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Greek Translations of Cicero's Works in the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

Cicero the Translator and his Reception

Cicero was the first to realise the great value of translation, as he rendered several Greek works into Latin. He was also the first to make the distinction between the *ad verbum* (verbatim) and the *ad sensum* (attributing the sense to words) forms of translation, adopting the latter as his style of translation,¹ a practice that other Latin authors also followed after him, including Horace, Pliny the Younger, Quintilian, and St. Jerome.² Cicero translated Aratus' *Phaenomena* into Latin hexameters (we have approximately five hundred verses of this translation).³ In *De officiis* 2.87, he also informs us that in his youth he translated Xenophon.⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* 2.94) mentions Cicero's translation of Demosthenes' *De corona*, adding that Jerome had also read it.⁵ Regarding his translations of Greek philosophical works, we know that he rendered into Latin Plato's *Timaeus*. In fact, he included many passages by the Greek philosopher into his own works, which he translated into Latin himself.⁶ Furthermore, Cicero included fourteen Latin translated passages from Greek tragic poets within his works,⁷ as indicatively in *Cic. Tusc.* 2.20–22, where he cites his Latin translation of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 1046–1102,⁸ and 2.23–25, where he includes in his narration a translated passage from Aeschylus' *Prom-*

1 Cic. *Opt. gen.* 13–14: *nec converti ut intepres, sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis* ("I did not translate as an interpreter, but as an orator, maintaining the same ideas and the same form, by words that are harmonised to our customs"; here and after transl. by the author).

2 See Munday 2001, 20–21; Robinson ²2002, 15 and 18–19; Weissbort/Eysteinson 2006, 26–27; Missiou 2012, 31.

3 Glucker 2015, 37. For the possible dates of this translation, see Soubiran 1972, 9–14.

4 Altman 2015b, 10.

5 MacCormack 2013, 290.

6 Glucker 2015, 37.

7 See Karamalengou 2003, 113, where she mentions that these passages are: nine from *Tusculanae disputationes* (1.115; 2.20–22; 2.23; 3.29; 3.59; 3.67; 3.71; 3.76; 4.63), two from *De officiis* (3.82; 3.108), and one each from *De divinatione* (2.12), *De finibus* (2.105), and *De natura deorum* (2.65) respectively.

8 For this translation, see Gasti 2003.

etheus Lyomenos (whose original Greek is now lost).⁹ Aside from his translation practice, Cicero was also the first scholar to deal with translation theory, introducing new terms to render Greek texts into Latin,¹⁰ and highlighting the use of the translation as a pedagogical tool to improve an orator's skills.¹¹

The reception of Cicero, from the imperial period through to our modern era, is a subject that has been studied prolifically by several scholars.¹² The large number of mediaeval manuscripts,¹³ the Renaissance Ciceronianism¹⁴ (the imitation of Cicero by several scholars in this period, such as Matteo Palmieri),¹⁵ and Cicero's impact on their own works (e.g. in Leonardo Bruni)¹⁶ all demonstrate that he was a well-studied author up to recent times.¹⁷ As Marsh notes, Brunetto Latini, Dante's teacher, translated part of the *De inventione* with the title *Rettorica* (1260), and a few years later produced Tuscan versions of *Pro Ligario*, *Pro rege Deiotaro* and *Pro Marcello*.¹⁸ Between 1460 and 1700 we have over three hundred editions of and commentaries on Cicero's rhetorical works.¹⁹ Scholars made vernacular translations of Cicero, and his philosophical works *De officiis*, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Paradoxa Stoicorum* and *Tusculanae disputationes* were also translated in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish between 1468 and 1561.²⁰ The great German Lutheran reformer, Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), composed many editions as well as commentaries on Cicero's works, which were used as textbooks in the University of Wittenberg, where he also gave several lectures on Cicero.²¹ The Enlightenment contributed to the diffusion of Cicero's works even more, as it “brought enormous progress in the production of printed books: printing and paper became

9 For Cicero's translations from Greek, see Jones 1959; Gamberale 1973; Powell 1995; Chinnici 2000; Kopeckzy 2009; White 2015. For Latin translations of Greek works in general, see, indicatively, Traina 1970; Lewis 1986; Kytzler 1989; Vaiopoulos 2010; McElduff 2013; Deligiannis 2017a and 2020.

10 Fyntikoglou 2003, 87, who notes that Cicero added the terms *interpretari*, *explicare*, *reddere*, and *transferre* to the traditional (pre-Ciceronian) *vertere* and *exprimere*.

11 Robinson 1992, 19–34.

12 See, indicatively, Cowing 2013; MacCormack 2013; Fox 2013; Cole 2013; Fotheringham 2013; Altman 2015b; Keeline 2018; La Bua 2019.

13 See Ward 2015, 313; La Bua 2019, 55–99.

14 Grafton, 2010; McLaughlin 2016.

15 Marsh 2013, 313.

16 Ianziti 2000.

17 For the study of Cicero's rhetoric works in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, see Cox/Ward 2006.

18 Marsh 2013, 309–310.

19 Marsh 2013, 309.

20 Marsh 2013, 313.

21 Springer 2018, 131–135.

cheaper, and the reading public grew".²² During this period, many translations of Cicero's works began to be published across Europe, and continued into the nineteenth century.²³ Indicatively, I mention Jonathan Swift's translation of a passage from the *Verrines* in 1710,²⁴ and William Melmoth's translations of *Epistulae ad familiares* in 1753, and of *De senectute* in 1773.²⁵ The existence of a large number of commentaries on Cicero's works from Late Antiquity (Asconius, Macrobius, Victorinus) until the sixteenth century (e.g. those by Antonio Loschi,²⁶ Giorgio Merula,²⁷ Daniele Barbaro, Johannes Rosa and Giulio Castellani) prove that the study of Cicero's text and ideas was widespread and long-lived.²⁸ In the eighteenth century, we have several editions, also accompanied by commentaries, including those by P. Victorius *et al.* (1724), and P. J. Thoulrier d' Olivet (1740).²⁹ Finally, many editions, translations and commentaries on Cicero were composed during the nineteenth century (e.g. Francis Barham's translation of *De re publica* in 1822),³⁰ a phenomenon that increased during the modern era (the twentieth and twenty-first centuries).³¹

The existence of many translations of Cicero's works in several European languages is fully justified by the dominant position that the Latin language and literature occupied in the educational system of Renaissance Europe, and especially after the sixteenth century (the centuries following the Reformation).³² Cicero also played a dominant role in the curricula of Italian grammar schools during the fifteenth century.³³ In seventeenth-and-eighteenth-century France, Latin – and more specifically Cicero – was widely taught in schools and universities; however, this changed following the French Revolution, when Latin began to lose its important position.³⁴ The Latin language (in its written and oral form), and Cicero,

²² Fox 2013, 320.

²³ Fox 2013, 320–321.

²⁴ Fox 2013, 322.

²⁵ Fox 2013, 331.

²⁶ Marsh 2013, 307.

²⁷ Marsh 2013, 310.

²⁸ Marsh 2013, 313–314.

²⁹ Fox 2013, 327 n. 24.

³⁰ Cole 2013, 346.

³¹ For Cicero in the nineteenth century, see Cole 2013. For Cicero in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, see Fotheringham 2013.

³² Springer 2018, 157.

³³ Black 1996.

³⁴ Springer 2018, 157.

was also dominant in other countries of Europe from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries (England, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and Poland).³⁵

Latin in the Greek-Speaking World

In the Greek-speaking world (which I define as the inhabitants of mainland Greece, the Ionian Islands, the islands of the Aegean Sea, but also those who lived in the Greek East, i.e. in Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the Black Sea), things were different. During the age between the early Byzantine Empire and the twelfth century, knowledge of Latin was mainly focused on the fields of grammar, law and administration.³⁶ Nevertheless, a few translations of Latin works (of pagan and Christian Latin authors) into the Greek language were produced. Indicatively, I mention the ancient Greek translations of Cicero's *Catilinarians* in the fourth century,³⁷ and of Eutropius' *Breviarium ab urbe condita* by Paenius and Capito in approximately 380 and 600, respectively.³⁸ Furthermore, it seems that a small number of Byzantine authors were influenced by Latin literature, such as Agathias and John Malalas.³⁹

During the thirteenth – probably because of the Latinocracy (1204–1261) of Byzantium – and fourteenth centuries, we observe a light flourishing of Greek translations of Latin works. Maximus Planudes (ca 1255–ca 1305) translated into Greek Caesar's *De bello Gallico*,⁴⁰ Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*,⁴¹ Macrobius' *Commentarii* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*,⁴² Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*,⁴³ and

35 Springer 2018, 158–162. The same scholar notes that even in post-Petrine Russia “there were 26 colleges by 1750 with a Latin curriculum” (Springer 2018, 160).

36 See Pellizzari 2019; Signes Codoñer 2019; Rosellini/Yanes 2019; Baratin 2019; Bochove 2019.

37 Rochette 2019, 299.

38 For these translations, see Trivolis 1941; Baffetti 1922; Roberto 2003; Rochette 2019, 302–304. Also, I must note the existence of a paraphrase in Modern Greek of Paenius' ancient Greek translation by Neophytos Doukas, and the dictionary of the names of men existing in the Latin work by the same scholar in 1807; see Pappas 2014. For an overview of Greek translations of Latin works in Byzantium, see Rochette 2019. For a general sketch of translations from Latin from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, see Nikitas 2001 and 2020; Mavrelas 2020.

39 For the impact of Ovid on Agathias, see Alexakis 2008. For the existence of Latin literature in John Malalas, see Gengler 2019. For Latin models of Greek works of this era, see also Agosti 2019; Gastgeber 2019; Roberto 2019; Mecella 2019.

40 Tromaras 1999, 292.

41 For Planudes' translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see Fisher 1990; Megas 1998; Papathomopoulos/Tsavari 2002. For his translation of *Heroides*, see Papathomopoulos 1976; Michalopoulos 2003.

42 Megas 1995.

Augustine's *De Trinitate* and pseudo-Augustine's *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*.⁴⁴ Scholars disagree on a Greek translation of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* made in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, as most attribute it to Planudes, while a few believe that it belongs to Theodore Gaza (1398–1478).⁴⁵ Manuel Olovolos (1245–1310) and Prochoros Kydones (1330–1369) translated into Greek Boethius' *De topicis differentiis*,⁴⁶ and Demetrius Kydones translated the *Soliloquia* of pseudo-Augustine.⁴⁷ Theodore Gaza translated Cicero's *De senectute* in 1500, which according to Ciccolella, is his “only authentic translation from Latin to Greek”.⁴⁸ Cicero greatly affected the rhetorical work of George of Trebizond (1395–1472),⁴⁹ and the political theory of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos (1670–1730), the Greek prince of the Danube Principalities.⁵⁰

During the period from the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks (1453) until the Greek War of Independence (1821), we mainly find: Greek translations of Latin works that covered ancient Greek (and Roman) history and mythology (indicatively: Justin's *Epitome of Trogus* by Ioannis Makolas in 1686 and Daniel Philippidis in 1817, who also translated Florus' *Epitome rerum Romanarum* in 1818,⁵¹ Cornelius Nepos' *De viris illustribus* by Spyridon Vlantis in 1798,⁵² several translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, etc.),⁵³ a few translations of famous Latin poems (such as the translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics* in 1791/1792 and 1796, respectively, into Homerising language and metre by Eugenios Voulgaris);⁵⁴ several translations from Neo-Latin philosophical, theological, and scientific treatises;⁵⁵ and several Greek renderings of Neo-Latin literature works, such as the translation of Ambrosio Marliano's *Theatrum politicum* by John Abramios in 1758,⁵⁶ and that

⁴³ Megas 1996.

⁴⁴ Papathomopoulos *et al.* 1995; Giannakis 1974.

⁴⁵ For the attribution of this translation to Planudes, see Sathas 1868, 40; Sfoini 1993, 325; Tromaras 1999, 292. Sebastiano Ciampi (1769–1847; for his life and works, see: <http://www.forteguerriana.comune.pistoia.it/ciampi-sebastiano>, seen: 10.02.2021) published the work under the name of Planudes as translator in 1816 (Ciampi 1816). On this subject, see Deligiannis 2015, 36*–37* and Deligiannis in this volume.

⁴⁶ Nikitas 1990.

⁴⁷ Koltsiou-Nikita 2005.

⁴⁸ Ciccolella 2020, 50, and her entire paper for this translation.

⁴⁹ Classen 1993; Calboli 2008.

⁵⁰ Noutsos 1982.

⁵¹ For these translations, see Pappas 2020, 2015 and 2016, respectively.

⁵² Nikitas 1998a.

⁵³ Nikitas 2012.

⁵⁴ Papaioannou 2008 and 2018; Paschalis 2018.

⁵⁵ Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 198.

⁵⁶ Michalopoulos/Michalopoulos 2020.

of Comenius' *Orbis pictus* by Anthimos Papas in 1806.⁵⁷ These translations were influenced by the Greek Enlightenment and were probably used to teach Latin during the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century at progressive Greek schools (in Iași, Bucharest, in the Patriarchal School of Constantinople, in Smyrna, in Chios and in Milies of Pelion).⁵⁸ 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 utilisation of the western achievements of his era by the Greek enslaved nation), and are fully justified by the belief of Dimitrios Katartzis (1730–1807) and Iosipos Moisiodakas (1725–1800) that translation could contribute to an awakening of the Greek nation.⁵⁹

Greek translations of Latin works in the period between 1453 and 1821 were few in comparison to Europe and, in fact, individual cases. Most Greeks did not consider Latin literature to be a part of their own cultural heritage; so, they remained stuck in the glorious past of ancient Greece and their belief that ancient Greek literature was superior to Latin, which was considered a mere copy of the former.⁶⁰ However, the number of Greek translations of Latin works increased significantly after the foundation of the Greek State (1830), as 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.⁶¹ It is rather surprising that most of the Greek translations of Latin works during the period between 1453 and 1821 were composed in *dimotiki*, the language of the people, a practice that changed after the foundation of the Greek State. 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* 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),

57 For this translation, see the database "Greek translations of Latin works since 1453", at <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/84> (seen: 20.12.2020).

58 Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 197. See also, Chatzopoulos 1991, 247, 257–258; Skarveli-Nikolopoulou 1994, 199–208.

59 Patsiou 1993; Kehagioglou 1998; Tabaki 2018. For an overview of Greek scholars with Latin knowledge for the period between 1204–1980, see Banou-Tsiami 2003.

60 Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 199.

61 Zioga 2015, 19–40; Karakasis/Sarra 2017, 290–293. For the teaching of Latin literature at the University of Athens in the nineteenth century, see Matthaiou 2021, 302–320, and Nikitas 2023.

which lasted for almost one and a half centuries (and included the loss of human lives).⁶² This dichotomy affected the intellectual milieu of Greece of the nineteenth century. Thus, the poets of the Old Athenian School (1830–1880) adopted the *katharevousa* in their prototype works and their translations (they followed the *ad verbum* translation, and even adopted prosodic metres for their translations from ancient poems),⁶³ while the New Athenian School (1880–1920) adopted modern Greek and the *ad sensum* translation.⁶⁴ The Heptanesian School (from late eighteenth until late nineteenth centuries) had made this progressive choice long ago.⁶⁵ We must not forget – for the latter School in particular – that it consisted of poets and scholars with an excellent knowledge of Latin (Dionysios Solomos, Lorentzos Mavilis, Iakovos Polylys, Nikolaos Kogevinas), a fact that is apparent in their own works as well as their Greek translations of Latin works (e.g. Mavilis' translation of the *Aeneid*, Polylys' and Kogevinas' translations of certain elegies from Tibullus, etc.)⁶⁶ and is justified by the dominant position of Latin in the Ionian Islands, which were under Venetian rule until their incorporation into the Greek State in 1864.⁶⁷ The 'language question' also affected the Greek translations of Latin works. Thus, those that were composed for educational use (i.e. the translations of Cicero, Caesar, Catullus, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Horace, and Tacitus)⁶⁸ were made mainly in *katharevousa*, a language that was far from the spoken language, usually adhered strictly to the words of the original (*ad verbum*), and were accompanied by commentaries. The truth is that these translations were mainly technical school textbooks, and of little literary value.⁶⁹

Cicero was one of the Roman authors favoured in the Greek educational system of the nineteenth century. During the period 1836–1855, several of his works were taught in the Greek Secondary Education (see the Appendix at the end of this volume). In the curriculum of 1897, the teaching of the first and second *Cati-*

62 For the 'Greek language question', see Beaton 1999, 296–346; Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 200.

63 For the Old Athenian School, see, indicatively, Dimaras 1982; Moullas 1993; Vagenas 2000; Pappas 2018, 10.

64 For the New Athenian School, see Karvelis 2003, 27–36; Pappas 2018, 10.

65 For the Heptanesian School, see Pylarinos 2003; Pappas 2018, 10 n. 59. See also, Polylys 1891.

66 Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019.

67 Karapidakis 2020; Pylarinos/Vaopoulos 2020. For the translation theories of Greek poets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Missiou 2012.

68 For a catalogue of Greek translations, studies, and papers for these Latin authors (for the period 1204–1980), see Banou-Tsiami 2003, 101–102 (for Caesar); 104 (for Catullus); 107–115 (for Cicero); 131–132 (for Cornelius Nepos); 118–125 (for Horace); 154–160 (for Virgil); 127 (for Livy); 133–136 (for Ovid); 149 (for Tacitus). For Tacitus, see also Gasti/Polymerakis 2017. See also the Introduction to this section of the volume.

69 Nikitas 2012, 105–107.

linarians, *Pro Ligario*, *Pro Marcello*, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, Books One and Three of *De officiis*, and *Tusculanae disputationes* were defined for the fourth grade of the Greek high school (Gymnasium).⁷⁰ In 1900, Greek pupils in the third grade of high school had to be able to interpret one or more Ciceronian works (indicatively: *Pro Archia poeta*, the first or the second *Catilinarians*, *Pro Ligario*, *Pro Marcello*, and *De imperio Cn. Pompei*).⁷¹ Cicero remained one of the main protagonists of the Greek curricula during the twentieth century (along with Caesar, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid), until the reformation of 1984, which paused the interpretation of passages of several Roman authors and poets, and established three main goals for the course: the learning of a basic vocabulary of the Latin language and the study of Latin grammar and syntax.⁷² Furthermore, Cicero was (and remains) one of the main authors in the programmes of studies at Philology Departments of Greece from 1837 until the present day.⁷³

The Nineteenth-Century Greek Translations of Cicero

Cicero was the most translated Roman author in nineteenth-century Greece,⁷⁴ as many of his works were included in the curricula of schools and of the university, thus the need for Greek translations of his works was great. As a result of my research, I have managed to find twenty-seven translations of several of his works. The majority of these were used for educational reasons, i.e. as textbooks for pupils attending the high schools and the University of Athens for Latin courses. This is why their translators mostly followed the *ad verbum* translation theory and supplemented their translations with introductions, which offer valuable information on Cicero's life and works. They also feature brief commentaries in the footnotes, where they include several interpretive and historical comments. In a few cases, they explain the translation practice they followed within their prologues and introductions. Some of these include the Latin text, while others do not. As they were used for predominantly educational reasons, most of Cicero's Greek translations from the nineteenth century were in *katharevousa*, the official language of the

⁷⁰ Zioga 2015, 34–35; Karakasis/Sarra 2017, 293.

⁷¹ Zioga 2015, 37. For a catalogue of Greek translations of Cicero (from Latin and from European languages, such as Italian) for the period 1500–1981, see Banou-Tsiami 2003, 107–111.

⁷² Zioga 2015, 41–85; Karakasis/Sarra 2017, 294–301. See also, Nikitas 1998b.

⁷³ Nikitas 2017. For a presentation of Greek translations of and commentaries on Cicero, see the Appendix at the end of this volume.

⁷⁴ See also the Appendix at the end of this volume.

Greek State and education. Alongside these translations, a few school textbooks with the Latin text and notes also circulated for educational reasons.⁷⁵ In this section, I present the Greek translations of Ciceronian works, which were published in the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ In order to better organise this material, I divide my study into three categories: a) translations of Cicero's philosophical works; b) translations of Cicero's rhetorical works; and c) a translation of Cicero's epistles. The focus of my research are the authors of these translations and the reasons

75 Cf., e.g., the anonymous 1835 (Cicero's *Laelius* or *De amicitia*, containing only the Latin text); the leaflets made by Karolos Favrikios 1844 and 1868 (selected orations by Cicero, containing the Latin text and notes on them); Michael Gkiolmas 1878 (Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia* and *Pro Archia poeta*) and 1879 (Cicero's first and second *Philippics*), containing a prologue, introduction, the Latin texts and notes; Evangelos Kofiniotis 1880 (Cicero's first and fourth *Catilinarians*, including the Latin texts and notes); Eustratios Tsakalotos 1893 (Cicero's selected orations, containing an introduction, the Latin text and many comments in the footnotes); Dimitrios Chatzimichail 1898 (the first and fifth Books of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*, containing only the Latin text). I must note that Gkiolmas consciously chose not to include Greek translations of the Ciceronian works he examines in his books. He justifies his choice, noting in the prologue of his first book (p. δ'): Δὲν προσέθηκα δὲ καὶ μετάφρασιν ἢ καὶ παράφρασιν τῶν λόγων τούτων ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκδοτῶν ποιοῦσι, διότι πενταετὴς ἐν τῷ Γυμνασίῳ πείρα, καὶ ἄλλοι ἀρχαιότεροι καὶ περὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐμπειρότεροι μ' ἐδίδασαν, ὅτι αἱ τοιαῦται μεταφράσεις εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο συντελοῦσιν, εἰμὴ εἰς τὸ υποθάλπῃσι τὴν συνήθη εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς φυγοπονία, κακὸν ὀλέθριον διὰ τε τὸν μαθητικὸν καὶ τὸν μετ' ἔπειτα βίον τῶν νέων καὶ ρίζαν πάσης κακίας, καθιστῶσαι αὐτοὺς ἥττον ζητητικοὺς καὶ ἀμνημονεστέρους τῶν δεδιδαγμένων ("I did not add a translation or a paraphrase of these orations, as many of our editors do now, because my five years' experience and other older and more experienced teachers advised me that translations of this kind offer nothing to the pupils. On the contrary, they make them lazy as usual, a fact that is a disastrous calamity for their student life and their life after school. This bad practice is the root of every malice, as the translations make them demanding and forgetful of everything they were taught"). Gkiolmas' books were used by Doukakis and Livieratos in their translations (see below). Livieratos also used Favrikios' book (see below).

76 My main sources of research were the "Anemi" website of the University of Crete (<https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/>, seen: 20.12.2020), the database of the "Greek translations of Latin works since 1453" (<http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/>, seen: 20.12.2020), as well as several Greek Libraries such as the National Library of Greece (EBE), the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EAIA) hosted in the Benaki Museum (Athens), the Public Central Library of Veria, the Koventarios Municipal Library of Kozani and the Vikelaia Municipal Library of Heraklion. I must note that the quotations from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EAIA) come from the "Bibliological Laboratory 'Philippos Iliou'", which contains the bibliographical recordings of the book of Iliou/Polemi 2006. This is why, when I quote from the copies I found at the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive, I note their recording numbers, e.g. for Farantatos' translation, I note: EAIA, see Iliou/Polemi no 1880.553. For each book, I note its location in each library (its link, if it is accessible online, or its call number, if it is available only in print). The English translations of the Greek texts are my own throughout the paper.

why they produced them (this is why I mainly study the paratexts of their books, i.e. the prologues or introductions – however, in a few cases I examine samples of the translations themselves). At the end of the paper, I present my conclusions.

Greek Translations of Cicero's Philosophical Works

The philosophical Ciceronian works that were translated into Greek in the nineteenth century were the *De re publica*, its most famous part, namely the *Somnium Scipionis* (= *De re publica* 6.9–29), *Laelius* or *De amicitia*, the *Tusculanae disputationes*, and the *De officiis*. As we will see, some of these were produced for educational reasons, while some were intended for the political and philosophical awakening of the Greek nation, which had been deprived of education for almost four hundred years (under the rule of the Ottoman Turks).

The first modern Greek translation of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* was made probably in 1831 by **Georgios Tertsetis** (1800–1873),⁷⁷ a Greek judge, scholar and poet from Zakynthos, who was a member of the Heptanesian School, which justifies the language choice of translation, namely modern Greek (*dimotiki*).⁷⁸ Tertsetis' family came from Marseille and was Catholic. He studied law and attended courses on Italian literature at the Universities of Bologna and Padua. He was a member of the Filiki Etairia (i.e. the Society of Friends, a secret organisation that contributed to the Greek War of Independence in 1821),⁷⁹ and was the only judge not to sign the condemnation of Theodoros Kolokotronis, the main leader of the Greek War of Independence of 1821, in the trial of Nauplion (1834). His origin and studies justify his knowledge of Latin language and literature. Furthermore, his political activity proves that he was a man with national consciousness, interested in the awakening of his enslaved compatriots.

The translation was first published by Konomos in 1959 and later in 1984, in collective volumes that contained all of his unpublished works and then all of his works, respectively.⁸⁰ According to Konomos, the translation was made in

⁷⁷ Tertsetis 1831 (?).

⁷⁸ For Tertsetis' life and work, see <http://www.ekebi.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=NODE&cnode=461&t=575> (seen: 28.12.2020).

⁷⁹ For Filiki Etairia, see Vournas 1982.

⁸⁰ Konomos 1959, 127–135, and Konomos 1984, 877–880.

1831.⁸¹ It does not include a prologue of the translator nor the Latin text or foot-notes. Here is a sample of Tertsetis' translation (Cic. *Rep.* 6.9):

“Όταν ἦτον ὕπατος ὁ Μανίλιος, ἐγὼ ἐπῆγα εἰς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν δῆμαρχος, ὡς ἡξεύρετε, εἰς τὸ τέταρτο τάγμα τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ δὲν εἶχα ἄλλη προθυμία, παρὰ νὰ σμίξω τὸν βασιλέα Μασινίσσαν, ὁ ὁποῖος διὰ δίκαιες αἰτίες ἦτον ἀκριβὸς φίλος τῆς φαμελιᾶς μου. Καὶ ὡς τὸν εἶδα καὶ μὲ εἶδε, μὲ ἀγκάλιασε ὁ γέρος καὶ ἐδάκρυσε· καὶ ἔπειτα, κοιτάζοντας τὰ οὐράνια, “Σ’ εὐχαριστῶ”, εἶπε, “μέγα καὶ ὕψιστε Ἥλιε, εὐχαριστῶ ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους οὐράνιους θεοὺς, ἐπειδὴ πρὶν νὰ χωρίσω ἀπὸ τὴν ζωὴν, θωρῶ εἰς τὸ βασιλείόν μου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν μου κατοικίαν τὸν Π(όπλιον) Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, μὲ τοῦ ὁποῖου τὸ ὄνομα ὅλος ἀναγαλλιάζω καὶ ξανανιώνω· γιατίι ποτὲ δὲν βγαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ μου ἡ ἐνθύμησις τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνδρειωμένου Σκιπίωνος, τοῦ θείου σου.” Ἐπειτα, ἐγὼ διὰ τὸ βασιλείον του, αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν μας, ἐρωτηθήκαμε καὶ μὲ τὰ συχνομιλήματα πέρασε ἐκείνη ἡ ἡμέρα.

When Manilius was consul, I went to Africa as commander of the fourth order of the army, as you know, and I had no other desire but to meet the king Masinissa, who was a unique friend of my family for reasonable causes. And, as I saw him and he saw me, the old man hugged me and cried; “I thank you”, he said, “great and sublime Sun, I thank all the celestial gods, because, before separating from life, I see in my kingdom and in my home itself Publius Cornelius Scipio, by whose name I rejoice and renew myself; because the reminiscence of your kind and brave Scipio, your uncle, never leaves my mind”. After that, I asked him about his kingdom, he asked me about our republic, and the day passed with our frequent discussions. (transl. by the author)

As we can see, several types of modern Greek are included, such as τῆς φαμελιᾶς μου, ξανανιώνω and συχνομιλήματα. Moreover, Tertsetis does not mention the oldest Greek translation of *Somnium Scipionis* by Planudes (or Theodore Gaza), as Viaros Kapodistrias does (see below). The reasons for this highly interesting translation are unknown. Tertsetis had worked as a teacher of French and history in the preliminary school of Nauplion since 1832, and later as professor of military history at the Military School in the same town, so perhaps he taught this part of *De re publica* in these schools.⁸² However, his progressive character, along with the language of his translation, makes me believe that he addressed this translation to a wider readership. Perhaps the historical context justifies his translation: one year had passed since the official foundation (1830) of the modern Greek State (with its then highly restricted boundaries), and perhaps Tertsetis aimed to offer his compatriots some great historical examples from the past (after all, we know that Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greeks considered Roman history to be part of their own history; cf. Philippidis' translations of Trogus and Florus).

⁸¹ Konomos 1984, 15–16.

⁸² See <http://www.ekebi.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=NODE&cnode=461&t=575> (seen: 28.12.2020).

Almost within the same historical and political conditions and for the same reasons, is placed the translation of *De re publica* by **Viaros Kapodistrias** (1774–1842), published in 1839 and discussed in detail by Deligiannis in this volume. Kapodistrias, who signed his book by using the acronym A. St., was the brother of the first governor of Greece, Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831), a lawyer, politician and scholar from Corfu.⁸³ His origin probably justifies the choice of the translation language, which may be *katharevousa*, albeit a mild variant, including several types of *dimotiki*.⁸⁴

The second Ciceronian philosophical work that was translated into Greek twice is *Laelius* or *De amicitia*. The first translation was done by **D. G. Petridis** and was published in 1859.⁸⁵ We know almost nothing about him, except that he was a student at the School of Philosophy at the University of Athens, and that he also wrote a manual with instructions for teaching in primary schools.⁸⁶ Petridis' book includes a prologue and the Greek translation (with brief footnotes). Petridis begins with a dedication to an anonymous man,⁸⁷ whom he calls 'friend' (Φίλε!), and cites two verses by Homer, i.e. *Od.* 8.585–586: ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν τι κασιγνήτοιο χρεῖων | γίγνεται ὅς κεν ἑταῖρος ἑὼν πεπνυμένα εἰδῇ ("Because the friend is better than the brother, as long as he has an understanding heart").⁸⁸ It seems that this friend was his fellow student and very close to the translator:

Εἰς τῖνα ἄλλον τὴν μικρὰν ταύτην τῶν πόνων μου ἀπαρχὴν πρεπωδέστερον ἤθελον ἀφιερῶσαι, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο εἰθισται, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος περὶ φιλίας, ἥ εἰς σὲ μεθ' οὐ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον πρῶτον εἶδον, καὶ συναναστραφεῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν συσπουδάσας συνδέομαι διὰ τῆς ἀρρήκτου ἐκείνης φιλίας;⁸⁹

To whom else could I dedicate this small beginning of my pains, since this is a common practice, and the subject of the book is friendship? To whom else than you, with whom I saw the sun for the first time, with whom I am spending my time? You have been a fellow student of mine for a long time and I have been associated with you in an unbroken friendship. (transl. by the author)

His friend had illustrious ancestors who contributed to the liberation of Greece. He mentions a man called Panoutsos (perhaps Panoutsos Notaras (1752–1849), a poli-

⁸³ *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια – Παγκόσμιο Βιογραφικό Λεξικό* 1991, vol. 4, 262.

⁸⁴ See <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/223> (seen: 28.12.2020) and <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/4/f/8/metadata-39-0000569.tkl> (seen: 29.12.2020).

⁸⁵ The book exists in printed form at the National Library of Greece (call number: ΛΦ–2815).

⁸⁶ For its title, see Petridis 1881.

⁸⁷ Petridis 1859, ε'–στ'.

⁸⁸ Petridis 1859, ε'.

⁸⁹ Petridis 1859, ε'.

tician who participated in the Greek Revolution), a John from Piraeus, and his grandfather Karaiskos (perhaps the hero of the Greek Revolution, George Karaiskakis (1782–1827)):

ἔχων τὸ τῶν προγόνων σου κλέος, οἵτινες, αἰείποτε ὑπὸ πολυτλήμονος Ἑλλάδος κλειζόμενοι, διατελέσουσι, τοιοῦτοι περὶ αὐτὴν γεγονότες. Εἰς τίνα οὐ παρίσταται μετὰ σεβασμοῦ τοῦ Νέστορος τῆς νέας Ἑλλάδος, τοῦ γεραροῦ ἐκείνου καὶ πολυμήτιος Πανούτσου ἢ μνήμη; Τίς οὐκ ἀναμνησκεται μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ τοῦ Ἥρωος ἐκείνου τοῦ Πειραιῶς, τοῦ ἀθανάτου Ἰωάννου, ὃς καὶ τὴν κολοσσιαίαν τοῦ οἴκου ὑμῶν περιουσίαν εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς φίλης Πατρίδος προσήνεγκε; Τί δὲ νὰ εἶπω περὶ τοῦ πάππου σου Καραίσκου;⁹⁰

You have the glory of your ancestors, who, each time they were called by miserable Greece, took care of it. What respectful man can compare the reminiscence of the venerable and ingenious Panoutsos, the Nestor of the modern Greece? Who does not remember with admiration the hero from Piraeus, the immortal Ioannis, who offered your huge property for the motherland's sake? What could I say about your grandfather Karaiskos? (transl. by the author)

As we can see, the language of this section is a strict *katharevousa*, which resembles ancient Greek (cf. the forms πολυτλήμονος, γεραροῦ and πολυμήτιος).⁹¹ Petridis maintains this linguistic choice for his prologue and his translation. In the prologue, he mainly discusses the moral dimensions of friendship:

Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ αὐτῇ ἀπαντῶμεν κατὰ διαφόρους ἐποχὰς ἀκμάσαντας φίλους ἀδιασπάστους καὶ ὄντως θαυμασμοῦ ἄξιους, ὥς τοὺς Φιντίαν καὶ Δάμωνα, Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ πλείστους ἄλλους, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ νεωτέρᾳ. Ἀλλὰ μήπως εὐρίσκεται τις ἀντιλέγων ὅτι ἡ φιλία δὲν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι;⁹²

And within history itself we see inseparable and remarkable friends in several times, like Damon and Phintias, Epaminondas and Pelopidas and many others, in ancient and in modern history as well. Is there any man who could say that friendship cannot appear in humankind? (transl. by the author)

The readers of Petridis' translation were likely his fellow students at the University of Athens. However, his archaic language, his dedication to his friend and his prologue on the moral value of friendship reveal that he also aimed the text at a broader readership.

⁹⁰ Petridis 1859, ε'–στ'.

⁹¹ See Montanari ³2016, s.v. πολυτλήμων, γεραρός, and πολύμητις.

⁹² Petridis 1859, ιδ'.

The second Greek translator of *Laelius* or *De amicitia* was **Vasileios Antoniadis**. His book was published in 1878 in Constantinople.⁹³ Vasileios Antoniadis (1851–1932) was an alumnus of the School of Theology in Chalke and a professor of Theology and Philosophy in Constantinople; he had written two doctoral dissertations, one in Germany (on philosophy) and one in Moscow (on theology). It seems that his Latin knowledge was excellent, as in his first year in Germany he gained a prize for his paper on the martyr Justin, which was written in Latin.⁹⁴ Antoniadis belonged to the intellectual milieu of the Greeks of Constantinople, who founded the Greek Philological Club of Constantinople (Ελληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως), which published a journal under the same name.⁹⁵ It is no coincidence that he dedicated his translation of Cicero's *Laelius* to two of the most eminent members of the Club, namely Ioannis Alibertis and Themistocles Saltelis.⁹⁶ The Greek scholars of Constantinople wrote their works in ancient Greek, a language that Antoniadis also chose for his translation. This linguistic choice reveals that the readers of this book were – apart from being the students of Greek high schools, as we will see below – also his learned compatriots.

Antoniadis' book on Cicero's *Laelius* includes a prologue, introduction, the Latin text, the Greek translation and comments in the footnotes. It seems that he ignored Petridis' translation. In his prologue,⁹⁷ he includes several pieces of information about friendship and his translation. He highlights the fact that Cicero used many Greek sources for this work, and for this reason he considered it to be a part of the Greek heritage, and thus an offering to his compatriots:

ἐπειδὴ μεταφράζοντες ἡμεῖς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιούμεν ἢ μετὰ τοῦ νομίμου τόκου ἀπολαμβάνομεν τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κληρονομίαν [...]. Ὅτι δὲ μεθερμηνεύοντες τὸ ἔργον

⁹³ The whole book exists in digitised form in the Public Central Library of Veria (link: <http://medusa.libver.gr/jspui/handle/123/7910>, seen: 2.1.2021), and a part of it (up to p. ιε´) at the “Anemi” website (see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/0/6/1/metadata-86-0000073.tkl>, seen: 2.1.2021).

⁹⁴ For his life and work, see <https://www.greekencyclopedia.com/antwniadis-vasileios-kappadokia-1851-athina-1932-p755.html> (seen: 2.1.2021).

⁹⁵ Mamoni 1983.

⁹⁶ Alibertis and Saltelis were Greek scholars of Constantinople of the nineteenth century, who published many philological studies (see, e.g., Alibertis 1891 and Saltelis 1893). They were members of the Greek Philological Club of Constantinople – their names exist in every issue of the homonymous journal. The dedication to these two scholars is placed in p. ε´ of Antoniadis' translation: ΙΩΑΝΝΗΙ ΑΛΙΜΠΕΡΤΗΙ | ΚΑΙ | ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙ ΣΑΛΤΕΛΗΙ | ΑΝΔΡΑΣΙ ΦΙΛΑΤΟΙΣ | ΤΟΥΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΠΙΟΝΗΜΑΤΙΟΝ | ΦΙΛΙΩΣ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΣΙΝ | Ο ΕΞΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΑΣ (“To Ioannis Alimpertis and Themistocles Saltelis, my dearest friends, I dedicate this small work about friendship. The man who Hellenised the work”).

⁹⁷ Antoniadis 1878, θ´–ιε´.

τουτον προσφέρομεν τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐχὶ ξένον τι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον πράγματι κληρονομίαν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.⁹⁸

Because by translating his [i. e. Cicero's] work we do nothing else but enjoy the heritage of our ancestors along with its legal birth [...]. Because, by translating this work, we offer to our compatriots not something foreign to them, but mostly the heritage of our fathers indeed. (transl. by the author)

Below Antoniadis states that his book is addressed to high school pupils, and that, for this reason, a friend convinced him to include in it the Latin text of Reinhold Klotz's edition.⁹⁹ However, he changes certain parts of this edition (mainly regarding the punctuation and some readings) based on other editions he had access to:

Προτιθέμενοι δὲ τὸ πρῶτον νὰ ἐξενέγκωμεν εἰς φῶς μόνον τὴν μετάφρασιν μετὰ τῶν προρρηθισῶν παραθέσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων σχολίων ὕστερον παρωρμήθημεν ὑπὸ φίλου ἀρίστου, ἵνα καταστήσωμεν τὸ ἔργον χρήσιμον τῇ ἐν τοῖς Γυμνασίοις σπουδαζούσῃ νεολαίᾳ, νὰ συμπεριλάβωμεν ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει καὶ τὸ λατινικὸν κείμενον. [...] Ἀλλὰ κατὰ προτροπὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ φίλου παρεδέχθημεν μίαν τῶν ἐν χρήσει στερεοτύπων ἐκδόσεων, τὴν ὑπὸ Reinhold Klotz ἀναθεωρηθεῖσαν καὶ ἐν Δειψίᾳ τῷ 1862 ἐκτυπωθεῖσαν, ὀλίγας μόνον περὶ τὴν στίξιν καὶ ἐλαχίστας περὶ τὴν γραφὴν καθ' ἃς εἶχομεν ἄλλας ἐκδόσεις ἐπενεγκότες μεταβολάς, ἃς καὶ σμειοῦμεν ἐν τῷ τέλει.¹⁰⁰

Although firstly we had in mind to produce a translation along with introduction and other necessary comments, later we were convinced by an excellent friend to include the Latin text in the edition, in order to be useful for the young men who study in the gymnasiums. [...] But urged again by the same friend, we included one of the critical editions that are currently in use, this by Reinhold Klotz, which was revised and printed in Leipzig in 1862, changing only the punctuation of a few parts, and bringing even more changes in writing based on other editions, which we note at the end. (transl. by the author)

Antoniadis' translation is one of the most complete books, as it contains a prologue, an introduction, the Latin text, the Greek translation, and some comments. The translator uses the ancient Greek language, which at several points becomes quite difficult. The readership of his translation were the Greek pupils of high schools in Constantinople, but also his learned compatriots who belonged to his coterie, such as Alibertis and Saltelis, to whom Antoniadis dedicated his book.

The third Ciceronian philosophical work in Greek was the *Tusculanae disputationes*. Nikolaos Kogevinas (1856–1897), a scholar from Corfu, who belonged to the Heptanesian School, rendered in *dimotiki* and in verse *Tusc.* 2.23–25, which is a fragment of Aeschylus' lost tragedy *Prometheus Lyomenos* (*Tragicorum Graeco-*

⁹⁸ Antoniadis 1878, ιβ'.

⁹⁹ Klotz ²1862.

¹⁰⁰ Antoniadis 1878, ιγ'.

rum Fragmenta [TrGF] frg. 189–204). Kogevinas translated Tibullus' 1.1, 1.3 and 1.10 within literary journals from May 1891 to February 1892 (the last translation was also republished with changes in December 1893) in modern Greek and in verse.¹⁰¹ He signed all of his Tibullan translations with the pseudonym 'Glaucus Pontius', which, according to Plutarch, was the short title of a (now lost) poem by Cicero.¹⁰² Kogevinas' translation was never published when he was alive, but is included in Dentrinou's edition of his complete works in 1916.¹⁰³ We do not know exactly when this translation was produced, but Dentrinou's note at the end gives us a hint. She notes that this passage was translated by Karolos Manesis (a Greek scholar from Corfu) into ancient Greek verses, and was published in the literary journal *Hestia* in 1892 (issue 1, p. 351).¹⁰⁴ Since Manesis' ancient Greek translation of Kogevinas' modern Greek translation of Cic. *Tusc.* 2.23–25 was published in 1892, we can deduce that Kogevinas' translation was probably made earlier (perhaps in 1891). I cite below the first four verses of the passage:

Ὡ σείς, συναίματοί μου, γενεὰ Τιτάνων | οὐρανογέννητοι, κυττάχτε με ζωσμένον | σφιχτὰ σὲ
σκληραῖς πέτραις, ὥσάν πλοῖο, ποῦ ναύταις | περίφοβοι ἀπ' τὸν τρόμο τῆς νυχτὸς προσδέουν
| εἰς τὰ βαρύβογγα νερά.

O you, generation of the Titans, who share the same blood with me, you who were born from the sky, look at how I am tightly tied to hard rocks, like the ship which the sailors, who are very afraid of the terror of the night, tie in the water that groans widely. (transl. by the author)

As we can deduce from this passage, Kogevinas translated the Latin text into modern Greek (cf. the types οὐρανογέννητοι, κυττάχτε, σφιχτὰ), and in 13-syllable modern Greek iambic metre (based on the accent of the spoken language, not on prosody), as he did for his translation of Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*.¹⁰⁵ As in the cases of his translations of Tibullus, Kogevinas produced a literary translation that could be read by a wider readership (aided by the use of the modern Greek language), as a poem that was independent of its Latin original.

Within two years (1897 and 1898), several Greek translations of the *Tusculanae disputationes* and the *De officiis* were produced. The choice of these trans-

¹⁰¹ For Kogevinas and his translations of Tibullus, see Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 207–231.

¹⁰² Cf. Plut. *Cic.* 2.

¹⁰³ For the translation of Cicero's passage, see Dentrinou 1916, 149–150.

¹⁰⁴ Dentrinou 1916, 150: "ΣΗΜ. ΤΟΥ ΕΓΔ. Τὸ ἀπόσπασμα μεταφράστηκε σὲ ἀρχαίους ἑλληνικοὺς στίχους ἀπὸ τὸν Κάρλο [sic] Μάνεση στὴν "Ἑστία" (1892. Α'. σελ. 351)". The journal exists in digitised form. For Manesis' ancient Greek translation of the modern Greek translation of Kogevinas, see <http://pleias.lis.upatras.gr/index.php/estia/issue/view/7871> (seen: 10.1.2021).

¹⁰⁵ Dentrinou 1916, 18–110; Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 222.

lations did not occur by accident, as Books One or Three of *De officiis* and Books One or Five of *Tusculanae disputationes* were included in the curriculum of 1897 (for the fourth class of the high school).¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the fact that the translators used the *katharevousa* shows that their use was mainly educational.

Ioannis Kavrakis published his translation of **the first Book of *Tusculanae disputationes*** in 1897.¹⁰⁷ Of Kavrakis (1867–1931), we know very little.¹⁰⁸ As it appears from his short prologue (see below), he was likely a high school teacher. In 1895, he published his Greek translation of another Latin work, Terence's *Andria*.¹⁰⁹ Kavrakis' language is the *katharevousa*, and his book includes a brief prologue, the Greek translation and a few comments.

In his prologue, Kavrakis reveals the nature of his readership, the edition that he followed, and the commentary he consulted. Furthermore, he states that he tried to convert the Latin text into a simple style:

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. Κείμενον πρὸς τοῦτο προσεστησάμεθα τὸ τοῦ Μυλλέρου καὶ σχόλια τὰ τοῦ Κυνέρου.¹¹⁰

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 translation I try every time to avoid a rough and unpleasant rendering. I followed Müller's edition and Kühner's comments. (transl. by the author)

Kavrakis mentions that of the five Books from this Ciceronian philosophical work that were included in the high school curriculum, he chose to translate the fifth, aiming to make the text easier for students. This information gives us an extra clue as to the date of Kavrakis' book. Apparently, it was published before 11 September 1897, when the curriculum of high schools changed and included the teaching of the first or fifth Book of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*.¹¹¹ Kavrakis followed the previous curriculum, that of 1884, which included teaching the

¹⁰⁶ Zioga 2015, 35.

¹⁰⁷ This book exists in printed form at the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1897545) and at Koventarios Municipal Library of Kozani (call number: 1897 MTU).

¹⁰⁸ See <http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/128481> (seen: 14.1.2021).

¹⁰⁹ See <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/218> (seen: 14.1.2021).

¹¹⁰ Kavrakis 1897, 3.

¹¹¹ Zioga 2015, 35.

entirety of this work.¹¹² The translator mentions his sources: he followed the Latin text edited by Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Müller (1889), and the commentary of Raphaël Kühner (1853).¹¹³

Nikolaos Kontopoulos' translation of the fifth Book of *Tusculane disputationes* was published in 1898.¹¹⁴ Kontopoulos published his translation of another philosophical Ciceronian work in the same year, that of *De officiis* (see below). He was a teacher in high schools and published several schoolbooks.¹¹⁵ The book includes a detailed prooemium (ἀναλυτικόν προοίμιον), the Greek translation of the Book and brief footnotes. As with his translation of *De officiis*, Kontopoulos used the *katharevousa* and followed the *ad verbum* translation practice. I cite below a brief passage from Kontopoulos' prooemium:

Ὁ Κικέρων ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ νέον ἐγκώμιον τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Ἔστιν οὖν αὕτη ἐπιστήμη τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπὸς αὐτῆς, τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀπ' αἰώνων· ὄντως δ' ἐκκληροῖ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ταύτην.¹¹⁶

In this book, Cicero makes a new praise of philosophy. It is the science of a virtuous life. This is its purpose, its work for all centuries; indeed, it fulfils this mission. (transl. by the author)

and a short passage from his translation of Cic. *Tusc.* 5.10, which includes one footnote:

Πρώτος δὲ ὁ Σωκράτης προσεκάλεσε (κατεβίβασε) τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,* καὶ αὐτὴν ἐτοποθέτησεν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους εἰσήγαγε, καὶ τὴν ἠνάγκασε περὶ διὰ βίου καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ κακῶν πραγμάτων νὰ ἐξετάζη.

* Ὀλίγη ὑπερβολὴ αὕτη τοῦ Κικέρωνος, διότι ἀρκεῖ νὰ ἀναφέρωμεν τὰ ἠθικὰ δόγματα τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν πρακτικὴν ἠθικὴν τάσεις τοῦ Ἀρχελαίου.¹¹⁷

First Socrates invited (removed) the philosophy from the sky,* and placed it in the cities and introduced it into the houses and forced it to examine life and morals, good and bad things.

* This is a small exaggeration by Cicero, because it is enough to mention the moral dogmas of Pythagoras, and Archelaus' trends to applied ethics. (transl. by the author)

As with the translation of *De officiis*, Kontopoulos also follows the *ad verbum* method here; cf., e.g., the rendering of the phrase *coegit de vita et moribus rebusque*

112 Zioga 2015, 31.

113 Müller 1889 and Kühner 1853.

114 This book exists in a few Greek libraries. The copy I used comes from Vikeilaia Municipal Library of Heraklion. Its recording number in Iliou/Polemi 2006 is no 1898.672.

115 See, e.g., Kontopoulos 1891, 1898a, 1900 and 1925.

116 Kontopoulos 1898b, 3.

117 Kontopoulos 1898b, 9–10.

bonis et malis quaerere into τὴν ἡνάγκασε περὶ διὰ βίου καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ κακῶν πραγμάτων νὰ ἐξετάζη. Moreover, he offers an extra interpretation of the verb *devocavit* in parentheses, i.e. προσεκάλεσε (κατεβίβασε). Furthermore, in his footnote he does not hesitate to criticise Cicero for his statement that Socrates was the first philosopher, because Pythagoras (580–496 BC) and Archelaus (fifth century BCE) of Miletus, a student of Anaxagoras and possibly Socrates' teacher,¹¹⁸ both preceded him.

Kontopoulos' translation of *De officiis* was first published in 1898,¹¹⁹ while it was reprinted in 1917.¹²⁰ The publisher of this book was Michael Saliveros, who owned a publishing and a printing house, as well as a bookstore in Athens. Saliveros mainly printed schoolbooks and educational material in general.¹²¹ Kontopoulos' book does not include a prologue, the Latin text or footnotes, only a short introduction and the Greek translation in *katharevousa*. In several parts of the translation, Kontopoulos offers alternative renderings of Latin terms in parentheses. As we can see from the book's title (see the Appendix at the end of this volume), he followed the *ad verbum* translation method (ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΞΙΝ, an almost verbatim translation).

Pericles Iasemidis published his translation of the **fifth Book of *Tusculanae disputationes*** in 1898.¹²² Iasemidis (born in Athens in 1841) was a teacher in secondary education and the author of several books concerning the syntax of the Greek language, the religion of ancient Greeks and Romans, and ancient Greek literature.¹²³ His book includes a short hypothesis of the fifth Book of this Ciceronian work, its Greek translation and comments in footnotes (where he explains several terms of Roman political life, offers information about the persons of the work, notes the figures of speech, etc.). Iasemidis does not reveal the edition he followed or the source of his comments. Like Kontopoulos, he used the *katharevousa* and followed the *ad verbum* translation practice, since their books were mainly used for educational purposes. Perhaps they knew of each other's books, as they have several similarities in their translations.

118 As Cicero himself notes earlier in *Tusc.* 4.10: *Sed ab antiqua philosophia usque ad Socratem, qui Archelaum, Anaxagorae discipulum, audierat* ("But from the antique philosophy until Socrates, who had listened Archelaus, Anaxagoras' student").

119 The edition of 1898 exists in printed form at the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EALA, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1898.654).

120 Kontopoulos ²1917. The book exists in digitised form at the "Anemi" website (see: <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>, seen: 13.1.2021).

121 See <http://www.ekebi.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=node&cnode=596> (seen: 13.1.2021).

122 Iasemidis 1898b. The book exists in printed form at the National Library of Greece (call number: ΛΦ-2849).

123 See, e.g., Iasemidis 1871, 1879 and 1898a.

Summarising, the Greek translations of Cicero's philosophical works can be divided into three categories: a) those that were written in *dimotiki* (Tertsetis' and Kogevinas') or in mild *katharevousa*, including several types of *dimotiki* (Kapodistrias'), which were intended to be read by a wider readership; Tertsetis' and Kapodistrias' books intended to bring about the political and philosophical awakening of their compatriots, while Kogevinas' translation was made mainly for literary reasons, i.e. to offer aesthetic pleasure to its readers; b) those that were composed in *katharevousa* (Kavrakis', Kontopoulos', and Iasemidis') and were used as textbooks by pupils and students; and c) those that were written in ancient Greek or in strict *katharevousa* (Petridis' and Antoniadis' translations of *Laelius*), which aimed to be read by pupils and students, but also by scholars. Furthermore, we must note Kapodistrias' and Antoniadis' belief that Cicero's teachings are actually part of the Greek heritage.

Greek Translations of Cicero's Rhetorical Works

Most translations are of Ciceronian rhetorical works (17 books). All of them were written in *katharevousa* and used as textbooks by pupils in Greek high schools and by students at the University of Athens. However, as we will see, some of the translators addressed their books to anyone who also loved Antiquity.

The first translation of a Ciceronian rhetorical work is in manuscript form and remains unpublished.¹²⁴ It is contained in the student notebook of Procopios Oikonomidis, a holy deacon (ιεροδιάκονος). It includes notes from the courses he attended at the high school of Nauplion.¹²⁵ The notes concern Theocritus' *Idyll* 15, passages of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincit* and Thucydides' *Histories*, and Cicero's first *Catilinarian*. Although Oikonomidis had his notes regarding the ancient Greek works in the proper order, i.e. from the beginning of the notebook to the end (fol. 1r–54v), the notes for the Ciceronian work are included in the fol. 55r–71v

¹²⁴ The manuscript is located at the National Library of Greece, Athens, Fonds principal, ms. 3304. For the description of the manuscript, see Nikolopoulos 1996, 127–128. I must note that all the information I cite here for this translation comes from the database “Greek translations of Latin works since 1453” (link: <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/db>), which was one of the deliverables of the project entitled “Greek Translations of Latin works in the Greek world from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the end of the 19th century” (from June 2018 until September 2019, Aristotle University of Thessalonica), which I participated in as a member of the research team (Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. V. Fyntikoglou). The link for this translation is the following: <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/225> (seen: 17.1.2021).

¹²⁵ Nikolopoulos 1996, 128.

from the end to the beginning of the notebook (in reverse order, i.e. 71v is page 1, 71r is page 2, etc.).

Fol. 71v–58v (= pp. 1–27) include the Greek translation of **the first Catilinarian**, while fol. 58v–55r (= pp. 27–34) contain various comments on the political and social life of Rome (e.g. an interpretation of terms such as *senatus*, *consules* and *comitia*). The register of the part that concerns Cicero took place from 20 February 1863 until 30 May 1863, as is proven by the notes of the scribe at the beginning (Ναύπλιον 1863 Φεβρ. 20 Π. Οικονομίδης; “Nauplion, 20 February 1863. P. Oikonomidis”)¹²⁶ and at the end of the translation:

Τέλος τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Κικέρωνος παραδοθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ καθ. Κ. Γραμματικόπουλου, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ φοιτῶντος τακτῶς εἰς τὸ γυμν[άσιον] Προκοπίου Οἰκονομίδου Ἱεροδιακόνου [...] 30 Μαΐου 1863. Ναύπλιον.¹²⁷

This is the end of the notes on this speech of Cicero, which was taught by the teacher K. Grammatikopoulos. These notes are written down by me, the holy deacon Procopios Oikonomidis, a regular student at high school [...] 30 May of 1863. Nauplion. (transl. by the author)

As we see in this note, as a pupil Oikonomidis wrote down the translation and comments that were delivered by his teacher **K. Grammatikopoulos** – a testimony that proves that he is the translator. This manuscript shows the educational use of the first *Catilinarian* in Greek high schools of the nineteenth century.

Panagiotis Koupitoris published his translations of **the first and fourth Catilinarians** and the *Pro Archia poeta* in one book in 1876.¹²⁸ He was an Arvanite Greek philologist, who taught at several high schools in Greece. He published a Latin-Greek dictionary in 1873, and several studies on the Albanian language.¹²⁹ As can be seen from the title, Koupitoris rendered these Ciceronian speeches into Greek to be used by students. He included, in one book, the translations of three Ciceronian speeches, i.e. the first and fourth *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Archia poeta*, which, as we saw above, were taught in Greek high schools. The translator provides a brief description of the content (*argumentum*) of each speech before its translation, and includes some brief footnotes, mainly on subjects such as textual criticism and interpretation. The Latin text does not appear in the book. The translator uses a mild *katharevousa*, in order to be comprehensible to the young pupils (notice that Petridis’ language resembles ancient Greek, which the students of Phi-

¹²⁶ Grammatikopoulos 1863, 71v (= p. 1).

¹²⁷ Grammatikopoulos 1863, 58v (= p. 27).

¹²⁸ Koupitoris 1876. The book exists in digitised form on the “Anemi” website (see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/2/2/a/metadata-265-0000171.tkl>, seen: 29.12.2020).

¹²⁹ Skendi 1967, 127–128; Clayer 2007, 203.

logy and scholars could understand) throughout his book. His translation was made only for educational reasons and has a limited literary value.

In the same year (1876) **Eustathios K. Livieratos'** translation of *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Archia poeta* was published.¹³⁰ As we saw above, it was not the first time that a Greek translation of these Ciceronian works was published in a single book. Koupitoris' translation of the first and fourth *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Archia poeta* was published in 1876. Dr. Eustathios K. Livieratos was a teacher in the high school of Argostoli (Cephalonia). We do not know a great deal about Livieratos, but only what he tells us in his prologue; he studied at the University of Athens and in Germany (apparently, he gained his doctorate degree there). We also know that he wrote a book on the history of Cephalonia (*Ιστορία τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας*, 1916) and translated the *Aeneid* in 1875, when he was studying Philology.¹³¹ His origin, from the Ionian Islands, apparently influenced his choice of language for the translation (see above). As Tertsetis used the *dimotiki* in his translation of *Somnium Scipionis*, so Livieratos used a mild *katharevousa* that – in many cases – appears similar to the spoken language. Livieratos' book includes a brief prologue, the Latin text, the Greek translation, and several comments in the footnotes.

Livieratos gives us a lot of information about the book in his prologue, entitled *ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΤΕΥΘΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ* ("To the readers").¹³² The first edition was published in 1876, when he was a student. He states that his readership was not only the pupils and the students, but everyone who loves literature, and especially Roman history and archaeology. Furthermore, he informs us about his bibliography: he used many German editions, especially the edition of the Ciceronian works by Karl Halm,¹³³ the translation of the first and the fourth *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Archia poeta* by Koupitoris, the notes on these speeches by Favrikios, and the edition of the *Pro Archia poeta* by his compatriot, Gkiolmas:¹³⁴

ἀπεφάσισα νὰ ἐπιχειρήσω ἐγὼ τοιαύτην ἔκδοσιν, τὴν ὁποίαν καὶ ἐδημοσίευσα ἐν ἔτει 1876 φοιτητῆς ἐτι τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου ὦν [...]. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποπεράτωσιν τῶν σπουδῶν μου καὶ τὴν ἐκ Γερμανίας ἐπάνοδόν μου ἰδὼν ὅτι τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο καίπερ λίαν ἐλλιπὲς εἶχεν ἐξαντληθῆ σχεδὸν ἀπεφάσισα νὰ ἀσχοληθῶ εἰς δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' εἰσαγωγῶν, γραμματικῶν, συντακτικῶν, ἱστορικῶν, γεωγραφικῶν καὶ ἀρχαιολογικῶν σημειώσεων καταστήσω αὐτὸ χρήσιμον ὅχι μόνον εἰς τὴν μαθητιῶσαν φιλὴν νεολαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πάντα ἄλλον φιλόμουσον ἄνδρα.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ This book exists in printed form at the National Library of Greece (call number: ΛΦ–2120).

¹³¹ See <https://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/198> (seen: 25.5.2023).

¹³² Livieratos 1883, ε'–ζ'.

¹³³ Halm 1867.

¹³⁴ See n. 75 above.

¹³⁵ Livieratos 1883, ε'.

I decided to attempt this edition, which I published in 1876, when I was a student at the University [...]. After the completion of my studies and my return from Germany, seeing that this book – although it was incomplete – was almost out of print, I decided to publish a second edition of it, and by introductions, grammatical, syntactical, geographical and archaeological notes to make it useful not only for the youth at school, but for every man who loves the Muses. (transl. by the author)

and

Ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει δὲ ταύτῃ μετεχειρίσθην πλείστας ὅσας Γερμανικὰς ἐκδόσεις καὶ ἰδίως τὴν ἀρίστην ἐκδοσὶν τοῦ διασήμου Λατινιστοῦ Halm [...] ἔτι δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀρχίου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐκδοσὶν τοῦ ἀοιδίου συμπολίτου μου Μ. Γκιόλμου [...] καὶ τὴν μετάφρασιν τῶν δύο κατὰ τοῦ Κατρίνου λόγων καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ Ἀρχίου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐκδοσὶν τοῦ ἀοιδίου Π. Κουπιτώρου ὡς καὶ τὰς σημειώσεις εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρεῖς λόγους τοῦ ἀοιδίου Κ. Φαβρικίου. Ὡς δὲ θὰ ἴδῃ ὁ ἀναγνώστης, οὐδενὸς κόπου ἐφείσθην, ἵνα καταστήσω τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὄχι μόνον εἰς τὴν ἐν τοῖς Γυμνασίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ σπουδάζουσαν νεολαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πάντα ἄλλον ἑραστὴν τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἰδίως τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας.¹³⁶

In this book I used many German editions, and especially the excellent edition of the famous Latinist Halm [...]; for the *Pro Archia poeta* I used the edition of the illustrious compatriot of mine, M. Gkiolmas; I used the translation of the two *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Archia poeta* made by the illustrious P. Koupitoris, and the notes on these three speeches by the illustrious K. Favrikios. As the reader will see, I did not spare any pain, in order to make this work useful not only for the pupils of gymnasiums and students at the University, but for everyone who loves literature, and especially Roman history and archaeology. (transl. by the author)

As in Antoniadis' case, Livieratos' book includes a prologue, an introduction, the Latin text, the Greek translation, and many comments in the footnotes. Its readership were not only pupils of high schools and students of the University, but also anyone who loved Latin literature and Roman history.

Nikolaos Farantatos published his translation of **the ninth *Philippic*** in 1880.¹³⁷ Apart from the translation, the book contains some notes on Cicero's ninth *Philippic* oration as well. Farantatos (born in Cephalonia in 1857, thus another scholar from the Ionian Islands, like Tertsetis and Livieratos) was a high school teacher and held a doctoral degree in Linguistics (he published his thesis in 1882).¹³⁸ He wrote several school books, including a grammar text on the Greek language (1896),¹³⁹ a book with orthographic and grammar exercises (1897),¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Livieratos 1883, στ'–ζ'.

¹³⁷ This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used a copy from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EΛΙΑ, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1880.553).

¹³⁸ For Farantatos, see <http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/134837> (seen: 4.1.2021). For this dissertation, see Farantatos 1882.

¹³⁹ Farantatos 1896.

and a translation of Plato's *Phaedo* (1898).¹⁴¹ Farantatos' book on the Ciceronian speech is very brief (only 16 pages, so it is actually a leaflet). It contains a prologue, a brief description of the work, the translation, and notes. The language of the book is the *katharevousa*.

In the prologue, Farantatos mentions that his translation follows the Latin text, and it is not a paraphrase, a practice that – according to him – was followed by French and German translators. He also notes that he used the edition of Cicero's *Philippics* by Gregorius Gottlieb Wernsdort,¹⁴² and for the syntax of the Ciceronian text directs his readers towards the brief Latin Grammar by Euthymios Kastorchis, Professor of Latin Philology at the University of Athens.¹⁴³ Furthermore, he criticises the fact that, although this Ciceronian speech is included in the curriculum of the Greek high schools, it has never been taught until now:

Ἡ μετάφρασις ἐγένετο ὅσον οἶον τε πλησιεστέρα τῷ κειμένῳ τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀκριβής. Δὲν εἶνε τουτέστιν παράφρασις, ὥς τοῦτο οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Γάλλων, Γερμανῶν κλπ. πράττουσι μεταφράζοντες. Κυρίως ὑπ' ὧσιν εἶχον τὴν παλαιὰν κριτικὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ Gr. Wernsdort [...]. Περί τῶν διαφόρων συντάξεων παραπέμπομεν εἰς τὴν εὐμέθοδον μικρὰν γραμματικὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ καθηγητοῦ Εὐθ. Καστόρχη. Τελευτῶντες ὀφείλομεν νὰ ἐπιστήσωμεν τὴν προσοχὴν τῶν ἀρμοδίων, διότι ἐν ᾧ ὁ λόγος οὗτος κατὰ τὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦ ὑπουργείου εἶνε κατάλληλος πρὸς διδασχὴν ἐν τοῖς Γυμνασίοις [...] οὐδέποτε μέχρι τοῦδε ἐδιδάχθη.¹⁴⁴

The translation was made – as far as possible – strictly to the text, and that is why it is an exact translation. It is not a paraphrase, as most of the French, Germans, etc. do when translating. I mainly followed the old critical edition of Gr. Wernsdort [...]. For several parts of the syntax, I quote from the methodical little grammar of the wise professor Euth. Kastorchis. Finally, I ought to draw the attention of those that are in charge, because, while this speech is – according to the programme of the Ministry [sc. of Education] – suitable for the curriculum in high schools [...] however it has never been taught until now. (transl. by the author)

We may observe that, although Farantatos' book is very brief, it includes a prologue, *argumentum*, translation and notes. As he notes in his prologue, its readership were the pupils of the high schools.

Dimitrios Doukakis' translation of *Pro lege Manilia* was published twice. The first edition was in 1883, and the second in 1893 (in this he added a short in-

¹⁴⁰ Farantatos 1897.

¹⁴¹ Farantatos 1898.

¹⁴² Wernsdort 1825.

¹⁴³ Kastorchis 1864.

¹⁴⁴ Farantatos 1880, 2.

troduction and brief notes).¹⁴⁵ Of the translator, we know nothing. In the section of the book entitled *ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΤΕΥΞΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ* ("To the readers"), he mentions several pieces of information about his translation:

Μεταφράσας τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μανιλείου νόμου, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πομπηίου ἀρχῆς λόγον τοῦ Κικέρωνος μετὰ βραχειῶν ἱστορικῶν σημειώσεων ἐκ τῆς εὐσυνειδήτου καὶ ἐπιτυχεστάτης τοῦ μακαρίτου καθηγητοῦ Γκιόλμα ἐκδόσεως ὡς τὰ πολλὰ εἰλημμένων, ὅσαι μόνον ἐχρειάζοντο πρὸς διασάφησιν τῆς μεταφράσεως, ἐκδίδωμι πρὸς χρῆσιν τῶν μαθητῶν τῶν Γυμνασίων καὶ παντὸς φιλαρχαίου, εὐχόμενος, ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα ἴδω ὑπ' ἄλλων μεταπεφρασμένα καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φιλολογίας, πάντα ξένα εἰς ἡμᾶς διατελοῦντα. Βιογραφίαν τοῦ συγγραφέως καὶ ἐκτενῆ ἀνάλυσιν τοῦ λόγου δύναται τις νὰ ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ ἐκδόσει. Ἐγὼ μόνον προέταξα σύντομον περίληψιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς στερεοτύπου ἐκδόσεως τοῦ Ρεϊνόλδου Κλοτσίου.¹⁴⁶

I translated the *Pro lege Manilia* or *De imperio Cn. Pompeii* speech of Cicero with brief historical notes that I have mainly taken from the conscientious and very successful edition of the deceased teacher Gkiolmas – as many were necessary for the clarification of the translation. I publish this book in order to be used by the pupils of the high schools and everyone who loves Antiquity, and I wish to see as soon as possible many more works of Latin literature translated into Greek – works that are entirely unknown to us. For Cicero's life, see his biography and an extensive analysis of this speech in Gkiolmas' book. I just prefixed a brief abstract of it from the critical edition of Reinhold Klotz. (transl. by the author)

Doukakis informs his readers that he drew the short comments (in the footnotes) of his book from that of Dr. M. Gkiolmas (a book also used by Livieratos),¹⁴⁷ and that the abstract comes from the edition by Reinhold Klotz.¹⁴⁸ He addresses his book to the pupils of high schools, and to everyone who loves Antiquity. Moreover, he wishes for other Latin works to be translated into Greek. Doukakis uses the official language of the Greek educational system, the *katharevousa*.

The book is short (44 pages). The abstract is translated from Klotz's *argumentum* of this speech, written in Latin:¹⁴⁹

Ὅτε ὁ Λεύκιος Λούκουλλος [...] εἶχεν ἀνακληθῆ ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦτον διεδέχθη ὁ Μάνιος Ἀκίλιος Γλαβρίων [...] κατὰ τὸ ἐπόμενον ἔτος 66 π.Χ. [...] ὁ Γάϊος Μανίλιος δῆμαρχος εἰσή-

¹⁴⁵ Doukakis 1883 and 1893. This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. Its first edition is preserved at the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (ΕΛΙΑ, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1883.594).

¹⁴⁶ Doukakis 1883, 3.

¹⁴⁷ See n. 75 above.

¹⁴⁸ Klotz 1878.

¹⁴⁹ Klotz 1878, 184.

γαγε νόμον εἰς τὸν λαόν, ὅπως ἡ διαχείρισις τούτου τοῦ πολέμου ἀνατεθῇ εἰς τὸν Γναῖον Πομπήϊον.¹⁵⁰

When Lucius Lucullus [...] had been recalled by the senate, and Manius Acilius Glabrio succeeded him [...] in the following year of 66 BCE [...] Gaius Manilius introduced this law to the people, i. e. the administration of this war to be assigned to Gnaeus Pompey. (transl. by the author)

K. P. Soutsas published his translation of *Pro Milone* in 1886.¹⁵¹ This is the first Greek translation of this speech during the nineteenth century. As we will see below, Karatzas also translated this speech in 1893. From the book's title, we learn that Soutsas was a student (probably at the School of Philosophy at the University of Athens) and addressed his translation to high school pupils. He states that the language he used was the spoken Greek, but that this is not exactly true, as he did not use the *dimotiki*, but a *katharevousa*. Soutsas' book only includes a short introduction and the Greek translation. It is a textbook, without any literary value.

Galinos Kalimeris published his translation of the *Pro Ligario* in 1887.¹⁵² From the title, we learn that the book includes the Greek translation of this Ciceronian speech, critical notes, and an interpretation of its most difficult passages. For Kalimeris we know only that he was a student of the School of Philosophy at the University of Athens (during the period 1875–1880) and that he was from Amfissa.¹⁵³ Due to the fact that he addressed this book to high schools' students, he was likely a teacher of secondary education. The book is brief (40 pages), and its language is the *katharevousa*. It includes the Latin text (in the prime numbers), without naming the edition he follows, and several comments in the footnotes that exist only on the pages with Latin text. Kalimeris' brief book was a textbook that included the basic information for pupils of high schools: the Latin text, its Greek translation and a few notes.

Markos Viagkinis' translation of the *first Philippic* was published in 1888.¹⁵⁴ The title informs us of the contents of the book: a brief biography of Cicero, an introduction to his *Philippics*, general notes on the first *Phillipic*, a short argument,

¹⁵⁰ Doukakis 1883, 5.

¹⁵¹ Soutsas 1886. The book is available in digitised form in the “Anemi” website (see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/6/e/7/metadata-425-0000109.tkl>, seen: 3.1.2021).

¹⁵² Kalimeris 1887. This book is found in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used a copy from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EAIA, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1887.662).

¹⁵³ See <https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/frontend/el/browse/238237> (seen: 5.1.2021).

¹⁵⁴ Viagkinis 1888a. The book exists in printed form at the National Library of Greece (it has no call number; its recording number is: nlg.465955).

and the Greek translation of the work. It also informs us about the book's readership: the pupils of the higher classes in high schools. Markos Viagkinis was from Zakynthos (another scholar from the Ionian Islands), and was a teacher in a famous school of Athens, the Varvakeion high school (founded in 1860). In the same year (1888), Viagkinis also published a commentary on the first *Philippic* and in 1890 a commentary on the second *Philippic*.¹⁵⁵ These two books included only comments on and not translations of the Ciceronian speeches.¹⁵⁶

In 1889, he published his translation of **the second *Philippic***.¹⁵⁷ The title informs us of the contents of the book: an introduction, some general notes on the second *Philippic*, a brief argument, a corrected edition of the Latin text, and the Greek translation of the work.

Viagkinis' language is the official language of the Greek educational system, the *katharevousa*. His books were used as textbooks by pupils of the higher classes of high schools. He produced a faithful translation that follows the Latin text, and included a great deal of information about these Ciceronian speeches, as well as the Roman author's rhetorical practices.

Georgios Kampasis' translation of *Pro Sestio* in 1891¹⁵⁸ is the only Greek translation of this Ciceronian speech from the nineteenth century. As we learn from the title (see the Appendix at the end of this volume), Kampasis was also a bookseller – and this is the only information we have about him. The book does not include a prologue or the Latin text and comments. It has only an *argumentum* (ὐπόθεσις) and the Greek translation in a severe *katharevousa*, which in several passages looks like ancient Greek. Apparently, the book was likely used as a textbook by high school pupils or university students.

Panagiotis Mataragkas published his translation of the *Catilinarians* in 1892.¹⁵⁹ There is disagreement regarding the year of the publication, because, in the inner cover, we find the year 1892. Iliou and Polemi note that 1891 is the correct year of publication.¹⁶⁰ This book is the Greek translation of Cicero's *Catilinarians*

155 Viagkinis 1888b and 1890, respectively.

156 For the commentary on the first *Philippic*, see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/8/d/8/metadata-438-0000028.tkl>. For the commentary on the second *Philippic*, see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/0/1/8/metadata-438-0000078.tkl> (seen: 3.1.2021).

157 Viagkinis 1889. The book exists in a digitised form at the "Anemi" website (see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/d/e/c/metadata-438-0000079.tkl>, seen: 3.1.2021).

158 Kampasis 1891. This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used a copy from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EAIA, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1891.91).

159 Mataragkas 1891. This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used a copy from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EAIA, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1891.540).

160 Cf. Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1891.540.

by Panagiotis Mataragkas (1834–1895), who was a lawyer, diplomat, politician and poet.¹⁶¹ Mataragkas also translated three *Carmina* by Horace (1.5, 1.23 and 3.9),¹⁶² and he probably published (under the acronym P. M.) a short article (in two parts) that was a presentation of various translations and adaptations of Catullus' third poem.¹⁶³

Mataragkas' book does not include a prologue or the Latin text. The structure is simple. At the beginning, he offers a little information about Cicero's life and works. After this, the Greek translation of each *Catilinarian* follows, preceded by its argument. Mataragkas includes various comments in the footnotes, where he offers abundant information regarding the political system of Rome, the persons in each speech, etc. The language of the translation is a mild *katharevousa*, and its main readership was likely high school pupils. However, given that he was a lawyer and politician, he might have also addressed this book to his colleagues. If we compare his translation with that of Livieratos (see above), we will observe that there are several similarities. This means that he may have consulted Livieratos' book, or that they both drew their material from a common (unknown) source.

During the period between 1891 and 1893, we find Dr. **Georgios Karatzas'** translations of six Ciceronian rhetorical works. Karatzas, born in 1868 in Samos, studied philology and law and was publishing a local newspaper in his hometown, called *Φώς* ("Light"). He worked as a teacher in high schools in several towns of Greece (Samos, Kozani, Athens), as well as in Constantinople and Jerusalem. He was a zealous supporter of the *dimotiki* language, and gained a prize from the literary journal *Noumas* for his *Ρωμαίικο Ἀρφαβητάρι* ("Alphabet Book of Modern Greek").¹⁶⁴ He also translated Caesar's *De bello civili* in 1892.¹⁶⁵ All of his translations from Latin were published by Grigorios Lamprou. Although Karatzas was a supporter of the *dimotiki* language, his translations of Latin works are made in a mild *katharevousa*, apparently because they were addressed to pupils and students. All of his translations of Cicero's works have the same format: the argument of each speech, its Greek translation and comments in footnotes (all except for *Pro Ligario*, which also contains the Latin text (see below)). He followed the *ad verbum* translation practice. His books were valuable tools for the pupils and students, as they provided them with a reliable translation, and many comments.

¹⁶¹ See *Νεώτερον Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν Λεξικόν Ηλίου* 1980, vol. 13, 103.

¹⁶² Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 206.

¹⁶³ Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 202 n. 9.

¹⁶⁴ For Karatzas' life and work, see Adamopoulou 2014.

¹⁶⁵ This book exists in digitised form at the "Anemi" website (see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/9/6/5/metadata-1512731639-608421-19019.tkl>, seen: 6.1.2021).

In 1891, Karatzas published his translation of the *Pro Murena*,¹⁶⁶ which he dedicated with love to his dear teacher, Dimitrios Konstas, a schoolmaster at the high school in Ioannina, and a good and virtuous man (Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου διδασκάλῳ Δημητρίῳ Δ. Κώνστα, γυμνασιάρχῃ Ἰωαννίνων, ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καγαθῷ μετ' ἀγάπης τὸ παρὸν ἀνατίθημι. Ὁ μεταφράσας).¹⁶⁷

In 1892, two of Karatzas' translations were published. The first is that of **the fifth Verrine**.¹⁶⁸ The book includes a general introduction to Cicero's *Verrines*, after which there is an analysis of the fifth *Verrine*, and at the end the Greek translation of this speech, with several comments in the footnotes. The second is his translation of the *Pro Archia poeta*,¹⁶⁹ which contains a brief argument of the Ciceronian speech, and its Greek translation is accompanied by several footnotes.

In 1893, Karatzas published his other three translations of Ciceronian speeches, *Pro Sulla*,¹⁷⁰ *Pro Milone*,¹⁷¹ and *Pro Ligario*.¹⁷² Regarding the first, as with Mataragkas' translation, there is a disagreement regarding the year of publication, as in the inner cover we find the year 1892. For his translation of the *Pro Milone*, we must note that this Ciceronian work was also translated into Greek by Soutsas in 1886 (see above), and by other scholars during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries for educational reasons.¹⁷³ In contrast to Karatzas' other translations, his book for the *Pro Ligario* includes the Latin text, without noting which edition he followed. The book has the following structure: an argument of the speech; the Latin text, accompanied by footnotes; and finally, the translation. Karatzas does not note anything about his sources. Nevertheless, it is possible that he knew of Kalimeris' translation of the same speech (see above).

All of these Greek translations of Ciceronian rhetorical works were written in *katharevousa*; most of them in mild *katharevousa*, e.g. Koupitoris', Livieratos', Mataragkas', and Karatzas', while Kampasis' book was written in severe *katharevousa*,

¹⁶⁶ This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used a copy from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EΛΙΑ, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1891.555).

¹⁶⁷ Karatzas 1891, [3].

¹⁶⁸ Karatzas 1892a. The book exists in printed form at the National Library of Greece (call number: ΛΦ-2784).

¹⁶⁹ Karatzas 1892b. This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used a copy from the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EΛΙΑ, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1892.605).

¹⁷⁰ Karatzas 1893a. The book exists in digitised form in the Anemi website (see <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/2/a/4/metadata-181-0000088.tkl>, seen: 11.1.2021).

¹⁷¹ Karatzas 1893b. The book exists in printed form in several libraries of Greece. I used a copy from the National Library of Greece (call number: ΛΦ-2769).

¹⁷² Karatzas 1893c. This book exists in printed form at several Greek libraries. I used the copy at the Library of the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EΛΙΑ, see Iliou/Polemi 2006, no 1893.556).

¹⁷³ Indicatively, I mention Kakridis ²1928 and Karakasis *et al.* 2020.

as several passages resemble ancient Greek. This language choice as well as many books' titles and translator's words in their prologues signify their readership: the pupils of high schools and the students of the Ottonian University of Athens. However, Doukakis and Livieratos state that they also addressed their books to whoever loved Antiquity. The translators followed the *ad verbum* translation practice, a fact that reduced their potential literary value. The Greek translations of Ciceronian rhetorical works were made with the intention of being used as textbooks. With these books, the Greek pupils and students exercised in classical Latin language (grammar, syntax and vocabulary), and drew information about Roman history, society, and political life.

A Greek Translation of Cicero's Epistles

The only translation of Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares* belongs to an **anonymous**; it is in manuscript form, and remains unpublished until today.¹⁷⁴ We do not know its exact date; as Politis notes, it may belong to the eighteenth or nineteenth century. It is a small, handwritten notebook, which includes the Latin text and above it the Greek translation, written in smaller characters. Each Greek word is above the corresponding Latin word. It was likely used to teach Latin. It contains a Greek translation of several epistles of Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares*. Each epistle is preceded by a brief argument (in Latin, without its Greek translation), a practice that was followed in the editions of this Ciceronian work from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁵

In its first eleven folia, the notebook contains the first six epistles of the second Book of the *Epistulae ad familiares*, and the first part of the seventh epistle (all addressed to Curio). In fol. 11v, the text is interrupted and on the following page (fol. 12r) the ninth epistle (to Lentulus) of the first Book begins from paragraph 22 until its end. Then, the epistle 1.10 (to Valerius) follows. The notebook likely contained the entire translation of epistles 2.7 and 1.9, and several other epistles as well (since many folia are lost). In sum, the manuscript includes the translation

¹⁷⁴ The manuscript exists at the National Library of Greece in Athens, Fonds principal, ms. 2239. For a description of the manuscript, see Politis 1991, 263. I must note that all the information I cite here for this translation comes from the database "Greek translations of Latin works since 1453" (link: <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/db>). The link for this translation is the <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/224> (seen: 17.1.2021).

¹⁷⁵ See <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/224> (seen: 17.1.2021).

of Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.22 until the end, 1.10, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.71–2 (until the phrase *tecum loquere*).¹⁷⁶

I cite below a short passage from the translation of Cic. *Fam.* 2.1:

Εἰ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἀμελείας ὑποπτευθέντα ὑπεύθυνον σοι εἶναι ἀλγῶ, ὅμως οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐμοὶ ὀχληρὸν χαλεπὸν ἦν τὸ αἰτιᾶσθαι ὑπὸ σου τὸ καθήκον τὸ ἐμόν, ὅσον ἡδὺ τὸ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὑπὸ σου τοῦτο, μάλιστα ὅταν ἐν ᾧ ἡτιώμην κατηγορούμην, τοῦ ἐγκλήματος εἶην ἄθῳος.

Though I am sorry you should have suspected that I am responsible for neglect, however, your accusation of my office was not so annoying and difficult to me, as long as it is delightful to demand this from you, especially since, in so far as your charge went, I was in no sense to blame. (transl. by the author)

The language of the translation is ancient Greek, as Politis noted.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, we notice that the anonymous translator used the translation practice of the ‘translation pair’,¹⁷⁸ as he often used two words to render a single word of the original (cf. ὑποπτευθέντα ὑπεύθυνον for *suspectum*, ὀχληρὸν χαλεπὸν for *molestum*, and ἡτιώμην κατηγορούμην for *accusabar*).

Conclusion

Following the presentation above, it is observable that many Ciceronian works were translated again by different translators (*Laelius*, *Catilinarians*, *Philippics*, *Pro Archia poeta*, *Pro Milone*, *Pro Ligario*, and parts of the *Tusculanae disputationes*). This is probably justified by the fact that these works were taught in schools and at the university, and there was always the need for new translations and commentaries on them. Most of the Greek translations of Ciceronian works from the nineteenth century were made for mainly educational reasons. Therefore, the majority of the translated works were rhetorical (*Catilinarians*, *Philippics*, *Pro Archia poeta*, *Pro Milone*, *Pro Ligario*, *Pro lege Manilia*, the fifth *Verrine*, *Pro Sestio*, *Pro Murena* and *Pro Sulla*). Cicero's philosophical works then follow (*Somnium Scipionis*, *De re publica*, *Laelius*, *De officiis* and Books One and Five of the *Tusculanae disputationes*), and finally, there is a sole translation of Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares*. Undoubtedly, the translations of Ciceronian philosophical works excel, as they have literary value (e.g. Kogevinas' translation) and aim for a higher purpose,

¹⁷⁶ For a detailed analysis of the contents of this manuscript, see <http://gtll.lit.auth.gr/node/224> (seen: 17.1.2021).

¹⁷⁷ Politis 1991, 263.

¹⁷⁸ Kopanos 1974.

i.e. the political and philosophical awakening of the Greek nation (e.g. Tertsetis' and Kapodistrias' translations). The common origin of these translators from the Ionian Islands (Kapodistrias and Kogevinas were from Corfu, and Tertsetis from Zakynthos) led to their use of *dimotiki* (or mild *katharevousa*, in Kapodistrias' case); therefore, they addressed a wider readership, i.e. all the Greek-speaking people. Their translations were creative and literary, not simple textbooks of a technical character. After all, we must note several Heptanesian scholars' belief that their translations were not only mere renderings of a foreign literary work into the modern Greek language, but rather part of modern Greek literature.¹⁷⁹ Petridis' and Antoniadis' translations of *Laelius* in strict *katharevousa* (which looked like ancient Greek) aimed to be read by pupils and students, as well as by scholars. Moreover, Kapodistrias and Antoniadis consider Cicero's teachings as part of the Greek heritage. The translations of Ciceronian rhetorical works were produced in order to be used as school textbooks – this is why they were written in the official language of Greek education, the *katharevousa*. However, Doukakis and Livieratos also wanted their books to be read by a wider public. The ancient Greek translation of certain Ciceronian epistles in the unpublished manuscript signifies that the *Epistulae ad familiares* were likely also used in the educational process. Finally, we can note that the translators predominantly worked as teachers in high schools, and that some held a doctorate degree (Farantatos, Livieratos, Viagkinis, Karatzas). Karatzas was specialised in the translation of Ciceronian rhetorical works, as he translated six of these during the period between 1891 and 1893.

179 See Polylys 1891; Athanasiadou *et al.* 2019, 211 n. 29.