

„Mediating Classical literature: Greek and Roman names in Estonian translations“

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In my overview of the forms of Greek and Roman names in translations of ancient Greek and Latin texts into the Estonian language, I will concentrate on the translations that have been published (although occasionally I might include some manuscript translations into the discussion of names, if they are available) and limit my corpus of examples to ancient Greek and Latin authors until the 5th century AD. The first published translations actually date from the end of the 19th century; thus, I will also include examples from that period.¹ The paper is divided into different periods. I will provide an overview of the transcription rules and the texts translated during this period, and then analyse specific practices more closely. As the first rules of transcribing Greek and Latin names were set by the Bible translations, the first part of my paper focuses on these principles.

Generally, two approaches are distinguished in translating or transcribing foreign names: foreignizing and domesticating. The first approach aims to present names as closely as possible to their original forms; the second adapts them to the rules of the target language. In the latter case, the so-called *nomina loquentia* can also be translated (e.g., Ἥως – Dawn, Θάνατος – Death). Yet, the foreignizing method has to follow the requirements and possibilities of the alphabet and morphological rules in the target language (e.g., the stem of the name can be rendered following the original name, but the morphological ending is used according to the target language), as well as the different transcription rules (Bodniece et al. 2018: 142). Both approaches were also used in translations into Estonian, whereas the transcription rules developed over time, leading to variations in Greek and Latin names.

Estonian is a Uralic language (the Finnic branch), predominantly agglutinative, with 14 grammatical cases, and rich in vowels. A distinctive feature of the Estonian language, compared to many other European languages, has historically been that Greek and Latin names are in general adopted in their nominative form from the original languages, with Estonian case endings added to the nominative form, when needed (e.g., Ἄρτεμις – *Artemis* (nominative), *Artemisele* (to *Artemis*, allative), *Artemisega* – with *Artemis*, comitative); *Cupido* – *Cupido* (nominative), *Cupidod* (*Cupids*, nominative plural), *Cupidodele* (to *Cupids*, allative plural). As

¹ In my paper, I use the *Eesti antiigistõlke bibliograafia (EAB)*, the *Bibliography of Estonian translations from Ancient Greek and Latin*, as the source of translation data.

Latin names can be relatively easily adopted into Estonian without major modifications, most of my paper focuses on names of ancient Greek origin.

I Translations of the New Testament (Bible)

The translation history of texts from ancient Greek and Latin begins, not surprisingly, with Christian and the New Testament texts. However, the very first translations were probably made using one or two intermediary languages, or even directly from German. The translators of the Bible were also often not the translators of other literary texts from ancient languages, (these mostly appeared much later) (Päll 2011: 124), thus the names in the translations of the Bible can be regarded as a separate group in the system of mediating names from ancient languages that follows its unique principles until today, and often differs from practices used in the translations of literary texts.

The transcription of Biblical names from the New Testament is based on the canonised Erasmian transcription system from the year 1516, which, in turn, was based on the adoption of Greek words into Latin. The first Bible translation avoided traits which are not characteristic of the Estonian language: weak consonants at the beginning of words were transcribed as strong, ζ as *s*, ξ as *ks*, φ as *w*. In addition, the Greek -ος endings were often latinized into -us and word-ending diphthongs were simplified (e.g., Δημήτριος – *Temetrius*, Ζαχαρίας – *Sakarias*, Ἀλέξανδρος – *Aleksandrus*, Φίλιπποι – *Wilippi*). The other aspirated konsonants χ and θ were also usually written as strong consonants (Πρόχορος – *Prokorus*, Τιμόθεος – *Timoteus*), although sometimes we find transcriptions which seem more random (Ἀχάϊκοῦ – *Ahkaiusse*, Τυχικός – *Tigikus*). The Greek υ was transcribed as *i*: Φρυγία – *Wrigia*. (Päll 2005: 76) We must also take into account that Estonians used the so-called „old orthography“ (influenced by High German orthography) until the last quarter of the 19th century, after which the „new orthography“ was introduced by Eduard Ahrens (based mainly on Finnish orthography).

At the beginning of the 20th century, an effort was made to adapt the form of Biblical names to the new Estonian spelling system. Y was in the 1914 Bible already transcribed with *ü* ([y] after the IPA standard), Greek word-endings were retained instead of being Latinized, and the long vowels in word-initial syllables were transcribed as long vowels in Estonian (Κυρήνιος – *Küürenios*, Δημήτριος – *Teemetrius*).

In 1935, Harald Põld proposed a systematic revision of the transcription system. For instance, he preferred using Latin word-endings in the personal names and Greek endings in

toponyms. (Päll 2005: 77) The word-initial weak consonants were also retained in most cases (Δημήτριος – *Demeetrios*, Γαλατία – *Galaatia*), except in names that had become very common, and ζ was now transcribed as *z*. Two problematic letters in transcriptions remained: the Greek χ – it was decided to retain the transcription with *k* in most of the cases (Ἀρχέλαος – *Arkelaos*, Χλοή – *Kloe*, as in Χριστός – *Kristus*), although in the toponyms, between vowels, the *-hh-* was used (Ἀχαία – *Ahhaia*); for Greek φ, after a thorough consideration between transcriptions as *v* or *f*, the latter prevailed. The spelling of double consonants, which was common in the old orthography, was rather avoided and depended now on the quantity of the syllable² – if the double consonant occurred in the syllable of the third degree quantity, it was transcribed as a double consonant also in Estonian (e.g., *Matteus*), otherwise with a single consonant (e.g., *Filipos*). Similarly, long vowels in the original languages were transcribed as long vowels in Estonian when they occurred in stressed syllables (e.g., *Luukius*, *Pilaatus*, *Kviriinius*). In the transcription of Latin names, the letter *c* was transcribed as *k*, and *ti* remained *ti* (although some linguists and translators strongly suggested rendering it as *tsi* following the pronunciation in later Latin). (Aaslava 1935 a, b)

The Greek and Latin names in the modern Estonian translations have remained relatively unchanged and are rather domesticated, because they had to be easily pronounced. However, the geminated consonants are allowed, but aspirated consonants have lost their aspiration, ζ was rendered as *s*, Latin *-us* endings are used instead of Greek *-os*, stressed syllables are often rendered into Estonian as long vowels, the Greek υ as Estonian *ü* (e.g., Μαθθαῖος – *Matteus*, Σαμοθράκη – *Samotraake*, Μυτιλήνη (Μιτυλήνη) – *Mitüleene*, Ἔφεσος – *Efesus*, Φίλιπποι – *Filippi*, Πέτρος – *Peetrus*, Ζεβεδαῖος – *Sebedeus*). Some influences of the so-called Reuchlins' pronunciation can be seen, e.g., in the rendering of the diphthong *ai* as *e*. (Rein 2017: 160–161)

² The Estonian language has three types of vowel lengths: short, long and overlong. A syllable, in turn, has three quantities: first (Q1), second (Q2) and third degree of quantity (Q3). Estonian short, long and overlong vowels and consonants yield the following seven possible combinations: Q1 *u.de* 'fuzz' (short vowel), Q2 *uu.de* 'innovation' (long vowel), Q3 *uu:de* 'new, illat.sg.' (overlong vowel); Q2 *ut.te* 'ewe, gen.sg.' (short vowel, strong double consonant), Q3 *ut:.te* 'ewe, part.sg.' (short vowel, extra strong double consonant); Q2 *uut.te* 'new, gen.sg.' (long vowel, strong double consonant) and Q3 *uu:t:.te* 'innovation, gen.sg.' (using lengthening mark (:)) in IPA system; (phonetically, the duration of the u in the word *uu:t:.te* is not equivalent to that of the u in *uu:.de* or the length of the t to that of the t in *ut:.te*). (Prillop 2013: 1–2)

II Translations of the works of Greek and Roman authors

1. First translations (18th century until 1918)

The first translation from an ancient Greek author appeared at the end of the 18th century (an anonymous author translated an excerpt from Homer), then we have two translations of the poems by Anacreon from 1818 by an Estonian poet K. J. Peterson, and three Odes from Horace in 1822 translated by the minister Heinrich Bochmann. The continuous translating activity started at the end of the 19th century, translations were made mostly from ancient Greek authors – Homer's *Iliad*, Ps.-Homeric *Batramyomachia* (the first fully translated text from classical literature, published in 1879, translated by renowned translator and poet, minister Jaan Bergmann), two poems by Anacreon, excerpts from *Historia* by Herodotus, *Ars Poetica* by Horace and *Germania* by Tacitus. They were often intended as light reading and were published in daily or weekly newspapers or their supplements, in yearbooks and almanacs of literary societies (Päll 2011: 129), some even by anonymous translators. At the beginning of the 20th century, the focus shifted even more towards epic texts – Homer and Hesiod, but also Sappho and Alcaeus, Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound*), and Latin authors such as Apuleius and Horace. The dominance of Greek authors was probably influenced by German culture, which reached Estonia through the Baltic Germans. (Kurs 2003: 16) The Homeric epics were also seen as a parallel to the Estonian epic „Kalevipoeg“, which helped to raise the national self-awareness. Tacitus' excerpt from *Germania* carried the same purpose (Päll 2012: 44–45), as it mentioned a small nation called *aestii*, a name that may be etymologically connected with Scandinavian *Eistland* and *Eistr*, from which the current name forms *Eesti(maa)* and *eestlased* (*Estonia* and *Estonians*) were developed. (Rätsep 2007:10–11)

Some of the suggestions for transcribing Biblical names are also reflected in translations of works of ancient Greek and Roman authors, although proper names in the first translations in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century were usually translated and transcribed rather unsystematically. Sometimes we can see the influence of the German name forms, the Greek *-os* and Latin *-us* endings were used in parallel, different transcription principles were applied (especially in the case of Greek consonants χ , θ , ϕ and ξ and vowel υ), Greek and Latin long vowels could be rendered either using long or short vowels in Estonian. (Bodniece *et al.* 2011: 152–153). Some of the first translators did not necessarily have the best knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin and may have used intermediary languages in translation. Other translators were renowned linguists and translators who produced already rather enjoyable translations.

The choice of texts often corresponded to the gymnasium curriculum, and the predominance of Greek texts may have been caused by the limited knowledge of Greek (Latin was more common in gymnasiums) and the resulting demand for translations from this language. (Päll 2011: 130)

In the very first translations, we can see attempts to write names in Estonian according to their pronunciation; the so-called foreign letters in the Estonian alphabet (b, d, f, g, z, x, y) were avoided. In the first translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, we find *Sews* for Ζεύς, *Nimwe* for Νύμφη (transcribing ζ as *s* and φ as *w* were taken over from the Bible), *Olimpie* for Ὀλύμπιος, but *Kalüpsō* for Καλυψώ (y was still predominantly used for transcribing Greek υ). Some names were shortened (e.g., *Helio* pro Helios), and the German/Latin influence can be seen in names like *Ägistho* and *Äthiope* (Aigisthos and Aithiopia (Estonian *ä* = [æ] in IPA). In the 1820 translation of Horace's verses by Heinrich Bochmann, we find the transcription of Caesar as *Säsar*, Polyhymnia – *Polihimnia*, Africus – *Ahwrikus*, Daedalus – *Dädalus*, Cupido – *Kupido*, Quirinus – *Kirinus*.

Jaan Bergmann, in his verse translations from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, already mostly uses the Latinized transcription system, and many proper names are also rendered in this form in modern translations. Some Greek proper names and their derivatives were still different (e.g., Κρήτα/η – *Kreta* (modern *Kreeta*), Ἑλλάς – *Greeka* (modern *Kreeka*), Ἀργεῖοι – *argivid* (modern *argiivid*). Thus, in his earlier translations (*Iliad* and an epigram from *Anthologia Palatina*), long vowels in stressed positions were sometimes rendered as long vowels in Estonian and sometimes as short vowels. Some Greek names had Latin endings (e.g., *Argus*). In his later translation of Homer's *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1, 2, 3, 9 and 12), the long vowels occur more frequently in stressed positions (*Haades*, *Heera*). Changes appear in his transcription of the θ and υ. In the 1889 translations of *Od.* 9 and 12, θ has lost its aspiration (*Ateene*, *Itaka*), and Greek υ is transcribed with Estonian *ü* (*Odüsseus*, *Kalüpsō*). In the translations from 1901, 1902, and 1916 (*Od.* 1, 2, and 3, respectively), we already see the forms *Odyseus*, *Olympos*, *Ithaka*, and *Athena*. The long vowels sometimes also appear in unstressed syllables (*Peeneelope*), attempting to preserve the original vowel length. The transcription of χ in the beginning of the name appears to be *k* in the earliest translation (Χάρυβδις – *Karübdis*), whereas it is *h* in the latest one (Χίος – *Hiios*); in the middle of the word, it is *h* (*Ahaia/Ahaja*), in the later translations *ch* (*Achaja*, *Teelemach*, *Eurymachus* (although in 1916 we find the form *Teelemah*, but only in this name)). *F* is used in all translations for φ (Φωκίς – *Fokis*, Φαέθουσα – *Faetusa*, Πολύφημος – *Polyfeemus*), the word-initial ι is transcribed as *j* (Ἰάρδανος – *Jardan*). The Greek -os and Latinized -us endings appear

in parallel in all these translations, but in the later ones, Bergmann gradually shifts towards retaining the original *-os* (e.g., *Ägisthus* in 1901 and *Ägisthos* in 1916). In the latter example, we also see the transcription of Greek *ai* as *ä* (also in Φαιστός – *Fästos*) and *oi* as *ö* ([ø] according to IPA), e.g., Εὐβοία – *Euböa*, Φοῖβος – *Fööbus*), probably due to Latin influence on pronunciation.

Similar tendencies can be observed in the 1917 verse translation of Homer's *Iliad* by Villem Grünthal-Ridala, the Estonian poet, translator, and folklorist, which corresponds rather well to the modern system of transcription. The χ = ch, θ=th, φ=ph, ξ=x, ζ=z, υ=y, αι=ai, οι=oi. Sometimes the vowels are conveyed as long vowels in Estonian, mostly in stressed syllables (e.g., Ἥρη – *Heere*), the lengthenings, e.g., in Πηλεΐδης – *Peeleid*, *Peeleiades*, Φθίη – *Phthiie*, Πύλος – *Pyylos*, may be due to the need for a long syllable in hexameter. Once we find *Hios* instead of *Chios*, but the form of this name may already have been more familiar to the Estonian readers. On the contrary, we find the foreignizing form *Achaia* instead of Estonianized *Ah(h)aia*.

A little less consistent seems to be Jaan Jõgever in his verse translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (1908), as he uses in parallel *y* and *ü* for rendering the Greek υ (e.g., Σκύθης – *Sküth~Skyth*, Τυφῶν – *Tüphon*, Βύβλινος – *Byblieni*). Many names have the Latin ending *-us*, the long vowels are usually rendered as short ones, a Biblical influence may be seen in the rendering of the name Ἐπαφος as *Epahvo*. The anonymous or amateur translators used a less clear system. We can find *Cenophon* (Xenophon), *Tsäsar* (Caesar), and some Greek names occur entirely in Latin forms (e.g., *Thracia*, *Cyrus*). Most of the names, however, occur already as they are used in modern translations.

Translations from the Latin language (at the beginning of the 20th century, only Horace's *Ep.* 16 and *Serm.* 1.1) generally follow the Latin orthography (e.g., *Eurus*, *Quirinus*). However, sometimes the names are rendered in a mixed Greek-Latin form (e.g., *Okeanus*, *Odisseus* pro *Ulixes*) or in Estonianized form (e.g., *Room* pro *Roma*, *Tuskid/Etruskid* pro *Etrusci*, *Jupiter* pro *Iuppiter*).

2. Translations from the time of the first Republic (1918–1940)

In 1918, at the beginning of the Estonian Republic (Estonia gained independence in 1918), an attempt was made to develop a systematic transcription method. It was recommended that Greek names be transcribed as closely as possible to the original, retaining the Greek word-endings and diphthongs (e.g., Κένταυρος – *Kentauros*, Ὅμηρος – *Homeros*, Αἰσχύλος –

Aischylos); the only exceptions were the simplified diphthongs at the end of names that had already become very common (e.g., Ἀθῆναι – *Ateena*, Δελφοί – *Delfi*, Μυκῆναι – *Mükeena*). *F* was suggested for the transcription of Greek φ (φιλόσοφος – *filosoof*), but also *ph* was used by some translators. (Päll 2005: 77–78)

In 1926, the first part of *Ancient Greek Literature* by Tadeusz Zieliński was published in Estonian, translated by Linda Metslang. She adopted the Latinized approach, transcribing *spiritus asper* as *h* (Ἑλλάς – *Hellas*), Greek diphthongs corresponded to Estonian diphthongs (Αἴγισθος – *Aigisthos*, Εὐμαῖος – *Eumaios*, Ἡράκλειτος – *Herakleitos*, Οἰδίπους – *Oidipus* (the *ou* was simplified into short *u*)), ζ was transcribed with *z*, φ as *ph*, θ as *th*, χ as *ch*, ξ as *x*, υ as *y*. The geminates were transcribed as double-consonants (e.g., Ἀπόλλων – *Apollon*, Ἀχιλλεύς – *Achilleus*, Ὀδυσσεύς – *Odysseus*), but long vowels were conveyed as short (e.g., Σοφοκλῆς – *Sophokles*, Ξενοφῶν – *Xenophon*). Yet, in toponyms, the rules were often different: the θ and φ were simplified to non-aspirated consonants (e.g., Τεββα, Εφέσος), Estonian vowel *ü* was used instead of *y* (e.g., Κύρενε), and the word-ending diphthongs were simplified. A double consonant was used only for the Greek χ (e.g., Ἀχαΐα – *Ahhaia*). A similar lack of consistency was evident in the translation of the titles of the works – some were Estonianized or translated entirely, some used Latinized forms. (Bodniece *et al.* 2018: 153–154) The same principles were followed in the *History of Ancient Greek Literature* and *History of Latin Literature* compiled by Ervin Roos in 1935. Nevertheless, in many translations, attempts to convey proper names as they were actually pronounced can be seen.

The focus of translations shifted more towards Latin authors in this period, as Greek was taught less and less in schools. As a result, some translations were made from German or Russian instead of ancient Greek. (Päll 2011: 131) From ancient Greek authors, two translations of Homer's *Iliad* were made, but most of them remained unpublished. Only Anna Õpik's *Odyssey* 1–12 was published in 1938. All of them seem to follow the system proposed in the handbooks of literature, though some differences persist. In translations of the *Iliad*, the Greek χ is usually transcribed as *kh* (e.g., *Akhilleus*), but inconsistencies occur in the name *Akhaia/Ahaia*.

In Õpik's translation of the *Odyssey*, the χ is transcribed as *ch* within the name (e.g., *Telemachos*), but as *k* in the beginning of the proper name (e.g., *Kloris*, *Karübdis*). Greek φ is mostly transcribed as *ph* (e.g., *Phoinikia*, *Taphos*), yet sometimes as *f* (e.g., *Antifates* and *taafased* for Τάφιοι). As the Estonian language stresses the first syllable of the word (and has secondary accents on the 3rd and 5th syllables), some long vowels in the first syllables are conveyed as long vowels (e.g., Σῆδών – *Siidon*, Κρήτη/α – *Kreeta*) – this characteristic feature

has remained in use also in modern translations. Inconsistencies appear in the transcription of υ, sometimes transcribed as ü (e.g., *Zakünthos*, *Liibüa*), but mostly as y (e.g., *Olympos*, *Styks*). In my opinion, the reason cannot be that the names transcribed with Estonian ü are more common than the ones transcribed with y. Greek ξ is always conveyed as ks by Õpik. Some curious transcriptions can also be found, most striking is the name *Oidipodes* for Οἰδίπους, but also *Thebaa* for Θῆβαι (usually the last diphthongs of the toponyms are conveyed as a single short vowel in Estonian).

Two short excerpts were translated from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, both of which have a different approach to the name of the protagonist. An anonymous translator in 1925 used the Latin form *Cyrus*, but the folklorist and clergyman Matthias Johann Eisen used the Estonianized form *Küüros*, writing it with a long vowel, as it is in the stressed position.

Several translations were made from Greek tragedies, but translations of whole works were made through intermediary languages (German or Russian, namely Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and Sophocles' *Antigone*, both of which remained in manuscripts). Excerpts from *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex* were translated by the famous translator and literary scholar Ants Oras from Greek. He seems to render the names rather closely in Greek, with minor adaptations (e.g., *Teebai*, *Oidipus*). One excerpt was translated from Plato's *Menon*, and only two names (*Sokrates*, *Menon*) occur there. Remarkable are the four works by Lucian (*Verae Historiae*, *Iuppiter Confutatus*, *Timon*, *Dialogues of the Gods*) translated by a young and talented classical philologist, Rudolf Laanes, sometime before 1940; however, he died during the war in 1941, and his translations also remained unpublished. For instance, in the translation of *VH*, he primarily follows the transcription rules already established by that time, but translates most of the *nomina loquentia* for comic effect.

As noted, the focus during this period shifted to Latin authors. On the one hand, we have verse translations by Estonian poets of Horace, Propertius, Catullus, and Ovid; on the other hand, we have prose translations, probably used in classrooms (Kurs 2003: 20), from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Fasti*, and *Tristia*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, and the 21st book of *Ab Urbe Condita* by Livy. With few Estonianized exceptions (e.g., *Jupiter*, *Süüria*, *Sabiini pro Iuppiter*, *Syria* and *Sabinia*), the names appear as they are in the Latin nominative case (with added Estonian case-ending, if necessary). Some inconsistencies can be observed, for instance, in Hugo Pärna's translation of *Livy* – the *c* seems to be transcribed with *k* when it is pronounced thus, otherwise *c* is retained (e.g., *Kornelius*, *Alorkus* and *Caeres*, *Ticinus*), but sometimes *C* is preserved at the beginning of the name even if pronounced as *k* (e.g., *Crelius*, *Carsos*). The most remarkable

exception seems to be A. Anslang, who, in his translation of the 4th Book of *the Aeneid*, uses very different principles, to my mind, rather unsystematically.

One of the translations from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Keyx and Alcyone*), however, was made by the translator, linguist, and innovator of the Estonian language, Johannes Aavik; in addition, he translated *Scipio's dream* from *De Re Publica* by Cicero and the 6th Book of the *Aeneid* by Virgil. He has decided to present the Greek names in a Latin text in a half-Estonianized form: he retains *ch* (e.g., *Acheron*) and *th* (e.g., *Athon*) as they appear in Latin text, but changes *x* into *ks* (e.g., *Styks*, *Keyks*) and Latin *c* into *k* or *ts*, according to the late pronunciation (e.g., *Hercules*>*Herkules*, *Lucifer*>*Luutsifer*). As seen from the last name, he also writes long vowels in stressed syllables (also in *Trachinia* > *Trachiini*). Sometimes he uses only the stem of the name or its shortened version (e.g., *Homerus*>*Homeer*, *Mercurius*>*Merkuur*, *Platon*>*Plato*). The diphthong *ae* (original Greek αἰ) is also rendered as *ä* in Estonian, following its later pronunciation (e.g., *Äolus*, Αἴμων – *Hämonia*, *Aeneas* – *Äneas*). The name *Greeka* (for *Greek*) is written in this form throughout this period, although today we use *Kreeka* instead. A peculiar trait is that he uses the letter *y* instead of Estonian *ü* throughout his translation, even in ordinary Estonian words.

Remarkable is also the series of translations of Propertius' elegies by the Estonian poet Hendrik Visnapuu. The translations were rather poetic, creatively used the Estonian language and the possibilities offered by its various dialects. (Kurs 2003: 27–28). He tends to Estonianize proper names even more, following their actual pronunciation and using letters and combinations more common in Estonian (e.g., *Styx*>*Stüks*, *Achilles*>*Ahilles*, *Briseidos*>*Priseidos*, *Fryges*>*früügid*, *Demophoon*>*Temofoon*, *Phoebe*>*Fööbuse*, *Thamyrae*>*Tamüüra*, *Crassus*>*Krassus*, *Cynthia*>*Küntia*).

The most interesting, and probably also most difficult, problems occur in the two translations of the 1st book of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* when rendering the names of various Germanic and Gallic tribes. The first translation was made by P. Seeberg (lecturer of ancient languages at the University of Tartu) and Estonian teacher P. Narusk in 1923; the second one by Oskar Kool in 1939. Both translations have chosen the Estonian suffix *-lane* for rendering the names of tribes (*-lane* suffix marks a person originating from a place, usually added to the stem of the toponym in case of *-us/-i* or *-es*, the nominative ending is dropped; if the name is formed from the name of the place with ending *-ia*, it is preserved). Their system of rendering the stem of the name is, however, slightly different. In the former translation, the Latin *c* is retained almost everywhere, and the long vowel in stressed syllables appears; nevertheless, it doesn't follow the stress pattern of the original language, but tends to occur right in front of the

suffix *-lane* (e.g., Grāiocēli – *graiocellased*, Ceutronēs – *ceutroonlased*, Cātūrīges – *caturiiglased*); sometimes the lengthening is omitted (e.g., Sēgūsīāvi – *segusiavlased*, Suēvi – *suevlased*, Latovīci – *latoviklased*). In the latter example, we also see that the Latin *c* is transcribed as *k* right before the suffix *-lane*. The same names in Kool's translation appear as *graiotsellased*, *tseutronlased*, *katuriiglased*, *segusiaavlased*, *latoviiklased*, *sueeblased*, i.e., the long vowels appear everywhere in front of the suffix *-lane*, except the liquids (*l*, *n*). Kool has also chosen to transcribe *c* as *k* when it is pronounced this way. The initial *h* in the name *Haedui* was dropped in both translations, the first one rendered the name as *ādulased*, the latter as *äädulased* (again following the Estonian stress on the first syllable). Different approaches are also used in conveying the names ending with *-er*, e.g., *Cimbri* – Narusk/Seeberg add the suffix to the stem (*cimbrilased*), whereas Kool adds it to the nominative singular form (*kimberlased*). In rendering the toponyms, the differences are smaller, and both use the Estonianized forms following the later pronunciation of Latin for more common names (e.g., *Hispaania*, *Helveetsia*), sometimes also using forms already known from German or French (e.g., *Rhenus* > *Rein*, *Rhodanus* > *Roone*).

3. The time of the Soviet occupation (1941-1991)

The beginning of the Soviet occupation marked a significant *lacuna* in the translation activities from ancient languages – only translations of some poems (for instance, by Horace) or short excerpts within literary reviews or articles were published. The debate over whether *υ*, *φ* and *ξ* should be transcribed as *ü*, *f* and *ks*, or with Latinized *y*, *ph* and *x*, continued: some preferred Estonian variants for toponyms and foreign variants for personal names. In 1949, Joseph Tronsky's *History of Ancient Literature* was translated by Aita Kurfeldt. In general, the proposed rules from the time of the first republic were used; the differences concerned the transcription of *φ* and *υ* as *f* and *ü* (e.g., *Sappfo* and *Odüsseus*). Inconsistencies occurred in transcribing *χ* as *ch* or as *h/hh* in the titles of the works. (Bodniece *et al.* 2018: 154–155) Our linguist Johannes Aavik specified the transcription of *γκ* and *γχ* with *nk* and *nch*. In the 1950s–1960s, the *Estonian Orthographic Dictionary* (the main contributor was the linguist and lexicologist Ernst Nurm) recommended using letters specific to Estonian rather than foreign letters (a pattern evident in several translations from the former period). However, at the same time, an opposing party (led by linguist and compiler of dictionaries Voldemar Veski, and linguist, critic and translator Ain Kaalep) supported the latinized forms and the two systems were used in parallel. At last, mainly due to the active publishing of the latter party, the system

of Latinized forms, developed during the first independence, prevailed. (Päll 2005: 77–78, Bodniece *et al.* 2018: 155–156) The *Estonian Orthographic Dictionary* of 1976 allowed parallel ways for transcribing ξ as *ks* or *x*, ρ as *r* or *rh*, γξ as *nks* or *nx*, γχ as *nh*, or *nch*, χ as *h/hh* or *ch*, φ as *f* or *ph*, υ as *ü* or *y*. (Päll 2005: 79–80)

The publication of the *Estonian Soviet Encyclopaedia* (starting in 1968), the *Anthology of Greek Literature* (in 1964), and the *Anthology of Roman Literature* (in 1971) solidified the Latinized system of the first independence in the transcription of personal names. However, in the names of the titles of the works, the domesticating rules were often followed, where the foreign letters were avoided, and Estonian word-endings were added: Ἀχαρνεῖς – Ahharnlased (*Acharnians*), Χοηφόροι – Hoefoorid. (Bodniece *et al.* 2018: 156–157). The Estonian stress patterns may influence Estonian orthography, rendering vowels in stressed syllables as long (Hoefoorid). Because many Greek names have been adopted into Estonian through Latin, the long vowel often appears in place of the Latin accent (e.g., Κύκλωπες, Cyclōpes > Kükloobid). An important margin is also the 1983 translation of the *Lexicon der Antike* into Estonian, with Richard Kleis as the main editor, which has set the standard for rendering ancient names into Estonian to this day. The system for transcribing ancient Greek and Latin names had reached its standard, which was followed in most translations. Only occasionally can we see attempts to use more Estonianized forms. For this reason, I will not delve further into individual translations or translators; instead, I will provide a brief overview of the texts translated during this period.

The 1960s marked a new beginning in translation activities. The compilation of the anthologies by one of the most important translators of ancient texts – the philologist Ain Kaalep – together with the classicist Ülo Torpats, marked the beginning of an attempt to translate the works of the canonical ancient Greek and Roman authors from every genre (in opposition to the rather diverse selection in previous years) in order to educate the wider public. Remarkable is the tendency to publish the whole translations of dramas in the anthologies, not just excerpts from them. (Päll 2011: 131–133, Päll 2012: 47–48) At last, the full translations of Homeric epics were published, the *Iliad* in 1960 and the *Odyssey* in 1963 (translated by the poet August Annist, with the help of the classicist Karl Reitav). New overviews of classical literature were also made by the classicist Richard Kleis in 1964 (Greek literature) and 1971 (Roman literature). Full translations were also published of Virgil's *Bucolica* (1970) and *Aeneid* (1975) by Ants Oras (who was already in exile at that time; in Estonia, they were published together in 1992) and Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* by Kaalep/Torpats in 1977. In various magazines, the Homeric hymns, poems by Sappho, Pindar, Theocritus, Horace, Virgil, etc.,

were published, in separate books the *Cena Trimalchionis* from Petronius' *Satyricon* and *Daphnis & Chloe* by Longus appeared. Translations during this period were usually made by philologists with deeper knowledge of the original languages, with poetry translations sometimes made together with Estonian poets. Although the Department of Ancient Languages/Classical Philology at the University of Tartu was closed at the beginning of the Soviet occupation, some classicists continued to teach ancient Greek and Latin outside the curriculum. In the 1980s–1990s, more philosophical texts began to appear – full translations of the works by Marcus Aurelius, Augustinus, Aristotle and Plato were made.

The ancient names have, of course, been used also in the original works of Estonian writers (for instance, recently my colleague shared a poem in the *Mulgi* dialect from South Estonia, where the name forms *Persehvoone* and *Riptuleemus* (Persephone and Triptolemos) were used), but this is outside the scope of this paper.

4. Translations starting from the re-independence of Estonia (1991)

Estonia's independence was restored on the 20th of August 1991. In the same year, the department of Classical Philology was reopened at the University of Tartu, the main contributor to it was Anne Lill, who also became the first professor of Classics after the first Republic and who has translated very many important works both from ancient Greek and Latin and from very many various genres. This marked the beginning of the education of the new generation of translators from the classical languages. At the beginning of the 1990s, the translated texts were again drawn from a wide range of genres and appeared mostly in literary magazines. Since 1996, complete translations have also been published as separate books (e.g., from Aristotle, Theophrastus, Aesop, Seneca, Suetonius, Livius, Tacitus, Sallustius). Some tragedies were translated for staging (e.g., Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, Sophocles' *Antigone*). New anthologies of *Ancient Greek Literature* (in 2006, compiled by Janika Päll) and *Roman Literature* (in 2009, compiled by Kaspar Kolk) reprinted some older translations, but many new ones were added.

All the later translations, as they are made mostly by or with the help of classical philologists, generally follow the system for transcribing names that is already quite well established. The Latin names are usually presented as they are in the Latin text, Greek names follow the suggestions of *Lexicon of Antiquity* and *The Estonian Language Institute* (and the *Estonian Orthographic Dictionary* from 1995): χ=ch, φ=ph, θ=th, ξ=x, ζ=z, υ=y, οι=oi, αι=ai (in case of the toponyms, diphthong at the end of the name is usually transcribed as *i* and *a*), γγ=ng,

$\gamma\kappa=nk$, $\gamma\xi=nx$, $\gamma\chi=nch$. (Päll 2005: 79–80) The double vowels are usually presented as a single short vowel. However, these rules are sometimes broken, for instance, in verse translations, where the long vowel in stressed syllables gives the opportunity to adapt the name to the poetic meter. Some names are also so deeply Estonianized that they have preserved the form from the first half of the 20th century (or even earlier), or follow the pronunciation rules characteristic of the Estonian language, e.g., *Efesos*, *Aleksandria*, „*Odüsseia*“ (the *Odyssey*, but *Odysseus* for the character), *Ahhaia*, *Atika*, *Teeba*, *Rooma*, *Kreeka*, *Pärsia* (Persia), etc.

Conclusions

The rules for transcribing ancient Greek and Latin names developed over a long period, starting with the first Bible translations, and reached their standard form generally in the second half of the 20th century. The most problematic are the Greek aspirated consonants θ , ϕ , χ , ρ , double consonants ξ and ζ , vowel υ and diphthongs $\alpha\iota$, $\omicron\iota$; from the Latin language, the inconsistencies occur in transcribing *c*, consonants with *h* (*th*, *rh*, *ph*, *ch*) and diphthongs *ae*, *oe*. The first translators of ancient texts partly followed the rules of Bible translation, partly tried to adapt the names to the pronunciation and orthographical rules of the Estonian language (the latter also changed during the period of the first translations). In the first half of the 20th century, often two systems appeared in parallel (Latinized and domesticized), influences of German and Latin language can be seen in Greek names; in the second half of the 20th century, primarily the Latinized forms prevailed.

The translators of the texts until the 1940s can be divided into three main groups: 1) the amateur translators or translators of unidentified background; 2) the writers, poets, translators already famous in the literary landscape in Estonia, who had usually studied classical languages at school; 3) the teachers of Latin in schools or lecturers/students of ancient languages at the University of Tartu. Since the second half of the 20th century, translators have mostly been professionals with a good knowledge of ancient languages, who sometimes collaborate with poets to produce poetically beautiful and enjoyable translations. The practice of rendering ancient names shows a gradual development in the first translations, even by the same translator, whereas since the second half of the 20th century, we can already see a steady and systematic approach.

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