

# THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF TERENCE'S *ANDRIA* BY IOANNIS KAVRAKIS

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Recepción: 15 de marzo de 2025 / Aceptación: 4 de mayo de 2025

**Abstract:** In this paper, I examine the Greek translation of Terence's *Andria* by Ioannis Kavrakis in 1895. After providing some information about this comedy and its reception in modern Europe, I discuss two earlier Greek translations of Latin comedy that preceded Kavrakis' version. In the main section, I analyze Kavrakis' translation itself, focusing on issues such as the linguistic characterization and the naturalization of his translation. At the end of the paper, I offer some information about the performances and translations of *Andria* that took place in Greece after Kavrakis' translation.

**Keywords:** Terence, Roman comedy, *Andria*, reception, translation, Ioannis Kavrakis.

## 1. Introduction

*Andria* was Terence's first play, first performed in 166 BCE at the *ludi Megalenses* (see indicatively Barsby, 2001: 47, 4; Goldberg, 2019: xiii; Goldberg, 2022: 29). Like all the works of Plautus and Terence, it is a *palliata* comedy, based on Menander's *Andria* and *Perinthia* (cf. *Andria*'s Prologue: 9-16), through the practice of *contaminatio*, for which Terence was criticised by Luscius of Lanuvium (Barsby, 2001: 43). According to Donatus, Terence introduced several changes to the play, but it is likely that some of them come from his models (e.g., Charinus, the second *adulescens*, and his slave, Byrria, probably existed in Menander's *Perinthia*) (Goldberg, 2022: 30-31). *Andria*'s scenario is a typical one; Pamphilus, an Athenian

*adulescens* is in love with a *meretrix* from Andros called Glycerium. Simo, Pamphilus' father, has arranged for his son to marry Philumena, the daughter of his friend, Chremes. However, Chremes, informed about Pamphilus' romantic relationship with Glycerium, no longer agrees to his daughter's marriage. In this perspective, Davus, the *servus callidus*, persuades the young man to pretend that he ultimately wants to marry Philumena. However, Simo persuades Chremes that has separated from Glycerium and thus the marriage is on again. So, Davus changes his strategy. He reveals to Chremes that Glycerium has given birth to Pamphilus' child and, therefore, he is not the suitable suitor for his daughter. The happy ending comes with Crito's appearance, who arrives from Andros to Athens to claim the property of Chrysis, i.e. his dead cousin and Glycerium's sister. Crito reveals that Glycerium is an Athenian girl brought to Andros by her uncle Phania, i.e. Chremes' brother. Thus, Chremes recognizes Glycerium as his own lost daughter, making way for Pamphilus' and Glycerium's wedding. Also, Philumena is now free to marry Pamphilus' friend, Charinus (see Barsby, 2001: 42-43; Germany, 2013).

Terence was one of the main Roman poets included in the school curriculum across time (having the second position after Virgil) (Goldberg, 2022: 29). His works were extensively studied and served as an inspiration for later authors and were performed on stage. Terence's reception is a well-studied field, focusing on areas such as his presence in Late Antiquity (see Cain, 2013), his influence on Hrotsvitha's works and Thornton Wilder's *Woman of Andros* (see Augoustakis, 2013; Hanses, 2013), the translations of his plays produced especially in early modern period and beyond (see Barsby, 2013), as well as their performance today (see Gamel, 2013). More specifically, *Andria*'s afterlife is a much-discussed subject. Peter Brown, in a very interesting paper of his (Brown, 2014), deals with the interpretations and the adaptations of this Terentian work from the tenth to the twentieth century (see also Lefèvre, 2008: 15-40; Goldberg, 2019: 15-77 and 117-121; Goldberg, 2022: 29-38). Among others, Brown mentions the Italian version by Niccolò Machiavelli in about 1517, an anonymous English translation published during the decade of 1520s, and the German one by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in 1825. He also mentions an English translation of *Andria* by Maurice Kyffin published in 1588, two French translations in prose by Charles Estienne published in 1541 and 1542 and a French verse translation of the play published in 1555 (Brown, 2014: 247-253)<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless, as noted above, Brown's aim was to discuss *Andria*'s translations in the main European languages. In this paper, I study the first Modern Greek translation of the play by Ioannis Kavrakis published in 1895. After providing some information about the book's structure and the translator, I focus on its introductory parts and Kavrakis' rendering of *Andria*. I am mainly concerned with issues of language and style, while I try to trace the purpose of this rendering, as

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<sup>1</sup> For the English translations of all the works of Terence from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the present, see Barsby (2013).

well as its target readership. At the end of the paper, I briefly discuss the fate of Terence's *Andria* after Kavrakis' translation.

## 2. The Contents of Kavrakis' Book and Its Author

Kavrakis' book exists in printed form at two Greek libraries; at the National Library of Greece in Athens and at the Central Municipal Library of Thessaloniki<sup>2</sup>. Fortunately, the second library recently digitized the book, and it is now available in open access form<sup>3</sup>. Its title is as follows:

ΠΟΥΒΛΙΟΥ ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΟΥ / Η / ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ / ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ / ΚΑΤΑ  
ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΙΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΟΥ / ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΘ. ΚΑΒΡΑΚΗ /  
ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ / ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ /  
ΑΝΕΣΤΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΟΥ / 1895.

Publius Terentius' Comedy entitled *Andria*. In translation from Latin by Ioannis Kavrakis, son of Athanasios. Athens, at the Publishing House of Anestis Konstantinidis, 1895<sup>4</sup>.

From the above title, we learn the identity of the translated work, the name and the patronymic of the Greek translator, the fact that he translated the work from Latin, the place, the time, and the book's Publishing House. At the end of the Introduction of the book, we learn that its writing was completed in Levadia (the city in Boeotia where he was probably serving at that time as a secondary education teacher, see below) at the beginning of June 1894 (Ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἀρχομένου τοῦ Ἰουνίου τοῦ 1894 / ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΘ. ΚΑΒΡΑΚΗΣ).

The statement that he translated directly from Latin is particularly important, as at that time (and even later), it was very common for Greek translators, who did not know the Latin language, to render Latin works into Greek from an intermediary language rather than the original source language (primarily through French translations), without declaring it (indirect translation) (see Pappas, 2018: 8; Pappas, 2023). Anestis Konstantinidis (1846-1901) was a famous Greek publisher, editor, translator and philologist, who studied philology in Athens and typography in Germany. At the beginning of his career, he founded a small bookstore and publishing house in Athens. In 1884, he purchased the printing stores of Andreas Koromilas, who was then the leading name in the Greek publishing and printing industry,

<sup>2</sup> For the book in Athens, see <https://catalogue.nlg.gr/> (last access: 29 January 2025); for the book in Thessaloniki, see <https://lib.thessaloniki.gr> (last access: 29 January 2025).

<sup>3</sup> See <https://repository.thessaloniki.gr> (last access: 29 January 2025).

<sup>4</sup> The English translations of the Greek texts are my own throughout the paper. The translation of *Andria*'s passages comes from Barsby (2011), slightly modified to agree with the very few *variae lectiones* found in the edition followed by Kavrakis.

equipped with the most advanced equipment. He published a multitude of significant books, such as the series «Books of the People» (i.e. 'Βιβλία του Λαού') or «Library of the People» ('Βιβλιοθήκη του Λαού'), as well as novels and short stories, primarily French, which were affordable and provided entertainment while maintaining a high standard. His most notable work was his involvement in the Greek edition of the Liddell-Scott dictionary<sup>5</sup>.

Of Ioannis Kavrakakis (1867-1931), son of Athanasios, we know very little<sup>6</sup>. In 1897, he published his Greek translation of another Latin work, i.e. Cicero's first Book of *Tusculanae disputationes* (for this translation, see Pappas, 2024: 155-156). Perhaps Kavrakakis' choice to translate Terence and Cicero was not a mere coincidence, as both Roman authors were themselves adapters and translators of Greek works—at least, this was Nicholas Udall's thought, noted in the Latin dedicatory epistle of his English book *Floures for Latine Spekyng* (1534), which was in fact a phrase-by-phrase translation of selections from three plays of Terence's (*Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Heauton Timorumenos*) (Barsby, 2013: 447-448). As it appears from the short prologue of Kavrakakis' Ciceronian translation, he was likely a high school teacher. For this translation, he chose the *katharevousa* in the entire book (this is not the case in our book, as we will see)<sup>7</sup>, trying, as he says, to convert the Latin text into a simple style. The choice of language for the later translation was not random, since it was used as a textbook by pupils:

Ἐκ τῶν πέντε φιλοσοφικῶν διαλέξεων τοῦ Κικέρωνος τῶν εἰσαγμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαιδεύσεως ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις κατὰ προτίμησιν μεταφράσαμεν τὴν *de morte contemnenda* διάλεξιν, εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀπιδόντες εἰμὴ εἰς τὴν διευκόλυνσιν τῶν μαθητῶν. Μεταφράζοντες ἀείποτε προσεπαθοῦμεν [sic] ν' ἀποφεύγωμεν τὸ τραχὺ καὶ τὸ ἄχαρι (Kavrakakis, 1897: 3).

From the five philosophical lectures of Cicero that are introduced by the Ministry of Public Education in high schools, I chose to translate the *de morte contemnenda* lecture aiming at nothing else but the facility of the pupils. By my translations I try every time to avoid a rough and unpleasant rendering.

I have provided above Kavrakakis' words in 1897 aiming to disclose two main features of his translation practice: (a) the target readership clearly affects the

<sup>5</sup> See <http://photodentro.edu.gr/> (last access: 30 January 2025).

<sup>6</sup> See <https://pandektis.ekt.gr> (last access: 30 January 2025).

<sup>7</sup> The *katharevousa* (a kind of mixture of ancient and modern Greek) was adopted as the official language of education and administration—a factor that also affected the Greek translations of Latin works, as most were made by high school teachers and university professors, and were used by pupils and students. The conflict between *dimotiki* (the language of the people) and *katharevousa* and their representatives formed the basis of the so-called «Greek language question» (i.e. the adoption of one of these two dialects for education, administration, and literature), which lasted for almost one and a half centuries (and included the loss of human lives). See Beaton (1999: 296-346).

linguistic tool of each translation (*katharevousa* for educational aims) and (b) his concern was always to translate with a smooth style and with grace.

After a blank page, Kavrakis's dedication of his book to Mister Dimitrios G. Chatzopoulos follows (ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩ Γ. ΧΑΤΖΟΠΟΥΛΩ / ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΜΙ / Ο ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΤΗΣ / ΙΩ. ΑΘ. ΚΑΒΡΑΚΗΣ) (Kavrakis, 1895: γ', without enumeration). Although we cannot be certain about the identity of this person, it could be Dimitrios Chatzopoulos (1872-1936), the one known as «the Bohemian», a well-known journalist and literary figure of the time<sup>8</sup>. If this is correct, it seems that Kavrakis was part of a high-esteemed coterie. An introductory section follows, where Kavrakis provides information about the Roman poet's life (ΒΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥ) (Kavrakis, 1895: ε', without enumeration) and presents a detailed analysis of the play's hypothesis (ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΗ) (Kavrakis, 1895: ε', without enumeration - στ'). Next, there is the Introduction (ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ) (Kavrakis, 1895: ζ', without enumeration - ιστ') and *Andria*'s Greek translation, divided into two parts: the rendering of the Prologue (ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ) (Kavrakis, 1895: ιζ', without enumeration - ιθ') and then this of the entire comedy (Kavrakis, 1895: 20, without enumeration - 113). The last part of the book is a list of subscribers, where their names are recorded by city, as well as the number of copies of the book they have ordered (Kavrakis, 1895: 115, without enumeration - 119)<sup>9</sup>.

### 3. A Brief Aside: Greek Translations of Roman Comedies in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

The question about Greek translations of a particular genre (such as Roman comedy) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is part of a broader subject, i.e. the Greek rendering of Latin works during that period. As is plausible, throughout time, Greek translations of Latin literature were fewer than those in European languages. However, several Greek translations of Latin literary and scientific works were produced over a very long period (from Late Antiquity until today), and many papers have been produced in this field in recent years<sup>10</sup>. The Greek translations of Latin works (as well as those from modern European languages) are included in the spirit of Adamantios Korais' (1748-1833) μετακένωσις (i.e. the utilization of the western achievements of his era by the Greek enslaved nation) (see Patsiou, 1993; Kehagioglou, 1998; Tabaki, 2018). The number of Greek translations of Latin works increased significantly after the foundation of the Greek State (1830), as

<sup>8</sup> See <https://digitallibrary.academyofathens.gr> (last access: 30 January 2025).

<sup>9</sup> If one considers that in 1895 Greece was about half of what it is today, the large number of subscribers from various cities and towns of Greece is particularly impressive: Leviaia, Chaeronea, Arachova, Thebes, Chostia (village in Boeotia), Domvraina (also), Chalcis, Limni (town in Euboea), Volos, Xirochorion (village in Achaia), Athens, Piraeus, Methoni (village in Messenia), Pylos, and Lamia.

<sup>10</sup> For a short overview on the Greek translations of Latin works from Late Antiquity until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Pappas (2024: 142-146) (and the bibliography cited there). For an overview of Greek translations of Latin works produced after 1453, see Nikitas (2020).

well as the Ottonian University of Athens (1837). The Bavarian kingship of Greece planned the curricula (in 1836) based on German models, and thus Latin had a dominant role in Greek high schools and the University, a role that was maintained during the nineteenth century, albeit with various fluctuations (see Zioga, 2015: 19-40)<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, several Roman authors were translated into Greek (e.g., Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Livy), most of them in the official language of education, i.e. the *katharevousa*. Nevertheless, we also find some Greek translations of Latin literature (mainly poetic) in *katharevousa* and in *dimotiki*, which were published especially in literary journals. These renderings have an artistic character and sometimes are almost adaptations (and not translations) of the Latin poems. Some of these translators were themselves poets and writers and belonged to the literary movements of the time. More specifically, there was a particular group of scholars/translators/writers of Heptanesian origin, followers of the homonymous School<sup>12</sup>, who had an excellent knowledge of Latin (due to the fact that the Ionian Islands had been under Venetian rule for many years) and were devoted users of the demotic language (cf. Lorentzos Mavilis' translation of Verg. *Aen.* 1.1-164 and 2.1-127<sup>13</sup>, Iakovos Polyklas' and Nikolaos Kogevinas' translations of certain elegies from Tibullus —all of them in Modern Greek metres) (see Athanasiadou, Pappas, Stathis and Fyntikoglou, 2019)<sup>14</sup>.

In this context, before Kavrakis' translation of *Andria*, we also have two other Greek renderings of Roman comedies produced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Antonios Matesis (1794-1875), a poet and comedy writer (i.e. his *Vasilikos*) from Zante, translated Terence's entire *Hecyra* probably in the 1820s —a work that had been partially edited twice (in 1951 and 1969), while its full edition took place just in 2009<sup>15</sup>. Matesis' rendering is in prose and in *dimotiki*, with many idiomatic elements of the Heptanesian dialect<sup>16</sup>, and some linguistic forms of *katharevousa*. Matesis had an excellent command of Latin, and it seems that he translated the Terentian comedy directly from the original (Pylarinos, 2009: 502-504). The other Greek translation of a Roman comedy comes from another one Heptanesian poet and

<sup>11</sup> For the teaching of Latin literature at the University of Athens in the nineteenth century, see Matthaiou (2021: 302-320); Nikitas (2023).

<sup>12</sup> In late 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, two literary movements dominated; the first is the Old (or the First Athenian) School, which represented Greek Romanticism and was conservative in terms of their choice of poetic language, supporting the use of Ancient Greek or *katharevousa*. The second was the Heptanesian School, i.e. the literary production of the Ionian Islands, a more progressive movement in terms of the content of the poems and prose (e.g. the texts reflected the ideas of the European Enlightenment, many poems were similar to Arcadian poetry, among others) and the use of Modern Greek (the demotic language). See Pylarinos (2003).

<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that Mavilis translated Verg. *Aen.* 4.1-8 in prose and in *katharevousa* this time, see Fyntikoglou (2022: 407-448 and n. 2).

<sup>14</sup> For the excellent knowledge of Latin by Heptanesian scholars, see Karapidakis (2020).

<sup>15</sup> See Pylarinos (2009), and especially 506-528, where there is the editio princeps of the whole translation.

<sup>16</sup> For the Heptanesian dialect, see <https://www.greek-language.gr/> (last access: 07 May 2025).

scholar, Lorentzos Mavilis (1860-1912), an excellent user of Latin as well (cf. his translations of passages of *Aeneid*, mentioned above). Mavilis translated the first 90 verses of Plautus' *Mostellaria* —the manuscript of this translation exists in Mavilis' archive at the Institute of Modern Greek Studies (Manolis Triandaphyllidis Foundation) of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and was digitized by the Central University of the same University in open access form<sup>17</sup>. This work (dated back to 1881 at the earliest) (Fyntikoglou, 2022: 412) remained unpublished until 2022, when its *editio princeps* took place by Fyntikoglou. As Matesis, Mavilis also translated the Plautian verses in prose and in *dimotiki*, containing several forms of the colloquial language. Fyntikoglou argues that Mavilis most likely was not aware of Matesis' translation, although some of his translation choices (e.g. colloquial Modern Greek language with several idiomatic forms) show similarities to those of his older compatriot (Fyntikoglou, 2022: 412)<sup>18</sup>. Next to the text of his translation, Mavilis (who studied philology, archaeology, and philosophy at various universities in Germany) has added some comments in German, most of which come from Lorenz's annotated edition of Plautus' *Mostellaria* (Lorenz, 1883)<sup>19</sup>. This proves that Mavilis worked on the specific text both as a literary translator and as a philologist, possibly with the intention of someday publishing a book that would include the Greek translation of the Plautine comedy along with its commentary (which he never did).

As we will see, just as Mavilis was unaware of Materis' translation of the Terentian *Hecyra*, Kavrakis, as he himself states, was not aware of either of the two, which is very plausible since neither had been published in his time. Also, the geographical distance (mainland Greece-Ionian Islands) did not particularly favor communication at that time. Nevertheless, these three Greek translations of Roman comedies share several common features: (a) their language, i.e. the vernacular language of the people, (b) there are in prose, and (c) the Latin original is absent, an act that obviously suggests they were not intended for educational use. Also, they show similarities in pairs: (i) Matesis' and Kavrakis' are two translations of entire comedies by Terence (*Hecyra* and *Andria*), and (ii) just as Mavilis indirectly reveals that he consulted the German Lorenz, so too Kavrakis mentions that he consulted an edition and a French translation, the identity of which I will reveal in the next section of the paper. Nevertheless, the two of them left unpublished in their time, and only Kavrakis' was published in the form of a complete book (Introduction, translation and a few footnotes). Overall, the existence of two complete translations and one partial translation of three different Roman comedies proves that —within the circles of Greek intellectuals— there was (even if a small) interest in the genre of Roman comedy.

<sup>17</sup> See <https://digital.lib.auth.gr> (last access: 31 January 2025).

<sup>18</sup> As Fyntikoglou correctly points out, there are many similarities between Manesis' and Mavilis' vocabulary, cf. the glossaries of Pylarinos (2009: 529-531) and Fyntikoglou (2022: 434-437).

<sup>19</sup> For Mavilis' comments in German, see Fyntikoglou (2022: 437-438).

## 4. The Introductory Parts of Kavrakis' Book

### 4.1. The Introduction

Although Kavrakis' translation of *Andria* is in *dimotiki*, the Introduction of his book, as well as the Prologue of the comedy, are written in *katharevousa* (Fyntikoglou, 2022: 412, n. 12). By choosing this language, Kavrakis gives a formal and more scholarly tone to these introductory sections. The choice of *katharevousa* for his Introduction is very reasonable, since it primarily has an educational character; there, he informs his reader about the life of the Roman poet, provides the plot of the comedy, and offers an overview of the genre of Roman comedy, offering information about its themes, its main representatives, while also discussing on subjects such as key terms related to the genre (such as *palliata* and *contaminatio*) and the influence of Menander on Terence's comedies. Moreover, the practice of writing an introduction or a preface in a different language from the translations was common in the past, e.g., cf. Udall's dedicatory epistle in Latin that precedes his English translation of Terence (see Barsby, 2013: 447-448). Also, the use of *katharevousa* in the prologue of *Andria* does not surprise us, especially if we consider that Terence's prologues primarily function as texts of literary criticism. They are distinguished from the dramatic action of the play, having a metapoetic usage par excellence —in other words, we hear the poet's own voice in them. Perhaps for this reason, Machiavelli, in his own translation of *Andria*, did not include the prologue of the comedy (Brown, 2014: 248). Pelttari notes that «by the fourth century the prologues of Plautus and Terence were primarily read rather than performed» (Pelttari, 2014: 49). This means that from Late Antiquity onwards, both scholars and readers had understood that these texts functioned primarily as paratexts, i.e. as parts of literary criticism with no relation to the comedy that followed, which had humorous content and primarily aimed at performance and, by extension, aesthetic enjoyment. We must not forget that Roman comedies were performed and that they were a popular spectacle for all (men, women, children, Roman citizens and non-citizens). Their «light» content made them accessible to all people, both literate and illiterate. However, this was not the case especially for the Terentian prologues. For this reason, their use was already distinguished from the era of Late Antiquity. Therefore, Kavrakis recognizes this dimension of the prologue, and with the use of *katharevousa*, aims to externally differentiate this section, which holds metaliterary value. It is primarily addressed to an educated readership and, most importantly, is a text of serious theoretical reflection, which differs from the comedy that follows and is intended for the entire people.

At the end of the Introduction of his book, Kavrakis has a brief note about his bibliography:

Βοηθήματα εἶχομεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἑκδοσιν κολλεγίου ἐκ καθηγητῶν  
γάλλων, μετάφρασιν ἐπιλέξει καὶ ἐλευθέραν τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ στερεότυπον  
ἑκδοσιν (Kavrakis, 1895: 1στ').



As study aids, we had before our eyes an edition of a college by French professors, a word-for-word and free translation by the same translators, and a critical edition.

With this somewhat complicated phrase, Kavrakis implies one and only French book, which contains the edition of the Latin text of *Andria*, two versions of the French translation by M. Materne, i.e. the *ad sensum* rendering that follows the Latin text, and the *ad verbum* one in the right column of the page, coexisting with the Latin text, which exists in the left column, but now it does not have the syntactic order of the original, but follows the syntactic order of the French language. As is well-known, this was a common practice for these kinds of books (i.e. translations of Greek and Roman authors) in the West and in Greece, as they were mainly intended for educational use (Pappas, 2022: 256-258). The French book includes also some endnotes, mainly of a linguistic and interpretive content (Materne, 1845: 194-200). It was one volume from the series «Latin authors», produced by Professors and Latinists. Kavrakis' words correspond to the first part of the book's title, but they do not reveal the French translator's identity, as is demonstrated from its inner cover:

LES / AUTEURS LATINS / EXPLIQUÉS D'APRÈS UNE MÉTHODE NOUVELLE / PAR DEUX TRADUCTIONS FRANÇAISES / L'UNE LITTÉRALE ET JUXTALINÉAIRE PRÉSENTANT LE MOT A MOT FRANÇAIS / EN REGARD DES MOTS LATINS CORRESPONDANTS / L'AUTRE CORRECTE ET FIDÈLE PRÉCÉDÉE DU TEXTE LATIN / avec des sommaires et des notes / PAR UNE SOCIÉTÉ DE PROFESSEURS / ET DE LATINISTES / TÉRENCE / L' ANDRIENNE / ÉXPLIQUÉE, ANNOTÉE ET REVUE POUR LA / TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE / PAR M. MATERNE / Professeur au Collège royal de Dijon / PARIS / LIBRAIRIE DE L. HACHETTE / RUE PIERRE-SARRAZIN, N.º 12 / 1845.

Kavrakis also derived the play's detailed hypothesis from the French book, e.g., cf:

#### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΗ

Σίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος πληροφορηθεὶς καλῶς ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πάμφιλος εἶχεν ἀποφασίσῃ νὰ συζευχθῇ κρυφίως νέαν τινά, ὀνομαζομένην Γλυκέραν, ἔνεκα τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτός του, θέλων δὲ καὶ ὁ ἴδιος νὰ πεισθῇ περὶ τούτου προσποιεῖται ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν θὰ τὸν νυμφεύσῃ μετὰ τῆς Φιλουμένης, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Χρέμου, ὅστις ἄλλως τε τὴν εἶχε προλαβόντως προορίσῃ διὰ τὸν Πάμφιλον (Kavrakis, 1895: ε'-στ').

Simon the Athenian, having been well informed that his son Pamphilus had decided to secretly marry a certain young woman named Glycera, due to his love for her, and wishing himself to be convinced of this, pretended that on the same day he would marry him to Philumena, daughter of Chremes, who, in any case, had already been previously promised to Pamphilus.

And:

#### ARGUMENT ANALYTIQUE

Pamphile, jeune Athénien, s'était épris d'une jeune étrangère, et même avait résolu de l'épouser secrètement. Simon, son père, ayant eu l'éveil sur cet amour et désirant s'en assurer, feint de vouloir le marier le jour même à Philumène, fille de Chrémès, son ami, qui lui avait d'ailleurs été destinée précédemment (Materne, 1845: 1, without enumeration).

Apart from this section, as we will see, Kavrakis includes some footnotes in his translation of *Andria*'s Prologue —footnotes that come from the French book's endnotes. However, he does not do the same regarding his Modern Greek translation of the comedy; there are no notes there at all, although the French book has some. Therefore, Kavrakis follows the French book's Latin text<sup>20</sup>, its detailed hypothesis, its notes regarding *Andria*'s Prologue, and its list of *Andria*'s personae. Of course, as he states, he consults the French translation of the play.

Materne's book does not include an Introduction, nor any section where he discusses the poet's life. I did not manage to identify Kavrakis' sources for these sections, but I suspect they generally come from his readings on the history of Latin literature and on Roman comedy. The very interesting parts of his Introduction are those where Kavrakis talks about his translation theory and practice:

Δυστυχῶς οἱ περὶ τὰ Λατινικὰ γράμματα ἀσχολούμενοι δὲν μετέφρασαν οὐδὲ μίαν τῶν τοῦ Τερεντίου κωμωδιῶν ἐν τῇ γλώσσῃ μας πρὸς κατανόησιν τοῦ ἀνωτέρω ποιητοῦ. Εἰς τοῦτο ἡμεῖς ἀπιδόντες ἐπεχειρήσαμεν τὴν μετάφρασιν τῆς Ἀνδρίας (= Ἀνδριώτισσας) καίτοι ἀνελογίσθημεν τὴν περὶ τὰ Λατινικὰ γράμματα ἀπειρίαν μας. Εἶνε ἀληθὲς ὅμως ὅτι κατεβάλλομεν μεταφράζοντες πολὺν κόπον καθὼς ἄπειροι. Ἄν κατωρθώσαμεν τι ἔστω καὶ κατὰ τι θεωροῦμεν δι' ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄρκετὸν ἔπαινον. Παραλείποντες ὅσα ἄλλα ἡδυνάμεθα νὰ εἰπώμεν πρὸς δικαιολογίαν μας, κρίνομεν ἀναγκαῖον νὰ ποιησώμεθα λόγον [...] καὶ περὶ τῆς γλώσσῃς τῆς μεταφράσεώς μας, ὡς καὶ περὶ ὀλίγων ὀρθογραφιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀσκανδάλιστον.

Unfortunately, those engaged in Latin literature did not translate even one of Terence's comedies into our language for the understanding of the aforementioned poet. In this, we, having no experience, attempted the translation of *Andria* (= *The Woman of Andros*), although we reflected on our inexperience with Latin literature. It is, however, true that we put in a great deal of effort while translating, being inexperienced. If we succeeded in anything, even slightly, we consider that sufficient praise for ourselves. While leaving aside other things we could say in our defense, we find it necessary to make

<sup>20</sup> That is not *Andria*'s text following the French syntactical order, but the typical one. Throughout the paper, I follow this edition (its writings and its stichometry as well) that Kavrakis had before him.

a statement [...] about the language of our translation, as well as a few spelling matters to avoid scandal.

As mentioned above, Kavrakis ignored Matesis' translation of Terence's *Hecyra*. This is the reason, he says, that made him translate *Andria*. Therefore, Kavrakis wrongly claims for himself that he is the first Greek translator of Terence. For the sake of the *captatio benevolentiae*, Kavrakis self-identifies as inexperienced in the Latin language, a common practice among Greek translators of Latin works, even since the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup>. Finally, he predicts that he will say some things about the language of his translation, as well as about its orthography, which he does a few lines below:

Διὰ τὴν μετάφρασιν προετιμήσαμεν τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ λαοῦ· διότι αἱ τοιοῦτου εἶδους μεταφράσεις χάνουσι πολὺ γραφόμεναι εἰς τὴν καθαρύουσαν καὶ διότι καθίστανται κοινὸν ἀνάγνωσμα. Πρὸς τούτοις κρίνομεν ἀναγκαῖον νὰ δηλώσομεν ὅτι πολλὰς φράσεις, οἷας τὰς «ἐξέπεσε τῆς συζύγου, χαίρετε, ὡς ἐξῆλθε τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας κ.τ.λ.» ἀντικατεστήσαμεν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς προσοχῆς διὰ φράσεων παρὰ τῷ λαῷ ἀπαντωσῶν θεωρήσαντες τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπάναγκες. Οὐδεμία ἀμφιβολία ὅτι ὁ γράφων τὴν καθωμίλημένην πλέει ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὸ ὀρθογραφικὸν μέρος, διότι πολλὰ ζητήματα αὐτοῦ δὲν ἔχουσι διαλευκανθῆ εἰσέτι. Διὰ τὸ ἀσκανδάλιστον θεωροῦμεν καλὸν νὰ γνωρίσωμεν εἰς τοὺς ἀναγνώστας μας ὅτι τὰ νὰ καὶ θὰ τότε μόνον συνετάσσομεν πρὸς ὑποτακτικὴν, ὁπόταν ἐπέτρεπεν ἡ εὐφωνία καὶ ὅτι τὸ ν τῶν αἰτιατικῶν καὶ τῶν τρίτων ἐνικῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν προσώπων τῶν ῥημάτων παρελείπομεν ἐπίσης διὰ τὴν εὐφωνίαν (Kavrakis, 1895: ιε'-ιστ').

For the translation, we preferred the language of the people, because translations of this kind lose much of their value when written in *katharevousa*, and because they become a common reading. Furthermore, we consider it necessary to declare that many phrases, such as «he deprived of his wife», «hello», or «as he left childhood», etc., were replaced with phrases that are common among the people, considering this absolutely necessary. There is no doubt that the writer of the colloquial language swims in the ocean as far as the orthographic aspect is concerned, because many of its issues have not yet been clarified. For the sake of avoiding scandal, we think it is good to inform our readers that we only used «to» and «will» in the subjunctive when the euphony allowed it, and that we also omitted the «n» in accusative and third person singular and plural of verbs for the sake of euphony.

For Kavrakis, the literary genre of the source language dictates the linguistic tool of the target language. For this reason, works like comedies must be written in *dimotiki*, because otherwise their value is lost, and because their readership is

<sup>21</sup> E.g., cf. Ioannis Makolas' similar confession, in his translations of Justin's *Epitome of Trogus* and some passages of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see Pappas (2020: 228-229, and 229, n. 37).

broad (it is not limited to students, scholars, or the educated people). Kavrakis makes this distinction clear in practice when, two years later (1897), he translates Cicero's first Book of *Tusculanae disputationes* exclusively into *katharevousa*. Therefore, the appropriate language for the translation of a «light» genre (such as comedy) is this of the people, since it corresponds to the linguistic idiom of the original and its readership is broad. This seems to have been a widespread practice —we only need to remember the other two Greek translations of Roman comedy that preceded Kavrakis' (see above), as well as Machiavelli's 16<sup>th</sup>-century Italian version, in which he used the everyday language of Florence in order to fully convey the *usus loquendi* of the ancient work's characters to his time (Brown, 2014: 248-249). On the contrary, the appropriate language for a «heavy», philosophical work, which is addressed primarily to students, is the official language of the Greek education, i.e. *katharevousa*. With a careful look, we find that Kavrakis talks about replacing phrases from *katharevousa* with corresponding ones used by the people, because these were considered necessary. It is likely that this gives us a hint about his translation practice, i.e., he may have first translated into *katharevousa* (since he seems to have been a secondary school teacher, therefore fully familiar with it) and then converted his text into *dimotiki*. Kavrakis admits that in many cases, the author of the demotic language finds himself in a state of confusion, as many issues regarding its orthography have not yet been clarified. This confusion is fully justified when we consider, for example, that the most authoritative grammars of Modern Greek were published at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and that it was only in 1976 that demotic was institutionalized as the official language of Greek education. We notice that the translator, in two instances where he refers to the orthography and syntax of *dimotiki*, respectively, feels the need to apologize to the readers so as not to scandalize them (διὰ τὸ ἀσκανδάλιστον). The word «scandal» might seem excessive today when used to describe a language, but we must consider that in the Greek state of that time, it carried great significance, often leading to tragic consequences (e.g., the so-called *Evangelica*, i.e. the bloody events that took place in Athens following the publication of the translation of the *Gospels* into *dimotiki* by Alexandros Pallis in 1901). At the end of the passage, Kavrakis makes two notes regarding the morphology of his verbs: (a) that he retains the use of *να* («to») and *θα* («will») (which accompany the subjunctive in Modern Greek verbs) in the subjunctive only when it is permitted by euphony, and (b) that he omits the third person singular and plural forms of the verbs (as also happens in Modern Greek) for the same reason. Clearly, his goal is to avoid cacophony. This practice reveals that while he may translate into prose, he still cares about the harmonious sequence of sounds.

As part of the *captatio benevolentiae*, Kavrakis submits his book to the judgment of his readers by quoting a passage from Xenophon's *Mem.* 2.8.5:

Τοῦτο παραδίδοντες τὸ ἔργον τῇ κοινῇ κρίσει δὲν λησιμονοῦμεν νὰ ὑπενθυμίσωμεν τοῖς ἐντευζομένοις τὰ ἀλάθητα τοῦ δαιμονίου Σωκράτους

ῥήματα: «οὐδὲ πάνυ γε ῥᾷδιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἔργον ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχοι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὕτω τι ποιῆσαι ὥστε μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τι ποιήσαντα μὴ ἀγνώμονι κριτῇ περιτυχεῖν» (Kavrakis, 1895: 1στ').

Handing over this work to the common judgment, we do not forget to remind those who encounter it of the infallible words of the divine Socrates: «It is not very easy to find a work in which no one can find fault; for it is difficult to do something in such a way that one does not make any mistake, and it is also difficult for one who has done something without fault not to encounter an ungrateful critic».

Kavrakis' Introduction is comprehensive, as it provides ample information about Terence and his work, the relationship between Latin literature and Greek, Roman comedy and the influence of Menander on it, as well as his translation theory and practice.

#### 4.2 The Translation of *Andria's Prologue*

As mentioned above, Kavrakis, presumably aiming to emphasize the distinction between the prologue and the comedy that follows (aiming to highlight its different content, i.e. the literary criticism developed there) translates *Andria's* Prologue into *katharevousa*<sup>22</sup>.

The translation of the first eight lines is as follows:

##### PROLOGVS

Poeta, quum primum animum ad scribendum adpulit,  
Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,  
Populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.  
Verum aliter evenire multo intelligit:  
Nam in prologis scribundis operam abutitur,  
Non qui argumentum narret, sed qui malevoli  
Veteris poetae maledictis respondeat.  
Nunc, quam rem vitio dent, quaeso, animum advortite.

5

##### PROLOGUE

When the playwright first turned his mind to writing, he believed that his only problem was to ensure that the plays he had created would win the approval of the public. He now realises that the reality is quite different. He is wasting his time writing prologues, not to explain the plot but to respond

<sup>22</sup> As in the following section, the methodology to be followed is as follows: first, the Latin text and its English translation are provided. Next, Kavrakis' Greek translation and its English translation are presented, followed by Materne's dual French translation. Materne's *ad verbum* translation is accompanied by the Latin text that follows the French syntactical order. In the French text of this version, the forms that are implied (mainly pronouns) have been printed in italics. I keep them here in the same way.

to the slanders of a malicious old playwright. Now please pay attention while I explain the substance of his criticisms.

### ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Ὁ ἡμέτερος ποιητής, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησε νὰ γράφῃ κωμωδίας, ἐνόμισεν ὅτι τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιτρέπεται εἰς αὐτόν, ἵνα αὐταὶ, ἃς ἤθελε γράψῃ, ἀρέσκωσιν εἰς τὸν λαόν. Ἀλλ' εἶδεν ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶνε ὅλως διάφορον, διότι δαπανᾷ τὸν κόπον του εἰς τὸ γράφειν προλόγους, οὐχὶ ἵνα διηγήται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀποκρίνηται εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας παλαιοῦ κακοβούλου (= ἐχθροῦ) ποιητοῦ. Νῦν δότε παρακαλῶ προσοχὴν εἰς τὰς ἀποδιδομένας εἰς αὐτὸν λοιδορίας (Kavrakis, 1895: ιζ', without enumeration-η').

Our poet, when he first attempted to write comedies, believed that this was the only thing allowed to him, so that the comedies he wished to write would be pleasing to the people. But he saw that this was entirely different, for he spent his effort writing prologues, not to tell the story, but to defend himself against the accusations of an old malicious (= enemy) poet. Now, please pay attention to the insults directed at him.

### PROLOGUE

Lorsque notre poète commença à travailler pour le théâtre, il crut que la seule chose qu'il avait à faire était de composer des pièces qui plussent au public; mais il voit qu'il en est tout autrement, puisqu'on le force de perdre sa peine à écrire des prologues, non pour exposer le sujet de ses comédies, mais pour répondre aux accusations du vieux poète, son ennemi. Écoutez donc, je vous prie, ce qu'on reproche à notre auteur.

Poeta,  
quum primum  
adpult animum  
ad scribendum,  
credidit id negoti solum  
dari sibi,  
ut  
quas fabulas fecisset  
placerent populo.  
Verum intelligit  
evenire multo aliter:  
nam abutitur operam  
in scribundis prologis,  
non qui narret  
argumentum,  
sed qui respondeat  
maledictis  
veteris poetae malevoli.  
Nunc, quaeso,  
advortite animum,

Notre poète,  
lorsque pour-la-première-fois  
il poussa (appliqua) son esprit  
à écrire *des comédies*,  
crut que cela de tâche (cette tâche) seul  
était donné (imposé) à lui *savoir*,  
que *les pièces*  
lesquelles pièces il aurait faites  
plussent au peuple.  
Mais il comprend  
qu'il *en* arrive bien autrement:  
car il perd *sa* peine  
à écrire des prologues,  
non pour qui'il expose  
le sujet *de sa pièce*,  
mais pour qu'il réponde  
aux injures  
du vieux poète malveillant.  
Maintenant, je *vous* prie,  
appliquez *votre* esprit (remarquez)

quam rem  
dent vitio.

quelle chose  
ils *lui* imputent à défaut.

We saw that in the title of Kavrakis' book, it is written that the translation has been made from Latin (ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΙΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΟΥ). Kavrakis' translation is faithful and fully conveys the meaning of the original. His translation practice resembles that followed by a modern translator who is not an expert in the source language (as he himself states). That is, he translates from Latin, but at the same time, he consults the French translation, mainly the literal one, e.g., cf. 1: *Poeta, quum primum animum ad scribendum adpulit* ~ Ὁ ἡμέτερος ποιητής, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησε νὰ γράφῃ κωμωδίας ~ «Notre poète, lorsque pour-la-première-fois il poussa (appliqua) son esprit à écrire des comedies» (*ad verbum* French translation), and the slightly different «Lorsque notre poète commença à travailler pour le théâtre» (*ad sensum* French translation); 2: *Nam in prologis scribundis operam abutitur* ~ διότι δαπανᾷ τὸν κόπον του εἰς τὸ γράφειν προλόγους ~ «car il perd sa peine à écrire des prologues» (*ad verbum* French translation); 8: *Nunc, quam rem vitio dent, quaeso, animum advortite* ~ Νῦν δότε παρακαλῶ προσοχὴν εἰς τὰς ἀποδιδόμενας εἰς αὐτὸν λουιδωρίας ~ «Maintenant, je vous prie, appliquez votre esprit (remarquez) quelle chose ils *lui* imputent à défaut» (*ad verbum* French translation), and the somewhat different «Écoutez donc, je vous prie, ce qu'on reproche à notre auteur». In one case, Kavrakis follows the original more faithfully than the French translator in both versions, cf. 6: *Non qui argumentum narret* ~ οὐχὶ ἵνα διηγῆται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, and non «non pour exposer le sujet de ses comedies» (*ad sensum* French translation), and «non pour qui'il expose le sujet de sa pièce» (*ad verbum* French translation). We observe that Kavrakis does not include parentheses with alternative interpretations in his text (as in the *ad verbum* French translation), except for one case where it is clear that he follows the *ad sensum* French translation, cf. 6-7: *sed qui malevoli / Veteris poetae maledictis respondeat* ~ ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀποκρίνηται εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας παλαιοῦ κακοβούλου (= ἐχθροῦ) ποιητοῦ ~ mais pour répondre aux accusations du vieux poète, son ennemi (*ad sensum* French translation) and not the «mais pour qu'il réponde aux injures du vieux poète malveillant» (*ad verbum* French translation).

The footnotes cited in Kavrakis' translation of *Andria*'s Prologue come from the endnotes of the French book. In the quoted above passage, Kavrakis includes two footnotes, one next to the title «Prologue» and a second one in the phrase εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας παλαιοῦ κακοβούλου (= ἐχθροῦ) ποιητοῦ, cf. 1. Ὁ πρόλογος ἐψάλλετο ὡς ἔχει ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ εἰδικοῦ ὁμίλου νέων, οἵτινες ἔλαβον καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ προλόγου («the prologue was recited as it stands here by a special group of young people, who also took the name of the prologue») with «1. Le prologue était ordinairement récité, comme il l'est ici, par le chef de troupe, qui prenait alors le nom de Prologue, et avait un costume affecté spécialement à ce rôle», and 2. Ὁ ἀρχαῖος οὗτος ποιητής εἶνε μετὰ βεβαιότητος ὁ Λεύκιος Λαβίνιος περὶ τοῦ ὁποίου γίνεται λόγος ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ τοῦ Εὐνούχου («This ancient poet is certainly Lucius

Lavinius, about whom mention is made in the prologue of the *Eunuch*)» with «Page 4: 1. [Kavtrakis does not include notes 2 and 3 of the French book] Ce vieux poète était un certain Lucius Lavinius: il en est encore question dans le Prologue de l'*Eunuque*».

### 4.3 The List of Andria's Personae

The list of characters in *Andria* comes from the French book, which presents them in Latin and not in French. Therefore, Kavtrakis translates this catalogue directly from Latin, providing further proof of his knowledge of the Latin language, cf. (Kavtrakis, 1985: 20, without enumeration):

ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑΣ. («Characters of the comedy»)  
 ΣΙΜΩΝ, πατήρ τοῦ Παμφίλου. («Simo, father of Pamphilus»)  
 ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ, υἱὸς τοῦ Σίμωνος. («Pamphilus, son of Simo»)  
 ΣΩΣΙΑΣ, ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Σίμωνος. («Sosia, Simo's freedman»)  
 ΔΑΟΣ, ΔΡΟΜΩΝ, ὑπηρετὰι τοῦ Σίμωνος. («Davos, Dromo, Simo's servants»)  
 ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ, φίλος τοῦ Παμφίλου. («Charinus, Pamphilus' friend»)  
 ΒΥΡΡΙΑΣ, ὑπηρέτης τοῦ Χαρίνου. («Byrria, Charinus' servant»)  
 ΧΡΕΜΗΣ, φίλος τοῦ Σίμωνος, πατὴρ τῆς Φιλουμένης καὶ τῆς Γλυκέρας. («Chremes, Simo's friend, Philumena's and Glycerium's father»)  
 ΜΥΣΙΣ, ὑπηρετρία τῆς Γλυκέρας. («Mysis, Glyceria's maid»)  
 ΛΕΣΒΙΑ, Μαῖα. («Lesbia, midwife»)  
 ΚΡΙΤΩΝ, γέρον ἐκ τῆς νήσου Ἀνδρου. («Criton, old man from the island of Andros»)

Πρόσωπα βωβὰ («mute characters»)  
 ΑΡΧΥΛΙΣ, ὑπηρετρία τῆς Γλυκέρας («Archylis, Glycerium's maid»)  
 Δοῦλοι τοῦ Σίμωνος κομίζοντες τὰ ὀψώνια («Simo's slaves carrying the groceries»).

Ἡ σκηνὴ ἐν Ἀθήναις («The scene is set in Athens»).

And the French book's list of characters:

#### ANDRIA. PERSONAE DRAMATIS.

SIMO, pater Pamphili.  
 PAMPHILUS, filius Simonis.  
 SOSIA, libertus Simonis.  
 DAVUS, DORMO, servi Simonis.  
 CHARINUS, amicus Pamphili.  
 BYRRHIA, servus Charini.  
 CHREMES, amicus Simonis, pater Philumenae et Glycerii.  
 MYISIS, ancilla Glycerii.



LESBIA, obstetrix.  
CRITO, senex ex Andro insula.

PERSONAE MUTAE.  
ARCHILLIS, ancilla Glycerii.  
Servi Simonis obsonia portantes.

Res agitur Athenis.

## 5. The Translation of *Andria*'s Main Text

After the introductory parts, Kavrakis' Modern Greek translation of the play follows. I must note there is no line counting, but the acts and scenes are clearly indicated, before each part of the play. By following these practices, Kavrakis deviates from the French book, which includes line numbering, but only the division into acts (and not scenes) is indicated in the endnotes<sup>23</sup>. Of course, both Kavrakis and Materne note the characters present on stage before each scene. Kavrakis does not include any note in his translation, while he inserts some stage directions in parentheses.

As is widely known, a key feature of the genre of Roman comedy is linguistic characterization, meaning the variety of linguistic style (syntax, vocabulary) depending on the speaker. Especially in the case of Terence (see Maltby, 1976; Karakasis, 2005), the senile speech is old-fashioned and verbose with elevated style (Maltby, 1979), including archaisms and pompous expressions, while low characters, such as slaves, freedmen, parasites, pimps, soldiers and *meretrices*, use several colloquial features «in opposition to characters belonging to a higher social rank [such as *senes*, *adulescentes*, *matronae*, *virgines*], who, on the contrary, intersperse their language with elevated features» (Karakasis, 2005: 11). This main distinction of Terence motivates us to investigate whether Kavrakis maintains this practice in his rendering (comparing it simultaneously with the French translation that he consulted). In section 5.1, I study this issue by comparing some indicative passages containing the words of the *adulescentes* Pamphilus and Charinus, these of the two old men (Simo and Chremes), and these of slaves. In the brief section 5.2, I discuss a few examples of the naturalization of the original in the target language.

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<sup>23</sup> «Page 6: 3. Acte I. Sans admettre la division par actes, nous avons cru devoir l'indiquer dans nos notes» (Materne, 1845: 195).

### 5.1 The Linguistic Characterization in Kavrakis' Translation

In the second scene of the first Act (*Andria*, 172-205), there is the first dialogue between Simo and Davos. The old man, wanting to fish for information from the slave about his son's romantic relationship, expresses a common opinion (191): *Omnes qui amant, graviter sibi dari uxorem ferunt* («all lovers resent being given a wife»). Kavrakis (1895: 31) translates: «Όλοι, όσοι έχουν πονόδοντο, πάρα πολύ τούς κακοφαίνεται όταν τούς δίνουν άλλη γυναίκα («Everyone who has a toothache is very displeased when they are given another woman»). It seems that Kavrakis' rendering reflects more the literal French translation (cf. «tous ceux qui aiment supporter difficilement une épouse être donnée à eux» (*ad verbum*) and «Tous ceux qui ont quelque amour en tête voient avec peine qu'on les marie» (*ad sensum*)); nevertheless, the Greek phrase όσοι έχουν πονόδοντο belongs to the vocabulary of the colloquial Modern Greek love language, and it is widely used today, primarily with the diminutive δοντάκι (little tooth), i.e. με πονάει το δοντάκι μου («I am in love with someone»).

In lines 196-200, Simo threatens Davos with physical violence in case he lies to him:

Si sensero hodie quidquam in his te nuptiis  
fallaciae conari, quo fiant minus,  
aut velle in ea re ostendi quam sis callidus,  
verberibus caesum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem,  
ea lege atque omine, ut, si te inde exemerim, ego pro te molam.

If I find you attempting any trick today to prevent this marriage, or trying to show how clever you are in this situation, I shall whip you to the point of death and send you to the mill, Davus, on the solemn condition that, if I release you from there, I will work the mill myself in your place.

Kavrakis' Greek version is the following (1895: 32):

Ἄν σήμερα καταλάβω πῶς μοῦ μαγειρεύεις καμμιὰ κατεργαριὰ γι' αὐτοὺς  
τοὺς γάμους, ἢ πῶς θέλεις νὰ μοῦ δείξης 'ς αὐτὴ τὴν περίστασι τὴ μεγάλη  
σου πονηριά, θὰ σὲ ψοφήσω, Δᾶε, 'ς τὸ ξύλο, θὰ σὲ βάλω 'ς τὸ χειρόμυλο  
μέχρι θανάτου, διὰ νὰ ἀλέθω κατ' αὐτὸ τὸν τρόπο καὶ ὅπως τὸ θέλω, μὲ τὸ  
σκοπὸ νὰ σὲ βγάλω ἀπὸ τὰ 'μμάτια μου.

If today I realize how you're scheming something for these marriages, or how you want to show me your great cunning in this situation, I will kill you, Davos, with a beating, I will put you in the millstone until death, in order to grind you down the way I want, with the intention of getting you out of my sight.

In its majority, Kavrakis' translation is faithful to the Latin original, and here too, he evidently consulted the French versions<sup>24</sup>. However, in one case, Kavrakis slightly changes the meaning, as he renders the hypothetical *si te inde eximerim* (200) with a purpose clause *μὲ τὸ σκοπὸ νὰ σὲ βγάλω ἀπὸ τὰ 'μμάτια μου*, adding further liveliness to the translation of the verb *eximere* («to take off, remove»)<sup>25</sup> into *νὰ σὲ βγάλω ἀπὸ τὰ 'μμάτια μου* («of getting you out of my sight»). We also notice again the use of colloquial Modern Greek in two instances, cf. *fallaciae conari* (197) ~ *πῶς μοῦ μαγειρεύεις καμμιὰ κατεργαριά* and *verberibus caesum te* (199) ~ *θὰ σὲ ψοφήσω [...] 'ζτὸ ξύλο*. We therefore deduce that in the Greek translation, a high-status character, like Simo, uses colloquial vocabulary when conversing with a character of lower social class. In these specific passages, Kavrakis produces a creative translation, as this colloquial style is absent from the original text. There are, of course, instances where Terence has a high-status character address a lower-status character with insults, such as in line 317 (where Charinus speaks to his slave, Byrrhia): *Abin' hinc in malam rem cum inspicione istac, scelus!* («go to hell, you and your insinuations, you villain!»), which Kavrakis renders as *Πήγαιν' ἀπὸ 'ς τὸ διάβολο, παληοσαβούρα, μ' ὅλες σου τίς ὑποψίες* («go to hell, you old hag, with all your suspicions!») (Kavrakis, 1895: 41). The vocabulary of the original belongs to the Latin vernacular —the phrase *abi in malam rem* («go to hell») is common in Plautus (e.g., *Capt.* 877, *Epid.* 78, *Poen.* 295), while the noun *scelus* is used as an insult, especially in comedy<sup>26</sup>. Kavrakis perfectly conveys the meaning of the original<sup>27</sup>, as well as even its form —notice the preservation of the vowel's elision, cf. *Abin' hinc* and *Πήγαιν' ἀπὸ*. Notable is the use of particularly offensive vocabulary, i.e. *scelus* ~ *παληοσαβούρα*, a word that is widely used in Modern Greek with a metaphorical meaning, primarily for women who are not held in high regard. What is interesting is that it is a linguistic hybrid, since its first component is Greek (the adjective *παλαιός*, i.e. «old»), while the second component is Latin (the noun *saburra*, i.e. «gravel»)<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, we deduce that Kavrakis either maintains the colloquial language of the high-status characters in

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Si je viens-à-m'apercevoir aujourd'hui toi faire-quelque-effort de fourberie à-propos-de ces nocces, pour-qu'elles-ne se-fassent pas, ou vouloir être montré (que l'on voie) en cette affaire combien tu es adroit, je livrerai toi, Dave, rouédecoups, au moulin, jusqu'à la mort; avec cette condition et sous ces auspices, que, si je viens-à-tirer toi de là, moi jemoudrai pour toi (à ta place)» (*ad verbum*) and «Si je m'aperçois aujourd'hui que tu médites quelque fourberie à l'encontre de ce mariage, ou que tu veuilles profiter de la circonstance pour faire preuve de ton adresse ordinaire, Dave, mon ami, je commencerai par te faire donner les écrivures d'importance, et puis je t'enverrai au moulin pour le reste de tes jours, avec le serment plus sacré que, si je t'en retire jamais, j'irai tourner lameule à ta place» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>25</sup> See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *eximo*, meaning 2 (644).

<sup>26</sup> See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *scelus*, meaning 3 (1701).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Va-t'en au diable avec tes soupçons, coquin!» (*ad verbum*) and «T'en-vas-tu-d'ici (va-t'en) au malheur (au diable) avec ce soupçon-là scélérat!» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>28</sup> See *Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek*, s.v. *σαβούρα*: <https://www.greek-language.gr> (last access: 04 March 2025) and *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *saburra* (1673).

cases of their conversations with lower-status characters, or he makes them use such language, which is not present in the original.

On the other hand, the Greek translator, staying faithful to Terence's linguistic characterization, retains the elevated style of speech of the high-status characters in their monologues or when they speak to each other. For example, cf. Pamphilus' words in lines 260-264:

Tot me impediunt curae, quae meum animum divorce trahunt:  
amor, hujus misericordia, nuptiarum sollicitatio,  
tum patris pudor, qui me tam leni passus est animo usque adhuc,  
quae meo cumque animo lubitum est, facere; eine ego ut advorser? Hei mihi!  
Incertum est quid agam. [...].

There are so many concerns weighing me down and pulling my heart in different directions —love, pity for her, anxiety about this wedding, and on the other side respect for my father, who has up to now been so generous and allowed me to do whatever took my fancy. Oppose him now? Oh dear! I just don't know what to do.

Τόσαι φροντίδες μὲ στενοχωροῦσιν, ὥστε μοῦ διασπῶσι τὸν νοῦν ποικιλοτρόπως· ὁ ἔρω, ὁ πρὸς ἐκείνην οἶκτος, αἱ φροντίδες τῶν γάμων, ἔπειτα ὁ σεβασμὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ὁ ὁποῖος μέχρι τοῦδε μὲ ἠνέχθη μὲ τόσῃν καλοσύνῃν νὰ πράττω ὅ,τιδήποτε μοῦ ἀρέσκει. Πῶς ν' ἀντισταθῶ; Δυστυχία μου! Δὲν γνωρίζω τί νὰ πράξω (Kavtrakis, 1985: 36).

Such cares trouble me, so that they distract my mind in many ways: love, the pity towards her, the worries about marriage, and then the respect towards my father, who until now has tolerated with such kindness that I do whatever pleases me. How can I resist? My misfortune! I don't know what to do.

The Greek rendering is faithful to the Latin original, while once again, Kavtrakis consults the French translation<sup>29</sup>. Nevertheless, he replaces the relative clause with a result clause (*quae* [...] *trahunt* ~ ὥστε [...] ποικιλοτρόπως), where he renders the participle *divorce* (= *divorsae*) with an adverb (ποικιλοτρόπως) obviously following the French *ad verbum* rendering (en-divers-sens). Above all, what we

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Tant de soucis embarrassent moi, lesquels tirent en-divers-sens mon cœur: l'amour, la pitié pour cette *filie* (Glycérie), l'inquiétude de *ce* mariage, puis *mon* respect pour un père, qui jusqu' à-ce-moment a souffert d'une âme si tranquille que je fisse toutes-les-choses-qu' il a plu à ma passion; *se peut-il* que moi je résiste à lui! Malheur à moi! Il est incertain à *moi* quoi je dois-faire» (*ad verbum*) and «Mais à présent, quel parti prendre, au milieu de tant de sentiments opposés qui troublent et déchirent mon cœur? L'amour, la pitié que m'inspire Glycérie, les soucis que me cause ce mariage, mon respect pour un père qui, jusqu'à ce moment, m'a laissé faire avec tant de bonté tout ce que j'ai voulu. Et je lui résisterais! que je suis malheureux! je ne sais à quoi me déterminer» (*ad sensum*).

observe here is the formal style of Pamphilus' monologue, with his elevated words and expressions (μοῦ διασπῶσι τὸν νοῦν, ὁ ἔρωσ, ὁ ὅποιος μέχρι τοῦδε με ἠνέχθη).

At the beginning of the fourth Act, we hear the monologue of the other *adulescens* of *Andria*, namely Charinus. In lines 623-628, the young man says:

Hocce est credibile aut memorabile,  
 tanta vecordia innata cuiquam ut siet,  
 ut malis gaudeant atque ex incommotis  
 alterius, sua ut comparent commoda? Ah!  
 idne verum? Imo idest genus hominum pessimum, in  
 denegando modo queis pudor paululum est.

It's unbelievable, unimaginable! That a man can be so morally deranged as to delight in another man's misfortunes and seek his own gain from another's loss! Oh! Can it be true? It's the worst kind of men who for a while feel shame to go back on their word.

Τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶνε εὐλογον καὶ ἄξιον λόγου, ἵνα ὑπάρχη ἔμφυτος εἰς τινα τόση ἀφροσύνη, ὥστε νὰ χαίρη διὰ τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀτυχῶν ἐκείνου νὰ παρασκευάζῃ τὴν εὐτυχίαν του; Ἄχ! Ἄρα γε εἶνε ἄληθές τὸ τοιοῦτον; Μετὰ βεβαιότητος οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι εἶνε οἱ χεῖριστοι ὅλων· εἰς τούτους ὀλίγη τις αἰδῶς μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀρνήσει ὑπάρχει (Kavtrakis, 1895: 73).

Is it reasonable and worthy of consideration that such folly should be inherent in someone to such an extent that he rejoices in another's misfortune and builds his own happiness upon the other's misfortunes? Ah! Could such a thing truly be real? Certainly, such people are the worst of all; in them, only a slight sense of shame exists in their denial.

Once again, we observe that Kavtrakis' translation is faithful and that he mainly consults Materne's *ad verbum* rendering<sup>30</sup>. Also, the Greek translator maintains the formal language and style of the original (e.g. Τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶνε εὐλογον καὶ ἄξιον λόγου, ἵνα ὑπάρχη ἔμφυτος εἰς τινα τόση ἀφροσύνη; εἰς τούτους ὀλίγη τις αἰδῶς μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀρνήσει ὑπάρχει).

As I noted above, in Terence, the senile speech is verbose with elevated style. At the beginning of the fifth Act, the two elderly men, Simo and Chremes, are conversing with an intense tone, e.g., cf. lines 818-822:

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Ceci est-il croyable ou possible-à-dire, qu'une si-grande lâcheté soit innée à quelqu'un, quel'on se réjouisse des maux et des désagréments d'autrui, pour en tirer ses propres avantages? Ah! cela est-il vrai? Certes cette espèce d'hommes est la pire de toutes, auxquels de la honte est tant-soit-peu seulement pour refuser» (*ad verbum*) and «Cela est-il croyable? Existe-t-il un exemple d'homme né assez pervers pour se réjouir du malheur des autres, et mettre son bonheur dans leur infortune? Ah! cela est-il bien vrai? Mais de tous les hommes, les pires sont ceux, qui n'ont pas le courage de vous refuser un service» (*ad sensum*).

## CHREMES

Sati' jam, sati', Simo, spectata erga te amicitia est mea:  
 sati' periculi coepi adire: orandi jam finem face.  
 Dum studeo obsequi tibi, paene illusi vitam filiae.

## SIMO

Imo enim nunc quam maxime abs te postulo atque oro, Chreme,  
 Ut beneficium, verbis initum dudum, nunc re comprobes.

## CHREMES

I've already given enough proof of my friendship for you, Simo. I've taken enough risks. Now stop your entreaties. I almost gambled away my daughter's life in my eagerness to fall in with your wishes.

## SIMO

On the contrary, now more than ever, I beg and beseech you to make good in practice the favour you promised a while ago.

## ΧΡΕΜΗΣ

Ἀρκετὰ ἤδη, ἀρκετά, Σίμων, ἐδοκιμάσθη ἡ πρὸς σέ φιλία μου, ἀρκετὰ ἐπεχείρησα νὰ κινδυνεύσω· παῦσε πλέον νὰ μὲ ἱκετεύης. Ἐφ' ὅσον ἡγωνιζόμην νὰ σέ εὐχαριστῶ, σχεδὸν ἐνέπαιζον τὸν βίον τῆς θυγατρὸς μου.

## ΣΙΜΩΝ

Ἀλλ' ὅμως τώρα, Χρέμη, περισσότερον ἢ ἄλλοτε ζητῶ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ σέ ἱκετεύω, ἵνα πραγματοποιήσης τὴν πρὸ πολλοῦ διὰ λόγων ἀρχίσασαν εὐεργεσίαν (Kavrakis, 1895: 93).

## CHREMES

Enough already, Simon, enough! My friendship toward you has been tested plenty, and I have risked myself enough. Stop pleading with me any further. As long as I strove to please you, I was almost making a mockery of my daughter's life.

## SIMO

But now, Chremes, more than ever before, I beg you and implore you to fulfill the kindness you once began with words.

Kavrakis translates the original text faithfully again, consulting the French version<sup>31</sup>. At the same time, he preserves the formality of the language and the style of the two high-status characters (ἐδοκιμάσθη ἡ πρὸς σέ φιλία μου; Ἐφ' ὅσον ἡγωνιζόμην νὰ σέ εὐχαριστῶ, σχεδὸν ἐνέπαιζον τὸν βίον τῆς θυγατρὸς μου;

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «CH RÉMÈS. Mon amitié envers toi, Simon, est enfin assez, assez éprouvée: j'ai commencé à courir assez de danger, cesse enfin de *me* prier. Pendant que je m'efforce de complaire à toi j'ai presque joué la vie de *ma* fille. SIMON. Tout-au-contre maintenant plus-que-jamais, Chrémes, je demande à toi et *te* prie quetu confirmes par le fait un bienfait commence depuis-longtemps par des paroles» (*ad verbum*) and «CH RÉMÈS. Ah! Simon, je vous ai assez prouvé mon amitié pour vous; je me suis assez hasardé. Cessez de me prier. Dans mon ardeur à vous obliger, j'ai Presque joué la vie de ma fille. SIMON. Je vous prie au contraire et je vous conjure, Chrémes, maintenant plus que jamais, de réaliser la promesse que vous m'avez faite depuis longtemps» (*ad sensum*).

περισσότερον ἢ ἄλλοτε ζητῶ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ σὲ ἰκετεύω, ἵνα πραγματοποιήσης τὴν πρὸ πολλοῦ διὰ λόγων ἀρχίσασαν εὐεργεσίαν).

Regarding the speech of the slaves, their colloquial language of the original text is observed to be carried over into the translation. However, in the case of the Greek text, various gradations can be observed depending on the interlocutor of each slave. For example, in the fifth scene of the first Act (236-300), Pamphilus converses with Mysis. When the young man asks the servant what Glycera is doing, she answers him (268-270):

[...] rogas?

Laborat e dolore; atque ex hoc misere sollicita est, diem  
quia olim in hunc sunt constitutae nuptiae; tum autem hoc timet,  
ne deseras se. [...]

Well may you ask! The poor girl's in pain from her labour, and she's anxious because your marriage was originally fixed for today. On top of that, she's worried that you are going to abandon her.

Ῥωτᾷς; Κοιλοπονάει· καὶ ἐξ αἰτίας τούτου δυστυχῶς ἐταράχθη, διότι ὁ γάμος σου ἔχει ὀρισθῇ πρὸ πολλοῦ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν. Ἐπειτα καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖται νὰ μὴ τὴν παραιτήσης (Kavtrakis, 1895: 37).

You ask? She is in labor; and because of this, she was unfortunately distressed, since your wedding had been set for this very day long ago. Moreover, she also fears that you might abandon her.

Once again, Kavtrakis faithfully renders the original text<sup>32</sup>. Noteworthy is the translation of the phrase *laborat e dolore* using a verb from colloquial Greek (i.e. the compound verb κοιλοπονάει). However, we notice that the rest of the servant's speech to the *adulescens* is in *katharevousa* and maintains a formal tone (καὶ ἐξ αἰτίας τούτου δυστυχῶς ἐταράχθη, διότι ὁ γάμος σου ἔχει ὀρισθῇ πρὸ πολλοῦ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν).

Perhaps the elevated tone of Mysis toward Pamphilus in Kavtrakis' translation is justified by the fact that she is not his servant but Glycera's, and therefore does not feel as familiar with him. In contrast, the *servus callidus* Davos primarily uses an informal tone when speaking to his master. In the seventh scene of the second Act of the play (338-373), where Davos, Charinus, and Pamphilus are conversing, the slave, addressing his master, says to him (350-351):

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Tu le demandes? Elle souffre des douleurs *de l'enfantement*, et elle est misérablement inquiète par ce motif, que ton mariage a été fixé naguère pource jour-ci; or alors elle craint ceci, que tu n'abandonnes elle» (*ad verbum*) and «Ce qu'elle fait? elle est dans les douleurs; et de plus la malheureuse est inquiète, parce qu'on avait fixé jadis votre mariage à cejour-ci. Elle craint que vous ne l'abandonniez» (*ad sensum*).

[...] Obtundis, tametsi intelligo.  
Id paves, ne ducas tu illam; tu autem, ut ducas.

Do you have to go on about it, when I understand the situation perfectly?  
You're in a panic in case you have to marry her, and (to Charinus) you're  
in one in case you can't.

Μοῦ 'φαγες ταῦτιά· σὲ κατάλαβα. [Ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Πάμφιλον] Σὺ  
φοβεῖσαι μὴ τὴν πάρης. [Ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Χαρίνων] Καὶ σὺ μήπως δὲν τὴν  
πάρης.

You ate my ears; I understood you. [To Pamphilus] You are afraid that you  
might marry her. [To Charinus] And you are afraid that you might not marry her.

Kavrakis is faithful to the Latin original while also following the French *ad verbum* translation<sup>33</sup>. What stands out particularly is the rendering of the *obtundis* with the colloquial phrase Μοῦ 'φαγες ταῦτιά, which is simultaneously a faithful rendering of the Latin verb<sup>34</sup>. It should also be noted that all the stage directions in Kavrakis' text (like those that are present here are, i.e. [Ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Πάμφιλον] and [Ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Χαρίνων]) are drawn from the French book he consults (in the Latin text and its French versions as well).

In the eighth scene of the second Act (375-403), Pamphilus and Davus converse about what might be done regarding the young man's marriage. In lines 381-382, we observe that Kavrakis combines both the colloquial and the formal language in the servant's speech to his master:

DAVOS  
tum illae turbae fient. [...]  
[...] tum haec solast mulier. dictum [ac] factum invenerit [...]

And then there'll be trouble. [...] Besides, Glycerium has no one to protect her. He'll find a pretext for driving her out of town, no sooner said than done.

Τότ' εἶνε ποῦ θὰ γείνουν τὰ πανηγύρια ποῦ 'ξέρεις [...] Ἐπειτα αὐτὴ εἶνε  
μὴ γυναικὰ ἔρημη· ἅμ' ἔπος, ἅμ' ἔργον [...].

Then, where will the feast happens, which you know [...] Then she is an  
alone woman; both by word and by deed [...]

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Tu me rebats les oreilles, bien que je sache tout. Tu crains ceci, toi (Pamphile), que tu n'épouses cette fille; et toi (Charinus), tu crains que tu ne l'épouses pas» (*ad verbum*) and «Vous me rompez la tête. Je sais tout, vous dis-je. (A Pamphile.) Vous avez peur, vous, de l'épouser. (A Charinus) Et vous, de ne pas l'épouser» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>34</sup> See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *obtundo*, meaning 2a: «To assail (the ears) with repeated demands, assertions, etc.» (1229).



Kavrakis uses a phrase from colloquial Greek (Τότ' εἶνε ποῦ θὰ γείνουν τὰ πανηγύρια ποῦ 'ξέρεις) and makes it even more personal towards Pamphilos (by rendering the *illae* into ποῦ 'ξέρεις), probably being influenced by the *ad verbum* French translation<sup>35</sup>. Noteworthy is the ancient Greek phrase ἅμ' ἔπος, ἅμ' ἔργον (cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.134.6: ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίεε, «Thus spoke [Darius], and along with his words, he immediately set forth his actions»), by which Davos elevates his speech.

In the tenth scene of the second Act (412-431), we read the stichomythia of four persons, Byrrhia, Simo, Davos and Pamphilus. Noteworthy is Kavrakis' rendering of three phrases of the servant Byrrhia (414-415, 416 and 425, respectively):

Herus me, relictis rebus, iussit Pamphilum  
hodie observare [...]

My master told me to drop everything else and keep an eye on Pamphilus today.

Ὁ κύριός μου μὲ διέταξε ν' ἀφήσω σήμερα ὅλα 'ς τὴν πάντα καὶ νὰ παραμονεύω τὸν Πάμφιλο (Kavrakis, 1895: 52).

My master ordered me to leave everything aside today and to keep watch on Pamphilus.

[...] Propterea nunc hunc venientem sequor.

So I followed him on his way here.

Ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτοῦ τώρα πέρνω κατὰ πόδι τὸν Σίμωνα (Kavrakis, 1895: 52).

Because of this, I am now following Simo.

[...] Herus, quantum audio, uxore excidit.

If I can believe my ears, my master has just lost a wife.

Ὁ κύριός μου, καθὼς ἀκούω, τὴν ἔφαγε τὴν χυλόπητα (Kavrakis, 1895: 53).

My master, as I hear, got rejected.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «alors ce *beau tapage* que *tu peux prévoir* aura-lieu. [...] Puis cette femme (Glycérie) est seule: aussitôt dit, et aussitôt fait [...]» (*ad verbum*) and «et ce sera alors un beau train [...] D'ailleurs, elle est seule, cette femme: aussitôt dit, aussitôt fait [...]» (*ad sensum*).

Once again, Kavrakis faithfully translates the Latin original<sup>36</sup>. However, what is particularly interesting in the above phrases is the use of colloquial expressions of Modern Greek (ν' ἀφήσω σήμερα ὅλα 'ς τὴν πάντα; πέρνω κατὰ πόδι; τὴν ἔφαγε τὴν χυλόπητα).

Finally, the colloquial speech of Davos is reinforced by Kavrakis through the way he addresses the elders Simo and Chremes, which reminds us once again of the contemporary colloquial Modern Greek language (cf. 501, 601 and 844, respectively):

[...] Non satis me pernosti etiam, qualis sim, Simo.

You don't really know what sort of person I am, Simo.

Δὲν μ' ἔμαθες ἀκόμη καλά, κὺρ Σίμο, ποιὸς εἶμαι (Kavrakis, 1895: 61).

You still haven't learned well, mister Simo, who I am.

[...] insperante hoc [...]

the old man dared to hope

[...] χωρὶς νὰ τὸ ἐλπίζῃ ὁ κὺρ Σίμος [...] (Kavrakis, 1895: 70).

Without mister Simo expecting it

[...] Hem Simo! O noster Chremes!

Oh hello, Simo! And our friend Chremes!

Ἄ! Κὺρ Σίμο! Κὺρ Χρέμη! (Kavrakis, 1895: 96).

Ah! Mister Simo! Mister Chremes!

Undoubtedly, the colloquial address *κὺρ* adds strong orality to the slave's speech, while simultaneously enhancing the familiarity of the Greek reading audience with the ancient text<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Mon maître a ordonné moi, *toutes* affaires étant laissées, épier aujourd'hui Pamphile. [...] C'est pourquoi maintenant je suis cet *homme* (Simon) qui vient. [...] *Mon* maître, autant que (à ce que) j'entends, est tombé de (a perdu) *son* épouse» (*ad verbum*) and «Mon maître m'a ordonné, toute affaire cessante, d'épier Pamphile aujourd'hui. [...] Voilà pourquoi j'arrive ici sur les pas de son père [...] Mon maître, à ce que j'entends, peut chercher une autre femme» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Tu ne connais pas moi encore assez, Simon, quel je suis [...] celui-ci (Simon) ne-l-espérant-pas [...] Ha! Simon! Ô notre *cher* Chrémès!» (*ad verbum*) and «Vous ne me connaissez pas bien encore, Simon; vous ne savez pas quell homme je suis. [...] contre l'attente du bonhomme [...] Ha! Simon! Hé! notre cher Chrémès!» (*ad sensum*).

Davos announces the end of the play and urges the audience to applaud (979-980):

(Abit Pamphilus cum Charino.)

(Ad spectatores).

Ne exspectetis dum exeant huc: intus despondebitur;  
intus transigetur si quid est quod restat. Plaudite.

Don't wait for them to come out here. The betrothal will take place inside, together with any other remaining business. Give us your applause.

Μὴν περιμένετε τοὺς ἐξελθόντας, οἱ γάμοι θὰ γείνουν μέσα. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑπολείπεται τι θὰ γείνουν μέσα. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑπολείπεται τι μέσα πάλιν θὰ περαιωθῇ. Χειροκροτεῖτε (Kavtrakis, 1895: 113).

Do not wait for those who have left; the weddings will take place inside. If anything is left unfinished, it will be completed inside. If nothing is left unfinished, it will still be concluded inside. Applaud.

Here we observe that Davos —alongside expressions of the vernacular (θὰ γείνουν μέσα; μέσα πάλιν)— also uses forms of the *katharevousa* (τοὺς ἐξελθόντας; Ἐὰν δὲ ὑπολείπεται τι), as his official role dictates: he is the announcer of the comedy<sup>38</sup>.

In conclusion, we observe that Kavtrakis maintains and enhances the linguistic characterization of the original. For example, the high-status characters have a formal tone, but when they speak with slaves, they also use phrases from colloquial Modern Greek. On the other hand, the slaves use the language of the common people, but rarely, when addressing high-status personae, they borrow phrases from both *katharevousa* and even Ancient Greek. From all the above passages, we deduce that Kavtrakis is a faithful yet simultaneously creative translator, whose main concern is to modernize the ancient text and render it with liveliness, just as he stated in his Introduction.

## 5.2 Naturalization of the Original

In his effort to bring the Latin text closer to Greek readers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Kavtrakis naturalizes it by replacing the pagan deities of the original with the Christian God. As we will see, this technique is his own invention and does not originate from the French book he consults. However, I must note that he does

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «(Pamphile s'en va avec Charinus.) (Aux spectateurs.) N'attendez pas qu'ils sortent pour reparaître ici: les-fiançailles-se-feront là-dedans; et si quelque chose est qui reste à faire cela s'arrangera là-dedans. Applaudissez» (*ad verbum*) and «(Charinus et Pamphile s'en vont.) (Aux spectateurs.) N'attendez pas qu'ils reviennent ici: c'est là dedans que se feront les fiançailles, et que se termineront les autres arrangements. Applaudissez» (*ad sensum*).

not follow it consistently, as he sometimes faithfully renders the names of the deities from the Latin original.

In line 189, Simo says to Davus:

Dehinc postulo, sive aequum est, te oro, Dave, ut redeat jam in viam.

From now on I expect you or, if I may properly do so, I implore you, Davus, to bring him back to the right path.

Ἀπαιτῶ ἀπὸ σέ, κι' ἂν θέλῃς, σὲ θερμοπαρακαλῶ, ζ' τὸ ἐξῆς νὰ μπῇ στὸ δρόμο τοῦ Θεοῦ.

I demand of you, and if you wish, I earnestly beg you, from now on to follow the path of God.

We observe that the phrase *ut redeat jam in viam* is rendered in Greek as ζ' τὸ ἐξῆς νὰ μπῇ στὸ δρόμο τοῦ Θεοῦ, a translation that is exclusively Kavrakis' creation and does not originate from the French book<sup>39</sup>. In this way, Kavrakis Christianizes the text and makes it accessible to the readership of the target language.

Kavrakis follows a similar approach in other passages as well, e.g., cf. 231-232: [...] *Di, date facultatem, obsecro, / huic pariundi* [...] («Ye gods, I beseech you, grant my mistress an easy birth»)<sup>40</sup>, into Θεέ μου, δῶσε νὰ γεννήσῃ μὲ τὸ καλὸ ἢ κυρὰ μου («May my lady have a safe and successful birth») (Kavrakis, 1895: 34); 322: *Neque pol auxilii locum habeo, neque consilii copiam* («Heaven knows I'm in no position to advise and I've no means to help»)<sup>41</sup> into Δὲν εἶμαι, μὰ τὸν θεόν, εἰς κατάστασιν νὰ σοῦ δώσω βοήθειαν μήτε συμβουλήν («I am not, by God, in a position to give you either help or advice») (Kavrakis, 1895: 41); 484-485: *Per ecastor scitus puer natus est Pamphilo. / Deos quaeso ut sit superstes* («Lord knows that's a lovely baby Pamphilus has got! I pray the gods it survives»)<sup>42</sup> into Μὰ τὸ θεὸ χαριέστατο παιδάκι 'γεννήθηκε 'ς τὸν Πάμφιλο· εὔχομαι εἰς τὸν θεὸν νὰ διατηρῇ τὴν ὑγείαν του («By God, a most charming child was born to Pamphilus! I pray to God to keep him in good health») (Kavrakis, 1895: 59); 520: [...] *et id spero*

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «En-conséquence j'exige de toi, ou-si c'est convenable, je supplie toi, Dave, je supplie toi, Dave, qu'il revienne enfin dans la bonne voie» (*ad verbum*) and «J'exige donc de toi, ou, situ veux même, je t'en prie, Dave, qu'il rentre désormais dans le bon chemin» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Dieux, je vous supplie, donnez à celle-ci (à Glycérie) facilité d'accoucher» (*ad verbum*) and «Dieux! accordez une heureuse délivrance à ma maîtresse» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>41</sup> Barsby follows the writing *neque pol consili locum habeo neque ad auxilium copiam*. Cf. Materne's versions: «Par-Pollux je n'ai ni moyen de te porter secours, ni possibilité de te donner conseil» (*ad verbum*) and «Je ne suis, ma foi, en état de vous donner ni secours ni conseil» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Par-Castor un fort-gentil enfant est né à Pamphile. Je prie les dieux qu'il soit survivant (l'enfant)» (*ad verbum*) and «Pamphile a là, par ma foi, un joli petit garçon. Plaise aux dieux de le lui conserver» (*ad sensum*).

*adjutores deos* («and I hope the gods will give us their blessing»)<sup>43</sup> into Πιστεύω ὅτι θὰ ἔχουμε καὶ τὴ βοήθεια τοῦ Θεοῦ («I believe that we will also have God's help») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 63); 536: *Per te deos oro et nostrum amicitiam, Chreme* («I beg you in the name of the gods, Chremes, and of our friendship»)<sup>44</sup> into Σὲ ἱκετεύω, Χρέμη, δι' ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς φιλίας μας («I beg you, Chremes, by the name of God and our friendship») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 64).

However, in some passages, all from the middle to the end of the play, Kavtrakis retains the names of the deities from the original (especially the interjections referring to Pollux, such as *pol* and *aedepol/edepol*), e.g., cf. 458: *Ita pol quidem res est, ut dixti, Lesbia* («Heaven knows you're quite right, Lesbia»)<sup>45</sup> into Χωρὶς ἄλλο, μὰ τὸν Πολυδεύκη, ἔτσι εἶνε καθὼς εἶπες, Λεσβία («Without a doubt, in the name of Polydeuces, it's just as you said, Lesbia») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 57); 690-691: [...] *Atque aedepol / ea res est; propterea nunc misera in maerore est* («That's just it, for god's sake, and that's why the poor girl's pining away»)<sup>46</sup> into Αὐτὸ εἶναι, μὰ τὸν Πολυδεύκη, ποῦ κάμνει τώρα τὴν δυστυχισμένη νὰ λυπῆται («That is, in the name of Polydeuces, what makes the unfortunate one grieve now») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 79); 768-769: [...] *Dis pol habeo gratias / Quum in pariundo aliquot adfuerunt liberae* («I thank the gods that there were several free women present at the birth»)<sup>47</sup> into Μὰ τὸν Πολυδεύκη χρεωστῶ εὐγνωμοσύνη 'ς τοὺς θεοὺς, ποῦ βρέθηκαν 'ς τὴ γέννα τῆς καὶ κάμποσαις τίμαις γυναικες («In the name of Polydeuces, I owe gratitude to the gods, who were present at her birth, along with several honorable women») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 87-88); 864-865: *Age nunc jam; ego pol hodie, si vivo, tibi / ostendam [...]* («As sure as I live, by heaven, I'll show you [...]»)<sup>48</sup> into ἐγώ, μὰ τὸν Πολυδεύκην, ἂν ζήσω, θὰ σοῦ δεῖξω [...] («I, in the name of Polydeuces, if I live, will show you») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 99); 929: *O Jupiter!* («Jupiter!»)<sup>49</sup> into ὦ Ζεῦ! («Oh, in the name of Zeus!») (Kavtrakis, 1895: 105).

In conclusion, we observe that the practice of naturalizing Kavtrakis' translation consists of one dimension, i.e. the Christianization of the text, as he transforms the names of pagan gods into the Christian God. However, he does not follow this

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «et j'espère que les dieux vous aideront» (*ad verbum*) and «et j'espère que les dieux favoriseront cela» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Je prie toi, Chrémès, par les dieux et par notre amitié» (*ad verbum*) and «Je vous en conjure, Chrémès, au nom des dieux, au nom de notre amitié» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Par-Pollux assurément la chose est ainsi, comme tu as dit, Lesbie» (*ad verbum*) and «Vous avez, ma foi, raison, Lesbie» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «C'est cela même, en vérité; et voilà la cause du chagrin qui l'accable maintenant» (*ad verbum*) and «Et par-Pollux c'est là l'affaire; et pour-cela maintenant malheureuse elle est dans le chagrin» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Par-Pollux, je rends grâces aux dieux, de-ce-que quelques femmes libres furent-présentes à l'accouchement» (*ad verbum*) and «Certes, je rends grâces aux dieux de ce que quelques femmes libres étaient présentes à l'accouchement» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Materne's versions: «Agis maintenant désormais quant à moi par-Pollux aujourd'hui, si je vis, je montrerai» (*ad verbum*) and «Quant à moi, si je vis, sois-en sûr, je te ferai voir» (*ad sensum*).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Materne's version (*ad verbum* and *ad sensum*): «O Jupiter!».

practice consistently, but mainly at the beginning of the work. This inconsistency may be justified by the fact that he possibly worked on the second half of the translation after some time had passed since he had worked on the first half. In any case, the rendering of the names of ancient deities with the name of the Christian God aims to bring Terence's text closer to the Greek readership of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 6. Greek Translations and Reception of *Andria* after Kavrakis

As we understand from its introductory sections in *katharevousa*, as well as the translation of the play into Modern Greek, Kavrakis' rendering of *Andria* had a dual purpose: to appeal both to specialists and to the wider reading public. Although the book had many subscribers (see above), it was neither published a second time nor reprinted. It took a full 85 years (this time, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century) before this Roman comedy was performed for the first time in Greek theater. In 1980, Terence's *Andria* is being staged by the National Theatre of Northern Greece (ΚΘΒΕ), directed by Panos Charitoglou and translated in Modern Greek by Tasos Roussos. The play was performed in many theaters of Northern Greece in the summer of 1980 (29 performances) and achieved great success (16356 spectators)<sup>50</sup>. Tasos Roussos (1934-2015), a distinguished Greek philologist and translator, who —among other works— had translated all the surviving tragedies of Aeschylus, as well as several tragedies of Seneca, had translated *Andria* in 1980 for the performance mentioned above. Two years later, in 1982, he published this translation. The book is entitled:

ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΟΥ ΑΦΕΡ / ΤΟ ΚΟΡΙΤΣΙ / ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΔΡΟ /  
Κωμωδία σὲ πέντε πράξεις / ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ / ΤΑΣΟΥ ΡΟΥΣΣΟΥ /  
ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ / ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
ΓΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ / ΑΘΗΝΑ 1982.

PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER'S / THE GIRL / FROM ANDROS / Comedy  
in five acts / TRANSLATION / TASOS ROUSSOS / SOCIETY FOR THE  
STUDY OF / MODERN GREEK CULTURE AND GENERAL EDUCATION / ATHENS 1982.

Before the translation, Roussos added a brief three-page introduction (in Modern Greek), providing information about Terence's life and works, the dates when his plays were staged, his style, his model (Menander), and about *Andria* itself. He concludes the introduction with the following statement:

Ἡ μετάφραση ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὰ λατινικὰ καὶ βασίστηκε στὴν ἔκδοση Loeb  
(Roussos, 1982: 9).

<sup>50</sup> See <https://www.ntng.gr> (last access: 03 March 2025).

The translation was made from Latin and was based on the Loeb edition.

Roussos presumably refers to the edition and the English translation of Terence's plays in two volumes by John Sargeant, which was published for the first time in 1913 and was reprinted several times (e.g., in 1918, 1920, 1925, 1931, 1939, 1953, 1959, 1964, 1965, etc.). Roussos translates all sections of *Andria* (including the prologue) into Modern Greek and in prose, without the Latin original and stichometry (as Kavrakis did), and with the typical format of a theatrical play (e.g., in the dialogues, one character's speech follows that of another). Additionally, in Roussos' translation, the separation into scenes, which is present in Kavrakis' version, is absent. As evidenced by a comparison of the two translations, Roussos seems to have been unaware of Kavrakis' translation, e.g., cf.:

ΣΙΜΩΝ

Πηγαίνετε μέσα αυτά τὰ ᾠώνια. Σὺ, Σωσία, μείνε· σὲ θέλω ᾠίγο.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

᾽Σἂν νὰ τὸ εἶπες· χωρὶς ἀμφιβολία θέλεις νὰ φροντίσω, ὅπως πρέπη, διὰ τὰ ᾠώνια (Kavrakis, 1895: 21).

SIMO

Go inside with these purchases. You, Sosia, stay. I need you for a moment.

SOSIA

If you said so, without a doubt, you want me to take care of the purchases properly.

ΣΙΜΩΝΑΣ

Ἔ! σεῖς, γὰρ κουβαλήστε αὐτὰ στὸ σπίτι· βιαστεῖτε. Ἐρχεσαι μιὰ στιγμή, Σωσία· θέλω δυὸ λόγια νὰ σοῦ πῶ.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

Θαρρῶ θὰ μὲ ρωτήσεις ἂν θὰ γίνουν ἓνα καλὸ φαῖ ὅλα τοῦτα· ἔτσι δὲν εἶναι (Roussos, 1982: 15);

SIMO

Hey! You all, carry these to the house. Hurry up. You come here for a moment, Sosia. I need to say a few words to you.

SOSIA

I suppose you're going to ask me if all of this will make a good meal. Isn't that right?

Also, Roussos' stage directions come from the Loeb edition, e.g., cf: Μπαίνουν ὁ Σίμωνας μὲ τὸ Σωσία καὶ μερικοὺς δούλους ποὺ μεταφέρουν τρόφιμα («Simon enters with Sosia and a few slaves carrying food») (Roussos, 1982: 15) and «Enter Simo with Sosia and servants carrying provisions» (Sargeant, 1964: 9).

After Roussos' translation of *Andria*, another one followed, this time in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In 2006, Antonios Sakellariou, then Assistant Professor of Latin Philology

at the University of Patras (Greece), published a book that included *Andria*'s and *Heautontimorumenos*' Latin text, introduction, Modern Greek translation and commentary (Greek title: *Τερέντιος / Ανδρία – Αυτομωρούμενος* / [*Andria – Heautontimorumenos*] / *ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΟ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ / ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ – ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ – ΣΧΟΛΙΑ / ΑΝΤΩΝΗΣ ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ*). Apart from this book, Sakellariou had also translated the other four surviving comedies of Terence. In a single volume, his translations of *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe* were published together in 2007, while he had already published the translation of *Hecyra* in 1999. As Sakellariou notes in the preface of his 2006 book, he had completed the translations of all the comedies as early as 1983, but for reasons that are beyond the scope of this study, these translations were published much later. Noteworthy are the passages of the preface and the introductory note where he discusses the target audience of the book, the edition he followed, and his translation:

Η παρούσα έκδοση απευθύνεται και στον απλό αναγνώστη (που ίσως δεν έχει διδαχτεί καν τα λατινικά) και στους φιλόλογους, είτε ασχολήθηκαν είτε όχι με τον Τερέντιο. Γι' αυτό και τα σχόλια είναι σύντομα (είναι τα απολύτως απαραίτητα για την κατανόηση του έργου – τα αναφερόμενα στο λατινικό πρωτότυπο είναι πολύ λίγα).

Η μετάφραση είναι αναγκαστικά ελεύθερη, αλλά προσπαθεί να μην προδώσει το κείμενο. Ακολουθεί κατά βάση το κείμενο της έκδοσης R. Kauer – W. Lindsay – O. Skutsch, Oxonii 1965 (1926) – αν κάπου αποκλίνει, γίνεται λόγος στα σχόλια. [...] Είναι πεζή μετάφραση, αλλ' αγωνίζεται να σώσει κάτι από τον ποιητικό ρυθμό του πρωτοτύπου, να είναι όσο γίνεται «βατή» και αυτοδύναμη, «θεατρική» (Sakellariou, 2006: 9-10).

[...] Δύο λόγια για τη μετάφραση: Αναπόφευκτα δεν είναι πιστή, προσπαθεί όμως να είναι όσο γίνεται «βατή» και αυτοδύναμη, «θεατρική» (Sakellariou, 2006: 27).

This edition is intended both for the general reader (who may not have studied Latin at all) and for philologists, whether they have worked on Terence or not. For this reason, the commentary is brief —limited to what is absolutely necessary for understanding the work— with very few references to the Latin original.

The translation is necessarily free, but it strives not to betray the text. It primarily follows the text of the edition R. Kauer – W. Lindsay – O. Skutsch, Oxonii 1965 (1926) —and where it deviates, this is discussed in the commentary. [...] It is a prose translation, but it strives to preserve something of the poetic rhythm of the original, to be as «accessible» and self-sufficient as possible, and to be «theatrical».

A few words about the translation: Inevitably, it is not faithful, but it strives to be as «accessible» and self-sufficient as possible, and «theatrical».

Sakellariou's book is the only that includes Donatus' information about the play and Sulpicius Apollinaris' *Periocha* (Sakellariou, 2006: 28-29). Sakellariou maintains



the division of the play into scenes and acts, just like Kavrakis. He was aware of the existence of the two previous Greek translations, as he references them in the bibliography at the end of his book —therefore, it is possible that he consulted them (Sakellariou, 2006: 327). Sakellariou's translation is the one that follows the Latin original (as the translator himself states in his preface) more closely than the other two, e.g., cf.:

ΣΙΜΩΝ: (Στους δούλους.) Εσείς, φέρτε τα μέσα. Πηγαίνετε. (Στον Σωσία.) Σωσία, έλα μια στιγμή, σε θέλω.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ: Πες πω το 'πες. Να φροντίσω βέβαια όπως πρέπει αυτά (Sakellariou, 2006: 35.).

SIMO: (*To the slaves.*) You all, bring them inside. Go on. (*To Sosia.*) Sosia, come here for a moment, I need you.

SOSIA: If you said so, of course, shall I make sure to take care of these properly?

Thirty years after the first performance, *Andria* is staged again in 2010, this time in Andros, by the Theater Group of Andros, in an adaptation, direction, and set design by the director, screenwriter and production designer Theodoros Bafaloukos (1946-2016). A total of nine performances (title: *Το Κορίτσι από την Άνδρο*, «The Girl from Andros») were given at Andros, which were attended by over 1000 spectators. The director mentions that, out of the few translations he found, he followed that of Bettie Radice (in 1965), because its language, by common consensus, preserves the spirit of Terence's language, as his aim was to present a lively spectacle to his audience<sup>51</sup>.

In conclusion, after Kavrakis' book in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the reception/translation of *Andria* in the following two centuries was equally divided: one performance and one translation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (which were related, as Roussos' translation was the text of the performance), and one translation and one performance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The quantity may not be impressive, but it is a fact that for three consecutive centuries, this work of Terence engaged the Greek reading and theatrical audience.

## 7. Conclusions

The translation of *Andria* by Ioannis Kavrakis was the only one published at the time it was made, i.e. at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century —unlike that of *Hecyra* by

<sup>51</sup> See <https://andriakipress.gr/> (last access: 03 March 2025). Short videos from *Andria*'s performance in Andros are available on YouTube, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=noza-eQKdMMI>; [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fd9T4GMF\\_P0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fd9T4GMF_P0); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wDawy7-TB4>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oyXJCCXc2KA> (last access: 03 March 2025).

Terence by Antonios Matesis and the excerpt from Plautus' *Mostellaria* by Lorentzos Mavilis. In fact, it was the only one that constituted a complete book, a fact that suggests it may have also been used for educational purposes. In the introductory sections of his work, he used *katharevousa*, while he translated the play into Modern Greek. This linguistic choice demonstrates that he was addressing a broad reading audience and that his book had a dual purpose, namely, to possibly be used in education but also as a literary work, independent of the Latin original. As is primarily evidenced by the linguistic characterization of the Greek rendition, Kavrakis was a creative translator. Furthermore, the fact that the play has been translated three times into Modern Greek and has been performed in two theatrical productions proves that *Andria* has indeed been of significant interest in Greece.

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