the contrary, Kasdaglis allots a whole verse for the rendering of same phrase, using both verb (είπεν, 'she said') and a scholarly participle (προσλιπαρούσα, 'begging') in order to illustrate Daphne's emotional condition. Between Matesis and Kasdaglis, the anonymous translator chose to follow closely the Latin original by rendering as μόλις αυτά εδεήθη ('as soon as she prayed for these'). Immediately 'heavy numbness' (gravis torpor) seized Daphne's limbs start to numb: torpor of the original is rendered both by Kasdaglis and A.A as νάρκη ('stupor'), while Matesis prefers the word αναισθησία, while the adjective gravis is exactly translated by Matesis and A.A as βαρειά (a demotic form) and βαρεία ('heavy') respectively; Kasdaglis chose the adjective $\varepsilon \pi \alpha \chi \theta \dot{\eta} \varsigma$, which intensifies the meaning, as it does not only mean 'heavy' but also 'burdensome'.

Moving on to Daphne's transformation, we could definitely claim that Matesis manages to accomplish a very successful translation, as he can easily capture the vividness and the simplicity of his original. We quote some examples:

- 1) Ovid's mollia praecordia ('soft sides, chest') are rendered by Matesis as απαλά φυλλοκάρδια ('the tender leaves of the heart'), a very poetical word, used to describe the inner sides of the heart or soul. Kasdaglis renders here successfully but with a scholarly adjective, απαλόχροα στήθη ('breasts with soft complexion'), while A.A prefers the rather unsuccessful αβρά σπλάγχνα ('tender viscus'), which surely distances from the heart / chest of the original.
- 2) After Daphne's soft sides were begirt with thin bark, her hair was changed to leaves, her arms to branches: *in frondem crines, in ramos bracchia crescunt*. Matesis depicts the scene in such a lively way, adapting easily to the content and style of the original, that it is as if we, the readers, become eyewitnesses of a transformation in progress: εις κλαδιά τα χέρια απλώνουν / εισέ φύλλα τα μαλλιά ('the arms open into branches / the hair into leaves'). Kasdaglis translates precisely the verb crescunt as αύξεται and also enriches his translation with two adjectives not existing in the Latin text in order to define βραχίονες (bracchia) and κλάδους (ramos) as λευκοί ('white') and πυκνοφύλλους ('densely leaved') respectively, which underline Daphne's beauty and chastity. A.

A's rendering is close to its model but sounds rather prosaic: μεταβάλλετ' η κόμη εις φύλλα, γίνονται κλάδοι αι γείρες ('the hair changes into leaves, the hands become branches').

- 3) Matesis makes an interesting rendering of the transformation of Daphne's feet into roots, as he adds (an unusual practice of him) a simile, absent from the original, in order to illustrate Daphne's velox pes: και τα πόδια που επηδούσαν ωσάν να ήταν πτερωτά ('and the feet that were jumping as if they were winged'). The simile seems quite subtle, as it both points out Daphne's rapidity and intensifies the antithesis implied by the following pigris radicibus excellently rendered as ερριζώσαν οκνηρά ('languorous became rooted'). On the contrary, Kasdaglis does not translate the adjective pigris of the original, while A.A.'s choice of the adjective στερεάν (εις στερεάν ήδη ρίζαν πατεί, '[the foot] presses on a solid root') is rather prosaic and far from the power of the Latin pigris.
- 4) It is a pity that Matesis completely omits the two final verses of the transformation, where Daphne's head actually turns into a tree's top, but her gleaming beauty still remains: *ora cacumen habet, remanet nitor unus in illa*. Kasdaglis extends the translation of this sole verse into three verses; the first two (vv. 896-897) correspond to the Ovidian hemistich *ora cacumen habet*, but, despite their length, they do not succeed in depicting the image of the head that gradually disappears and gives its place to the top of the tree. Similarly, the phrase το του προσώπου χρώμα (v.897, 'the color of the face') proves out to be inferior to the *nitor* of the original, the brightness that Daphne still carries after her transformation. On the contrary, A.A, simply and clearly, renders *nitor* as στιλπνότης, being once again close to the original and to the point of its meaning.
- 5) Finally, Matesis may not have dealt with the transformation of Daphne's head, but he seems to compensate us a few verses later, when Daphne, already a tree, agrees to Apollo's promises to make her his sacred plant. The Ovidian text goes this way: factis modo laurea ramis / adnuit utque caput visa est agitasse cacumen vv. 566-567 ('the laurel waved her new-made branches, and seemed to move her head-like top in full consent', transl. Miller) and Matesis harmonically follows the virtues of his original: είπε ο Φοίβος και η Δάφνη, / με το ήγκαιρο κλαδί, / σείοντας την κορυφήν της, / νεύει ως να 'χε κεφαλή ('Phoebus said, and Daphne / with her newly blossomed branch, / shaking her top, / nods as if she had a head'). The concordance between σείοντας and agitasse, νεύει and adnuit, ως να 'χε κεφαλή and utque caput visa est is more than obvious. However, what actually elevates Matesis' style is the use of the folk adjective ήγκαιρο in order to translate the phrase factis modo ramis; ήγκαιρος is a folk form of έγκαιρος and means 'in time, prompt', so here it could be successfully adjusted to the meaning of the original as 'the branch which has just sprung up and consequently is fresh and tender'.

We will close with Ovid's elegiac work, which did not meet the same popularity as his epic poem in 19th century Greece. The erotic and the provocative subject-matter of the Ovidian elegies prevented the inclusion of these texts to the education curricula and their canonization. We can detect only two Greek translations from Ovid's elegiac poems (further discussion in Athanassiadou et al. 2019). The first is an anonymous translation of the episode of Cephalus and Procris from Ovid's Ars Amatoria (3.687-746), which appeared in 1874 in the journal $B\acute{\nu}\rho\omega\nu$. It is written in katharevousa with a trisyllabic metre (amphibrachic) which, though not an autonomous ancient metre, did not belong to the established disyllabic metres of the vivid Greek folk poetry (iambic and trochaic). The anonymous translator rendered the 30 Ovidian elegiac couplets into 100 amphibrachic verses, divided into 25 stanzas; each stanza consists of four verses (A-B-C-D) having the scheme A-D 12syllabic and B-C 11-syllabic amphibrachs with chiastic rhyme (A rhymes with D and B with C). The rhythm of the amphibrach, in which the middle of three syllables is stressed (oó-o), makes this verse sound smoother and lighter than that of dactylic form. Furthermore, the translator rendered Ovid's episode creatively, working like a poet, not an interpreter: he follows the original but does not hesitate to bring in changes, mostly slight additions, as even the greater number of verses of the translation suggests, which nonetheless do not alter the meaning of the Latin text.

The remaining Ovidian translation shares the same qualities but is rendered into demotike and iambic 15-syllable, the meter of Greek folk songs. The journal $\Pi \alpha \rho \nu \alpha \sigma \sigma \delta \varsigma$ published in 1881 Ioannis G. Frangias' translations of Ovid's *Amores* 1.1 and 1.2 with the note (at the end of the poems) "they have been freely translated from Latin". This holds absolutely right for Frangias' work: his poems are much longer than the original (52 and 85 verses, compared to the 30 of Am. 1.1 and 52 verses of Am. 1.2, respectively) due to his interventions, which obviously aim at poetically transferring the spirit of Ovid's elegies into the vivid Greek language. This does not mean that the final result is a mere adaptation; on the contrary, Frangias maintains every elegiac couplet and its sense, but in such a way as not to remain bound by the number of verses or the syntax of the Latin text. At the same time, he does not hesitate to make additions that either explain or intensify the sense or – and this is a particular characteristic of his translation – to give a sense of *Alltagssprache*.

So, to sum up:

• It is a fact that in the period under discussion Ovid has a scanty, but steady presence in the Greek literature. Undoubtedly, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* count the most translation appearances, a choice absolutely justified, given the fact that it is a work full of stories from the Greek mythology.

- What is really impressing is that the early translations of the *Metamorphoses* (16th to 18th century) are all composed in prose and in colloquial spoken Greek language. On the contrary, the later translations of the 19th century use the *katharevousa*, something that was dictated by the educational orientation as well as the general establishment of the *katharevousa* in the curriculum of Greek education
- Concerning the translations in verse, we encounter different metrical and linguistic approaches, varying from the colloquial spoken language preferred by Matesis to the more conservative linguistic tendencies adopted by the unknown writer A.A. and Kasdaglis.
- Unlike *Metamorphoses*, Ovid's elegiac work did not attract special translation interest mainly due to its provocative subject matter. The only translations we encountered were published on literary journals and written on vivid Greek language either katharevousa or vernacular.

INDEX OF TRANSLATIONS

a) During the Ottoman domination

1550: Trivizanos Thomas (Τριβιζάνος Θωμάς), Transl. of *Epist. Her*. 16 (Paris to Helen) (in prosodic elegiac distich), http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/192

1686: Makolas Ioannis (Μάκολας Ιωάννης), Transl. of *Metamorphoses* (selection) (in prose) http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/166

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b) After the establishment of the Modern Greek State

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1873: Kavvadias P. (Καββαδίας Π. A.), Transl. of *Metam*. (selection) (in prose), http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/187

1874: Anonymous, Transl. of *Ars Amatoria* 3. 687-746 (Cephalus and Procris) (in iambic meter), *Βύρων* [Byron] vol. 1, p. 394-397 http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/168

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