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The First Greek Translation of Cicero's *De re publica* (1839)

Introduction

The discovery of Cicero's *De re publica* in 1819 by Angelo Mai on the palimpsest Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5757¹ and the resulting *editio princeps* of what survived from the dialogue's six Books in 1822 (including the significant number of fragments of the indirect tradition),² were soon followed by more critical editions and translations of the text. The first Greek translation of Cicero's *De re publica* was produced by a certain A. ΣΤ., soon identified with Viaros Kapodistrias (1774–1842),³ and was published in Athens in 1839,⁴ only a few years after the recognition of the nascent Greek state in 1830 under the London Protocol and the subsequent declaration of the Kingdom of Greece in 1832. The political conditions of the Greek State, under which the translation was produced, are implied by the translator in his address to the readers in the prologue to the translation. Although, as will be shown below, the translation was based on another translation and not on the original Latin text, it was, however, a significant contribution to the familiarisation of the Greeks with the Latin Classics, especially with Cicero's political writings.⁵

1 For details on ms. Vat. lat. 5757, see Reynolds 1983, 131–132; Powell 2006, v–xxiii; Ziegler 1969, v–xxxiv; Bréguet 1980, vol. 1, 150–155; Stover/Revello (forthcoming).

2 Mai 1822.

3 Moustoxydis 1843, 126: “Υπὸ τὰ ἀρκτικά ταῦτα στοιχεῖα κρύπτεται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μεταφράσαντος Κόμητος Βιάρου τοῦ Καποδιστρίου” (“Behind these initial letters is concealed the name of the translator Count Viaros Kapodistrias”). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

4 The book, which was printed by P. Mantsarakis and contains the translation of the first three Books of the dialogue (Book One, pp. [1]–46, Book Two, pp. 46–80, and Book Three, pp. 80–97), is preceded by a prologue “Πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγνώστας” (“To the readers”) (pp. [γ’]–ζ’). A fairly good copy of it has been digitised by “Anemi. The Digital Library of Modern Greek Studies”, <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/4/f/8/metadata-39-0000569.tkl> (seen 8.1.2021). See also the Appendix at the end of this volume and Pappas (p. 150) in this volume.

5 Cicero was mostly known to the Greeks only by translations of some of his rhetorical works and a few philosophical treatises and dialogues, as well as the *Somnium Scipionis*, the most extensive fragment of *De re publica*. *De re publica* itself did not meet with any modern Greek translation until 2015 (Deligiannis 2015), while *De legibus*, his second political dialogue, was only versed into Greek in 2017 (Deligiannis 2017b).

The Prologue to and the Historical Background of the Translation

The prologue contains all the necessary elements of an address to the readers: a *praeparatio* or *praemunitio*, that is a justification for the translator's endeavouring the particular translation, a brief account of the history of Cicero's text and a description of its content in comparison with the political theories and ideas of Greek philosophers, its utility and aim with reference to the historical conditions of the Greek nation and the newly established Greek state, and an exhortation to the readers.

The translator's *praeparatio* and justification of selecting Cicero's *De re publica* for translation are emphatically placed in the opening paragraph of his introduction:

Ἐπειδὴ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δὲν ἐφάνη μεταφρασμένον εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην μας γλῶσσαν τὸ περὶ πολιτειῶν σύγγραμμα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ῥήτορος, καὶ φιλοσόφου Κικέρωνος, ἐπεχειρήσθην ἐγὼ ἔργον τοιοῦτον, μολοντί βέβαια ἀνώτερον κατὰ πάντα τῶν δυνάμεών μου.⁶

Because, as of today, there has been no translation into our spoken language of the work on constitutions by Cicero, the Roman orator and philosopher, I have myself attempted this kind of endeavour, though indeed it exceeds my abilities. (transl. by the author)

His self-defence in anticipation of an attack about his translation is also found twice further down in the prologue:

Ἐὰν ἐδυνήθην νὰ μεταφράσω εἰς τὴν γλῶσσάν μας τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ φιλοσοφικὰ διανοήματα τοῦ Συγγραφέως, ἐλπίζω νὰ δώσω εὐάρεστον ἀσχόλημα εἰς τοὺς λογίους μας.⁷

If I have managed to translate into our language the author's high-spirited and philosophical thoughts, I hope to give a pleasant engagement to our scholars. (transl. by the author)

and:

Ὑποβάλλω εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου τὴν εὐτελεῖ προσφορὰν τοῦ κόπου μου, ἐπὶ σκοπῷ νὰ τὸ ὠφελήσω, διότι μὲ τὸ μελετᾶν τοιούτους σοφοὺς συγγραφεῖς ἀποκτῶμεν καλὸν ὁδηγὸν εἰς τὰ βήματά μας.⁸

⁶ Kapodistrias 1839, [γ']. The prologue, transcribed with its original spelling and accentuation, is placed at the end of this study along with its English translation, produced by the author.

⁷ Kapodistrias 1839, δ'.

⁸ Kapodistrias 1839, ε'.

I submit to my nation this little offering of my effort, so that I can benefit it, because, by studying such wise authors, we acquire a good guide for our steps. (transl. by the author)

While these anticipatory comments are addressed to his nation and its scholars, the prologue closes with an exhortation to his compatriots in the second person plural, the only case in which he uses this person, while in the part between he uses the first singular and plural when addressing the readers:

Φίλοι ὁμογενεῖς, βάλετε ὑπ' ὅψιν τὰ διανοήματα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου φιλοσόφου, τὰς σκέψεις του, καὶ τὰς ἱστορικὰς διηγήσεις του, καὶ συγκρίνατε τὰ πάντα μὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν κρίνατε.⁹

My compatriot friends, do take into consideration the Roman philosopher's notions, thoughts and historical narrations, compare them all with our own, and, after the comparison, then decide. (transl. by the author)

The comparison to which he refers precedes and is made between Cicero's political theories and those by Greek philosophers:

διότι θέλουν δυνηθῇ νὰ συμπαραβάλωσι τὸν Ῥωμαῖον συγγραφέα μὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους τοὺς διαπραγματευσαμένους τὴν αὐτὴν ὕλην, καὶ νὰ ἀποφασίσωσι ποῖος αὐτῶν ὠφελιμώτερα συνέγραψε, περὶ πρακτέων πραγμάτων, ποῖος ἐθεώρησε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς εἶναι, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς δύναται νὰ ᾔηται· ἢ ἐὰν τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου τὸ σύγγραμμα συμπαραβαλλόμενον μὲ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων δὲν εἶναι, εἰμὴ, τρόπον τινὰ, αὐτῶν ἀντίγραφον· ἢ τελευταῖον ἀπονέμοντες ἐκάστω τὸν ἀνήκοντα ἔπαινον, θέλουσι γνωρίσει ὅτι ἅπαντες συνέγραψαν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν, ὁ μὲν ἀρχαιότερος, διὰ τὴν ἡθικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, λογικῶς ἐλπίζων ὅτι δύνανται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἢ κἄν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος νὰ μορφωθῶσιν εἰς τρόπον ὥστε ἡ καθαρότης τῶν ἡθῶν νὰ καταστήσῃ πρακτέον, ὅ,τι εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα καιρὸν ἐθεωρήθη ὡς ἔν τι μᾶλλον ἐλπίζόμενον, παρὰ πραττόμενον. Ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν πολέμησας τὰς διδασκαλίας του, καὶ ἄλλα διδάξας ἐνόμισε πρακτέον ὅ,τι ἐπρόβαλεν. Ὁ μεταγενέστερος ὁμῶς θεωρῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ὡς ἦτο τότε, καὶ ποίαν ἐλπίδα ἔδιδε διὰ τὸ μέλλον, ἔλαβεν ὡς παράδειγμα τὰ παρελθόντα, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὠδηγήθη ἵνα κρίνῃ καὶ δώσῃ τὰς συμβουλὰς του, ἐὰν ὅχι εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, βέβαια εἰς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔθνος, ὅπως κρίνῃ, ποία δι' αὐτὸ ἦθελεν εἶσθαι ἢ βελτίων μορφή κυβερνήσεως.¹⁰

for they will be able to compare the Roman author with those of ours who examined the same subject, and to decide which of them wrote more beneficially on how things must be done, who considered human things as they are, and said how they could be; or if the work of the later author compared with the works of the earlier authors is not but a sort of a copy of them; or, lastly, having awarded each their own merit, they will be able to find out that they all wrote according to their own times, the oldest one on the moral condition of humanity, reasonably hoping that men, or at least the Greek nation, could be educated

⁹ Kapodistrias 1839, ζ'.

¹⁰ Kapodistrias 1839, δ'–ε'.

in a way that the purity of morals can make doable what was later considered hopeful rather than practical. The author after him, having fought the latter's teaching and instructed other things, considered what he proposed doable. However, the later author, having seen humanity as it was then and what hope it gave for the future, took as an example what happened in the past and was led by it to judge and give his advice, if not to the entire world, at least to the Roman nation, so that it could appraise which form of constitution would be best for it. (transl. by the author)

The comparison is made between Cicero and the Greek political philosophers, without naming them, but implying their identity by his subsequent references to them. He offers a tripartite assessment of their contribution to the development of the political thought and practice: a) "which of them wrote more beneficially on how things must be done, who considered human things as they are, and said how they could be", the emphasis being placed on the value and usefulness of their philosophical writings and whether or not these were based on reality and pragmatism; b) "if the work of the later author compared with the works of the earlier authors is not but a sort of a copy of them", that is if Cicero's dialogue simply repeats the ideas expressed by the Greek philosophers;¹¹ and c) awarding "each their

11 Compared to the content of the prologue to this translation, which is very positive for Cicero's political theories, there were evaluations of them that considered them no more than an imitation of the Greek political ideas; see, e.g., Kokkonis 1829, 390 and n. 2: "Ο Κικέρων, ὁ Λουκρήτιος καὶ ὁ Σένεκας ἔγραψαν εὐγλώττως καὶ γλαφυρῶς περὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς τὴν γλῶσσάν των· ἀλλ' ἡ φιλοσοφία αὕτη ἦτο ἡ Ἑλληνική. [...] Περί δὲ πολιτικῆς δὲν διεσώθη κανὲν σύγγραμμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Τὸ νεωστὶ ἀνακαλυφθὲν περὶ πολιτείων τοῦ Κικέρωνος δὲν περιέχει τίποτε νεώτερον ἄλλο τὰρ [sic] τὰς θεωρίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Τῆς βιωτικῆς ἐπιστήμης αἱ γνώσεις δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ μεταφουτευθῶσι καὶ νὰ τελειοποιηθῶσιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἡ ἐλευθερία ἔπνεε τὰ λείσθια (2). (2) Τὸ σύγγραμμα τοῦτο τοῦ Κικέρωνος εὐρέθη περὶ τὰ 1822 εἰς τὴν Βιβλιοθήκην τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Μαΐου, καὶ μετεφράσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισήμου προφέσσορος τῶν Παρισίων Βιλμαίνου εἰς τὸ Γαλλικόν" ("Cicero, Lucretius and Seneca wrote articulately and flowingly on philosophy in their language; however, this philosophy was the Greek one. [...] On the political theory, no work of the Romans has survived. The recently discovered one of Cicero's on constitutions contains nothing new but the theories of the Greeks. The knowledge of this useful-for-life science was not possible to get transplanted and perfected in Rome, when liberty was breathing its last breath (2). (2) This work of Cicero was found around 1822 in the Library of Rome by Mai, and was translated into French by the notable professor Villemain in Paris"). Evaluations of this kind might have been instigated by statements of Cicero such as the one included in a letter to Atticus from 45 BCE (Cic. Att. 12.52.3: *De lingua Latina securi es animi. Dices tui alia quae scribis? Ἀπόγραφα sunt, minore labore fiunt; verba tantum adfero, quibus abundo*; "About the Latin Language you can set your mind at rest. You will say 'What's that compared to your writings?' (?) They are mere transcripts, requiring less work. I just contribute the words, which I have in plenty"; transl. Shackleton Bailey 1999), only "eight days after completing 'two big books' on Academic epistemology (*duo magna συντάγματα*, Att. 12.44)", which statement "seems to offer a general reflection on how the author goes about philosophizing"

own merit”, referring first to Plato’s philosophical and political views (“the oldest one [...] rather than practical”) as rather utopian, abstract and idealistic, then to Aristotle’s (“The author after him [...] what he proposed doable”) as more rational, pragmatic and practical compared to his teacher’s, and finally to Cicero (“However, the later author [...] would be best for it”) as the most realist of all three authors, whose theories and ideas were shaped by the past for the future benefit of the Romans. The characterisation of Plato as the most idealist, Cicero the most realist, and Aristotle in between them by the translator might have derived from Cicero’s dialogue itself, where the Roman author criticises Plato’s republic comparing it to his own on several occasions,¹² while many of his views on ethics and politics in the dialogue were borrowed from Aristotle, indicative of Cicero’s reception of this philosopher’s views as, at least, more practical than Plato’s.¹³ Cicero, furthermore, expresses the rudiments of realism in Book One of his dialogue and in the passages where he compares his state to Plato’s.¹⁴ His realism originates from building up his political theory on the Roman state through its various historical and political changes and fluctuations; listing the positive and negative elements of each constitution that Rome went through enabled him to suggest the best form of constitution to the Romans, which would secure the future survival of the state.

This is precisely the point of Cicero’s theory that appeals most to the translator and his decision to attempt his translation. The aforementioned comparison is necessary for his compatriots to be more prepared in choosing their constitution correctly, making a connection with their current political conditions:

Τὰ τοιαῦτα θέλουσι παρέξει ἄφθονον ὕλην εἰς τὰς σκέψεις, καὶ μελέτας τῶν ὁμογενῶν μου, ἵνα, ὅποταν προτείνωσι τι διὰ τὴν ἐθνικὴν ὠφέλειαν, ἔχωσι προμελετημένον, ἐὰν ἡ πρότασις τῶν ἐπιστηρίζεται εἰς τὰς γνώμας τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου φιλοσόφου, ὁ ὁποῖος εἰς τὰς περιγραφὰς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων παντὸς εἶδους πολιτικῆς μορφῆς Κυβερνήσεως, ἐπαρέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ἔκτοτε, ὡς τὰ εἶδομεν εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας μας, τόσον τὰ καλὰ, ὅσον καὶ τὰ κακά. Εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαῖον φιλόσοφον θέλουσιν εὐρεῖ σάφονα σύμβουλον, καὶ ὁδηγὸν, ὁ ὁποῖος θέλει τοὺς θέσει εἰς κατάστασιν νὰ διακρίνωσι, καὶ νὰ προτιμήσωσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ

and “was to have a momentous impact on how later scholarship would interpret his philosophy” (Cappello 2019, 13).

¹² See, e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 2.3; 2.21–22; 2.51–52.

¹³ See, e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 1.2 (on the balance between theory and practice; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 7.3.1325a.16–34); 1.3 (on political leader’s role; cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 8.9.1160a.11–14 and 1.2.1094b.5–15); 1.39 (on the formation of the first human communities and on man as a political being; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 7.8.1328b.16–17; 1.2.1252b.30–31; 1.2.1253a.2–3); 1.42 (on the various versions of the constitutions; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 3.7.1279a.25–31); 1.45 (on the mixed constitution; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 2.6.1265b.26–1266a.7; 4.3.1290a.26–27; 4.11.1295a.25–1296b.12; 5.8.1307b.30–31); 1.50 (on the Spartan constitution; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 2.9.1270b.39–41; 3.14.1285b.27–28; 3.15.1285b.33–1286a.1; 3.15.1286b.22–27), etc.

¹⁴ For the latter, see n. 12 above; for the former, see, e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 1.1–13.

φαινόμενον περιωρισμένον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ὠφέλιμον καὶ δίκαιον, ἀπὸ τὸ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον λαμπρὸν, καὶ ἑλκυστικὸν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ὀλέθριον.¹⁵

These will be able to provide ample material to the thoughts and studies of my compatriots, so that, when they ever propose something for the national benefit, they have deliberated about, if their proposal is based on the thoughts of the ancient philosophers, and indeed of the Roman philosopher, who in the descriptions of the results of every kind of political form of constitution, showed the things then as we saw them in our days, both the good and the bad. In the Roman philosopher they will be able to find a prudent advisor and guide, who will be able to make them judge and prefer what looks suppressive, but in essence is beneficial and right, to what at first appears glorious and attractive, while on a second look is catastrophic. (transl. by the author)

Although his references to the political conditions of Greece at the time are rather vague, they could be defined if they are discussed along with the actual political and historical events of the time. To better understand, however, the translator's messages to his compatriots, one also needs to consider another passage from his introduction:

Τὰ πασιφανῆ παραδείγματα τῶν στρατιωτικῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ ἐμπειροπολέμου Μιλτιάδου, τοῦ συνετοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρείου Λεωνίδου, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, τὰ ὅποια ἦσαν, εἶναι, καὶ ἔσονται παρόντα εἰς μνήμην ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους μας, πόσων καὶ πόσων δὲν ἐθέρμανον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δὲν ἠρέθισαν τὴν τόλμην ἵνα περιφρονήσωσι κινδύνους, καὶ τυφλοὶ γινόμενοι εἰς αὐτοὺς, νὰ προσηλώσωσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς των πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πατρίδος; Παύσαντος τώρα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐμβαίνοντος τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς πολιτικὸν στάδιον, νομίζω ὅτι θέλει ἀποτελέσει ὠφέλιμα ἡ ἀνάμνησις τῆς σοφίας τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἥτις θέλει παραχωρήσει τὴν αὐτῶν σύνεσιν ὁδηγὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν διανοήματα θέλουσι καρποφορήσει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας. Δὲν θέλομεν ἀδικηθῆ οὐδόλως συμβουλευόμενοι τὴν πολιτικὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, σκεπτόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πραγμάτων, διότι κατὰ τοῦτο θέλομεν εἶσθαι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κατάστασιν, τώρα, πρὸς αὐτὸν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἦτο, τότε πρὸς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πολιτικὴν σοφίαν, σκεπτόμενος περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων.¹⁶

The evident examples of the military achievements of Miltiades the war-seasoned, of Themistocles the prudent, of Leonidas the gallant, and many others, which were, are and will be present in the memory of our entire nation, how many souls have they not heated up and excited their valour so that they could scorn dangers and, having become blind towards them, could fix their eyes to the glory and salvation of their country? Now that the war is over and the nation has entered a civil stage, I believe that the remembrance of the ancients' wisdom will be proved beneficial, as it will offer their prudence as a guide to us and their thoughts will bear fruits in our days too. It will not disserve us at all to consult Cicero's political wisdom and to consider our own condition, because, with respect to this, we will be now in the same condition as he was then in regard to the Greek political wisdom, when he was thinking about the Roman conditions. (transl. by the author)

15 Kapodistrias 1839, ε'.

16 Kapodistrias 1839, ε'–ς'.

The reconnection of the nineteenth-century Greek population with the ancient Greek past was the result of the ideological and philosophical movement of the Modern Greek Enlightenment in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Greek scholars of the time conscientiously and persistently turned their rather uncultured compatriots into fervent admirers of ancient Greek culture, history and its heroes, by taking advantage of their lack of self-confidence towards other Europeans and their yearning for national identity, independence from Ottoman rule and establishment of their own state. This whole movement was partly responsible for leading the Greek population of the Balkans to the Greek War of Independence in 1821. The war officially ended in 1830 with the establishment of Greece as an independent, sovereign state under the London Protocol, and the subsequent declaration of the Kingdom of Greece in 1832.

However, the decade from 1822, when the First National Assembly of Epidaurus marked, by establishing a central administration, the birth of the modern Greek state, until 1832, when the Kingdom of Greece was declared at the Convention of London by the Great Powers (England, France and Russia), was full of dangers and political changes for the nascent nation. Two civil wars between 1823 and 1825, conflicts among powerful local magnates and chieftains, along with organisational and financial problems and victories of the Turco-Egyptian army, threatened the revolution with collapse. A ray of hope for the success of the insurgents appeared in 1827, when the Third National Assembly of Troezen declared the Hellenic State and selected Count Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831), the translator's younger brother, as Governor of Greece. Kapodistrias arrived in Greece in early 1828 and, in order to redress the problems of the war-devastated country, adopted a rather authoritarian way of government, appointed his brothers, Viaros and Augustinos, to political and military positions, thus being accused of nepotism, and clashed with powerful landowners and chieftains, which resulted in his assassination in 1831, followed by renewed civil strife. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Augustinos Kapodistrias (1778–1857), until early 1832, but the latter's rule was marked by political instability and anarchy. The official establishment of the Kingdom of Greece in May 1832 was followed by the selection of Otto of Wittelsbach, the seventeen-year-old son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, as the first King of Greece. Otto arrived in Greece in early 1833 along with 3,500 Bavarian troops and three Bavarian ministers as Regents.

The regency council governed until 1835 as an oligarchy, making itself very unpopular to the Greeks by trying to impose ideas and practices foreign to the locals. Even after the termination of the regency in 1835, political tension remained strong, because Otto refused to grant a constitution and ruled the country as an absolute monarch until 1843, causing an increasing sentiment of discontent. Otto's absolutism in combination with other reasons (his refusal to convert from

Catholicism to Orthodoxy, his queen's Lutheran faith and interference in the government, the ongoing Bavarian influence even after the appointment of Greek prime ministers, the disproportionate share of public high offices granted to Greeks who moved to the kingdom from other areas of the Balkans and Asia Minor, onerous tax burdens and limited revenues) led to a coup d'état on 3 September 1843, resulting in the change of Otto's absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy.

The year when the translation was published (1839), "an obscure 'Philorthodox' conspiracy came to light, seemingly aimed at forcing Otto either to convert from Catholicism to Orthodoxy or to abdicate".¹⁷ The Philorthodox Society that organised this conspiracy was a secret society under the support of the Russian Party (one of the three political parties named after the three Great Powers that established the kingdom) and "emerged sometime after the arrival of Konstantinos Oikonomou in 1834 and crystallised as a definitive society when Georgios Kapodistrias moved [from Corfu] to Athens in 1838",¹⁸ or "in 1836, to claim from the Greek government what the Greek state owed to his brother, Ioannis Kapodistrias".¹⁹ Georgios Kapodistrias (1783–1841), who was considered one of the leaders of the conspiracy, was arrested and jailed. It is not certain whether or not his elder brother, Viaros, was aware of Georgios' secret plans. Having been accused of nepotism, authoritarianism and abuse of power, Viaros, who held important political offices during the rule of both his brothers, Ioannis and Augustinos, fled to Corfu in May 1832 (after the fall of Augustinos from power), where he died in 1842, only three years after publishing his translation.

Viaros Kapodistrias appears to imply the aforementioned political conditions in the passages of the prologue cited above. The closing paragraph of the second passage ("It will not disserve us [...] about the Roman conditions") makes a comparison between the Roman historical and political conditions of Cicero's times, especially when he composed his dialogue (54–51 BCE), and the Greek conditions of the translator's times. The decade of the 50s BCE was preceded by the civil wars between G. Marius and L. Cornelius Sulla (88–81 BCE), the latter's dictatorship (82–79 BCE), the Catilinarian conspiracy (63 BCE), and the first Triumvirate of Gn. Pompey, J. Caesar and M. Licinius Crassus (60 BCE), while, in the late 50s, Rome was on the verge of another civil war that broke out between Caesar and Pompey in the first half of the 40s BCE. All these conditions can relate to those of the Greek state as described above: the civil wars, the authoritarian government of the Bavarian

¹⁷ Clogg 1992, 51.

¹⁸ Frary 2015, 170–177, esp. 176. See also Jelavich 1966.

¹⁹ Loukos 1997, 327.

regency council followed by Otto's absolute monarchy and the discontent they had caused, and the peril of another civil war among the supporters of Otto and those who demanded a constitution. So, as Cicero considered Greek political wisdom, so that he could advise his compatriots of the best form of constitution for Rome, the translator suggests that the Greeks should consider the Roman philosopher's political ideas in order to choose the best constitution for themselves.

However, this does not necessarily mean that Viaros suggested a change of constitution. This must be implied in the closing paragraph of the first passage cited above, where he states that Cicero will help the Greeks “judge and prefer what looks suppressive, but in essence is beneficial and right, to what at first appears glorious and attractive, while on a second look is catastrophic”. This conclusion comes after his observation that “the Roman philosopher [...] in the descriptions of the results of every kind of political form of constitution, showed the things then as we saw them in our days, both the good and the bad”. The translator apparently refers to the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each constitution by Cicero in Book One of this dialogue, while he implies that the Greek nation too experienced the strengths and weaknesses of various constitutions in the period from 1821 to his times: democracy (the central administration in the first years of the revolution) that soon turned to anarchy and mob-rule (during the civil wars), aristocracy (of the local magnates) and its degenerate counterpart, oligarchy (during the Bavarian regency), and tyranny (Otto's absolutism). There was only one constitution the Greeks had not yet tried and that was monarchy, the just and fair monarchy as described by Cicero in Book One of his *De re publica*.²⁰ Given the increasing demand of a constitution from Otto after 1835, which led to the 1843 coup d'état, it may not be totally groundless to assume that the translator's statement “what looks suppressive, but in essence is beneficial and right” might refer to his preference to monarchy, in comparison to “what at first appears glorious and attractive, while on a second look is catastrophic” referring to democracy or mob-rule, as these three forms of government are described by Cicero in what remained of his dialogue's Book One.

The dialogue's fragmentary condition is also an issue addressed by the translator in his prologue, where he refers to both its direct and indirect tradition, especially to the fragments preserved in Christian authors:

Τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου, γνωστοῦ εἰς τοὺς προαπελθόντας αἰῶνας, ἡ φορὰ τῶν πραγμάτων δὲν εἶχεν ἀφήσει, εἰμὴ τεμάχια τινα, τὰ ὅποια ἀνεγινώσκοντο εἰς ἄλλους πολὺ μεταγενε-

20 See Cic. *Rep.* 1.56–64.

στέρους Συγγραφείς, καὶ τὸ περισσότερον ἐκκλησιαστικούς, ὡς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Αὐγουστίνον καὶ εἰς ἄλλους.²¹

Of this work, well-known in past centuries, the impetus of nature had left but only a few fragments, which were preserved in other, much later authors, mostly ecclesiastical, as for example in Saint Augustine and others. (transl. by the author)

He pays tribute to A. Mai and his discovery of the Vatican Library palimpsest in 1819,²² and provides a brief description of the condition and content of the dialogue's Books (One, Two and Three) translated by him:

Ὁ καιρὸς ὅμως ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἢ παρέλευσις αἰώνων, τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλαιοτάτου συγγράμματος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ἄλλη γραφὴ εἶχεν ἐπιτεθῆ, ἔφθειρε πολλά. Καλὴ τύχη, τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου, καίτοι ὀλιγώτερον τοῦ τρίτου, τὰ σωζόμενα παρασταίνουσι τὰ φρονήματα τοῦ συγγραφέως, μολονότι μὲ ἐλλείψεις, ὅμως ἀρκετὰ σαφῆ, ἵνα ὁ ἀναγνώστης γνωρίσῃ τὶ ἐφρόνει περὶ τοῦ ἐμβριθοῦς ἀντικειμένου, ποία ἡ βελτίων μορφὴ Κυβερνήσεως, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μορφῆς διὰ τὴν συνδιατηρήσιν της, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ ἔθνους, ποία πρέπει νὰ ᾖ καὶ ἡ κυρία της βάσις.²³

Time, however, or rather the elapsing of centuries has destroyed much of this very old work, on which another script was superposed. By good fortune, what has survived of the first and the second book, though a little less of the third book, shows the author's thoughts, which, although with omissions, are clear enough for the reader to become acquainted with what he believed on this profound subject, namely what the best form of constitution was and what the main foundation of this constitution must be for its conservation and for a nation's prosperity. (transl. by the author)

He obviously feels the need to justify his decision not to have translated into Greek the remaining three Books:

Τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν βιβλίων σώζονται μόνον ὀλίγα τινα, μὲ χάσματα μεγαλώτατα εἰς τρόπον ὥστε ἡ ἔννοια τῶν γεγραμμένων διόλου λείπει, πλὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, μεταφρασθέντος εἰς τὴν παλαιάν μας γλῶσσαν παρὰ τοῦ λογίου Πλανούδη.²⁴

Of the other three books only little has survived, with huge gaps in a way that it is impossible to understand their content, with the exception of the Dream of Scipio, which was translated into our older language by the erudite Planudes. (transl. by the author)

²¹ Kapodistrias 1839, [γ'].

²² Kapodistrias 1839, [γ']: "χάρις τῷ σοφῷ Ἰταλῷ Κυρίῳ Μάϊ, ὅστις διὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας του, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐφευρεθείσης τέχνης τοῦ παλιμψήστου ἀνεκάλυψε καὶ εὗρε τὸ αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα" ("thanks to the prudent Italian Master Mai, who, by his assiduity and through the invented art of palimpsest reading, discovered and found this work").

²³ Kapodistrias 1839, [γ'].

²⁴ Kapodistrias 1839, [γ']–δ'.

The latter translation, that of the Dream of Scipio from Book Six of Cicero's dialogue, attributed to the Byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes (ca 1260–ca 1305), was ascribed by A. Moustoxydis to Theodore Gaza (1408/10–1475/76); for “[t]he Dream of Scipio, rendered into the Greek language by Maximus Planudes [published in] Florence [in] 1816”, he comments that “Professor Ciampi published it under Planudes’ name instead of Gaza’s, having followed the testimony of the codices of the Laurenziana and Marciana Libraries and relied on the style of the language”.²⁵ K. Sathas, in contrast, writes for Gaza that “he translated from Latin into the Greek Cicero’s *Cato Maior vel de senectute*, published in Florence, 1507 [...] in Ingolstadt, 1596. However, to Gaza was erroneously attributed Maximus Planudes’ translation of the Dream of Scipio, published along with the above-mentioned work as a translation by Gaza”.²⁶ More recent studies have established the attribution of this version to Planudes.²⁷

The Translation

Although one may think that Moustoxydis’ misattribution of Planudes’ translation to Gaza perhaps casts doubt on his attribution of the translation of Cicero’s *De re publica* to Viaros Kapodistrias,²⁸ there are strong indications that he must be correct. Andreas Moustoxydis (1785–1860), a scholar and politician from Corfu, was not only a contemporary of Viaros, but also close to Ioannis Kapodistrias, who, during his government, appointed him director of education. After Kapodistrias’ assassination in 1831, Moustoxydis returned to Corfu, where he resumed his historical and philological studies by founding the journal *Ἑλληνομνήμων ἢ Σύμμικτα*

25 Moustoxydis 1843, 125: “Κικέρωνος (Μ. Τ.) – Κάτων ὁ μείζων ἢ τοῦ γήρωος, καὶ ὁ ὄνειρος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, μεταφράσαντος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Γαζῆ – Ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ 1507 [...] – Μόνος ὁ ὄνειρος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐν Παρισίοις 1552. – Σκιπίωνος ὄνειρος, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν μετενεχθεὶς παρὰ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανοῦδου. – Ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ 1816. – Εἶναι ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνωτέρω μετάφρασις· ὁ δὲ καθηγητὴς Κιάμπιος ἐξέδωκεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πλανοῦδου ἀντὶ τοῦ Γαζῆ, ἀκολουθήσας τὴν σύμφωνον μαρτυρίαν τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Λαυρεντιανῆς καὶ τῆς Μαρκιανῆς καὶ ἐπιστηρικθεὶς εἰς τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ λόγου” (“Cicero (M. T.) – Cato the Elder or on Old Age, and the Dream of Scipio, translated by Theodore Gaza – Florence 1507 [...] – Only the Dream of Scipio, Paris 1552. – The Dream of Scipio, rendered into the Greek language by Maximus Planudes. – Florence 1816. – It is the same translation as the one above; Professor Ciampi published it under Planudes’ name instead of Gaza’s, having followed the testimony of the codices of the Laurenziana and Marciana Libraries and relied on the style of the language”). See also Göz 1801.

26 Sathas 1868, 40.

27 See also Gigante 1958; Pavano 1992; Megas 1995; Papathomopoulos 2000.

28 See n. 3 above.

Ελληνικά. It could, therefore, be assumed that his attribution of the translation to Viaros in 1843, just four years after its publication, originated from a direct and personal knowledge of the latter's endeavour. Moreover, as will be shown below, it seems that Viaros' translation was based not on the Latin text in Mai's 1822 edition, to which he makes reference in the prologue, but on the French version published in 1823 by Abel François Villemain.²⁹ A copy of this translation was certainly in the possession of Ioannis Kapodistrias' personal library,³⁰ and it is reasonable to assume that Viaros, who spent the last decade of his life (1832–1842) in Corfu, had access to it, especially after his brother's death. He undoubtedly knew French, as can be gathered from the correspondence between the two brothers,³¹ so he could well have used Villemain's translation for the production of his own in Greek.

To show the relationship between the two translations, below will be listed and discussed some examples from the first three Books of the dialogue (K), grouped under two different categories: a) passages in which the Greek translation faithfully follows the French one both in cases where the Latin text is preserved and in cases where there are gaps in the Latin text, filled in by contextual supplementations; b) passages in which the Greek translation deviates either from the Latin or from the French text or from both. References to Cicero's dialogue are made to its edition by Powell 2006. The Latin text is that of Mai's edition (M) as reproduced by Villemain in his 1823 one (V); all quotes are followed by page references to Villemain 1823 and Kapodistrias 1839.

Similarities between the Greek and the French Translations

Cic. *Rep.* 1.13

M, vol. 1, 24: *et in explicandis rationibus rerum civilium quamdam facultatem*

V, vol. 1, 25: et [...] quelque facilité pour expliquer les mouvemens [sic] et les ressorts de la politique

K, 8: καὶ [τὴν] ικανότητα νὰ ἀναπτύξω τὰ κινήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐλατήρια τῆς πολιτικῆς.³²

²⁹ Villemain 1823.

³⁰ See <http://kapodistrias.digitalarchive.gr/archive.php?type=book&id=1438> (seen 9.1.2021).

³¹ Bétant 1839, 138–139; 171–173; 175–178, etc.

³² M: “and a certain competence in explaining the issues of civic life”; V: “and some facility to explain the movements and springs of politics”; K: “and [the ability] to elaborate on the movements and springs of politics”.

The phrase “τὰ κινήματα καὶ τὰ ἐλατήρια τῆς πολιτικῆς” follows word for word the French “les mouvemens [sic] et les ressorts de la politique” for rendering the Latin *rationibus rerum civilium*.

Cic. *Rep.* 1.14

M, vol. 1, 26: *Nam cum P. Africanus hic Pauli filius, [...] Tuditano consule et Aquilio*

V, vol. 1, 27: Dans l'année du consulat de Tuditanus et d'Aquilius, Scipion l'Africain, le fils de Paul-Emile

K, 9: Ἐπὶ Τουδιτανοῦ, καὶ Ἀκουιλίου ὑπάτων, Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς υἱὸς Παύλου Αἰμιλίου.³³

The transposition of the Latin *Tuditano consule et Aquilio* at the beginning of the period, the change of “Publius” of the original to “Scipio”, and the addition of “Aemilius” to his father's name are common features in both the French and the Greek translations.

Cic. *Rep.* 1.22

M, vol. 1, 42–44: *et eam a Thalete milesio primum esse tornatam [...] et incideret luna tum in eam metam, quae esset umbra terrae, cum sol e regione*

V, vol. 1, 43–45: et que le premier modèle en avait été donné par Thalès de Milet [...] et que la lune touchait le point où elle est obscurcie par l'ombre de la terre, à l'instant où le soleil reparaisait sur l'horizon, etc.

K, 14–15: καὶ ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον σχέδιον τὸ εἶχε δώσει Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος [...] καὶ ὅτι ἡ σελήνη τότε ἔφθανεν εἰς τὴν θέσιν, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἔσκοτίζετο, ἀπὸ τὴν σκιάν τῆς γῆς, καθ' ἣν στιγμήν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνέτελλεν εἰς τὸν ὀρίζοντα.³⁴

The Latin *primum esse tornatam* with reference to the sphere was translated both in French and in Greek by the same periphrasis, including terms absent from the original text (“model” and “give”). The contextual supplementation of the fragmentary end of the chapter (“à l'instant où le soleil reparaisait sur l'horizon”) by Villemain is repeated word for word by the Greek translator.

33 M: “For when Publius Africanus, the son of Paulus, [...] in the consulate of Tuditanus and Aquilius”; V: “In the year of the consulate of Tuditanus and Aquilius, Scipio Africanus, Paulus Aemilius' son”; K: “During the consulship of Tuditanus and Aquilius, Scipio Africanus, Paulus Aemilius' son”.

34 M: “it had first been made by Thales of Miletus [...] and the moon then happened to fall into the cone where the shadow of the earth was, when the sun from the region”; V: “and that the first model had been given by Thales of Miletus [...] and that the moon touched the point where it was obscured by the shadow of the earth, the moment when the sun reappeared on the horizon, etc.”; K: “and that the first model was given by Thales of Miletus [...] and that the moon then arrived at the place where it was obscured by the shadow of the earth, at the moment when the sun was rising on the horizon”.

Cic. *Rep.* 1.39

M, vol. 1, 70: *non est enim singulare nec solivagum genus hoc; sed ita generatum, ut ne in omnium quidem rerum affluentia*

V, vol. 1, 71–73: Car l'espèce humaine n'est pas une race d'individus isolés, errans, solitaires; elle naît avec une disposition qui, même dans l'abondance de toutes choses et sans besoin de secours, lui rend nécessaire la société des hommes

K, 25: διότι τοῦτο τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος δὲν συνίσταται ἐξ ἀτόμων μεμονομένων καὶ πλανωμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ γεννᾶται μὲ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς κοινωνικότητος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀφθονίας παντὸς πράγματος, καὶ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης βοηθείας.³⁵

Similarities between the two translations are spotted in rendering the two Latin adjectives for *genus* (*singulare* and *solivagum*) as prepositional phrases “of isolated, wandering, solitary individuals” (the Greek translator keeping the first two adjectives only), and in filling in the incomplete end of the period: the Greek “μὲ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς κοινωνικότητος” and “καὶ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης βοηθείας” correspond to the French “avec une disposition qui [...] lui rend nécessaire la société des hommes” and “et sans besoin de secours”, respectively.

Cic. *Rep.* 1.44

M, vol. 1, 76: *Nam illi regi, ut eum potissimum nomen, tolerabili, aut si vultis, etiam amabili Cyro*

V, vol. 1, 77: Après ce roi tolérable, pour me servir de l'expression la plus juste, ou même si vous le voulez, après ce roi digne d'amour, Cyrus

K, 27: Μετ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἀνεκτὸν (διὰ τὰ μεταχειρισθῶ τὴν ὀρθοτέραν ἑκφρασιν) ἢ ἐὰν θέλετε, ἀξιόλαστον βασιλέα Κύρον.³⁶

The Greek translation of the Latin final clause *ut eum potissimum nomen* repeats the erroneous French translation of it.

Cic. *Rep.* 2.1

M, vol. 1, 128–130: *cuique vel patris utriusque iudicio, vel etiam meo studio*

V, vol. 1, 129: et à qui, soit par l'influence éclairée de mes parens adoptifs et naturels, soit de

35 M: “For this species is neither solitary nor unsocial, but it is so created that not even in an abundance of everything”; V: “For the human species is not a race of isolated, wandering, solitary individuals; it is born with a disposition which, even in the abundance of all things and without the need for help, makes human society necessary for it”; K: “For the human race does not consist of isolated and wandering individuals, but it is born both with the disposition of sociability even in the abundance of all things and without the need for help”.

36 M: “For beneath that tolerable or, if you wish, even lovable king Cyrus, to name him as the best example”; V: “After this tolerable king, to use the most appropriate expression, or even if you like, after this king worthy of love, Cyrus”; K: “After that tolerable (to use the most appropriate expression) or if you like, admirable king Cyrus”.

mon propre mouvement

K, 46: καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὁποῖον εἴτε διὰ γνώμης τοῦτο γεννήσαντός με πατρός καὶ τοῦ υἱοθετήσαντος, εἴτε ἐξ ἰδίας μου προαιρέσεως.³⁷

The interpretative translation of the Latin *patris utriusque* in the French and Greek translations differentiates Scipio's natural father (L. Aemilius Paulus) from his adoptive father (P. Cornelius Scipio).

Cic. *Rep.* 2.2

M, vol. 1, 130: *postremo exsanguem jam et jacentem doctus vir phalereus sustentasset Demetrius*

V, vol. 1, 131: et enfin, pour ranimer son épuisement et sa faiblesse, un savant homme, Démétrius de Phalère

K, 47: καὶ τελευταῖον διὰ τὴν ἐνισχύσῃ τὴν ἀδράνειάν των καὶ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν των ἔλαβον τὸν σοφὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα.³⁸

The Latin *exsanguem* (Attributive Adjective) and *jacentem* (Present Participle denoting continuance) with reference to the Athenians' *rem publicam* were turned into a final clause in both the French and the Greek translations, using exactly the same terms.

Cic. *Rep.* 2.9

M, vol. 1, 142: *Ita barbarorum agris quasi adtexta quaedam videtur ora esse Graeciae*

V, vol. 1, 143: Il semblerait qu'une portion détachée des rivages de la Grèce est venue border ces continents barbares

K, 51: ὥστε φαίνεται ὅτι μέρος τι τῆς Ἑλλάδος διεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τὰ παραθαλάσσια της, καὶ προστέθη εἰς τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς χώρας.³⁹

The Greek translation follows word for word the rather free French version in rendering the Latin infinitive phrase *adtexta quaedam ora esse*, by *quaedam ora be-*

37 M: "and to whom either following the judgment of both my fathers or also from my own interest"; V: "and to whom, either by the enlightened influence of my adoptive and natural parents, or of my own movement"; K: "and to whom, either by the opinion of the father who begot me and the one who adopted me, or from my own will".

38 M: "finally being already drained of blood and prostrate, it [sc. Athens] was restored by a learned man, Demetrius of Phalerum"; V: "and finally, to revive its [sc. Athens'] weariness and its weakness, a learned man, Demetrius of Phalerum"; K: "and finally, to help its [sc. Athens'] inactiveness and its weakness, it accepted the learned Demetrius of Phalerum".

39 M: "So the coast of Greece seems to be sort of knitted together with the lands of the barbarians"; V: "It seems that a part detached from the shores of Greece came to border these barbarian lands"; K: "so that it appears that a part of Greece got detached from its shores and added to the countries of the barbarians".

coming “a part of the shores” and *adtexta esse* rendered periphrastically as “detached from and border/added to”.

Cic. *Rep.* 2.27

M, vol. 1, 170–172: *Sic ille cum undequadraginta annos [...] regnavisset*

V, vol. 1, 171: *Ayant ainsi régné [...] pendant quarante-deux ans*

K, 59: Οὕτω βασιλεύσας ὁ Νουμᾶς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο ἔτη.⁴⁰

Although the Latin text has *undequadraginta* (thirty-nine), both translations render it as “forty-two”.

Cic. *Rep.* 2.49

M, vol. 1, 206: *et modo Ti. Gracchus*

V, vol. 1, 207: *et naguère, Tibérius Gracchus a encouru la même accusation*

K, 69: καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγου ὁ Τιβέριος Γράκχος ὑπέπεσεν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κατηγορίαν.⁴¹

The completion with reference to T. Gracchus, who “incurred the same charge”, is common to both the French and the Greek translations.

Cic. *Rep.* 3.9

M, vol. 2, 18: *Nunc autem, si quis illo Pacuviano invehens alitum anguium curru*

V, vol. 2, 19: *Maintenant, si quelqu’un porté sur ce char aux serpens ailés dont parle le poète Pacuvius*

K, 84: Νῦν δὲ ἐάν τις ὀχοούμενος ἐφ’ ἀμάξης συρομένης ὑπὸ πτερωτῶν ὄφεων, καθὼς λέγει ὁ ποιητὴς Πανούβιος [sic].⁴²

The Latin *Pacuviano curru* becomes “of which [in French] / as [in Greek] the poet Pacuvius speaks/says” in both translations.

Cic. *Rep.* 3.34

M, vol. 2, 46: *Quae cum dixisset Laelius, etsi omnes, qui aderant, significabant ab eo se esse admodum delectatos*

V, vol. 2, 47: *Quand Laelius eut achevé de parler, tous ceux qui étaient présents laissaient voir l’extrême plaisir que leur avait fait son discours*

⁴⁰ M: “After ruling thus for thirty-nine years”; V: “Having thus reigned [...] for forty-two years”; K: “Numa having thus reigned for forty-two years”.

⁴¹ M: “and more recently T. Gracchus”; V: “and not long ago, Tiberius Gracchus incurred the same charge”; K: “and not long ago Tiberius Gracchus incurred the same charge”.

⁴² M: “But now, if someone, riding on that Pacuvian chariot of winged snakes”; V: “Now, if someone carried on that chariot with winged serpents of which the poet Pacuvius speaks”; K: “Now if someone carried on a chariot pulled by winged serpents, as says the poet Pacuvius”.

K, 93: Ἀφοῦ ὁ Λαίλιος εἶπε ταῦτα, ἅπαντες οἱ παρευρισκόμενοι ἐδείκνυνον τὴν ἄκραν εὐχαρίστησιν τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπροξένησαν εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ λόγοι του.⁴³

Both the French and the Greek translation rendered the infinitive phrase *se esse admodum delectatos* by the noun phrase “the extreme pleasure” and the prepositional *ab eo* by a whole relative sentence “that [pleasure] his speech (had) caused them”.

Cic. *Rep.* 3.35

M, vol. 2, 52: *Nec vero convenit cum furiosorum bona legibus in adgnatorum potestate sint, quod eorum jam*

V, vol. 2, 53: Et lorsque nos lois placent les biens des insensés sous la tutelle de leurs proches, il n'est pas conséquent de laisser une aveugle multitude maîtresse absolue de tout faire

K, 95: Καὶ καθὼς τῶν μανικῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς, οὕτω καὶ εἰς τὸ τυφλὸν πλῆθος δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀφίνηται ἡ ἐξουσία νὰ πράττῃ τὰ πάντα.⁴⁴

Besides the changes in the sentence structure of the original, the phrasing of the completion of the fragmentary end by Villemain is closely repeated by the Greek translator with reference to the “blind mob’s” absolute power.

The preceding examples and brief discussion of the cases in which the Greek translation follows the French one almost *ad verbum* are strong indications of the former’s dependence on the latter. Their closeness is not limited to the translation of parts of the Latin text extant in the Vatican manuscript or in the supplementation of gaps in the text, but extends even to the repetition of the errors of the French translator by the Greek in his own version. However, as emerges from the examples listed and discussed below, the Greek translator occasionally deviated from the French version and either consulted the original Latin, thus incorporating the reading of it, or provided an interpretative translation to facilitate his readers in better understanding Cicero’s text.

⁴³ M: “When Laelius said these things, although all those present indicated that they were extremely delighted by him”; V: “When Laelius had finished speaking, all those present showed the extreme pleasure that his speech had caused them”; K: “When Laelius said these things, all those present showed the extreme pleasure that his speech caused them”.

⁴⁴ M: “Nor is it right, since according to laws the property of madmen goes under the control of their relatives, because they no longer”; V: “And when our laws place the property of madmen under the tutelage of their relatives, it is not therefore to leave a blind mob absolute master of doing everything”; K: “And because the property of madmen is placed under the relatives, likewise the power to do everything must not be left to the blind mob”.

Differences between the Greek and the French Translations and/or the Latin Text

Cic. Rep. 1.1

M, vol. 1, 2: *Impetu liberavissent; nec G. Duilius, Aulus Atilius, L. Metellus terrore Carthagini; [...] nec id excitatum majoribus copiis aut Quintus Maximus enervavisset, aut M. Marcellus contudisset*

V, vol. 1, 3: *Sans cette vertu, Duillius, Regulus, Metellus, n'auraient point affranchi Rome de la terreur de Carthage; [...] Fabius n'eût point affaibli, Marcellus n'eût point écrasé ce fléau reproduit plus terrible*

K, 1: Δουίλιος, Ῥέγολος, Μετέλλος, δὲν ἤθελαν ἐλευθερώσει τὴν Ρώμην ἀπὸ τὸν τρόμον τῆς Καρχηδόνης, [...] Κουίντος Μάξιμος δὲν ἤθελεν ἀδυνατήσῃ, οὔτε ὁ Μαρκέλλος ἤθελε καταπιέσει κακόν, τὸ ὁποῖον μεγαλύτερον εἶχεν ἀναφανῆ.⁴⁵

The passage includes some similarities and some differences between the two translations under discussion in comparison with the Latin text. The replacement of *Aulus Atilius* of the original by “Regulus” in Villemain’s translation, which is followed by the Greek translator, is not justified or explained in any version. Nor is clarified Villemain’s choice for “Fabius” instead of *Quintus Maximus* of the Latin (and the Greek in this case). The Greek translator also leaves out the French supplementation of the fragmentary opening of the period (“Sans cette vertu”).

Cic. Rep. 1.34

M, vol. 1, 64: *Qua in disputatione quoniam tu paratior es; feceris, ut etiam pro his dicam, si de re publica quid sentias explicaris, nobis gratum omnibus*

V, vol. 1, 65: *Préparé comme vous l'êtes sur ce sujet, si vous voulez donc nous exposer votre pensée touchant la république, (je parle ici pour nos amis), vous nous ferez plaisir à tous*

K, 22: Καὶ ἐπειδὴ, σὺ, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶσαι προπαρασκευασμένος, ἐὰν εἴπῃς τί φρονεῖς περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, ἡδονὴν θέλεις προξενήσῃ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅλους.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ M: “they would <not> have freed from the attack; nor G. Duilius, Aulus Atilius, and L. Metellus from the terror of Carthage; [...] when it was reignited with greater force Quintus Maximus would not have confined it or M. Marcellus crushed it”; V: “Without this virtue, Duillius, Regulus, Metellus, would not have freed Rome from the terror of Carthage; [...] Fabius would not have weakened, Marcellus would not have crushed this evil repeated more terrible”; K: “Duilius, Regulus, Metellus would not have freed Rome from the terror of Carthage, [...] Quintus Maximus would not have weakened, neither Marcellus would have crushed an evil that had reappeared bigger”.

⁴⁶ M: “Since you are better prepared for this discussion, you will have done us all a great favour (to speak for them too) if you explain what you believe about the state”; V: “Prepared as you are on this subject, if you want to present your thoughts on the republic to us, (I am speaking here for our friends), you will please us all”; K: “And since you are prepared on these, if you tell us what you think about the state, you will please us all”.

Although the Greek version follows the French phrasing closely, it omits the Latin final clause *ut etiam pro his dicam*, rendered into French as a parenthetical sentence (“je parle ici pour nos amis”).

Cic. *Rep.* 1.37

M, vol. 1, 66: *Hic Philus: Non hercule, inquit, Scipio, dubito quin tibi ingenio praestiterit nemo*
V, vol. 1, 67: Philus dit alors: je ne doute pas que, pour le génie naturel, personne ne vous soit supérieur

K, 23: Τότε ὁ Φίλων εἶπε. Δὲν ἀμφιβάλλω, μὰ τὸν Δία, ὅτι οὐδεὶς εἶναι ἀνώτερός σου, ὡς Σκιπίων, κατὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν.⁴⁷

The Greek translator incorporated the Latin interjection *hercule* into his version, though changed to “by Zeus”,⁴⁸ while the French omitted it.

Cic. *Rep.* 1.43

M, vol. 1, 76: *Ac modo si Massilienses nostri clientes*

V, vol. 1, 77: Et maintenant, si les Marseillais, nos cliens

K, 26: Καὶ τανὺν ἐὰν οἱ Μασσαλιεῖς, φίλοι μας.⁴⁹

The Greek “φίλοι μας” (our friends) renders neither the Latin *nostri clientes* nor the French “nos cliens” (our clients). It cannot be certain whether the Greek term originated from the translator’s inadequacy to understand the Latin or French terms or from a deliberate choice founded on political or other reasons.

Cic. *Rep.* 1.63

M, vol. 1, 108: *Nam dictator quidem ab eo appellatur quia dicitur*

V, vol. 1, 109: On l’appelle dictateur, parce qu’il est élu par le dire d’un consul

K, 39–40: καὶ καλεῖται Δικτάτωρ, διότι ἐκλέγεται ἀπὸ τὸ λέγειν ἐνὸς ὑπάτου (α). (α) *Dictator quidem ab eo appetatur* [sic] *quia dicitur*.⁵⁰

47 M: “Here Philus says: I do not doubt, by Hercules, that no one, Scipio, surpasses you in talent”; V: “Philus then said: I have no doubt that no one is superior to you in natural talent”; K: “Then Philus said: I do not doubt, by Zeus, that no one is superior to you, Scipio, in intelligence”.

48 Cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.59: M, vol. 1, 100: *L. Non mehercule, inquit, sed imitor Archytam illum tarentinum*; V, vol. 1, 103: – L. Non, par Hercule, j’imite cet Archytas de Tarente; K, 36: Λαίλιος. Ὁχι, μὰ τὸν Δία, ἀλλὰ μιμοῦμαι τὸν Ταραντινὸν Ἀρχύταν (M: “Laelius says: No, by Hercules, but I imitate that Archytas of Tarentum”; V: “L. No, by Hercules, I imitate that Archytas of Tarentum”; K: “No, by Zeus, but I imitate Archytas of Tarentum”).

49 M: “And now, if the Marseillais, our clients”; V: “And now, if the Marseillais, our clients”; K: “And now, if the Marseillais, our friends”.

50 M: “For he is of course called a dictator because of this, that he is appointed”; V: “He is called a dictator, because he is elected by the speech of a consul”; K: “He is called a dictator, because he is elected by the speech of a consul”.

Although the Greek translator follows the French interpretative translation in rendering the Latin causal sentence *quia dicitur*, which apparently made no sense as it stood, he provides the original Latin in a footnote, perhaps to point to the interpretation added to his translation.

Cic. *Rep.* 2.16

M, vol. 1, 154: *quod tum erat res in pecore et locorum possessionibus, ex quo pecuniosi et locupletes vocabantur*

V, vol. 1, 155: car toute la fortune consistait alors en troupeaux et en terres, ce qui même a déterminé le choix des expressions par lesquelles, en latin, on désigne les riches

K, 54: διότι ἡ ιδιοκτησία συνίστατο τότε εἰς θρέμματα καὶ ἀρούρας, ὅθεν ὠνομάζοντο οἱ πλούσιοι πολυθρέμμονες καὶ πολυάρουροι.⁵¹

The Latin terms *pecuniosi* and *locupletes* seem to have caused some difficulties to Villemain in rendering them into French, so he opts for their interpretation rather than their translation (“which even determined the choice of expressions by which the rich are denoted in Latin”). The Greek translator renders them by resorting to ancient Greek vocabulary, translating *pecuniosi* as πολυθρέμμονες – “feeding many”, thus not having exactly the meaning of *pecuniosi* (rich in cattle) – and *locupletes* as πολυάρουροι (with many fields).⁵²

Cic. *Rep.* 2.50

M, vol. 1, 206: *Ex quo nostri idem illud secuti atque interpretati, quos senes ille appellavit, nominaverunt senatum*

V, vol. 1, 207: Nos Romains imitant son exemple, et traduisant son expression, désignèrent ceux qu’il avait appelés vieillards, par le terme de sénat

K, 69: Οἱ ἡμέτεροι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀκολουθήσαντες παράδειγμα, καὶ μεταφράσαντες τὴν λέξιν γέροντας εἰς τὴν ἰδικήν των ἐσχημάτισαν τὸ Senatus δηλαδὴ Γερουσίαν.⁵³

51 M: “because wealth then was based on livestock and landed property, thus the wealthy were denoted by the terms *pecuniosi* and *locupletes*”; V: “because all the fortune then consisted of herds and land, which even determined the choice of expressions by which the rich are denoted in Latin”; K: “because property then consisted of herds and land, thus the rich were called πολυθρέμμονες [‘feeding many’] and πολυάρουροι [‘with many fields’]”.

52 Cf., however, Cic. *Rep.* 2.40, where Villemain’s inability to translate the Latin *assiduus* into French is repeated by the Greek translator: M, vol. 1, 194: *qui cum locupletes assiduos appellasset ab aere dando*; V, vol. 1, 195: Il appela les riches d’un nom qui indiquait les secours qu’ils donnaient à l’état; K, 65: Τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἐκάλεσε μὲ ὄνομα δεικνύον τὴν ὅποιαν ἔδιδον χρηματικὴν βοήθειαν εἰς τὸ Κράτος (M: “who while he called the wealthy *assidui* from contributing money”; V: “He called the wealthy by a name that indicated the aid they were giving to the state”; K: “He called the wealthy by a name that indicated the financial aid they were giving to the state”).

53 M: “Our own people, having followed and translated this, named those whom he called elders, the senate”; V: “Our Romans, imitating his example, and translating his term, designated those he

Compared to the French translation, which is closer to the original in translating the phrase *nominaverunt senatum*, the Greek provides both the Latin term (*Senatus*) along with the corresponding Greek term (Γερουσία), a term familiar to his readers, given that the regional councils in the first years of the Greek War of Independence were termed as γερουσίες (senates), while, from 1829 until the arrival of King Otto in 1833, Γερουσία was the main advisory and legislative body.

Cic. *Rep.* 2.53

M, vol. 1, 212: *Idemque, in quo fuit Publicola maxime, legem ad populum tulit*

V, vol. 1, 213: Ce fut également lui, et il mérita surtout ainsi le nom de Publicola, qui fit voter par le peuple la première loi

K, 71: Ο αὐτὸς οὗτος καθυπέβαλεν εἰς τὰς ψήφους τοῦ λαοῦ, διὸ καὶ ἐπωνομάσθη Ποπλικόλας, ὃ ἐστὶ δημοκυδής, τὸν πρῶτον νόμον.⁵⁴

The Greek translator considers it necessary to explain P. Valerius' cognomen (*Publicola* < *populus* + *colo*, so a favourer or friend of the people), so he adds an interpretative translation (ὃ ἐστὶ δημοκυδής), employing an adjective (δημοκηδής < δῆμος + κήδομαι, caring for, friendly to the people) previously used by Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Cassius Dio.⁵⁵

Cic. *Rep.* 3.4

M, vol. 2, 12: *si deinde Assyrios, si Persas, si Poenos, si haec*

M, vol. 2, 13: si nous passions ensuite aux Assyriens, aux Perses, aux Carthaginois, combien de

had called elders, by the term of senate"; K: "Our own people, having followed this example and translated the term elders into their language, formed [the term] *Senatus*, that is Γερουσία ['Senate']".

54 M: "He too, in an action in which he truly proved himself a 'Publicola', proposed a law to the people"; V: "It was also he, and he thus deserved above all the name of Publicola, who made the first law to be voted by the people"; K: "He himself put the first law under the people's votes, for which he was named Publicola, that is a friend of the people".

55 Plut. *Publ.* 10.9: καὶ Ποπλικόλαν ἀνηγόρευσεν αὐτόν· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦνομα δημοκηδῆ ("They therefore called him Publicola, a name which signifies *people-cherisher*"; transl. Perrin 1914); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.19.5: καὶ τίθενται αὐτῷ ἐπωνύμιον Ποπλικόλαν· τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον βούλεται δηλοῦν δημοκηδῆ ("who gave him the nickname of Publicola, which means in the Greek language *dēmokédēs* or 'the People's Friend'"; transl. Cary 1940); Cass. Dio 3.13.2, p. 37 Boissvain (= Zonaras 7.12): εἵλοντο δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνου συνάρχοντα Πόπλιον Οὐαλλέριον, ὃς Ποπλικόλας προσωνομάσθη· δηλοῖ δ' ἡ κλήσις ἐξελληνιζομένη δημοκηδῆ ἢ δημοτικώτατον ("In his place they elected as Brutus' colleague Publius Valerius, whose cognomen was Publicola; this appellation, translated, means Friend of the People, or Most Democratic"; transl. Cary 1914).

législateurs... combien de fondateurs d'empires!

K, 82: ἐὰν ἔπειτα μεταβώμεν εἰς τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας, εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδونیους.⁵⁶

While the Greek translator adopts the verb ('pass, proceed, move') used by Villemain for the missing Latin verb in the fragmentary conditional clauses (unless it is assumed that the verb (*collustrare voluerimus*) is supplied by the preceding sentence),⁵⁷ he leaves out of his version the French supplementation ("combien [...] d'empires!"), opting instead for an indication of the gap in the text.

Cic. *Rep.* 3.8

M, vol. 2, 16: *et reperiret et tueretur; alter autem de ipsa justitia quatuor implevit sane grandes libros*

V, vol. 2, 17: Aristote a traité la question de la justice, et en a rempli quatre livres assez étendus

K, 83: Ἄλλος τέσσαρα ὀγκώδη βιβλία συνέγραψε περὶ δικαιοσύνης.⁵⁸

Although by the Latin *alter* Cicero definitely implies Aristotle, apparently comparing his work *On Justice* (*Περὶ δικαιοσύνης*) in four Books with Plato's *Republic or On Justice* (*Πολιτεία ἢ περὶ δικαίου*),⁵⁹ to which reference must have been made in the fragmentary beginning of the period, the Greek translator prefers to render *alter* by the Greek corresponding term (ἄλλος) rather than following the French text.

The deviations of the Greek translator from his French exemplar are neither quantitatively nor qualitatively strong enough to suggest that he might have used another translation or produced his Greek version directly from the Latin original. The most obvious and numerous cases of his deviations are those in which Villemain provides fillings in of gaps in the fragmentary manuscript text. Evidently, the translator was either not convinced by or not interested in them. The omissions of phrases of the original Latin or of the French translation in the Greek one (e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 1.34) could well be explained by a lack of attentiveness by the translator. The translation of *clientes* in Cic. *Rep.* 1.43 as 'friends' (φίλοι) by the Greek trans-

⁵⁶ M: "if then the Assyrians, the Persians, the Carthaginians, if these"; V: "if we then passed to the Assyrians, the Persians, the Carthaginians, how many legislators, how many founders of empires!"; K: "if we then move to the Assyrians, the Persians, the Carthaginians".

⁵⁷ M, vol. 2, 12: *si magnam illam Graeciam collustrare animo voluerimus*; V, vol. 2, 13: si nous examinons la grande Grèce; K, 82: ἐὰν θελήσωμεν νὰ ἐξετάσωμεν τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα (M: "If we would like to examine that Magna Graecia"; V: "if we examined Magna Graecia"; K: "if we want to examine Magna Graecia").

⁵⁸ M: "in order to find and defend it [sc. justice]; the other, however, filled four quite large books about justice itself"; V: "Aristotle treated the question of justice, and filled four fairly extensive books about it"; K: "The other wrote four massive books on justice".

⁵⁹ See Diog. Laert. 5.22 and 3.60, respectively.

lator is bizarre, given that, in the other cases where the nouns *cliens* or *clientela* appear in the dialogue, he translated them with the correct corresponding Greek terms, πελάτης and προστασία, respectively.⁶⁰ Whether or not the reasons for having rendered *clientes* as ‘friends’ with reference to the people of Marseille were political (perhaps not to offend the French Party and its supporters, especially after recent insinuations that France was directly or indirectly involved in Ioannis Kapodistrias’ assassination), is a speculation. For the other cases where the Greek translator differentiated from the French, it seems that he did so in order to provide his Greek readers with terms that they were familiar with from their contact with ancient Greek literature (e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 1.37; 2.16; 2.53) or their contemporary political conditions (e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 2.50).

The familiarisation of his readership with Greek literature is also indicated by the translator’s choice not to render into Modern Greek the passages from Plato’s *Republic* translated into Latin by Cicero in his dialogue (Cic. *Rep.* 1.66–67), but to quote the original ancient Greek text (Pl. *Resp.* 8.562c–563e) and a footnote (α) to justify his choice:

Τότε συμβαίνει τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ζωηρῶς περιγραφέν (α) ἐὰν εἰς τὴν γλῶσσάν μας δυνηθῶ νὰ τὸ μεταφράσω, διότι εἶναι ἔργον δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ μ’ ὅλον τοῦτο θέλω δοκιμάσει, λέγει δὲ οὕτως: “Οἶον, οἶμαι, δημοκρατουμένη πόλις, ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα, κοινῶν οἰνοχόων προστατούντων τύχη, [...] οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων φροντίζουσι γεγραμμένων ἢ ἀγράφων, ἵνα δὴ μηδαμῇ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἢ δεσπότης.”

(Πλάτων Πολιτ. ὀγδοον).

Λαίλιος. Σὺ εἶπας ὅ,τι εἶπε καὶ ἐκεῖνος.

(α) Καταχωροῦμεν τὰς αὐτὰς λέξεις τοῦ Πλάτωνος διότι εἰς τὴν μετάφρασίν μας ἀφήσαμεν τὸ Λατινικὸν κείμενον, καὶ ἀντιγράφομεν τὸ ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ Πλάτωνος μεταφρασθὲν παρὰ Κικέρωνος.⁶¹

Then happens what was vividly described by Plato (α), if I can render it into our language, because it is a hard task, but I will try anyway; he speaks thus: ‘Οἶον, οἶμαι, δημοκρατουμένη

60 Cic. *Rep.* 2.16: M, vol. 1, 152–154: *et habuit plebem in clientelas principum descriptam*; V, vol. 1, 153–155: Il mit aussi le peuple sous la *clientèle* des grands; K, 54: καὶ ἔθεσε τὸν λαὸν ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν προύχόντων (M: “He also had the people divided up as clients of the leading citizens”; V: “He also put the people under the patronage of the noble”; K: “and he put the people under the protection of the rich”). Cic. *Rep.* 2.37: M, vol. 1, 190: *cum esset ex quodam regis cliente conceptus*; V, vol. 1, 191: qui avait eu commerce avec un *client* du roi; K, 63: ἥτις συνευρίσκετο μετὰ τινος πελάτου τοῦ βασιλέως (M: “while he was conceived by a client of the king”; V: “who had a relationship with a client of the king”; K: “who coupled with a client of the king”). The term also appears in a fragment from Cic. *Rep.* 3.30b, but it was not included in the Greek translation.

61 Kapodistrias 1839, 41–43. There are obvious differences between Plato’s text quoted by the translator and the standard text of Plato’s *Republic*, apparently because of the text that was then available to the translator.

[...] αὐτοῖς ἢ δεσπότης.' (Plato, Polit. Book Eight)

Laelius. You said what he also said.

(a) We are quoting the very words of Plato, because, while translating, we put aside the Latin text, and we are coping Plato's passage translated by Cicero. (transl. by the author)

Another remarkable case in which the Greek translator apparently draws from what he believed to be ancient Greek, so that he could relate his translation to his readership's education or familiarity, is the usage of the long and widely used phrase πᾶς μὴ Ἑλλήν βαρβαρος to render the Latin *omnes aut Graios esse aut barbaros* in Cic. *Rep.* 1.58:

M, vol. 1, 100: *Si ut Graeci dicunt omnes aut Graios esse aut barbaros*

V, vol. 1, 101: Si, à l'exemple des Grecs, on ne fait d'autre distinction que celle de peuple grec et de peuple barbare

K, 36: Κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι πᾶς μὴ Ἑλλήν βαρβαρος.⁶²

Though there are numerous references to the distinction between Greeks and barbarians in ancient Greek texts, the phrase is not to be found per se in any of the surviving pagan or Christian Greek texts. However, it was commonly used to denote not just the difference between the Greek language and other national languages, but a difference between the Greeks and 'the others' on a nationalistic and moral level as well.⁶³

⁶² M: "If, as the Greeks say, everyone is either a Greek or a barbarian"; V: "If, like the Greeks, no other distinction is made than that of the Greek people and the barbarian people"; K: "According to the opinion of the Greeks, that everyone not a Greek is a barbarian".

⁶³ Cf. Korais 1821, ξβ': "Αλλὰ πῶς ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ λάβῃ χώραν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀνατροφή εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, κατεχομένους ἀπὸ τὴν ὀλέθριον πρόληψιν, ὅτι ἡ φύσις γεννᾷ τοὺς δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, καθὼς γεννᾷ τοὺς νάννους καὶ τοὺς γίγαντας; ὅτι αὐτὴ ἐπλασε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἡγουν τὸ πλειότερον μέρος τοῦ κόσμου (ἐπειδὴ κατ' αὐτοὺς, Πᾶς μὴ Ἑλλήν, βαρβαρος) δούλους, καὶ μόνοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας δεσπότης; Τὴν πρόληψιν ταύτην ἐθήλαζαν μὲ τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὴν ἤκουαν ἔπειτα ἐπαινουμένην καὶ εἰς τὰ θέατρα ἀπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐπαινέτας τῆς εὐνομίας ποιητάς· Βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλληνας εἰκὸς ἄρχειν ἀλλ' οὐ βαρβάρους, / Μῆτερ, Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλον οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι (1). (1) Εὐριπίδ. Τριφ. Αὐλ. 1400. Τὴν πρόληψιν ταύτην ἰσχυροποίησεν εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐπιπλέον καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀγριότης πολλῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνων, τὰ ὅποια τοὺς ἐνῶχλοῦσαν πανταχόθεν, ὥστε μὴν ἀρκοῦμενοι πλέον εἰς τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἐνδόξους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνας κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἐστοχάζοντο ὅλους ὡς ἄγρια θηρία, καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἀληθὲς κυνήγιον θηρίων". ("However, how would it have been possible for the Greeks to have this kind of edification, since they were possessed by the pernicious perception that nature gives birth to slaves and freemen, just like it gives birth to dwarfs and giants? That it also created the barbarians, that is the majority of the world (for in their opinion, everyone not a Greek is a barbarian), as slaves, while it made only the Greeks masters? They were nursed with this perception, and they

The usage of a well-established expression for a matching entrenched attitude towards foreigners is certainly not coincidental. The translator used a standardised political vocabulary to render primarily the corresponding French terms and occasionally the Latin ones, as is also the case in the examples of the translation discussed above. The basic constitutions and their respective degenerations are rendered with terms that repeatedly appear in the translation.

For the Latin *regnum*, the translator indiscriminately used the terms βασιλεία (kingship) and μοναρχία (monarchy),⁶⁴ while in Cic. *Rep.* 1.42 he used both to better translate the definition of monarchy:

M, vol. 1, 72: *Quare cum penes unum est omnium summa rerum, regem illum unum vocamus, et regnum eius rei publicae statum*

V, vol. 1, 75: Ainsi, lorsque la direction de toutes choses dépend d'un seul, nous appelons cet individu roi, et cette forme de constitution politique, royaume

K, 25–26: Διὸ ὅταν τὸ πᾶν τῆς αὐτῆς διευθύνσεως ἀφιερῶθῃ εἰς ἓνα μόνον, ὀνομαζόμενον αὐτὸν Μονάρχην ἢ Βασιλέα, καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν αὐτὸ σύστημα μοναρχίαν ἢ Βασιλείαν.⁶⁵

The same applies to the relative terms, the noun *rex* and the adjectives *regius* and *regalis*, which are rendered by the nouns βασιλεὺς or μονάρχης and the adjectives βασιλικὸς or μοναρχικὸς.⁶⁶ In two cases, he closely follows the French translation by adding the adjective “absolute” to monarchy (Cic. *Rep.* 1.65: M, vol. 1, 112: *regiae [rei publicae]*; V, vol. 1, 113: la royauté absolue; K, 41: ἡ ἀπόλυτος Μοναρχία)⁶⁷ and by rendering *regalis* as “worthy of the throne” (Cic. *Rep.* 2.24: M, vol. 1, 168: *virtutem et sapientiam regale*; V, vol. 1, 169: une sagesse et une vertu dignes du trône; K, 57: σύνεσις, καὶ ἀρετὴ ἄξια τοῦ θρόνου).⁶⁸

heard it being praised even in the theatres by those very poets who praised loyalty to law; It is right, mother, for the Greeks to rule the barbarians, but not for the barbarians / to rule the Greeks; for those are slaves, while these are free. (1) (1) Euripid. Iphig. Aul. 1400. This perception was further intensified in their souls by the ferocity of many barbaric nations, which disturbed them from all around, which made them [sc. the Greeks], not being any longer content with their just and glorious struggles for their freedom against the barbarians, deem them all [sc. the barbarians] as wild animals and the war against them as a true beast hunting”).

64 Kapodistrias 1839, 28, 33, etc.

65 M: “So, when the control of everything is in the hands of one person, we call that one person a king and that type of state a monarchy”; V: “So, when the direction of all things depends on one, we call that individual a king, and this form of political constitution a kingdom”; K: “For when everything of this administration is assigned to one only, who is called a monarch or a king, this political system too [is called] a monarchy or a kingship”.

66 Kapodistrias 1839, 26–27, 29–31, 37, 44–45, 60–61, etc.

67 M: “of the monarchic [state]”; V: “the absolute monarchy”; K: “the absolute monarchy”.

68 M: “virtue and regal wisdom”; V: “wisdom and virtue worthy of the throne”; K: “wisdom and virtue worthy of the throne”.

While *civitas optimatum* is consistently translated as ἀριστοκρα(ε)ία (aristocracy),⁶⁹ *optimates* is a term rendered in various ways: ἄριστοι,⁷⁰ ἀριστοκράται, προὔχοντες and μεγιστάνας (the corresponding French terms used by Villemain are “les aristocrates” and “les grands”).⁷¹ Some of these terms are also used to translate the Latin *potentes* (προὔχοντες) and *principes* (ἄριστοι, ἀριστοκράται, προὔχοντες) in the sense of ‘aristocrats’; for the latter, he also used the characterisation πρῶτιστοι πολῖται after the French “citoyens principaux”.⁷²

For the definition of *civitas popularis* in Cic. *Rep.* 1.42, the Greek term used is δημοκρατία (democracy), while in all the other cases the translator made use of the adjective δημοτικός when referring to this form of government (δημοτικὴ ἐξουσία, δημοτικὸν σύστημα, δημοτικὸν δημόσιον).⁷³ The same terminology was used to render the Latin *res publica* in its various meanings; the definition of *res publica* as *res populi* in Cic. *Rep.* 1.39 was rendered as τὰ δημόσια εἶναι ὁ δῆμος (“la chose publique est la chose du peuple”), the noun τὸ δημόσιον in singular or plural denoting *res publica* in many cases. Alternatively, the translator made use of the nouns πολιτεία (πολιτεῖαν, ἦτοι πρᾶγμα τοῦ λαοῦ) and δημοκρατία (δημοκρατία, πρᾶγμα τούτέστι τοῦ λαοῦ, accompanied by the footnote: *Res publica, res populi*) or δημοκρατικὸν σύστημα. The examples listed above also include the Greek terms used for the Latin *populus*: ὁ λαός, occasionally alternating with ὁ δῆμος or τὸ πλῆθος (a term largely used to render the Latin *multitudo*).⁷⁴

The Greek vocabulary for the degenerate counterparts of the aforementioned constitutions is very limited, if compared with that of the previous forms. For tyranny, the degeneration of monarchy, the translator simply used the Greek terms τυραννία (tyranny) and τύραννος (tyrant);⁷⁵ the latter was also sporadically used to render the Latin *dominus*, regularly translated as δεσπότης (and, respectively, *dominatio* as δεσποτεία).⁷⁶ The Latin *factio* in the sense of oligarchy (as the opposite of aristocracy) is mostly translated as φατρία and only twice as φατριαστικὴ ὀλιγαρχία in imitation of the French “l’oligarchie factieuse”.⁷⁷ The anarchy, the degeneration of democracy, an obscure term that in Cicero’s text is de-

69 Kapodistrias 1839, 26–27, 31, 44, etc.

70 The adjective ἄριστος/οι is also used for the Latin *optimus/i* (“le meilleur/s” in Villemain).

71 Kapodistrias 1839, 5, 16, 29, 31–34, 43–45, etc.

72 For *princeps/ipes* in the sense of ‘leader/s’, the Greek terms used are ὁ πρῶτος (τῶν πολιτῶν) (in Villemain as “le premier homme” or “le premier citoyen”), ἄρχοντες (chefs), ἄρχηγοί (chefs), and ἡγεμόνες (princes). See Kapodistrias 1839, 16, 22, 27, 34, 42, 53, etc.

73 Kapodistrias 1839, 16, 27, 29, 93–97.

74 Kapodistrias 1839, 16, 29, 32–33, 45, 93, 95–97.

75 Kapodistrias 1839, 30, 45, 68–69, 88, 94.

76 Kapodistrias 1839, 67–68, 96.

77 Kapodistrias 1839, 27, 44–45, 88, 94.

noted by *turba*, *confusio* (Cic. *Rep.* 1.69), *libertas* or *licentia* (Cic. *Rep.* 3.17), was rendered in Greek as ὄχλος, ἀναρχία, ἐλευθερία and ἀκολασία, respectively.⁷⁸

An analogous tendency for a standardised vocabulary by the Greek translator can be detected in his translation of Latin terms of institutions, authorities and offices. The Latin *senatus* is mostly rendered as γερουσία and occasionally as βουλή,⁷⁹ both nouns also used to rarely denote the senators (*patres*) as a collective body, for which he regularly used πατέρες and γερουσιασταί.⁸⁰ For *patricii* he uses the Hellenised transliteration πατρίκιοι.⁸¹ The *comitia* is always rendered as τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια (“comices”),⁸² *legatus* as τοποτηρητής (“lieutenant”),⁸³ *tribunus plebis* as δήμαρχος,⁸⁴ *quaestor* as ταμίας (“questeur”),⁸⁵ but to render the adjective *quaestorius* (Cic. *Rep.* 1.18) he follows the French translation “de la questure”, τῆς Κεστορίας,⁸⁶ while *impero*, *imperium*, and *imperator* were translated into the Greek by ἡγεμονεύω, ἡγεμονία and ἡγεμών, respectively.⁸⁷

The Greek terms used by the translator show remarkable similarities with the vocabulary of French-Greek dictionaries earlier than or contemporary with the translation.⁸⁸ These, along with the examples of the similarities in phraseology between the Greek and the French translations discussed above, reveal a considerable, if not a full dependence of the former on the latter.

Conclusion

The dependence of the first Greek translation of Cicero's *De re publica* (1839) on the first French version of it (1823) does not obviously lessen its significance in making Cicero's dialogue available to the Greeks, especially at times uncertain for their future as a nation and a sovereign state. Almost two decades after the outbreak of

⁷⁸ Kapodistrias 1839, 43, 45.

⁷⁹ Kapodistrias 1839, 21, 30, 53–57, 60, 66, 69, 73–74, 78, 90, 92, 97. The Latin *curia* was also translated as γερουσία twice (Cic. *Rep.* 2.31 and 3.36) after Villemain's “sénat”.

⁸⁰ Kapodistrias 1839, 53, 56, 62, 64, 69, 77.

⁸¹ Kapodistrias 1839, 29, 56.

⁸² Kapodistrias 1839, 60.

⁸³ Kapodistrias 1839, 15, 78.

⁸⁴ Kapodistrias 1839, 74, 76; however, *tribunatus* as τριβούνος in Cic. *Rep.* 1.31 (Kapodistrias 1839, 21).

⁸⁵ Kapodistrias 1839, 75.

⁸⁶ Kapodistrias 1839, 12.

⁸⁷ Kapodistrias 1839, 90, 92–93.

⁸⁸ See, e.g., Vendotis 1804 and 1837, s.vv. For the French-Greek dictionaries of the time, see, e.g., Delveroudi 2017.

the Greek War of Independence (1821), the nascent nation, having been through various political vicissitudes (from democracy to anarchy, from aristocracy to oligarchy and tyranny or absolute monarchy) in its attempts to establish itself, was once again on the verge of another civil war over a decision on the form of government for the new state. In the prologue to his translation, Viaros Kapodistrias (identified as the translator protected or covered by the initials A. ΣΤ.) addresses the hazards faced by the newly established Greek state, subtly expressing his preference for monarchy over democracy. To do so, he advises and encourages his compatriots to read Cicero's dialogue, consider his realistic political ideas (compared to the rather utopian or unpractical theories of Plato and Aristotle), given the country's current conditions, closely resembling those of Cicero's times, and prudently decide for their future.

In view of the turbulent political conditions of his times and his rather short and unfortunate personal involvement in the Greek politics in the late 1820s and early 1830s, it comes as no surprise that Viaros chose to sign his translation covering up his identity behind the aforementioned initials, especially because of what he wrote in the prologue, challenging the authority of the major ancient Greek philosophers, sacred to the Greeks as a result of the *προγονοπληξία* or the strong obsession with their ancient ancestors forged under the Modern Greek Enlightenment movement, and suggesting a form of government that his compatriots did not particularly favour. The increasing discontent caused to the Greeks by King Otto's unyielding refusal to grant a constitution between 1835 and 1843, when a coup d'état turned his absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy, might have been a strong reason for Viaros to conceal his identity, especially after suggesting that monarchy could be the best form of government for his compatriots under the then existing conditions, compared to democracy. Moreover, his brother's assassination in 1831 and the accusations against Viaros of authoritarianism and abuse of power, which made him flee to Corfu in 1832, must have discouraged him from publishing the translation under his real name in 1839.

Whatever the reasons behind his cover up might have been, Viaros undeniably produced his translation aspiring to offer a beneficial reading to his compatriots for the best of them and his country.⁸⁹ Its reception by his contemporaries is uncertain, but apparently it met with a limited circulation and remained obscure for most part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is also unknown if its unfortunate fate resulted from its quality and its dependence on Villemain's French version, or its incompleteness, or the content of Cicero's text along with the trans-

⁸⁹ Just as Cicero himself regarded his philosophical works, translated or adapted from Greek into Latin, as a service to the state and for the education of his fellow citizens (cf. *Cic. Div.* 2.4–7).

lator's insinuations in his prologue, or the latter's political background, views and stance towards monarchy, or for other reasons. Although it might have had some influence on the formation of the Greeks' political ideology towards the constitutional monarchy, established in 1843, it played, however, a rather meagre role in promoting the study of Cicero's political philosophy, which resulted in the Greeks' lack of acquaintance with and interest in Cicero's political dialogues, excepting the *Dream of Scipio*.

Addendum: The Prologue to the Translation

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΣ.

[p. γ'] Ἐπειδὴ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δὲν ἐφάνη μεταφρασμένον εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην μας γλῶσσαν τὸ περὶ πολιτειῶν σύγγραμμα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ῥήτορος, καὶ φιλοσόφου Κικέρωνος, ἐπεχειρίσθη ἐγὼ ἔργον τοιοῦτον, μολονότι βέβαια ἀνώτερον κατὰ πάντα τῶν δυνάμεών μου.

Τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου, γνωστοῦ εἰς τοὺς προαπελθόντας αἰῶνας, ἡ φορὰ τῶν πραγμάτων δὲν εἶχεν ἀφήσει, εἰμὴ τεμάχια τινα, τὰ ὅποια ἀνεγίνωσκοντο εἰς ἄλλους πολὺ μεταγενεστέρους Συγγραφεῖς, καὶ τὸ περισσότερον ἐκκλησιαστικούς, ὡς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Αὐγουστίνον καὶ εἰς ἄλλους· χάρις τῷ σοφῷ Ἰταλῷ Κυρίῳ Μάϊ, ὅστις διὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας του, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐφευρεθείσης τέχνης τοῦ παλιμψήστου ἀνεκάλυψε καὶ εὔρε τὸ αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα.

Ὁ καιρὸς ὅμως ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἡ παρέλευσις αἰώνων, τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλαιστάτου συγγράμματος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ἄλλη γραφὴ εἶχεν ἐπιτεθῆ, ἔφθειρε πολλὰ. Καλὴ τύχη, τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου, καίτοι ὀλιγώτερον τοῦ τρίτου, τὰ σωζόμενα παρασταίνουσι τὰ φρονήματα τοῦ συγγραφέως, μολονότι μὲ ἐλλείψεις, ὅμως ἄρκετὰ σαφεῖ, ἵνα ὁ ἀναγνώστης γνωρίσῃ τί ἐφρόνει περὶ τοῦ ἐμβριθοῦς ἀντικειμένου, ποία ἡ βελτίων μορφή Κυβερνήσεως, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μορφῆς διὰ τὴν συνδιατήρησίν της, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ ἔθνους, ποία πρέπει νὰ ᾖ καὶ ἡ κυρία της βάσις. Τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν [p. δ'] βιβλίων σώζονται μόνον ὀλίγα τινα, μὲ χάσματα μεγαλώτατα εἰς τρόπον ὥστε ἡ ἔννοια τῶν γεγραμμένων διόλου λείπει, πλην τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, μεταφρασθέντος εἰς τὴν παλαιάν μας γλῶσσαν παρὰ τοῦ λογίου Πλανούδη.

Ἐὰν ἐδυνήθην νὰ μεταφράσω εἰς τὴν γλῶσσάν μας τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ φιλοσοφικὰ διανοήματα τοῦ Συγγραφέως, ἐλπίζω νὰ δώσω εὐάρεστον ἀσχόλημα εἰς τοὺς λογίους μας· διότι θέλουν δυνηθῆ νὰ συμπαραβάλωσι τὸν Ῥωμαῖον συγγραφέα μὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους τοὺς διαπραγματευσαμένους τὴν αὐτὴν ὕλην, καὶ νὰ ἀποφασίσωσι ποῖος αὐτῶν ὠφελιμώτερα συνέγραψε, περὶ πρακτέων πραγμάτων, ποῖος ἐθεώρησε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς εἶναι, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς δύναται νὰ ᾖ· καὶ ἔαν τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου τὸ σύγγραμμα συμπαραβαλλόμενον μὲ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων δὲν εἶναι, εἰμὴ, τρόπον τινὰ, αὐτῶν ἀντίγραφον· ἡ τελευταῖον ἀπονέμοντες ἐκάστῳ τὸν ἀνήκοντα ἔπαινον, θέλουσι γνωρίσει ὅτι ἅπαντες συνέγραψαν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν των, ὁ μὲν ἀρχαιότερος, διὰ τὴν ἡθικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, λογικῶς ἐλπίζων ὅτι δύναται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἢ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος νὰ μορφωθῶσιν εἰς τρόπον ὥστε ἡ καθαρότης τῶν ἡθῶν νὰ καταστήσῃ πρακτέον, ὅ,τι εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα καιρὸν ἐθεωρήθη ὡς ἐν τι μᾶλλον ἐλπίζόμενον, παρὰ πραττόμενον. Ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν πολεμῆσας τὰς διδασκαλίας του, καὶ ἄλλα διδάξας ἐνόμιζε πρακτέον, ὅ,τι ἐπρόβαλεν

Ὁ μεταγενέστερος ὁμως θεωρῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ὡς ἦτο τότε, καὶ ποίαν ἐλπίδα ἔδιδε διὰ τὸ μέλλον, ἔλαβεν ὡς παραδείγματα τὰ παρελθόντα, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὠδηγήθη ἵνα κρίνῃ καὶ δώσῃ τὰς συμβουλὰς του, ἐὰν ὄχι εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον [p. ε'] βέβαια εἰς τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔθνος, ὅπως κρίνῃ, ποία δι' αὐτὸ ἠθελεν εἶσθαι ἡ βελτίων μορφή κυβερνήσεως.

Τὰ τοιαῦτα θέλουσι παρέξει ἀφθονον ὕλην εἰς τὰς σκέψεις, καὶ μελέτας τῶν ὁμογενῶν μου, ἵνα, ὅποταν προτείνωσι τι διὰ τὴν ἐθνικὴν ὠφέλειαν, ἔχωσι προμελετημένον, ἐὰν ἡ πρότασις των ἐπιστηρίζεται εἰς τὰς γνώμας τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου φιλοσόφου, ὁ ὁποῖος εἰς τὰς περιγραφὰς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων παντὸς εἶδους πολιτικῆς μορφῆς Κυβερνήσεως, ἐπαρέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ἔκτοτε, ὡς τὰ εἶδομεν εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας μας, τὸσον τὰ καλὰ, ὅσον καὶ τὰ κακά.

Εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαῖον φιλόσοφον θέλουσιν εὐρεῖ σὺμφωνον σύμβουλον, καὶ ὁδηγόν, ὁ ὁποῖος θέλει τοὺς θέσει εἰς κατὰστασιν νὰ διακρίνωσι, καὶ νὰ προτιμήσωσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον περιωρισμένον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ὠφέλιμον καὶ δίκαιον, ἀπὸ τὸ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον λαμπρὸν, καὶ ἐλκυστικόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ὀλέθριον.

Υποβάλλω εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου τὴν εὐτελεῆ προσφορὰν τοῦ κόπου μου, ἐπὶ σκοπῷ νὰ τὸ ὠφελήσω, διότι μὲ τὸ μελετᾶν τοιοῦτους σοφοὺς συγγραφεῖς ἀποκτεῖμεν καλὸν ὁδηγὸν εἰς τὰ βήματά μας.

Τὰ πασιφανῆ παραδείγματα τῶν στρατιωτικῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ ἐμπειροπολέμου Μιλτιάδου, τοῦ συνετοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρείου Λεωνίδου, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, τὰ ὅποια ἦσαν, εἶναι, καὶ ἔσονται παρόντα εἰς μνήμην ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους μας, πόσων καὶ πόσων δὲν ἐθέριμαν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δὲν ἠρέθισαν τὴν τόλμην ἵνα περιφρονήσωσι κινδύνους, καὶ τυφλοὶ γινόμενοι εἰς αὐτοὺς, νὰ προσηλώσωσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς των πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς [p. ς'] πατρίδος; Παύσαντος τώρα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐμβαίνοντος τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς πολιτικὸν στάδιον, νομίζω ὅτι θέλει ἀποτελέσει ὠφέλιμα ἡ ἀνάμνησις τῆς σοφίας τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἥτις θέλει παραχωρήσει τὴν αὐτῶν σύνεσιν ὁδηγὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν διανοήματα θέλουσι καρποφορήσει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας.

Δὲν θέλομεν ἀδικηθῆ οὐδόλως συμβουλευόμενοι τὴν πολιτικὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, σκεπτόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πραγμάτων, διότι κατὰ τοῦτο θέλομεν εἶσθαι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κατὰστασιν, τώρα, πρὸς αὐτὸν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἦτο, τότε πρὸς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πολιτικὴν σοφίαν, σκεπτόμενος περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων.

Φίλοι ὁμογενεῖς, βάλετε ὑπ' ὅψιν τὰ διανοήματα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου φιλοσόφου, τὰς σκέψεις του, καὶ τὰς ἱστορικὰς διηγήσεις του, καὶ συγκρίνατε τὰ πάντα μὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν κρίνατε.

TO THE READERS.

[p. 3] Because, as of today, there has been no translation into our spoken language of the work on constitutions by Cicero, the Roman orator and philosopher, I have myself attempted this kind of endeavour, though indeed it exceeds my abilities.

Of this work, well-known in past centuries, the impetus of nature had left but only a few fragments, which were preserved in other, much later authors, mostly ecclesiastical, as for example in Saint Augustine and others, thanks to the prudent Italian Master Mai, who, by his assiduity and through the invented art of palimpsest reading, discovered and found this work.

Time, however, or rather the elapsing of centuries has destroyed much of this very old work, on which another script was superposed. By good fortune, what has survived of the first and the second book, though a little less of the third book, shows the author's thoughts, which, although with omissions, are clear enough for the reader to become acquainted with

what he believed on this profound subject, namely what the best form of constitution was and what the main foundation of this constitution must be for its conservation and for a nation's prosperity. Of the other three [p. 4] books only little has survived, with huge gaps in a way that it is impossible to understand their content, with the exception of the Dream of Scipio, which was translated into our older language by the erudite Planudes.

If I have managed to translate into our language the author's high-spirited and philosophical thoughts, I hope to give a pleasant engagement to our scholars; for they will be able to compare the Roman author with those of ours who examined the same subject, and to decide which of them wrote more beneficially on how things must be done, who considered human things as they are, and said how they could be; or if the work of the later author compared with the works of the earlier authors is not but a sort of a copy of them; or, lastly, having awarded each their own merit, they will be able to find out that they all wrote according to their own times, the oldest one on the moral condition of humanity, reasonably hoping that men, or at least the Greek nation, could be educated in a way that the purity of morals can make doable what was later considered hopeful rather than practical. The author after him, having fought the latter's teaching and instructed other things, considered what he proposed doable.

However, the later author, having seen humanity as it was then and what hope it gave for the future, took as an example what happened in the past and was led by it to judge and give his advice, if not to the entire world, [p. 5] at least to the Roman nation, so that it could praise which form of constitution would be best for it.

These will be able to provide ample material to the thoughts and studies of my compatriots, so that, when they ever propose something for the national benefit, they have deliberated about, if their proposal is based on the thoughts of the ancient philosophers, and indeed of the Roman philosopher, who in the descriptions of the results of every kind of political form of constitution, showed the things then as we saw them in our days, both the good and the bad.

In the Roman philosopher they will be able to find a prudent advisor and guide, who will be able to make them judge and prefer what looks suppressive, but in essence is beneficial and right, to what at first appears glorious and attractive, while on a second look is catastrophic.

I submit to my nation this little offering of my effort, so that I can benefit it, because, by studying such wise authors, we acquire a good guide for our steps.

The evident examples of the military achievements of Miltiades the war-seasoned, of Themistocles the prudent, of Leonidas the gallant, and many others, which were, are and will be present in the memory of our entire nation, how many souls have they not heated up and excited their valour so that they could scorn dangers and, having become blind towards them, could fix their eyes to the glory and salvation of their [p. 6] country? Now that the war is over and the nation has entered a civil stage, I believe that the remembrance of the ancients' wisdom will be proved beneficial, as it will offer their prudence as a guide to us and their thoughts will bear fruits in our days too.

It will not disserve us at all to consult Cicero's political wisdom and to consider our own condition, because, with respect to this, we will be now in the same condition as he was then in regard to the Greek political wisdom, when he was thinking about the Roman conditions.

My compatriot friends, do take into consideration the Roman philosopher's notions, thoughts and historical narrations, compare them all with our own, and, after the comparison, then decide.

