

Introduction

While the reception of Cicero as a man, orator, philosopher and politician in Western European literature and thought from the Roman Imperial period until the twenty-first century has been extensively studied,¹ his reception by the Greek population of the Eastern Roman Empire and the later Byzantine Empire is tolerably investigated,² and the survey of his appreciation by the post-Byzantine, Early Modern and Modern Greece is still very sparse and not exclusively dedicated to Cicero.³

The reception of Cicero in the post-Classical Greek world appears to have been related to the learning of the Latin language by Greek officials still under the Late Roman Empire. This is at least the prevailing opinion on the four papyrical bilingual glossaries preserving portions of Cicero's *Catilinarian* speeches and dating between the late fourth and the early sixth centuries CE. All of them originally belonged to papyrus codices found in Egypt. Their text is organised in columns: the Latin one on the left and the corresponding Greek word-by-word translation on the right. At the end of the fourth century, Emperor Diocletian (284–305 CE) created a new system of highly bureaucratised government, requiring, especially in the provinces, several civil and military officials to be managed. These people, often Greek speakers, were in charge of the new administration and so they had to know Roman Law perfectly and have at least a smattering of the Latin language. Therefore, from the fourth century, there was an increase in Latin papyri and scholastic tools, such as the abovementioned glossaries but also alphabets and inflection tables. In her contribution "Preliminary Remarks on the Technical Language of the Bilingual Glossaries of Cicero", Fernanda Maffei conducts a deep investigation of the language and the translations of Ciceronian glossaries, starting from the textual edition by Internullo (2011–2012; 2016). Cicero was very well known and appreciated by the jurists in Late Antiquity, who often quote or allude

1 See, e.g., Kennedy 2002; the chapters by Gowing, MacCormack, Marsh, Fox, Cole, and Fotheringham in Steel 2013; Altman 2015a; Keeline 2018; La Bua 2019; Clare 2020; Pià-Comella 2020.

2 See, e.g., Irmscher 1959; Irmscher 1960; Irmscher 1961; Gigante 1962; Schmitt 1968; Fisher 1982; Benakis 1990; Nikitas 2001; the chapters by Gengler, and Rochette (esp. pp. 299–300) in Garcea *et al.* 2019.

3 Banou-Tsiami 2003, 107–111; Deligiannis *et al.* 2020; Research Project "Greek Translations of Latin works in the Greek world from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the end of the 19th century" (<http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/>). A doctoral dissertation under the title *Διερεύνηση της μεταφραστικής τύχης των φιλοσοφικών έργων του Κικέρωνα στη νεοελληνική λογοτεχνική παραγωγή από τις αρχές του 19^{ου} αιώνα* ("Investigating the translation fortune of Cicero's philosophical works in the Modern Greek literary production from the early nineteenth century") by M. Nikolaidou is under preparation at Democritus University of Thrace, Greece.

to his speeches in more than a law.⁴ This being the case, the author detects juridical and technical language and its translation in the Ciceronian glossaries, and makes a comparison with, on one side, the translations from the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (CGL), in particular with the *capitula* concerning *de magistratibus*, and on the other, the translations in the documentary papyri, sometimes bilingual too, to underline the practical use of these glossaries among the officials. She also highlights the importance of Cicero in rhetorical teaching in the Eastern part of the Empire: starting from Moroni's observation that in the Theodosian Codex there are rhetorical expressions from the *Catilinarians*, she reconstructs the value of these speeches, and of the other Ciceronian speeches from Egypt in the frame of other witnesses of classical authors from Egypt.

The sixth century and the court of Emperor Justinian I must have been the milieu within which an anonymous Byzantine dialogue on politics is placed, presumably based on Cicero's *De re publica*.⁵ Between the sixth and the ninth centuries, there are no traces of the reception of Cicero in the Byzantine Empire, which appears to revive during the ninth-century Macedonian Renaissance. The way in which Cicero was received by a major figure of this very century, Photius I of Constantinople, Patriarch and scholar, is the focal point of Tiziano F. Ottobriani's paper "Cicero and Photius. An Analysis of the Survival and Influence of Cicero on Photius' *Bibliotheca*, at the Crossroads between History and Drama". Cicero was one of the authors read and reviewed by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, but to date both the judgment that the Patriarch expressed on him and the reasons why he came to develop this evaluation are completely neglected from a critical point of view. The author points out that Photius dedicates a whole specific section to Cicero (*Bibl.* 245.395a), quoting that he was killed while reading Euripides' *Medea* and arguing that this was made with precise ideological intent: as Medea came from the East and killed her children, so Cicero was killed at the request of Mark Antony (linked to the East through Cleopatra), who as a Roman killed another Roman (hence Rome kills her own son). He also focuses on the Latin authors known by Photius in general and the knowledge that Photius specifically demonstrates about Cicero. It emerges that Photius perceived Cicero as an orator above all, almost entirely leaving out his philosophical production. In parallel, he finally makes some observations on the diffusion of Cicero in Greece during the ninth century, so as to bring out Photius' specific position within this framework. The paper offers a framework to shed light on Cicero's legacy among the highest Con-

⁴ See Moroni 2008.

⁵ *Μηνᾶ πατρικίου πρὸς Θωμᾶν ῥεφερενδάριον περὶ πολιτικῆς*; see Mazzucchi 1982; Licandro 2017.

stantinopolitan intellectual of all, with special regard to the Christian appropriation that was made of the greatest pagan orator.

While the reception of Cicero in the first Byzantine Renaissance was rather limited, the second one, the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance, was more prolific in reading and transferring Cicero. The Byzantine Greek translations of some of Cicero's texts by Maximus Planudes in the thirteenth century have been extensively studied,⁶ and the same applies to the corresponding translations by Theodore Gaza in the fifteenth century.⁷ Starting from the translations of Cicero by Byzantine and post-Byzantine scholars, Vasileios Pappas focuses on Cicero's works that were rendered into Greek in the nineteenth century. He traces twenty-seven different versions and offers an overview of them, by presenting their contents and dividing them into three main categories related to Cicero's works (philosophical works, rhetorical works and epistles). Moreover, he analyses the reasons that urged the nineteenth-century Greek scholars to translate these particular works of Cicero (educational, political reasons, etc.).

One of the translations mentioned by Pappas is the focal point of Ioannis Deligiannis' contribution "The First Greek Translation of Cicero's *De re publica* (1839)". The *editio princeps* of Cicero's dialogue in 1822 by Mai was soon followed by the first Greek version, produced by Viaros Kapodistrias (1774–1842) and published under a pseudonym in Athens in 1839. The still unstable political conditions of the Greek State, under which the translation was made, are implied by the translator in his address to the readers in the prologue, which closes with an exhortation to his compatriots to benefit by reading Cicero's political thoughts. A detailed examination reveals that Viaros worked not on the original Latin text, but on Villemain's French version (Paris 1823), of which a copy was certainly in the personal library of his brother, Ioannis Kapodistrias, and thus available to Viaros. Furthermore, the Greek terms used by the translator show remarkable similarities with the vocabulary of French-Greek dictionaries earlier than or contemporary with the translation. The reasons behind publishing his version under a pseudonym are not clear, but it is likely to relate to the political conditions of the time, especially after the assassination of his brother in 1831 and an increasing discontent towards King Otto's refusal to grant a constitution to the Greeks.

The thread of Cicero's reception in Modern Greece does not end in the nineteenth century. Despite the significant number of Modern Greek translations of and commentaries on Cicero's works produced in the twentieth and twenty-first

6 See, e.g., Gigante 1958; Gigante 1961; Pavano 1987; Pavano 1988; Pavano 1989; Pavano 1992; Tzamos 1998; Caldini Montanari 2000; Fodor 2004.

7 See, e.g., Salanitro 1975–1976; Salanitro 1987, with further bibliography; Bevegini 1992; Santoro 1992; Bianca 1999; Ciccolella 2020; Nikitas 2020.

centuries (see the Appendix at the end of this volume), and Cicero's appearances in a wide range of media (from political newspapers and websites to arts and sporting columns), nonetheless, although Cicero is arguably one of the most important and celebrated figures of ancient Rome, widely known all over the world, it would seem that Greece is an interesting exception to this rule; oddly enough and despite Cicero's large interaction with ancient Greek literature and philosophy, he is relatively less popular among modern Greeks in contrast to other political and/or literary Roman figures such as Julius Caesar, Octavian Augustus, Caligula, Nero, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, to name but a few. Even in Modern Greek legal thought, the presence of Cicero is rather limited, although to Greek lawyers Cicero has been a famous name: a statesman, an orator and a philosopher. It is less easy, however, to trace Cicero's influence in Modern Greek legal thought. It is telling that Konstantinos Tsatsos (1899–1987), President of the Hellenic Republic (1975–1980), a diplomat, professor of law and one of the leading twentieth-century Greek legal philosophers, chose to translate some of Cicero's political speeches into Greek, but barely cited Cicero's philosophical works in his scholarly books. This is even more remarkable because the Roman law was officially the law of Greece, at least until the promulgation of a Civil Code in 1940/1946. An important reason appears to be a perceived division of labour (and hence legacy) between Greece and Rome, with regard to the development of law: in this narrative, the Romans have bequeathed the world with legal doctrine, whereas the Greeks' legacy lies in legal philosophy (theoretical thinking about law and justice) and forensic oratory. There is little law in the great Greek forensic orators and there is little doctrinal discussion in philosophical and political works. On the other hand, the philosophy underlying the Roman law texts of the *Corpus Iuris* had appeared derivative of Hellenistic Greek philosophy, especially the Stoic tradition. In the law faculties of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century Greece, while the study of Ancient Greek law has been elevated, there has been little interest in the reverse, i.e. studying doctrinal legal arguments in Roman forensic speeches, notably by Cicero. In this environment, Cicero is more interesting as a complex statesman, a master political orator, observer and actor. As Cicero came to be defined by his political action and speeches, Greek intellectuals, active in both law and politics, found themselves in parallel experiences. Tsatsos, e.g., published his translation of six speeches by Cicero in 1968, at a moment when the military dictatorship that took power the previous year was entrenched and his own political career (over twenty years in the parliament, many of which as a cabinet minister) was suspended. Tsatsos chose the four *Catilinarian* speeches, as well as the *Pro Marcello* and *Pro Ligario*, that is the speeches detailing a successful defence of the republican constitution from a would-be dictatorial conspiracy, but also two less well-known speeches in which Cicero pleaded successfully with Caesar for reconcilia-

tion and clemency, on behalf of two prominent Romans who had fought against him in the Civil War. In other words, Cicero's rhetoric serves as an artful way to comment, and reflect upon, analogous political situations in a turbulent moment of Greek history.

