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THE FIRST GREEK TRANSLATION OF SHAKESPEARE:  
*MACBETH* BY ANDREAS THEOTOKIS (1819)\*

I

At the turn of the 19th century in most European countries Shakespeare's plays were already enjoying stage performances and printed translations, and a large number of studies of his art had been written. This was not true of Greece, however, for the country where drama was born was still under the Turkish yoke and consequently ignorant not only of the plays of the great English dramatist, but even of his name.

There was, nevertheless, a corner of free Greece, the Ionian Islands, where, during the British Protection, cultural life and literature flourished most abundantly. It was here in Corfu, the capital of the Ionian Islands, that the earliest known mention of Shakespeare's name is recorded and the earliest known Greek translation of a Shakespeare play was made<sup>1</sup>.

The first recorded mention of Shakespeare's name in Greece goes as far back as 1817. It occurs in Platon Petridis' book of translations of extracts from James Thomson's *The Seasons*, published in Corfu soon after the arrival of the British there. Petridis, translating Thomson's verse:

*Is not wild Shakespeare thine and nature's boast?...2,*

in a footnote of his book, after referring to the names of other famous

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1. C. Th. Dimaras, «'Επαφές τῆς νεώτερης ἐλληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας μὲ τὴν ἀγγλική (1780-1821)», *Ἀγγλοελληνική 'Επιθεώρηση*, 3 (1947), 18-22 and 52-55 (p.54). See also: I. Sideris, «'Ο Σαίξπηρ στὴν 'Ελλάδα», *Θέατρο*, 13 (1964), 37-43 (p.43).

2. *J. Thomson, The Complete Poetical Works*, edited by Logic Robertson (Oxford, 1908), p. 110, line 26.

English writers, gives the following information concerning Shakespeare :

Γουλιέλμος Σχαιεσπέαρης (Shakespear) ἐγεννήθη τὸ 1564 καὶ ἔζησε 55 χρόνους, δικαίως ὀνομάζεται ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ θεάτρου. Ἐγραψε πλῆθος Τραγωδιῶν καὶ Κωμωδιῶν αἱ ὅποια μαρτυροῦν τὸ δημιουργικὸν τοῦ πνεῦμα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ὑπέφερε νὰ μιμηθῆῖ δουρικὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, πολλαὶ ἀπὸ τὰς ὀραιότητάς του ἐνομίσθησαν ἀπὸ ἄλλους ὡς σφάλματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἴδια συντείνουν νὰ τὸν ὑψώσουν ἀνώτερον τῶν ἐπιλοίπων τραγικῶν<sup>1</sup>.

Platon Petridis (1790-1852) was born in Constantinople and educated in England. When the Ionian Islands were placed under the British Protection in 1815, he served as inspector of public education, official interpreter to the Ionian Government, and editor of the official weekly newspaper *Gazzetta Jonia*. Apart from his translation into Greek of Sir Thomas Maitland's constitution of 1817<sup>2</sup>, he translated Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* and Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*<sup>3</sup>.

There is a mention of an earlier translation of a Shakespeare play into Greek: a supposed translation of *Romeo and Juliet* done in 1789 in Vienna by Georgios Sakellarios, which was never published. As no manuscript has survived, we cannot refer to it with certainty. The only information we have about this translation is found in George Zaviras' biographical account of Greek writers after the fall of Constantinople, where Zaviras, speaking of Sakellarios' translations, mentions that he translated «*Romeo and Julia*, a tragedy in five acts, 1789»<sup>4</sup>. There is no mention of Shakespeare's name, only of the play title.

One year after Petridis' mention of Shakespeare, in the newspaper *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Ionie* (No 10, 23 Feb.-7 Mar. 1818, p. 4), a competition under the title «Premj d' Incoraggiamento» was

1. Ἀπόσπασμα μετὰ εἰσαγωγῆς, μεταφράσεως εἰς ἑνδεκασυλλάβους στίχους τῶν Τεσσάρων Καιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ Ἀγγλοῦ Thompson ὑπὸ Π. Πετρίδου. ,αυζ' φεβρουαρίου κζ' (=1817, Corfu), p. 19.

2. Πολίτευμα τῶν ἐνωμένων ἐπαρχιῶν τῶν Ἰωνικῶν νήσων, μεταφρασθὲν παρὰ τοῦ διεθμηρέως τῆς Ἰονίου Κυβερνήσεως κ. Πλ. Πετρίδου. Ἐν Κερκύρα, ,αυιη' (Corfu 1818).

3. For more about Petridis' life, see: S. Malakis, Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς συγχρόνου ἰστορίας... Athens 1895, pp. 59-61, and P. D. Mastrodimitris, Ὁ Ἰωάννης Βηλαρᾶς ὅπως τὸν εἶδε ὁ πρῶτος βιογράφος του Πλάτων Πετρίδης, Νέα Ἑστία, 94 (1973), 93-98.

4. G. I. Zaviras, Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν Θεάτρον. Ἐκδοθὲν ὑπὸ Γεωργίου Π. Κρέμον... Athens 1872, pp. 242-4.

announced. Among the prizes to be awarded was one «per quegli che traducesse meglio, le Tragedie di Shaskepeare [sic] (*Macbeth* o *Cesare* o *Coriolano*) ovvero l' *Atalia* di Racine, in Greco moderno».

According to the regulations of the competition, those entering it should be inhabitants of the Seven Ionian Islands. Three months later, in May 1818, some more details concerning the competition appeared in the same newspaper (No 22, 18 - 30 May 1818, p. 4):

*Relativamente a ciò che è stato pubblicato (v. Gazzetta No 10) intorno ai Premj offerti dal BARONE THETOKY, si dichiara*  
 1.o Che il giudicio sopra i rispettivi travagli dei concorrenti, appartenirà ad un Magistrato residente in Corfù, e opportunamente destinato, al quale i Capi dei Governi Locali di cadaun' Isola ne trasmetteranno il risultato coi relativi Rapporti. 2.o Che i concorrenti, per i premj di Lingua Inglese, Matematiche, Architettura, e Lettere Greche, non oltrepasseranno il 20mo anno della loro età. 3.o Che la traduzione in Greco delle Tragedie Moderne (come è stata richiesta per il No 10) deve essere fatta in prosa, o in verso non rimato, la lingua dovendo risentirsi, per quanto è possibile, del genio di quella adoperata dall' Arcivescovo Theotoky, nel suo *Kyriacodromion*.

A list of the prizes followed, according to which, for the English Language, three gold medals worth 50, 20, and 12 colonati were to be awarded; on one side of each medal the goddess Minerva was represented with an olive branch and the Greek inscription: 'Εν τῇ Πατρίδι. On the other side Ulysses was represented chasing the suitors of Penelope, symbolizing the British Protection of the Ionian Islands ousting the various foreign masters (Venitians, French, Russians).

The prize for Greek Letters (translation from Shakespeare or Racine) was worth 30 colonati, with the muse Melpomene, the patroness of Tragedy, on the one side, and with Honour deified on the other with the inscription: Πόνος κτῆται. Prizes were also allotted for Agriculture, Mathematics, Design and Architecture.

The prize for Greek Letters was awarded to Andreas Theotokis, a young student in the Public College in Corfu, for his translation of *Macbeth*. At that time Andreas, son of Baron Emmanuel Theotokis, the patron of this and other similar competitions, was hardly seventeen years old. At a special celebration held on 19th March 1819, the

jury, consisting of three members (an Englishman and two Greeks) in the presence of the Regent of Corfu, many distinguished personalities, and professors and students of the Public College, presented the young translator with the gold medal. The event was recorded in the columns of the *Gazzetta* the next day (No 64, 8-20 March 1819, p. 4):

*I Premj d' incoraggiamento di Lettere Greche a di Belle Arti, accordati da SUA ALTEZZA il BARONE THEOTOKY agli Allievi Jonj a tenore dell' articolo pubblicato col numero 22 della nostra Gazzetta, furono distribuiti li 19 Marzo decorso dal Prestantissimo REGGENTE di Corfù, ad hoc autorizzato ed in presenza di molti distinti Personaggi, dei Professori, e degli Allievi del Pubblico Liceo; e ciò giusta il giudizio degli Signori J. Cartwright, D.r. Vlассopoulos e D. Zervò, come siegue:*

*Quello di Lettere Greche*

*Al Nobile Signore Andrea Theotoky Corcirese, già noto al pubblico di questi Stati,  
e quello di Belle Arti*

*Al Nobile Signore Nicolò Machiedo pure Corcirese, e giovinetto di belle speranze.*

Andreas Theotokis was in fact «già noto al pubblico», as he had made his début as a writer less than two years earlier, when in 1817 he had published a remarkable religious and moral treatise, for which the Senate of the Ionian Islands awarded him a gold medal with the symbolic representation of a rising sun (*Gazzetta Jonia*, No 152, 24 May 1817).

In 1842, twenty-three years after first writing his translation of *Macbeth* Theotokis sent a manuscript of it to King Otto of Greece as a present, accompanied by the following letter:

Ἐν Κερκύρα τῇ 10 Μαρτίου 1842 Ε.Ν.

Μεγαλειότατε,

Δημάρτατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν, ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβῆναι, καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν εἶπε μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἐστερεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασι πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον. Οὕτω καὶ γὰρ, ἤδη λαβῶν τὴν χάριν θεάσασθαι τὴν ὑμετέραν Μεγαλειότητα, λέγω μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἐστερεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ὁθωνα ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καθήμενον.

“Ὅσοι ἀληθεῖς, ὅσοι πιστοὶ ὁμογενεῖς χρεωστοῦσιν οὖν καὶ εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπειν πρὸς διατήρησιν τῆς ὑμετέρας Μεγαλειότητος, αἰτίας τοσαύτης χάραξ, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὸν ἑαυτῶν πρὸς Αὐτὴν ἀποδεικνύειν ζῆλον· διὸ καὶ γὰρ μεταφράσας Τραγωδίαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγγλικῆς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, τολμῶ πέμψαι αὐτὴν τῇ ὑμέτερᾳ Μεγαλειότητι, καὶ δέομαι Αὐτῆς ὅπως Βασιλικῇ συγκαταβάσει δέξεται εὐμενῶς τὴν ἐμὴν ταπεινὴν προσφορὰν, καθάπερ Ἄρταξέρξης, ἐπέπερ ἐλαύνοντος αὐτοῦ καθ’ ὁδὸν αὐτουργὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἰδιώτης οὐδὲν ἔχων ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ὕδωρ ὑπολαβὼν προσήνεγκεν, ἡδέως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐμειδίασε τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ διδόντος, οὐ τῇ χρεῖᾳ τοῦ διδομένου τὴν χάριν μετρήσας.

Θερμῶς οὖν ἐλπίζων συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τῆς τόλμης, ἀξιοῦμαι ὑποφαινεσθαι μετὰ βαθυτάτου σέβας, ἀπεριορίστου ὑποταγῆς, καὶ διὰ βίου ἀφοσιώσεως.

Τῆς ὑμετέρας Μεγαλειότητος  
 Εὐπειθέστατος, ταπεινότατος καὶ ὑποκλινέστατος δοῦλος  
 Βαρῶν Ἀνδρέας Θεοτόκης.

To this the King replied in the following letter:

Τῷ πανευγενεστάτῳ Βαρῶν κυρίῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ Θεοτόκῃ,  
 Εἰς Κέρκυραν

Βαρῶν Ἀνδρέα Θεοτόκῃ,

Ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀγγλίδος εἰς τὴν ἐλλάδα φωνὴν μεθερμηγεύσας προσενεγκεῖν μοι προτεθῆναι τραγωδίαν τοῦ Σαικσπέρου, ταύτην ἄσμενος ἐδεξάμην, καὶ Σε τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλοτιμίας ἠγάσθην, κὰν τούτοις χρήσιμον σεαυτὸν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι σπουδάζοντα παρασχεῖν. Χάριν οὖν Σοι γινώσκων τοῦ προσθυμίου Μου τοῦδε δωρήματος πέπεισθαί σε βούλομαι ὅτι εἰμί

εὐνούστατός Σοι

Ἀθήνηθεν τῇ 22 Νοεμβ. 1842 Ὅθων

4 Δεκ.

Both the letters and the manuscript of the translation had a long trip from Athens to Munich after the dethronement of King Otto in 1862. The manuscript, after Otto's death, passed to the State Library of Munich, in September 1879. The letters continued their adventures as far as Vienna, where they were bought from a second-hand bookshop by the Austrian philhellene S. Munz, a journalist, and were published in 1935 by A. M. Andreadis<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου* (Athens, 1935), pp. 101-3.

The manuscript of the translation, still unpublished, is now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Handschriftenabteilung, Cod. graec. 597), in Munich, and bears the title:

ΜΑΚΒΕΘ  
 Τραγωδία  
 Συντεθεισα μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑγγλοῦ Σεκεσπιρ<sup>1</sup>  
 μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κερκυραίου  
 Ρήτορος Ἀνδρέου Βαρῶνος Θεοτόκου.  
 1842.

The manuscript is richly bound in leather and its maroon cover is bordered with a golden meander design. Size: 23.8 cm. × 35.2 cm. Pagination: the first five leaves are numbered I - V on the recto; pages 1 - 128 follow, and at the end there is another leaf numbered VI. Leaves II, III and VI, as well as pages 123 - 128 are blank. The text and the Roman numerals are written in black ink, but the pagination 2 - 128 is in pencil. The text is written on both sides of ruled, light brown paper, and the handwriting, Theotokis' autograph, is neat and legible.

The first mention of the manuscript's existence in Munich was made in 1903 by Sp. Lambros, who in an article in the Athens newspaper *Ἄστυ* described it together with other Greek manuscripts belonging to King Otto's private library. The article was included in a book published two years later<sup>2</sup>. To his description of the manuscript Lambros appended the comment: «Theotokis' translation was made with much diligence and style and one would say that he has rendered the original faithfully». As a sample, Lambros published just three lines of the translation (the beginning of the report of the Captain to King Duncan, Act I, scene 2).

1. Because of the peculiarity of the English pronunciation and because of the individual system of each Greek translator or scholar during the last century, more than a dozen versions of Shakespeare's name transliterated into Greek appeared, until it was standardized as *Σαίξπηρ*. Here is a list of these versions in alphabetical order: *Σαίξπειαρ*, *Σαίξπειρος*, *Σαίξπηρ*, *Σαίξπήρ*, *Σαίξπιαρ*, *Σακεσπήρος*, *Σέιξπηρ*, *Σέιξπηρ*, *Σεκεσπίρ*, *Σέξπηρ*, *Σεξπήρος*, *Σεξπίρ*, *Σχακεσπέαρης*. See also: I. Sideris, *Θέατρο*, 13 (1964), 10. In addition to this, an English scholar, A. W. Mair, writing a dialogue in Greek, translated Shakespeare's name thus: *Ἐγγέσπαλος*. See: *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, edited by Israel Gollancz (Oxford, 1916), pp. 292-304.

2. Sp. Lambros, *Μικτὰὶ σελίδες*, Athens 1905, p. 687.

In 1939 N. Laskaris<sup>1</sup> referring to the manuscript, quoted Lambros, and some time later G. Sideris<sup>2</sup> reiterated the information given by Laskaris. In 1947 C. Th. Dimaras mentioned the translation as still unpublished.

In 1958 W. Hörmann, in an article on the uncatalogued Greek manuscripts kept in the Bavarian State Library, made a short mention of the manuscript<sup>3</sup>.

In 1964, G. Sideris in the periodical *Θέατρο* published a longer sample of the translation (the entire scene 5 of Act I) along with facsimiles of the first page, the «Υποκείμενα» (Dramatis Personae), the title-page, and the cover of the manuscript<sup>4</sup>.

This is the story of the manuscript so far. It is apparent that Theotokis' translation, apart from the aforementioned extracts, has not been published and, consequently has remained unknown to any of the later translators of Shakespeare into Greek. Its influence, therefore, on Greek literature is non-existent.

The most authoritative historians of Modern Greek literature, C. Th. Dimaras and I. Sideris, agree that Theotokis' translation of *Macbeth* dating from 1842 is the earliest known in the Greek language, since this is, after all, the date which the manuscript bears.

If Theotokis' translation had been first made in 1842, as is believed, one would have expected him to have translated it from the original, since at that time he was forty years old (he was born in 1802) and must have known English, as he had served for ten years as an interpreter to the Lord High Commissioner of Corfu. His translation, however, is not based on any English edition, but is a word for word translation of a French translation of *Macbeth* published by Le Tourneur in Paris in 1778. That Theotokis did a 'second hand' translation is not surprising, if we bear in mind that when this task was undertaken in 1818-1819 French was more familiar to him than English. He felt more at home with the French language as he had received his primary

1. N. Laskaris, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νεοελληνικοῦ Θεάτρου*, (2 vols.), Athens 1938, I, 219.

2. I. Sideris, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνικοῦ Θεάτρου, 1794-1944*, Athens 1951, p. 43.

3. W. Hörmann, «Das Supplement der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek», in *ΧΑΛΙΚΕΣ. Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress München 15-20 September 1958, zusammengestellt und herausgegeben von H. G. Beck*, p. 61.

4. I. Sideris, «Ὁ Σαίξπηρ στὴν Ἑλλάδα», *Θέατρο*, 13 (1964), 32-3.

education in France. French was also the language in which his father, the Baron Emmanuel Theotokis, published his book *Détails sur Corfu* (1826).

In connection with the above view two factors should be taken into consideration: first, the English works which were translated into Greek at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries came via French. C. Th. Dimaras is of the opinion that this procedure was a 'general rule' for the period under examination<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, French was the second language of the educated Greeks of those days and one should bear in mind that French language and culture prevailed in the Ionian Islands for almost twenty years (1797-1814).

Theotokis' translation is, in all probability, a fair copy of the first and only version (1819), made in 1842 to be sent to King Otto. It is most probable that Theotokis, in sending his translation to the young king, wanted to send a present as a sign of good will and admiration. Furthermore, as the central themes of *Macbeth* are the thirst for power, which leads to murder upon murder, and the misuse of authority, it is possible that Theotokis sent the translation of the play to the monarch with a symbolic purpose. One should bear in mind that the 1840s were for Otto troubled years, which led to the revolution of the Greek people against the Bavarian dynasty in 1843. Otto was then forced to fulfil the promises given when he was elected King of Greece and to acknowledge the Constitution<sup>2</sup>.

The acquaintance of Baron Theotokis with Otto dated from 1833, when the then young Prince of Bavaria called at Corfu on his way from Venice to Greece. Andreas' father, the Baron Emmanuel Theotokis, President of the Ionian Senate, was the first Greek to receive Prince Otto. A reception was also given by the High Commissioner of Corfu, Lord Nugent, to which the aristocracy of the Ionian Islands was invited. Andreas at that time was serving as the under-secretary of the Ionian Senate and it was natural that he should make Prince Otto's acquaintance on that occasion.

## II

As has already been mentioned, Theotokis' translation is based on the French translation of *Macbeth* made by Le Tourneur and pu-

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1. C. Th. Dimaras, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

2. G. Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution* (2 vols.), Edinburgh 1861, II, 374.



blished in Paris in 1778. Le Tourneur's version was part of the first edition of the complete works of Shakespeare in French, which came out in twenty handsomely bound volumes (1776-83) and became very popular<sup>1</sup>. This was an enterprise undertaken by three French men of letters, the Count de Catuelan, Le Tourneur and Fontaine-Malherbe, but the actual translation was Le Tourneur's. His name appears from the third volume onwards. The translation of *Macbeth* is preceded by *Coriolanus* in the third volume (*Shakespeare, traduit de l'anglois par M. Le Tourneur: dédié au Roi*, III, (Paris, 1778).

Pierre-Prime-Félicien Le Tourneur (1737-1788) had already translated a number of English works, among them Young's *Night Thoughts* and Macpherson's Ossianic poems. His translation of Shakespeare was based mainly on Johnson's edition (1765), as is apparent from the following note: «Nous avons préféré ici l' édition d' Oxford<sup>2</sup>. Nous traduisons sur toutes les éditions comparées: le plus communément nous suivons celle de Johnson»<sup>3</sup>. Le Tourneur did not fail, however, to consult the editions of Rowe (1709), Pope (1725), Theobald (1733) and Warburton (1747)<sup>4</sup>.

Le Tourneur made little use of the translation of Shakespeare by Antoine de la Place, whose *Le Théâtre Anglois*, published in London in 1746 in 8 volumes, was the first translation ever to appear in the French language. La Place devoted four whole volumes to translations of ten of Shakespeare's plays, but his work was a fragmentary adaptation rather than a close translation<sup>5</sup>. No whole play was translated, except for *Richard III*.

Both Le Tourneur's and Theotokis' translations are in prose with the exception of the «Speech of the Witches» (Act IV, Scene 1), which is in verse in both. Le Tourneur in his «Avis sur cette Traduction»<sup>6</sup> claims that his translation is «exacte et vraiment fidèle», but also admits that

1. J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime*, Paris 1898, p. 287, ff..

2. Sir Thomas Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare published at Oxford in 1743-4.

3. *Shakespeare traduit de l'anglois, dédié au roi* (Paris 1776), vol. I, p. 4.

4. M. Brown, *L'appréciation de Shakespeare en France: avec mention particulière des représentations de Macbeth 1700 à 1900*, unpublished M. A. dissertation, University of Birmingham (1948), p. 50 f.

5. T. Lounsbury, *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, N. York, reissued 1968, p. 167 f. See also A. Duboux, *Les traductions françaises de Shakespeare*, Paris 1928, pp. 4-6.

6. *Shakespeare traduit...* p. CXXV.

he has replaced metaphors and expressions of the original which, if translated 'mot-à-mot' in French, would seem «basses ou ridicules». He goes on to say:

*Il y a dans SHAKESPEARE une foule de beautés de mètre et d'harmonie imitative: quelques-unes auront disparu sans doute dans notre Traduction: il est impossible de les faire passer toutes dans une langue étrangère: nous en avons sauvé cependant le plus qu'il nous en été possible, lorsqu'elles ont laissé quelque prise à notre langue pour s'en saisir. Ceux qui connoissent les deux idiomes verront que du moins nous avons presque toujours été fidèles à l'arrangement de phrases, ce qui peut-être est moins difficile avec SHAKESPEARE qu'avec aucun Poète moderne, et ce qui prouve avec quelle justesse il sentoit et s'exprimoit. Il nous a paru que ses tours et ses inversions conservées, n'évanoient que plus d'énergie et de grace dans notre langue. Si quelque-fois on est arrêté par une expression moins noble, on verra qu'elle tient au caractère, et que nous l'avons préférée à un terme plus relevé, pour conserver à l'original sa couleur, et au caractère sa vérité....*

Generally speaking, Le Tourneur made a conscientiously close translation. The following alterations, omissions and additions, should, however, be noted: in Johnson's edition the first Act of *Macbeth* is divided into ten Scenes, whereas Le Tourneur has created eleven by dividing the second Scene into two at the point where two new characters, Ross and Angus, are introduced. This can be explained by the practice of French classical drama, according to which a new scene should usually open at the entry of a new character.

In Act II, most of the controversial soliloquy of the Porter and most of his dialogue with Macduff (Scene 4) are cut by Le Tourneur, presumably because he wanted to avoid the «vulgaire» phraseology of the drunken Porter; this Scene 3 leads directly to Scene 5. Wishing, however, to give the French public «une Traduction exacte et vraiment fidèle», he included the deleted part of Scene 4 in the notes at the end of his book (pp. 427-429). This cut is followed by Theotokis without the missing section being restored anywhere. Also in Act IV, Scene 3, six lines of the dialogue between Lady Macduff and her son are cut, but included in the notes (p. 342). Obviously, Le Tourneur thought it improper to include in the main body of his translation Lady Mac-

duff's answer that she could have bought twenty husbands at any market, when her son asked her «how will you do for a husband», after having heard of his father's death.

One whole line is omitted and nowhere restored. At the opening of his new Scene, Le Tourneur omits the question asked by King Duncan: «But who comes here?» on seeing Ross coming. Thus Malcolm's answer to the King's question: «The worthy Thane of Ross» in Le Tourneur's version is an announcement of the new person rather than an answer to the King. Theotokis inevitably follows in this as well as in other minor omissions or alterations Le Tourneur's text, and this is a reason strong enough to assure us that Theotokis never consulted Shakespeare's text. It is worth mentioning here that Theotokis also never took into consideration Le Tourneur's cuts which were restored in the notes at the end of the book.

Acts III, IV and V, with their seven, six and eight Scenes respectively, correspond to Johnson's edition both in Le Tourneur's and Theotokis' translations.

As to the additions, Le Tourneur's stage directions do not occur either in Johnson's edition or in the First Folio edition (1623). They were invented by Le Tourneur himself and retained by Theotokis. More explicitly: while in Johnson's edition the play of *Macbeth* opens with the following brief stage setting: «An open Place. Thunder and Lightening. Enter three Witches», in Le Tourneur's (and Theotokis') translation the play opens with this more descriptive setting:

*Le Théâtre représente une vaste plaine isolée et couverte de Bruyères voisine du champ de bataille où Macbeth et Banquo, Généraux de Duncan, Roi d' Ecosse, combattent les Rebelles. Le Ciel est orageux ; le tonnerre gronde : trois MAGICIENNES paroissent à la lueur des éclairs.*

Throughout the play Le Tourneur provided each Scene with similar descriptive stage directions. Apart from his footnotes here and there, at the end of his book Le Tourneur added notes where there were included the deleted parts, Richardson's observations on the character of Macbeth and, under the title «Errata», ten lines of typographical omissions. All these, again, do not appear in Theotokis' translation.

As to the quality of the translation, it is inevitable that in rendering poetry into prose, much of the beauty and the artistry of the poetic diction is lost. One of Shakespeare's best translators into German,

August Wilhelm Schlegel, pointed out that in a literary translation fidelity to content is not enough. A verse work, he affirmed, should be rendered into verse and, if possible, in exactly the same pattern as the original. Form, style, tone and atmosphere are integral parts of the original and should be reproduced accurately<sup>1</sup>. Le Tourneur in his translation achieved fidelity to content to a degree which was acceptable for his time. One cannot today, however, consider it a very good translation of Shakespeare.

Le Tourneur tries hard to keep close to Shakespeare's phraseology and to preserve the spirit and the atmosphere of the original, something which he often achieves. His translation is not free from some minor misinterpretations. When Lady Macbeth, for instance, dismisses the Lords when her husband is having a fit, telling them: «Stand not upon the Order of your going» (IV, 5), Le Tourneur translated the lines wrongly to: «N' attendez pas ses ordres pour vous retirer»<sup>2</sup> and the mistake, inevitably, was transferred into Theotokis' translation too.

Le Tourneur's style is pompous and he often renders Shakespeare's text by an explanatory periphrasis. The bleeding Captain's «But all too weak», reporting to King Duncan on Macbeth's victory over the enemy, is translated by La Tourneur as follows: «Mais la fortune, lui et ses troupes, tous unis, étoient encore trop foibles contre Macbeth». «Golgotha» is translated into «une montagne de cadavres». The dignity and economy of Shakespeare's style and the brevity of phrase, especially characteristic of *Macbeth*, are lost in Le Tourneur's translation and, consequently, in Theotokis' too. The fourteen words of the original text in the following passage are translated by forty-seven French and forty-one Greek words respectively:

Duncan: *My plenteous joys,  
Wanton in fulness, seek to hide themselves  
In drops of sorrow*<sup>3</sup>.

(I. 6)

Le Tourneur's translation:

1. A. W. Schlegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by E. Rocking, Leipzig, 1946-7, IX, p. 222; XI, 325; XII, 158.

2. *The Oxford Companion to French Literature*, compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey and J. E. Heseltine (Oxford, reprinted 1961), p. 411.

3. References throughout: *The Plays of William Shakespeare in eight volumes, with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators; to which are added notes by Sam. Johnson*, London 1765.

Le Roi: *Ma joie ne connoît plus de bornes: elle éclate et se répand hors de moi avec tant d' excès et de violence, que je cherche à la voiler par des pleurs, à calmer ses transports par des idées plus sombres, par une perspective plus triste dans l' avenir.*

(p. 283)

Theotokis' translation:

‘Ο Βασιλεύς: ‘Η χαρά μου είναι ἐπέκεινα κάθε μέτρου. Διαδίδεται και φανεροῦται ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μου με τόσην ὑπερβολήν, ὥστε ζητῶ νά τήν καλύψω με τὰ δάκρυά μου και νά μετριάσω τὰς ὀρμάς της με στοχασμούς σοβαροτέρους, κατοπτριζόμενος τὸ μέλλον ὡς πλέον θλιβερόν.

Often, Shakespeare's beautiful imagery, particularly the metaphors in which the play is rich, are replaced in Le Tourneur's version, and inevitably in Theotokis', by conventional expressions lacking all the magic of the original:

I Witch: *Sleep shall neither night nor day,  
Hang upon his pent-house lid;*

(I. 3)

is translated into French as follows:

*...ni jour ni nuit le sommeil me reposera sur sa pauvière;*

(p. 270)

and into Greek:

*...και μήτε νύκτα μήτε ἡμέραν θέλει τὸν ἀφήσω νά κλείσῃ ὀμμάτιον.*

Here are some other examples to illustrate the point:

Macbeth: *The Thane of Cawdor lives: why do you dress me  
In his borrow'd robes?*

(I.5)

This passage is translated into French thus:

*Le Thane de Cawdor est vivant! Pourquoi me parez-vous d'  
une dignité, dont un autre est revêtu?*

(p.277)

It is rendered into Greek as follows:

*‘Ο ἡγεμῶν τοῦ Καουδώρ ζῆ. Διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν με δίδεις μίαν ἀξίαν,  
τῆς ὁποίας κάτοχος εἶναι ἄλλος;*

It is obvious that neither the French nor the Greek version adhere to the original, as Shakespeare's «borrow'd robes» in French and Greek are lost and we have a translation of the meaning rather than of the metaphor which conveys it in the original.

In the following passage, Shakespeare is accurately translated into French, but the Greek version shows some variation as follows:

Macbeth: *The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees  
Is left this vault to brag of.*

(II.3)

*Le vin de la vie est épuisé pour moi, et il ne reste plus que  
la lie sous cette voûte odieuse.*

(p. 316)

Κάθε εὐτυχία τῆς ζωῆς ἐτελείωσε δι' ἐμέ, καὶ δὲν μένουσι παρὰ  
αἱ δυστυχίαι ὑπὸ τὴν μισητὴν σκέπην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

In rendering Shakespeare into prose, the rhythm of the iambic pentameter of the original is lost, of course, and so are many other literary devices, both in the French and the Greek. Both translators are unaware of the subtle puns that Shakespeare uses in his play, e.g.

Lady Macbeth

*If he do bleed,  
I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal,  
For it must seem their guilt.*

(II. 2)

is translated into French: *Si le sang de Duncan coule encore, j'en  
prendrai pour en rougir la face des deux  
Chambellans; car il faut absolument qu'ils  
paraissent être les coupables.*

(p. 309)

And into Greek: Ἐὰν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Δούνακαν τρέχη ἀκόμη, θέλει λάβω  
ἀπὸ αὐτὸ διὰ τὰ κοκκινίσω τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν  
δύο θαλαμηπόλων, ἐπειδὴ ἀφεύκτως πρέπει νὰ δει-  
χθῶσιν ὅτι εἶναι ἔνοχοι.

Shakespeare's well-known pun based on the two words «gild - guilt» is lost both in the French and the Greek.

There is no indication anywhere that Theotokis ever used Shakespeare's text. In Act IV, Scene I, where Le Tourneur put the following footnote: «Cette Scène est en vers rimés» and translated the entire scene in unrhymed verse, Theotokis also took pains to imitate his predecessor and managed to surpass him, at least as far as the rhyming couplets are concerned. It is in this metrical part of his translation where Theotokis proves to be at his best. His language here, decorated with some colloquial expressions, flows more easily. He employs 15-syllable iambic metre in rhyming couplets to render Le Tourneur's alexandrine. Here are the Witches performing their magic in the cave:

- 3 Witch: *Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf,  
Witches' mummy; maw, and gulf,  
Of the ravening salt-sea-shark;  
Root of hemlock, digg'd i' th' dark;  
Liver of blaspheming Jew:  
Gall of goat and flips of yew,  
Sliver'd in the moon's eclipse;  
Nose of Turk, and Tartar's lips;  
Finger of bird-strangled babe,  
Ditch-deliver'd by a drab;  
Make the gruel thick, and slab.  
Add thereto a tyger's chawdron,  
For th' ingredients of our cauldron.*
- All: *Double, double, toil and trouble,  
Fire burn, and cauldron bubble.*
- 2 Witch: *Cool it with a baboon's blood,  
Then the Charm is firm and good.*

(IV. 1)

#### TROISIÈME MAGICIENNE

*Des écailles de dragon, des dents de loup,  
De la momie de forcieres, un vast estomac  
Du vorace goulu de mer,  
Une racine de cigue, arrachée dans la nuit,  
Un foie de Juif blasphémateur,  
Un fiel de bouc, et des tranches d'if  
Coupées dans une éclipse de lune;  
Un nez de Turc et des lèvres de Tartare,  
Un doigt d' un enfant de fille de joie,*

*Etranglé en naissant et enfoui par sa mère  
Epaissiront le mélange en gelée solide.  
Ajoutons encore des entrailles de tigre,  
Tous ingrédients nécessaires à notre charme.*

#### TOUTES TROIS

*Redoublons, redoublons de travail et d'ardeur:  
Que le feu s'embrase et que l'airain bouillonne.*

#### SECONDE MAGICIENNE

*Refroidissons le tout dans du sang de jinge  
Et notre charme est parfait et solide.*

(p. 361)

#### ΤΡΙΤΗ ΜΑΓΙΣΣΑ

Τὰ λέπια τοῦ δράκοντος καὶ δόντια τοῦ λύκου,  
καὶ μούμιαις κομμάτια, μάγου κι ἑνὸς ἀδίκου  
στομάχ' εὐρυχωρότατον καὶ λαίμαργον δελφῖνος,  
ἢ θαλασσίου δράκοντος ποῦ λέγεται καὶ θύννος,  
ρίζα κωνείου δραστικοῦ ὁμοῦ τε κεκομμένης,  
τὴν νύκτα ἀπὸ τὸ χῶμα τῆς διόλου ἐκβαλμένης.  
Σκότι Ἑβραίου δολεροῦ καὶ τράγου χολῆς μίγμα,  
κομμάτι ἀπὸ σμίλαγκα κομμένον διὰ δειῖγμα,  
ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἐκλείπη ἡ σελήνη,  
νὰ ἔχη τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ χρήσιμον νὰ γίνη.  
Κ' ἑνὸς Ταρτάρου χεῖλια καὶ τουρκικὴν μῖαν μύτην,  
καὶ δάκτυλον νόθου τινός, ποῦ λέγομεν μαργίτην,  
βδελύγματος πόρνης τινός, στὴν γένναν του πνιγμένον  
καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν μητέρα του στοὺς δρόμους ἀφημένον.  
"Ἄς βάλωμεν καὶ ἔντερα τῆς τίγρεως ἀκόμα  
καὶ ἄς πῆξωμεν αὐτὰ λοιπόν, εἰς παγωμένον σῶμα.  
"Ὅλα νὰ εἶναι μόρια συνδετικὰ μαγείας  
καὶ τὰ ἀναγκασιότερα ὄργανα πανουργίας.

#### ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΟΜΟΥ

Ἐλάτε, ἄς διπλώσωμεν φροντίδα στὸ φαρμάκι.  
ν' ἀνάψη φλόγα φοβερά νὰ βράσῃ τὸ πινάκι.

#### ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΜΑΓΙΣΣΑ

"Ὅλα ἄς τᾶ κρῶσωμεν στοῦ πίνακος τὸ αἷμα  
καὶ τότε τῆς μαγείας μας σφικτὸν γίνεταί δέμα.



Theotokis' translation is closer to Le Tourneur's than Le Tourneur's is to Shakespeare, but some occasional omissions of sentences do occur here and there. As to relationship of Theotokis' translation to Shakespeare's text, it remains now for us to see what is left of the original in Theotokis' «second hand» translation. Comparing the following passages from the original (Johnson's edition), for instance, with Theotokis' version, without considering the intervention of the French text, we see that, generally speaking, the Greek text is not far from the original, although there is much freedom in the phraseology. Considering also that Theotokis' version is a translation of a translation, that Greek is not as close to French as French is to English, that Theotokis was the first to translate Shakespeare into Greek and that when he attempted it he was only a teenager, we cannot fail to give him credit for his work. But let us look at the passages themselves. Lady Macbeth is invoking the power of darkness to take possession of her so that she can irrevocably commit the murder:

Lady Macbeth:

*Come, all you Spirits*

*That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here;  
And fill me, from the crown to th' toe, top-full  
Of direct cruelty; make thick my blood,  
Stop up th' access and passage to Remorse,  
That no compunctious visitings of nature  
Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between  
Th' effect and it. Come to my woman's breasts,  
And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,  
Where-ever in your sightless substances  
You wait on Nature's mischief. Come thick night!  
And pall thee in the dullest smock of hell,  
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes;  
Nor heav'n peep through the blanket of the dark,  
To cry hold, hold!*

Συνέλθετε, ὦ δαιμόνια τοῦ Ἄδου, ὅπου ἐμπνέετε τὰ αἰμοβόρα φρονήματα. Εἰς ταύτην τὴν στιγμήν μεταβάλλετε τὴν γυναικείαν μου φύσιν καὶ γεμίσατέ με ὅλην κατὰ κεφαλὴν καὶ καρδίαν ἀπὸ σκληρότητα ἀμιγῆ καὶ ὅλως εὐσπλαγχνίας ἀμέτοχον. Ἐνδυναμώσατε τὸ αἷμα μου εἰς τὰς φλέβας μου. Ἀποκλείσατε κάθε πόρον καὶ δίοδον τῶν ἐλέγχων τῆς συνειδήσεως εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς τὴν σκληρὰν ἐπιχειρησὶν τῆς, καὶ ἄς μὴ

μεσολαβήση εἰς τὴν ἐκτέλεσίν της. Εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὸ στῆθος μου, καὶ τὸ γυναικεῖον μου γάλα μεταβάλλετε εἰς πικρὸν φαρμάκι, αἰμοβόροι δαίμονες. Ἔλθετε ἔθεν ἢ ἀθέατος οὐσία ὑμῶν εὐρίσκεται κατασκοπεύουσα τὴν εὐκαιρίαν, διὰ νὰ βλάβῃ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. Ἐλθέ νύξ βαθυτάτη. Γενοῦ σκοτεινότερα τῆς ὀμίχλης τοῦ Ἄδου, ὥστε τὸ ξῖφος μου νὰ μὴ βλέπῃ τὴν πληγὴν, ὅπου θέλει κάμει, καὶ μὴν ἀφίσης οὔτε μίαν ἀκτῖνα φωτὸς διὰ μέσου τῆς ὁποίας νὰ ἠμπορέσῃ νὰ μεῖ ἰδῆ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ νὰ με φωνάξῃ «στάσου, στάσου».

In Theotokis' translation Shakespeare's «Spirits» are rendered by «demons of Hades»; «unsex me» becomes «change my woman's nature»; «from the crown to th' toe» becomes «in head and heart». Further on, Shakespeare's «direct cruelty» is translated by a more explicit phrase «unmixed cruelty and mercilessness».

In the following famous passage, Macbeth hearing of his wife's death, broken and disillusioned, realizes how much vanity there was in his life and begins to philosophize on Life:

*She should have dy'd hereafter;  
There would have been a time for such a word.  
Tomorrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,  
Creeps in this petty face from day to-day,  
To the last syllable of recorded time;  
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools  
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!  
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor Player,  
That struts and frets his hour upon the Stage,  
And then is heard no more! It is a Tale,  
Told by idiot, full of sound and fury,  
Signifying nothing;*

(V. 5)

Ἐπρεπε νὰ ἀποθάνῃ βραδύτερα καὶ νὰ καρτερέσῃ νὰ ἔχωμεν μεγαλυτέραν εὐκαιρίαν διὰ νὰ ἀκούσωμεν αὐτὴν τὴν εἴδησιν. Λοιπόν, οὕτω τὸ αὔριον, καὶ πάλιν αὔριον, καὶ αὖθις μεθαύριον προχωρεῖ ἀπὸ μίαν ἡμέραν εἰς ἄλλην, με βῆμα ἀνεπαίσθητον καὶ ὄλαι αἱ παρελθοῦσαι ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς μας δὲν προξενοῦσιν ἄλλο, παρὰ νὰ ὀδηγῶσιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνοήτους εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἣτις μᾶς φέρει εἰς τὸν σκοτεινὸν θάνατον. Ὁμοιάζει με ἓνα

δυστυχῆ κωμωδόν, ὅστις ἐπαίρεται, μεγαλύνεται καὶ ὀργίζεται εἰς τὸν θεάτρον, διὰ τὸ διάστημα μιᾶς ὥρας, καὶ γίνεται ἔπειτα ἀφανής καὶ ἀμνημονεῖται διὰ παντός. Εἶναι ἕνας μῦθος τὸν ὁποῖον διηγεῖται ἕνας ἀνόητος μὲ ἕνα μέγαν πάταγον λέξεων καὶ χειρονομιῶν ἐμφατικῶν, ὅστις εἰς τὸ τέλος δὲν δηλοῖ τίποτε.

In this passage Shakespeare's «creeps» is rendered by «procedes». The «dusty death» becomes «dark death». Shakespeare's line «Out, out, brief candle» is totally omitted, although it exists in *Le Tourneur* (*Finis, finis, court flambeau*). The word «Life», subject in the sentence, is again omitted, although present in *Le Tourneur*.

Throughout his translation Theotokis uses the puristic form of the Greek language (*katharévousa*). Here and there, however, some idiomatic words from the Ionian Islands have crept in. His language is interesting both from linguistic and stylistic point of view. His style is elegant and elaborate. At the time he made his translation (1818 - 1819), the 'language question', i.e. whether «*katharévousa*» or «*demonic*» should be used, had not yet been settled. Theotokis was obviously a follower and supporter of puristic Greek, and so he remained for the rest of his life. In his linguistic treatise *Ἀὐτοσχέδιον πόνημα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης περὶ* (*Corfu, 1817*), he showed himself to be an unequivocal follower of *katharévousa*; according to Sp. Lambros, «the writer [Theotokis] appears in this pamphlet as a defender of *katharévousa*; not only does he write it in the ancient language, but he also despises the so called 'mixo-barbarian' or, as others call it, the 'graecic'».

The dialectal Ionian words Theotokis uses are still in use in the Ionian Islands today. Such words are: *παστάδα* hall; *κρουταλῶ* — to knock; *μνήσκω* — to remain, to stay; *ἀλησμονῶ* — to forget; *ἐγνωρίζω* — to know; *πάρεξ* — except. He also uses the dialectal *πολλά* instead of *πολύ* for «very». Past tenses of verbs are formed inconsistently, sometimes with the augment (*ἐνεχαράχθησαν, συνελάλησα*) and sometimes without (*ἐκλέχθη, ἐκτελέσθη*). There are also some minor spelling irregularities.