

ABSTRACT of THESIS on 'CICERO AS A TRANSLATOR'

Examination of Cicero's verse translations from Homer, the Greek dramatists and Aratus, and of his prose translations from Plato, Xenophon and the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers, show the following characteristics of Cicero as a translator:-

As a rule he translates clearly and accurately. He omits what is irrelevant or superfluous if by so doing he can make the sense clearer, and he adds such explanations as will elucidate the Greek writer's meaning for a Roman reader, e.g. his translation of the names of constellations. But his method of translation varies according to his purpose in translating. Sometimes he gives only the main thought of the passage and omits all details, e.g. short passages translated from Homer and Plato. Sometimes his translation is free and he alters the tone of his original, e.g. two longer passages from Homer, and his version of Aratus' Phenomena. In the Phenomena he adds many words connoting light. In his prose translations the most striking change is his use of two Latin words for one Greek word.

His use of the dactylic hexameter for his translation of the Phenomena is much more varied than Aratus' and shows development when compared with the Latin hexameters of Ennius. Cicero's hexameters are smoother, and lighter and more varied than Ennius', and contain fewer archaisms. Some passages are almost equal to the versification of Virgil.

Cicero, compared with earlier Roman translators from the Greek, seldom uses compound Latin epithets coined on the analogy with the Greek.

Cicero created a philosophical language. He coined few words, but combined common words. He was consistent in his use of philosophical terms and careful in the framing of definitions.

CICERO AS A TRANSLATOR.

Summary of Chapters.

I. Cicero as a Translator.

The character of his translation varies according to the original Greek and his object in translating it - lost translations - extant verse translations to be discussed.

II. Cicero's Translations from Homer.

The short passages - the Sirens' invitation to Odysseus - Calchas' interpretation of the omen of the snake and the sparrows - Cicero as a translator of Homer.

III. Cicero's Translations from the Greek Dramatists.

The authorship of these passages - the passage translated from Sophocles' Trachiniae - translations from Euripides.

IV. Earlier Poets as Translators from the Greek.

Early Latin literature owed much to translations - Livius Andronicus - Naevius and Pacuvius compared with/

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with Cicero as inventors of compound epithets -
 Ennius' translation of the Medea - comparison of
 Ennius with Cicero.

V. Cicero's translations from Aratus.

The 'Phenomena' is Cicero's earliest translation - it was written as a literary exercise - Cicero usually literal - the didactic element - intricate passages translated more freely - obscure passages simplified - words and passages omitted by Cicero because (1) otiose or (2) confusing or (3) epithets inapplicable to stars - passages elaborated by Cicero with the object of explaining or adorning the original - Greek names explained - Greek names translated - Latin names substituted - digression on Cicero's etymology - other explanations added by Cicero - Greek legends explained - elaboration for poetic effect including the addition of epithets and of words connoting light - awe-inspiring element ignored by Cicero - passages concerning mankind - passages misinterpreted by Cicero - estimation of Cicero's translation of the Phenomena - his translation of the Prognostica - this less literal and more beautiful than his translation of the Phenomena - comparison/

comparison with Virgil's translations.

VI. Cicero's Use of the Dactylic Hexameter.

This metre comparatively new to Latin literature - Cicero familiar with the hexameters of Homer and Ennius - characteristics of Ennius' verse - the extent to which they are found in Cicero - comparison of Cicero, Ennius and Virgil with regard to the simultaneous ending of clause and verse, elision of s, polysyllabic verse ending, proportion of dactyls and spondees, variety of rhythm.

VII. Cicero's Translations from Plato's Timaeus.

His object in translating the Timaeus - his version is usually very accurate - his aim is to make the argument clear and he therefore (1) omits minor points (2) occasionally sacrifices elegance to clearness (3) introduces Greek words (4) adds explanatory phrases - occasional misinterpretation - omission of words apparently not understood - Cicero is consistent in the use of special terms - instances of one Greek word translated variously - Cicero's use of pairs of synonyms - his translation of similes and metaphors - estimation of his translation as a whole.

VIII. Cicero's Prose Translations (other than the Timaeus).

The authors from whom Cicero translates - often only the important points translated and details omitted or generalised - translation of the story of Gyges - translation of an anecdote from Xenophon - translation of a typical passage from Plato - translation of familiar Greek terms by corresponding Latin equivalents - translations of Epicurean and Stoic definitions.

IX. Cicero as the Creator of a philosophic language.

Cicero was the first Roman to write on philosophical subjects - his assertion that Latin is as rich a language as Greek - his caution in coining new words - he created a new language by (1) combining old words into new phrases (2) giving new meanings to old words (3) coining new words - his consistent use of philosophical terms.

X. Conclusion.

Summary of the characteristics of Cicero's translations with regard to general tone, language and metre - the difficulty of translating - Cicero was translating from a familiar language into his native tongue.

NOTE.

I have generally employed the following texts:

The Teubner text of Cicero's works.
Archer-Hind's edition of Plato's Timaeus.
G. R. Mair's edition of Aratus' Phenomena.
(Loeb Classic)
The Oxford Classics (Greek).

CHAPTER I.

Cicero as a Translator.

Marcus Tullius Cicero reveals himself through his writings in many different characters. We can see him as an orator, a poet, a statesman, a philosopher, or a personal friend. I have made it my object to see what he was like in yet another capacity, that of a translator of Greek literature.

Even as a translator his character varies. For he translates at one time into verse and at another into prose, and his object in translating is not always the same. He translates from Homer and the Greek dramatists to illustrate philosophical theories. He translates Aratus as a literary exercise. He translates Plato's *Timaeus* in order that the Romans may have a Latin version of the dialogue.

It is important to bear this in mind in judging him as a translator. We shall expect him to be most literal when he is translating the *Timaeus*; and we shall not be surprised if we find that he does not translate Homer as an epic poet, or Aratus as an Alexandrine poet, whose faults must be reproduced as well as his virtues.

If

If the young poet, Cicero, can improve on his exemplar, Aratus, we shall find that he will do so.

It is most unfortunate that none of Cicero's translations from the Greek orators has survived. He translated, among other speeches, Demosthenes on the Crown, but only his comment on the translation remains to tantalise us. "Non converti ut interpres sed ut orator, etc." (de Opt. gen. orat c3).

I propose to begin with his verse translations from the Greek poets; taking, firstly, the passages from Homer; then, those from the dramatists; and lastly, his version of Aratus' Phenomena, which is the longest of his verse translations and the one wherein he attains the greatest measure of success as a poet.

CHAPTER II.

Cicero's Translations from Homer.

Cicero's extant translations from Homer consist of seven short passages (one to three lines), and two longer ones. The translations are all embodied in his other writings where they are used as illustrations; and it is not surprising to find that, while the point is brought out clearly in the translation, the rest of the quotation is often less faithfully rendered. For example, Cicero translates Iliad IX 646:-

ἀλλὰ μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλω σππότε κείνων
 μνήσομαι, ὡς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρξεξεν
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ὡς εἰ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετὰ νάστην

as (Tusc: III §18)

Corque meum penitus turgescit tristibus iris
 Cum decore atque omni me orbatum laude recordor.

This translation is clear in sense and forcible in sound - with its repetition of one syllable - cor, decore, orbatum, recordor, and the alliteration of t and s. But Cicero has omitted the simile and the dramatic setting ἐν Ἀργείοισιν + Ἀτρεΐδης, so that there is no clue to the context.

In/

In the following passage Cicero's translation so far compresses the original as to leave the main point less forceful than it is in Homer. Hector challenges an Achaian to single combat and promises that if he slays the Achaian the Achaian shall be buried on the seashore where seafarers will pass and say:-

(Il: VII 89) ἀνδρὸς μὲν τὸδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος
 ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε Φαίδιμος Ἐκτωρ.

which Cicero translates:- (de Gloria II 1)

Hic situs est vitae iam pridem lumina linguens
 Qui quondam Hectoreo percussus concidit ense.

He omits to translate ἀριστεύοντα, Φαίδιμος, ἀνδρὸς all of which emphasize the heroic nature of the combat on which the defeated warrior's glory will depend.

In one passage Cicero makes explicit what is only implied in the Greek. He translates (Il: IX 236)

Ζεὺς δὲ σφί κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων | ἀστράπτει

by "Prospera" "Juppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit." It will also be noticed that the epithet κρονίδης is not translated. This is a characteristic of Cicero's translation. Patronymics and "stereotyped" epithets are frequently ignored.

But sometimes Cicero's translation is extraordinarily literal. He translates Il: XIX 1.226

λίην γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ σπῆτριμοὶ ἡματα πάντα
 πίπτουσιν· πότε μὲν τις ἀναπνεύσειε πόνοιο;
 ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν ὅς κέ θανῆσι
 νηλῆα θυμὸν ἔχοντας, ἔπ' ἡματι δακρυσαντάς.

by the lines (Tusc. III §65)

namque nimis multos atque omni luce cadentis
 cernimus ut nemo possit maerore vacare
 quo magis est aequum tumulis mandare peremptos
 firmo animo et luctum lacrimis finire diurnis.

The only word which he omits to translate is ^{σπῆτριμοὶ} which is entirely redundant. The following couplet is almost as literal. The Greek (Il: VI 201..) is:-

ᾧ τοι ὁ κάπ' πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλάτο
 ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων, πᾶτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.

and Cicero translates it (Tusc: III §63)

Qui miser in campis maerens errabat Aleis
 Ipse suum cor edens hominum vestigia vitans.

Cicero does not actually translate οἶος and the ending of his first line is not so impressive as the Greek; but by adding 'miser' at the beginning, and coupling 'maerens' with 'errabat', he gives the same emphasis to the loneliness of Bellerophon.

We come now to the longer passages which appealed to Cicero as attractive subjects for translation: "ut nos otiosi convertimus" as he says of one of them. They were/

were not, it appears, translated primarily as illustrations of a point which Cicero wished to discuss.

The passage from the Odyssey (Od. XII 184) deals with the Sirens' invitation to Odysseus. Cicero's version is, on the whole, very literal. But in that passage of the *de Finibus* in which this translation occurs he explains what he believes to be the significance of the story - to wit that Odysseus was desirous of hearing the Sirens, not out of curiosity or love of melody, but from a wish for knowledge. (*de Fin.*: V §49). 'Mihi quidem Homerus huiusmodi quiddam vidisse videtur in iis quae de Sirenum cantibus finxerit. Neque enim vocum suavitate videntur aut novitate quadam et varietate cantandi revocare eos solitae, qui praetervehebantur, sed quia multa se scire profitebantur Vidit Homerus probari fabulam non posse si cantiunculis tantus irretitus vir teneretur; scientiam pollicentur quam non erat mirum sapientiae cupido patria esse cariorem.' ^{There,} I think, (and I find that Lange ^x holds the same view), Cicero is attributing to Homer philosophical theories which are not to be found in this passage of the Odyssey. But, in order to make clear his own interpretation of the Greek Cicero renders 'τερψόμενος' by 'variis avido satiatus pectore musis'. 'Muisis' means more than beautiful/

^xLange. "Quid cum de ingenio et litteris tum de poetis Graecorum Cicero senserit."

beautiful songs. It means the different branches of knowledge whereby a man becomes 'doctior'.

For the rest, it is to be noted that Cicero omits or changes certain epithets. πολύαινον Ὀδυσσεύ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν is translated 'Odeus Argolicum-Ulixes', and χθονί πουλυβοτείρη is translated 'terris latis' - that is, Cicero employs a common Latin epithet of earth to replace a common Greek one which would be cumbrous and over-emphatic if translated literally. By rendering 'τῆδε παρήλασε' 'haec est transvectus caerulea' Cicero dispenses with the need for νηὶ μελαίνῃ and therefore omits it. An interesting point arises over Cicero's translation of 'ἄλλ' ὅ γενεῖται' 'but he goes on his way' - which he renders 'ad patrias lapsus pervenerit oras'. 'Lapsus' appears to be the translation of γενεῖται, and the idea that the wayfarer is returning home is Cicero's. Is it intended to be dramatic? The Sirens know that Odysseus is on his way home and tell him that travellers who have listened to them afterwards reach their homes - perhaps with the further suggestion that those who hold wisdom dearer than their country shall nevertheless gain both. Or is it a Roman's dislike of the sea which makes Cicero assume that the wayfarer/

wayfarer is making for home - at any rate after he has been enlightened by the Sirens and is no longer so foolhardy as to roam over the ocean?!

It remains to consider Cicero's translation of that passage in the Iliad where Calchas interprets the omen of the snake devouring the sparrow and her young ones. (Il: 299. Cic: de Div: II 29). Cicero translates freely. The great difference between his translation and its original lies in the fact that Homer dwells on the helplessness of the nestlings and the mother bird's distress; while Cicero emphasizes the cruelty and ferocity of the snake. I think that the reason for this is that Cicero is not so much concerned with the sufferers as with the years of suffering which they foretell to the Achaians. This is the point which he attacks in discussing the passage. He argues that the length of time during which the Trojan War would last could not reasonably be inferred from the omen. He says contemptuously (de Div: II 65) "Quae tandem ista auguratio est ex passeribus annorum potiusquam aut mensum aut dierum quid simile habet passer annis?" But in Homer, as Cicero sees, the number is the most significant part of the omen; and Calchas, in interpreting/

interpreting the phenomenon is concerned with numbers only. (Il: II 326).

ὡς οὗτος κατὰ τέκν' ἔφαγε στρουθῶϊο καὶ αὐτῆν,
ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἑνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα
ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσσάυτ' ἔστεα πτολεμίξομεν αὐθι.

Cicero, then, having little sympathy with sparrows, regards them primarily as omens; and because he considers Calchas' interpretation of these omens as absurd, emphasizes not so much the significance of the number of birds as the inference to be drawn from the cruelty of the snake. (de Div: II 29)

'Nam quot avis taetro mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Troiam belli exanclabimus annos.'

The first part of the translation of this passage is at least as lively as the Greek. For the blunt

ἢ ἔστεόν κάλχως μαντεύεται, ᾗ ἔσθ' ὄφρα βῶμεν
καὶ οὐκί

Cicero says, in more reflective mood:-

"Auguris ut nostri Calchantis fata queamus
Scire ratosne habeant an vanos pectoris orsus."

In his description of the preparations for sacrifice he uses vivid and striking Latin words for the vaguer and more ordinary Greek ones. (Il. II 305)

ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην ἱεροῦς κατὰ βωμοῦς
ἔρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τελεήσασα ἑκατόμβας
καλῆ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ.

He says:-

Nos circum latices gelidos fumantibus aris
Aurigeris divom placantes numina tauris
Sub platano umbrifera, fons unde emanat aqua! ...

κρήνην becomes latices gelidos: ἱερὸς βωμὸς
becomes fumantibus aris: τελεγεύσας ἑκατόμβας becomes
aurigeris tauris and καλῆ πλατανίστῳ becomes,
more specifically "umbrifera".

Then the snake appears - and Cicero's snake is different from Homer's. The most sinister characteristic of Homer's snake is its colour ' ἐπὶ νῶτα σαφεινός' but with Cicero's it is size. "Vidimus inmani specie tortuque draconem".

Next follows the description of the sparrows and their fate. Cicero's version is disappointing because of his comparatively unsympathetic treatment, an explanation of which has already been suggested. The Greek is (Il: II 311)

ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα
ὄσῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ πετάλοισι ὑποπεπτηῶτες
ὄκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἑνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα.
ἔνθ' ὅ γε τοὺς ἑλεεινὰ κατήσθιε τετριγῶτας.
μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποτάτο ὄδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα
τῆν δ' ἑλελιξάμενος πτέρυγος λάβεν ἀμφιχῶϊαν.

Cicero/

Cicero translates:-

Qui platani in ramo foliorum tegmine saeptos
Corripuit pullos; quos cum consumeret octo
Nona super tremulo genetrix clangore volabat;
Cui ferus inmani laniavit viscera morsu.

Here are the plain facts set out coldly and clearly without repetition and without pity. These are the data submitted to Calchas by Zeus, and he does not fail to draw the correct conclusion. But minds of a less legal cast than Cicero's feel that somehow his translation is inadequate. To begin with, Cicero never tells us that the birds are sparrows. He translates σπρουθοῖο νεοσσῶι, νηπιῶ τεκνῶ by one word 'pulli' - a word which does not even denote exclusively young birds. (In de Natura Deorum II §124 when Cicero wishes to speak of young birds he finds it necessary to say 'ex ovis pulli orti'.) Up to this point the only indication that he has given of their being birds is that they are in the branch of a plane tree; later he adds that the mother is flying, and finally describes them as 'teneros volucres'. But the Greek makes it clear from the beginning and does not let us forget it "ἐνθα δ' ἔσαν σπρουθοῖο νεοσσῶι," In the next line they are cowering in fear, and at l.314 they are cheeping pitifully ἔλεεινὰ τετριγῶτες. In Homer the mother bird's concern for her nestlings is vividly/

vividly described μήτηρ ἀμφεποτάτο ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα.
Cicero's rendering might equally well mean that her
fear is for herself.

super tremulo genetrix clangore volabat.

The description of the snake killing the mother bird
is completely changed by Cicero. Presumably, he judges
that the ferocity of the snake is more impressive and
more worth emphasizing than the fact that the bird was
seized by the wing as she circled over the nest shriek-
ing. But he sacrifices the vividness of the picture.
His line

cui ferus inmani laniavit viscera morsu

might apply to any animal preying upon any other animal.
And is 'laniare' appropriate to a snake? Does it rend
its victim? - or does it devour it whole, κατ' ἅσθιε
as Homer says?

In the last few lines there are three examples of
stereotyped epithets which are not translated by Cicero.
For κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί he has simply
Achivi; κρόνου παῖς ἄγκυλομήτεω becomes
Saturnius genitor; and for μητίετα Ζεὺς he has
'ipse creator'.

After examining these passages one must conclude,
I think, that Cicero is not a great translator of Homer.
He/

He translates too much for his own ends to represent adequately the spirit of his original. In one or two passages, such as the couplet describing the loneliness of Bellerophon, he is successful because the lines contain nothing irrelevant to his purpose. But in passages where he omits all but the essential point he is obviously not translating Homer as an epic poet. So too, in the passages dealing with the Sirens' song and Calchas' prophecy he changes the whole atmosphere; in the former passage by making the Sirens appeal to Odysseus as philosopher and not as a lover of melody, and in the latter passage by describing the ferocity of the snake instead of the bird's distress.

If we consider his diction we see that by omitting patronymics and familiar epithets he ignores an important characteristic of the Greek epic. The fact that Latin does not generally admit of compound epithets and that Cicero is following his predecessors in ignoring them in translating may excuse, but does not justify him as a translator. Where the diction of the Greek is simple, Cicero does not hesitate to elaborate. He translates $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\gamma\upsilon$ (Il: II 1.305) by "latices gelidos". Since his rendering of the whole passage is unusually free he may perhaps be justified in/

in using a more artificial phrase; but a faithful translator would have been content to use simple language with Homer. I have mentioned elsewhere Cicero's practice of substituting for a vague word a more explicit one, as "aurigeris tauris" for *τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας*. It is justifiable if the translator really believes that this was what his author meant, and that he is not improving on his original but only interpreting it. This was probably Cicero's view in translating *τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας* by "aurigeris tauris" but its appearance in the same sentence as "latices gelidos" and "fumantibus aris" gives some cause for doubt.

CHAPTER III.

Cicero's Translations from the Greek Dramatists.

Let us turn now to Cicero's translations from the Greek dramatists. Before considering them in detail, it is necessary to decide an important question - whether they really are Cicero's own translations. For there are some grounds for the suggestion that Cicero is not the author of the translations from Aeschylus and Sophocles, but that when Cicero introduces them he is only quoting translations by the dramatist, Attius. This question has been discussed carefully by Faguet, in his treatise "de Poetica M. Tullii Ciceronis Facultate," and most of his arguments in favour of Cicero's authorship are, I think, convincing. Cicero himself makes the matter almost certain from his manner of introducing the verses, and the question would never have arisen if Priscian and other grammarians had not ascribed certain lines from them to Attius.

I shall say nothing about the translations from Aeschylus: one is very short and calls for no comment, and the other cannot be compared with its original as the/

the Greek has perished. But the question of their authorship is important. If there is good reason for believing that Cicero translated the passages from Aeschylus, this strengthens the probability that he also translated the passage from Sophocles.

His authorship of the translations from Aeschylus has been doubted for two reasons. Firstly, because Nonius ascribes to a play called "Prometheus" written by Attius the lines:

"Tum sublime avolans
Pinnata cauda nostrum adulat sanguinem."

Secondly, because the original of this passage does not occur in the extant "Prometheus Bound" of Aeschylus. But these two arguments are rendered valueless because the grammarian Arusianus Messus ascribes the same lines beginning "Tum sublime. . ." to Cicero; and as Aeschylus wrote three plays about Prometheus, there is no reason why this passage should not have come from one of the two lost members of the trilogy.

Moreover, Cicero openly ascribes to Ennius or to Attius many verses which he quotes. For example, he says in one place (Tusculans II, § 13):

"Nam ut agri non omnes frugiferi sunt qui coluntur
falsumque illud Attii
Probae etsi . . ."

and/

and (Tusc: III, § 61):

"Hinc ille Agamemno Homericus et idem Attianus
Scindens dolore . . ."

and in the same chapter:

"ut illa apud Ennium nutrix
'Cupido cepit' . . ."

Compare also Book IV, Ch. VII, XI, XXXI, XXXIII. It is unlikely that he would acknowledge the authorship of some quotations but not of others.

Where, therefore, he gives only the author of the Greek original, it is reasonable to suppose that he translated them himself. In one passage (Tusc: III, § 29) he actually introduces a quotation with the words:

"Itaque apud Euripidem a Theseo dicta laudantur
licet enim ut saepe facimus in Latinum illa con-
vertere."

Nor does Priscian hesitate to speak of Cicero's translations from Euripides. If these are accepted as authentic it seems absurd to question the fragments from Aeschylus and Sophocles which are ascribed by Cicero to their Greek authors only.

Further evidence is deduced from Cicero's conversation with his pupil in Tusc: II, Ch. 11. The pupil asks who is the author of the verses just quoted: now it is unlikely that he would be ignorant of the verses of Ennius and Attius, seeing that he is supposed to be

a/

a well-educated youth. Moreover, Cicero says in his reply:

" . . . studiose equidem utor nostris poetis; sed sicubi illi defecerunt verti etiam multa de Graecis ne quo ornamento in hoc genere disputationes careret Latina oratio."

The evidence seems overwhelming; but it is worth noticing one or two points which especially concern the authorship of the translation from Sophocles. It has been suspected as Attius' work for two reasons. Firstly, because the French scholar, Scaliger, suggested that Attius wrote a play called the "Trachiniae"; and, secondly, because Nonius omits this passage in quoting two instances of Cicero's use of the word 'exanclare'. On the other hand, Charisius ascribes to Cicero the line

"jam decolorem sanguinem omnem exorbuit;"

and a careful comparison of this passage with the extant fragments of Attius' plays makes it difficult to suppose that it could have been written by Attius.

Though among Cicero's translations we have only one passage from Sophocles, and there is no mention of any others, the admiration which Cicero expresses for Sophocles would suggest that this may not be his only attempt to translate his poetry. He says (de Div: I, 54)

"adjungamus doctissimum hominum, poetam quidam² divinum, Sophoclem."

Clavel/

Clavel and Lange both hold the view that of the three tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, Sophocles was Cicero's favourite, despite the fact that he translates nine passages from Euripides and only this one (so far as we can be certain) from Sophocles. But, as Lange points out, Cicero never quotes for the sake of the poetry alone, and the philosophical maxims of Euripides were more useful to him than Sophocles' poetry as illustrations of his philosophical writings and oratory.

Clavel considers that this passage from Sophocles is Cicero's highest poetic attainment, (Tusc: II, § 20., Soph: Trach: 1046). It is intensely dramatic and is quoted by Cicero to show how even Hercules was unable to ignore physical suffering and to bear it silently. His translation is vigorous and follows the original closely, except in one or two passages which are severely curtailed. The text of the original Greek is very corrupt, which makes it difficult to criticise the accuracy of a translation which is probably nearer to its original than it appears to be when compared with modern texts of Sophocles. In the first two lines Jebb reads:

ὦ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θερμὰ κού λόγῳ κακὰ
καὶ χερσὶ καὶ νώτοισι μοχθήσας ἔγω.

which Cicero translates:

0/

"O multa dictu gravia, perpessu aspera
Quae corpore exanclata atque animo pertuli!"

He almost certainly read $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega$ (not $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega$).

Where is his authority for 'animo'? The reading $\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ is uncertain and $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ has been suggested on the strength of Cicero's translation (but could $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ be used metaphorically with $\iota\chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota$ used literally?).

It seems to me that Cicero's reading may well have been the same as ours, but that he desired a contrast which was lacking in $\iota\chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota$ and $\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ and deliberately altered his original. He may possibly have had in his mind Hercules' words in Euripides Alcestis 837:

$\bar{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\ \tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\eta}$

(if this reading is correct, cf. Oxford text). It is not unusual for Cicero to insert a word or phrase in translating, the original of which is found in connection with the same subject but in a different context. Thus he translates (Iliad II, 309):

$\tau\omicron\nu\ \rho\acute{\omicron}'\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\ \phi\acute{\omicron}\omega\sigma\delta\epsilon$

by:

"Jovis ut pulsu pēnētraret . . ."

where 'Jovis pulsu' is almost a literal translation of $\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon\ \iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\tau\iota$ (Od. XII, 190, etc.). So too, in his translation of Aratus (l. 520), he repeats a description of/

of Aquarius which occurs in the Greek in the earlier passage only (l. 421), and in another passage (Cic., l. 664) he gives to Pistrix the epithet 'caerula', a translation of 'κυάνεος' used of the same constellation in an earlier passage (Ar. l. 392) { where Cicero substitutes 'spinifer' in his version (l. 422)}.

Other lines of this passage from Sophocles where the reading is so doubtful as to make criticism of Cicero difficult are 1062 and 1069 (suspected by some scholars as an interpolation and omitted by Cicero in translating).

In the three parts of this speech where Hercules describes his physical sufferings as the poison consumes him, Cicero shows himself capable of translating literally but does not always do so. The first part (Trach: 1053-7) he translates fairly literally and his language is at least as poetic as the Greek. Liddell and Scott give no other instance of ἀπτηρία used in poetry, and it is presumably somewhat prosaic. But I incline to think that more words denoting parts of the body were in common use in conversation and literature among the Greeks than among the Romans (and us); so that it was easier for the Greek poets to describe physical affections in detail, without sinking below the level of poetic diction.

Cicero's/

Cicero's translation of $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, applied to blood, is interesting. He renders it 'decolor'. Liddell and Scott quote this passage from Sophocles as an example of $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, meaning 'fresh', 'living', 'not dried up'. This seems a possible meaning here, but is not how Cicero understood the word; and surely this is a case where Cicero is more likely to be right than modern scholars. He apparently understood by it 'pale', i.e. 'having lost its natural colour,' { compare Juvenal VI, 600:

".....esses
Aethiopsis fortasse pater mox decolor heres
impleret tabulas."

Compare also Hipparchus' use of $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{o}\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ which is usually interpreted to mean 'pale-red', and Aeschylus' phrase $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\beta\alpha\phi\eta\acute{s}$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Ag: 1110) used of blood and usually interpreted as 'pale'. } This meaning of $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is quite as poetic and perhaps more probable than 'fresh' or 'living'. Hercules is not thinking of his blood as it was, but as it is.

In the second passage describing physical pain (Trach. 1077-84) Cicero translates the first part briefly and omits the rest. For eight lines in the Greek he has only:-
miserandum/

" . . . miserandum aspice
evisceratum corpus laceratum patris!"

Seeing that his translation professes to be an example of lamentation for pain, this is extraordinary. Did he feel that the resources of his language were incapable of reproducing it? Or, did he really think that he had translated adequately? Certainly this method of describing savage mutilation of the body seems to have appealed to him. He translates 1.1053, 4:

"Quae latere haerens morsu lacerat viscera"

and we have seen that he uses a similar phrase for II. II, 316:

"cui ferus immēni laniavit viscera morsu,"

where the Greek is quite different in sense.

The third passage (1.1088) is:

δρίνυται γάρ αὖ πάλιν
ἦνθηκεν, ἔξώρμηκεν

Cicero translates:

"Nunc, nunc dolorum anxiferi torquent vertices
Nunc, serpit ardor."

'Serpit ardor' must correspond to δρίνυται, and, of the two verbs ἦνθηκεν and ἔξώρμηκεν, ἄνθηϊν is a medical term, and ἔξωρμᾶν is used only here in the sense of pain breaking out. Cicero translates the two words by one poetical metaphor. Possibly he regarded ἄνθηϊν as/

as used metaphorically, i.e., poetically, here. In any case, he judged that in Latin verse a somewhat poetic rendering was necessary.

In the passage where Hercules appeals to the gods to end his misery (l. 1085. . .) Cicero's rendering is brief. The text of the Greek is doubtful; but if Cicero had before him the passage as it now stands his version seems weak. *παισον - ἔνσεισον - ἔγκατάσκηψον* are all represented by 'iace in me'; and 'caelestum sator' is inappropriate. A similar tendency to curtail his original is found in the last portion of the speech, where Hercules recalls the monsters which he has conquered. This is probably because Cicero tends to curtail those passages which are not essential to the point which he is illustrating - in this case the power of physical and mental suffering.

Yet in the lines containing Hercules' appeal to his son to stifle all feeling for his mother and to bring her out that vengeance may be taken, Cicero's translation is good (l. 1064):

ὦ παῖ γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγώς
καὶ μὴ τὸ μητρὸς ὄνομα πρῆσβεύσης πλέον.
δός μοι χερσὶν σαῖν αὐτὸς ἐξ οἴκου λαβῶν
ἔς χεῖρα τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ὡς εἶδῶ σάφα
εἰ τούμῳ ἀλγείῃς, μᾶλλον ἢ κείνης ὀρῶν.

Cicero/

Cicero translates:-

"O nate! vere hoc nomen usurpa patri
 Ne me occidentem matris superet caritas,
 Huc arripe ad me manibus abstractam piis;
 Jam cernam, mene an illam potioem putes."

In translating μητρὸς ὄνομα Cicero makes explicit the meaning of ὄνομα . πρεσβύειν μητρὸς ὄνομα might be either an appeal to duty or to affection. Cicero translates it 'caritas' and contrasts it with 'pietas'. Hercules bids his son stifle affection and look to duty, i.e. his duty to his father and a murderess. This is a good example of how Cicero sometimes uses a more definite word than his Greek original. He does not translate the word literally and leave the interpretation to the reader. He decides on his own interpretation and gives that. (compare Il. II 307, where he translates 'καλῆ' by 'umbrifera' and 'τελέεσσας ἑκατόμβαι' by 'aurigeris tauris'.) So too, when we come to l.1061 of the present passage, we find

ὦ νῦν τε καὶ στέρον', ὦ χέρεις, χέρεις
 ὦ φίλοι βραχίονες

which Cicero renders:

"O ante victrices manus
 O pectora, O terga, O lacertorum tori!"

The repetition 'ὦ χέρεις, χέρεις' makes the exclamation one of pity. Why does Hercules pity his hands? Because they/

they were formerly unconquered and are now for the first time suffering defeat. So too, a literal translation of ὦ φίλοι βραχίονες would not give the same effect as the Greek. Something different, but equally impressive, must be substituted for it. Cicero selects the phrase 'O lacertorum tori!' Probably the sound of the line attracted him even more than the sense; but the sense is good.

The presentation of a hero struggling with great physical and mental suffering is not uncommon in Greek literature. But such a presentation was new to Latin poetry. Cicero had to give a rendering which was as forceful as the original without being undignified or unpoetic in diction; and I think we may say that he has succeeded in both respects.

His translations from Euripides comprise only a few short passages introduced into his philosophical writings. Most of them describe the sorrows of human life. As I have said above, Cicero never quotes the dramatists to illustrate their qualities as poets. He never, for instance, mentions or illustrates Euripides' skill in depicting human passions. But Euripides introduced into his plays many philosophical maxims and reflections/

flections on human life, tersely expressed. He, therefore, offered a choice selection of those herbs where- with Cicero liked to flavour his ethical writings, in the hope of pleasing the Roman palate.

The translations are clear and keep close to their original, but the expression is not always so terse as the Greek. Let us take one passage as an example (Eur: Hypsip: Nauck 757):

ἔφω μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν
θάπτει τε τέκνα, χάρτερά κτᾶται νέα
αὐτός τε θνήσκει· καὶ τὰδ' ἀχθόνται βροτοὶ
εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν· ἀναγκάως δ' ἔχει
βίον θέρψειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχον ---

Cicero translates (Tusc: III, § 59):

"Mortalis nemo est quem non attingit dolor
morbusque; multis sunt humandi liberi:
rursum creandi: morsque est finita omnibus;
quae generi humano angorem nequidquam offerunt.
reddenda terrae est terra; tum vita omnibus
metenda ut fruges. Sic iubet necessitas."

In the first three lines Cicero's 'multis . . . omnibus' may be more strictly in accordance with facts; but it is less striking than Euripides: *θάπτει τε . . . αὐτός τε θνήσκει.* The addition of 'morbusque' seems unnecessary and spoils the terseness of the Greek. It gives the impression of being inserted merely to fill out the line.

But alterations in the second half of the quotation are/

are designed to emphasize the point which they are quoted to illustrate. The passage is quoted as an instance of consolation afforded by the reflection that no man is free from trouble, since death, the greatest of man's troubles, is a necessity of his nature. Cicero emphasizes this by using the gerundive construction 'reddenda terrae est terra', where the Greek has no such implication of necessity, and by putting his translation of ἀνάγκη at the very end of his quotation 'sic iubet necessitas'.

The passage which I have discussed seems to me to be representative of Cicero's translations from Euripides and I will therefore pass over the others without comment.

CHAPTER IV.

Earlier Poets as Translators from the Greek.

Having examined those passages which Cicero has translated from Homer and the Greek tragedians it is interesting to compare them with earlier Latin translations of the same kind. Cicero, of course, was not the first Roman to translate the literature of the Greeks into Latin verse. Greek tragedies, Greek comedies, and Greek epic poetry had become known to the Romans through translations and paraphrases; and indeed it was Greek literature which inspired their earliest poets when they first began the creation of a Roman literary tradition. Unfortunately, very few examples of their work remain. But Cicero praises them highly - as poets - and it is worth considering their ability as translators.

Livius Andronicus, the earliest of these poets, translated the *Odyssey* and many Greek tragedies. Cicero says of his work "est sic tanquam opus aliquod *Daedali*" (*Brutus* C. 18, § 71). From the few extant verses it is clear that he could translate very literally./

ly. So he translates the first line:

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον

(A. Gell: 18.9) "Virum mihi, Camoena, in sece versutum."

and Od: I, 64: "τέκνον ἐμὸν, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων,"

(Prisc: VI.8) "Mea puera quid verbi ex tuo ore supra fugit?"

and Od: VI, 142: "Ἡ γούνων λίσσοιτο λαβῶν εὐώπιδα κούρην"

and (Diom: I, § 379) "Ultrum genua amplectans virginem oraret."

It is noteworthy that he, like Cicero, tends to omit epithets. 'εὐώπιδα' is not translated in the line quoted above. So too, when he translates (Od:V,99):

εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν
Μοῖρα ὀλοή καθέλησι τανηλεγέος θανατόιο

the epithets 'ὀλοή' and 'τανηλεγέος' are omitted. He says (A.Gell III, 16):

"Quando dies adveniet quem profata morta est."

Greek comedies were translated into Latin by the poet Naevius, and a few of his verses are extant. The most interesting point about them, if they are considered as copies of a Greek original, is the Latin compound words which they contain, coined on the analogy of Greek words. We find the word 'arcitenens' - a translation of Homer's 'τοξοφόρος'; and 'bicorpor', a translation of 'διφυής'. Both of these words are used by Cicero. He/

He uses 'arcitenens' to translate the name of the constellation 'τοξευτής' (which he also translates 'sagittipotens') and 'bicorporeum' of the Centaurs. But other compounds which Naevius invented were not adopted by Cicero, or any other writer. Such words are 'pudoricolor', an epithet of Aurora, and 'trisaeclysenex' of Nestor. Here Naevius surpasses the Greeks themselves! Cicero, however, declines to follow him and says instead (de Senect: X 31):

"tertiam enim iam aetatem hominum videbat".

Pacuvius also imitated the Greeks in coining compound words. Quintilian (Orat: I 5) credits him with the lines:

" . . . Nerei
repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus."

(cf. σιμοπρόσωπος (Plato) and κυρταύχην quoted by Quintilian)). But Cicero and all other Roman poets apparently felt like Quintilian:

"res tota magis Graecos decet nobis minus
succedit, nec id fieri natura puto sed alienis
favemus: ideoque quum κυρταύχην mirati sumus,
incurvicervicum vix a risu defendimus."

Cicero seems to have been very cautious about coining new adjectives for the adornment of his poetry. Clavel has noted that nearly all the poetical epithets which it is reasonable to suppose were created by Cicero are/

are compounds of 'gerere, 'ferre' and (more rarely) 'facere'; e.g. 'squamiger', 'ignifer', 'horrificus.'

We come now to the translations of Ennius, perhaps the greatest and certainly the most influential poet among Cicero's predecessors. His translations are from the Greek tragic drama. From the fragments which remain to us they seem to have been very free translations; probably more free than Livius', and certainly more free than Cicero's. Take for example the opening lines of Ennius 'Medea' and compare it with its original, the 'Medea' of Euripides:

εἴθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος
 Κόλχων ἐς αἴαν κυανέας συμπληγάδας,
 μῆδ' ἐν νάυασι Πηλίου πρῶτον ποτε
 τμηθεῖσα πύκην, μῆδ' ἔρετμῶσαι χέρας
 ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων, οἳ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρος
 Πελία μετῆλθον. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέσποιον' ἔμῃ
 Μήδεια πύργους γῆς ἔπλευσ' Ἰωλκίας
 ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγείσ' Ἰάσονος,

Ennius renders it:

"utinamne in nemore Pelio securibus
 caesa cecidisset abiegnā ad terram trabes,
 neve inde navis inchoandae exordium
 coepisset, quae nunc nominatur nomine
 Argo, quia Argivi in ea dilecti viri
 vecti petebant pellem inauratam arietis
 Colchis, imperio regis Peliae, per dolum!
 nam nunquam hera errans mea domo exferret pedem
 Medea, animo aegra amore saevo saucia."

Ennius/

Ennius gives the main points of his original and arranges them in chronological order. He begins with the forest, and then describes the axes, the falling pine, the ship, its name, its crew, the purpose for which it was constructed, and its destination. But the Greek introduces the ship named, and already at its destination, Colchis. Only after we know these things are we told the history of its origin. The dramatic superiority of the Greek is obvious. We know at once that we are dealing with the ship, 'Argo', after it has come to Colchis. In Ennius' version we have to wait for two and a half lines before we hear of a ship - five lines before we are told it is the 'Argo' - and seven lines before we know that it was bound for Colchis. Not only is the Greek speech more suited to arrest the attention of the audience, but it is a far more natural speech for a person to make. The nurse would naturally exclaim:

« εἶθ' ὠφελ' Ἄργου μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος »,

but she would never think of saying:

"Utinam in nemore Pelio securibus."

It is interesting to speculate on how Cicero would have dealt with the passage. I am inclined to think that he would have treated it rather as Ennius has done and/

and would have given a coherent account of the events in chronological order. We know that he liked to do this from his re-arrangement of Aratus' disjointed account of the rising and setting of certain constellations (Aratus 669), and his swift and uninterrupted account of the snake's movements after it first appeared at the sacrifice (Iliad II 308). Like Ennius, he would very probably have omitted to mention the Symplegades, as not essential to the narrative; or, if he had translated that line, would either have omitted 'Κουαρίας' or substituted another epithet (compare his translation of Aratus, l.398. Cic: 422). He would almost certainly have employed alliteration as in the last line of Ennius' version (compare Cicero's version of Orion's death. Aratus 634. Cic: 666).

However Cicero might have treated this first passage, he certainly would not have gone to Ennius' length of rendering the opening words of Medea's first speech,

Ἰ Κορινθίαι γυναικες;

"Quae Corinthum arcem altam habetis, matronae *opulentae*
~~opulentae~~ Optimates!

In this he would not have vied with Ennius, though his rendering might have been more elaborate than its original (compare his translation of Plato's 'Timaeus', 41A:

„θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν ἔγω Δημιουργός . . . ἔργων“,

which he renders:

"Haec vos qui deorum satu orti estis, attendite.
Quorum operum ego

Some of the short fragments of Ennius' translations are quite literal. For example:

παλαιὸν οἴκων κτήμα δεσποίνης, ἑμῆς
τί πρὸς πύλαισι τήνδ' ἄγους ἔρημίαν
ἔστηκας αὐτῇ θρεομένην σαυτῇ κακῇ;

"Antiqua herilis fida custos corporis
quid sic te extra aedes examinata eliminas?"

and again:

ὡσθ' ἡμερος μ' ὑπῆλθε γῆ τε κούραν ὦ
λίξαι μολούσῃ δεύρο Μηδείας τύχας.

which Ennius renders:

"Cupido cepit miseram nunc me proloqui
caelo atque terrae Medaei miserias."

But if one compares all the fragments with their originals (so far as they are known) it seems that Cicero's criticism is probably a just one.

"Ennius . . . multique alii non verba sed vim
expresserunt Graecorum."

It may be that his most striking and forceful verses have survived while others, written in a different vein, have perished. We still have (Non. 183. 17):

"Alia fluctus differt, dissipat
Visceratim membra, maria salsa spumant sanguine."

and/

and (Cic. Tusc. I §107):

"Ipse summis saxis fixus asperis evisceratus
Latere pendens saxa spargens tabo."

But we have nothing which would lead us to suppose that, if Ennius had translated that passage in Iliad II where Homer describes the desecration of the sparrow's nest, he would have dealt with it any more sympathetically than Cicero. He would probably have gloated over the snake's ferocity and made it tear the sparrow limb by limb - regardless of the habits of snakes - just as Cicero did in his version of the passage.

CHAPTER V.

Cicero's translations from Aratus.

We come now to the longest of Cicero's verse translations, his version of Aratus' "Phenomena". It was presumably the earliest of his translations, for he himself tells us that it was made in early youth. In the "de Natura Deorum" (II §104) he makes Balbus say:

"uter.....carminibus Arateis,
 quae, a te (sc. Cicerone) admodum
 adolescentulo conversa, ita me
 delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut
 multa ex eis memoria teneam."

Our knowledge of this translation comes from Cicero's philosophical writings (especially the "de Natura Deorum") and from quotations cited by ancient writers. But when all these quotations have been pieced together we have less than two thirds of the poem.

An exact description of the fancied figures made in the sky by the stars, their positions, and rising and setting relative to one another, does not seem promising material for a poem. The same ideas 'above', 'below', 'upright', 'slanting', 'bright', 'dim', 'extending', 'moving', must occur over and over again, and it is often difficult, /

difficult, as for example, in describing the track of the five circles, to avoid giving a mere list of constellations. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that Aratus based his poem on a treatise in prose by Endoxus, and it is hard to see why he chose to turn it into verse, or what inspired Cicero and later writers to translate Aratus' poem. But didactic poems on scientific subjects (especially Astronomy), were popular with the poets who shared with men of science the patronage of the Macedonian and Alexandrian court, and with the Roman poets who were their literary successors.

Though the "Phenomena" is didactic in form, there is no reason to suppose that Aratus intended it to be of practical use; nor is there any scientific theory in the poem. It was apparently written (and translated) purely as a literary effort. Cicero says (de Arat: I,69):

"Si constat inter doctos hominem ignarum
astrologiae ornatissimis atque optimis
versibus Aratum de caelo stellisque
dixisse.....quid est cur non orator...."

This conception of the poem gives the key note to Cicero's translation. He is reproducing a work which is primarily a poem. Its scientific value is a secondary consideration. He concentrates his attention on the writing of brilliant descriptions and does not hesitate to embellish Aratus' /

Aratus' statements wherever he is able to do so.

Cicero's translation is written, like its original, in dactylic hexameters. Of his poem there remain several fragments and 480 lines, consecutive except for twelve gaps with a total omission of about twenty lines. These 480 lines translate about 470 lines of Aratus. This shows clearly that Cicero does not elaborate his original very extensively. For he does not often omit in translating, and so compensate for the elaboration of one passage by condensing or curtailing another.

In comparing Cicero's version with its Greek original it will be found that he gives, as a rule, a clear, accurate translation which is at least as spirited as the Greek. In one way his poem is more didactic in tone than Aratus'. He frequently inserts 'cernes' or 'videbis' or a similar word where Aratus has a direct statement. For example, (Aratus, 1.147) *Κρατὶ δὲ οἱ Δίδυμοι* is translated (Cicero 151):

"Et natos Geminos invises sub caput
Arcti."

and (Arat: 254) *Πηλιάδες φορέονται* is translated (Cic: 261):

"locatas.....Vergilias.....videbis."

But some of Aratus' admonitions and descriptions of disasters which follow certain celestial phenomena, are omitted/

omitted or curtailed by Cicero, who keeps more closely to description of the phenomena only. In this respect his poem gives an impression of being less didactic than its original.

Where the subject is intricate Cicero translates freely. Take for example the lines describing 'the dog days'. Aratus says (l.332) of Sirius

οὐκέτι κείνον αὐτὸ γελίω ἀνιόντα
 φυταλιαὶ ψεύδονται ἀναλδέα φυλλιόωσαι.
 ῥεῖα γὰρ οὖν ἔκριε διὰ στίχας ὄξυς αἴξας,
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔρωσεν, τῶν δὲ φλόον ὤλεσε πάντα.

Cicero translates (l.355):-

"Hic ubi se pariter cum sole in lumina caeli
 Extulit, haud patitur foliorum tegmine frustra
 Suspensos animos arbusta ornata tenere.
 Nam quorum stirpis tellus amplexaprehendit
 Haec augens anima vitali flamine mulcet:
 At quorum nequeunt radices findere terras
 Denudat foliis ramos et cortice truncos."

Compare also his description of Argo (Cic.370. Arat.342) and of the planets (Cic.467. Arat.454).

In passages where the Greek is obscure or redundant Cicero often recasts the thought, selecting the main points and setting them out more clearly. Consider, for instance, the lines (399....) in which Cicero explains that the astronomer who first named the constellations did not recognise dim and apparently unconnected stars, but only the bright ones which together formed groups.

The/

The corresponding 19 lines of Aratus (367-85) are full of repetition and irrelevant remarks. Similarly in the passage beginning at 1.709 (Aratus 669) Cicero puts the facts in an order which is much clearer than the original. The information which Aratus is giving is that (A) When the Archer rises (1) the lower part of the Charioteer (2) Perseus, except his foot and knee (3) Argo except the stern, all set, and (B) when the Goat rises (1) the upper part of the Charioteer and (2) the stern of Argo, set, and (C) also, the kids and Olenian Goat do not set when the Archer rises. Cicero re-casts the passage and makes all this perfectly clear. As Aratus has already given, in the preceding passage, some constellations which set when the Archer rises, Cicero gives the rest of these constellations next (i.e. A.1,2,3) and then those which set when the Goat rises (i.e. B.1,2) and, instead of informing us when the kids and Olenian Goat do not set, he tells us when they do. He omits Aratus' reference to the storms brought by the Kids, which is entirely out of place in its context.

It is clear, therefore, that though as a rule Cicero translates quite literally he is never a slavish imitator. He paraphrases, or elaborates, or simplifies, or omits deliberately./

deliberately. Let us consider a little more carefully some of the passages in which he omits ideas which Aratus has expressed. These passages are not numerous and Cicero may be assumed to have had a good reason for each omission. Some words and phrases are probably unrepresented in the Latin because they seemed to him otiose. For instance, after describing the Bird (1.281..) he omits to translate (Aratus 278)

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$ δ' γ' $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\iota\acute{o}\omega\nu\tau\iota$ $\pi\omicron\tau\eta\nu$ $\acute{o}\rho\nu\theta\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$
 $\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu$ $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$

presumably because the direction in which the bird is flying is made clear by the following two lines, and there is no point in $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\iota\acute{o}\omega\nu\tau\iota$ $\pi\omicron\tau\eta\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Unless Aratus is contrasting this Bird with the Eagle which he describes (1.312) as 'wind-tossed'.) So too, in the passage where Aratus describes the Altar as exhibiting signs of a coming storm (408...) Cicero omits a large part of the description of the storm-tossed ship and Night's concern for mariners.

In translating Aratus' description of the Milky Way (469..) Cicero (489....) omits what he doubtless judges to be not only irrelevant but confusing, and goes straight to the point. So, too, where Aratus speaks of the late hours kept by Bootes Cicero omits the rather poetic idea of Bootes' unyoking his oxen. He refers to him only as Arctophylax./

Arctophylax. Aratus (1.582) says

- - - - - ο δ' ἐπὶ γὰρ φάεος κορέσεται
βουλυτῶ ἐπέχει πλείον δίχτα νυκτὸς ἰούσης.

and Cicero translates:- (1.610)

".....tum serius ipse
Cum supra sese satiavit luce recedit
Post mediam labens claro cum corpore noctem."

I can only suggest that the rustic touch did not appeal to Cicero, and seemed to him pointless.

With regard to the omission of epithets and qualifying phrases it is noticeable that Cicero tends to omit epithets which are inapplicable to stars, though suitable to the object after which they are named. So, where Aratus (1.594) has χαροπὸς Λαγῶς Cicero gives only 'lepus' (1.623) and where Aratus (1.598) has εὐποίητος Ὀϊστός Cicero (1.623) has 'sagitta'; and when Aratus, speaking of the time when the Hare sets, (not of its position in relation to Sirius) says (1.677)

καὶ πάντα κατέρχεται Σείωνος
πάντα γὰρ μὲν ἀτέλεστα διωκόμενοι Λαγῶν

Cicero translates (1.716):

"Abditur Orion, obit et Lepus abditus umbra."

The passages where Cicero adds to his original are far more numerous than those in which he curtails or omits. They reveal two principal aims. One is a desire to make the meaning more explicit, and the other to embellish the subject so that it is vivid and interesting.

Let/

Let us take first passages which are treated more fully for the sake of clearness. Cicero never forgets that he is writing for his fellow countrymen and that his poem will be read and valued most by those who do not read Aratus in the original. For this reason he frequently inserts a line to explain a Greek name which he has introduced. He writes (1.37): ~~καὶ τὴν μὲν κυνόσουραν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν~~

"ex his altera apud Graecos Cynosfura vocatur"

where Aratus has only (1.36)

καὶ τὴν μὲν κυνόσουραν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν.

So, too, when he is describing the constellation which he calls later on Anguitenens, he says (1.77):

"Quem clare perhibent Ophiuchum nomine Graii."

an appeal to those of his readers who do know Greek to think of the derivation. And again (1.96):

"....Arctophylax, vulgo qui dicitur esse Bootes
Quod quasi temone adjunctam prae se quatit Arcton
(Clarus hic et) subter praecordia fixa videtur
Stella micans radiis Arcturus nomine claro."

Sometimes Cicero not only indicates the literal meaning of the Greek but actually adds a translation of the name.

He says, for instance, (1.465):

".....et hic Geminis est ille sub ipsis
Ante Canem, Graio Procyon qui nomine fertur."

where Aratus (1.450) has only:-

καὶ μὲν καὶ Προκύων Διδύμοις ὑπο καλὰ φασίνεϊ.

So, too, when he introduces the Zodiac he says (1.563):

"Zodiacum hunc Graeci vocitant nostrique Latini
Arbem/

"Orbem Signiferum perhibebunt nomine vero."

But it is to be noted that Cicero does not invariably give the Greek name - with or without an explanation of it. In 1.262 he translates $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\gamma\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ by 'Vergiliae' without comment. Does this mean that the Latin word was much commoner than the Greek form, 'Pleiades'? Or does Cicero connect the word with 'virgo' (cf Vergil and Virgil) and use it here for that reason? (There seems to be no scientific basis for that etymology). He introduces Aquarius and Capricornus without giving their Greek names, presumably because the Latin names were commoner and had the same meaning (1.290, 293).

It is not, I think, out of place while discussing Cicero's practice of explaining Greek words for the benefit of his Latin readers to consider one or two other passages in which the question of etymology arises. When Cicero is describing the Eagle (1.312) his version of Aratus is interesting. Aratus in his description connects the word $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ with the verb $\acute{\alpha}\eta\mu\iota$ - not, as Liddell and Scott do, because of its swift flight, but because it is blown by the wind. (Aratus 312):

--- ο δὲ οἱ παραπέπταται ὄρνις
 ἀσσοτέρων βορέω. σχεδόνθεν δὲ οἱ ἄλλος ἄηται ---
 --- καὶ μιν καλέουσιν ἄητον.

Cicero/

Cicero renders it (1.326):

"Quam propter nitens pinnis convolvitur Ales
Haec clinata magis paullo est Aquilonis ad auras.
At propter se Aquila ardenti cum corpore portat."

He does not comment on the derivation of the Greek word for eagle, nor does he state openly the derivation of Aquila (this would transgress the limit of a translator's licence); but it is difficult to believe that he does not connect Aquila with Aquilo in the preceding line. Aquilo is there in its own right as a translation of βορέω ; but the fact that Cicero puts the two words so close together suggests that he intended their likeness to be noticed. He probably accepts Aratus' derivation of ἀήτος from ἀήμι , but believes that there is a similar connection between the words for 'wind' and 'eagle' in Latin, and uses them as being of greater interest to Latin readers.

Another interesting passage concerns a description of the Great Bear. Aratus (1.92) says of Arctophylax

τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες ἐπικλείουσι βοώτην
οὐνεχ' ἀμαξείης ἐκφώμενος εἶδεται Ἄρκτου.

which Cicero translates (1.96)

"Arctophylax, vulgo qui dicitur esse Bootes
Quod quasi temone adiunctam prae se quettit Arctum."

ἀμαξείης Ἄρκτου is a curious phrase. Liddell and Scott/

Scott quote only this and one other example of the adjective $\xi\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and translate it 'wain-like'. In the only other passage where Aratus mentions the Wain he says (1.27) Ἄρκτοι $\xi\mu\alpha$ τροχόωσι τὰ δὲ καλέονται $\xi\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota$ (and thereafter describes the constellations as 'bears'). He says they are called $\xi\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota$ because they wheel together, i.e. he derives $\xi\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}$ from $\xi\mu\alpha$ + ἄξων (axle). It seems possible that the idea of a wain and an ox driver was based on a similar description of the Bears and not on a fancied likeness to a wain drawn by oxen. Aratus appears to have recognised this; but when, later, he came to deal with Bootes was forced to connect him with a wain instead of with bears and used the phrase $\xi\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta\varsigma$ Ἄρκτου "wain-like constellation of the Bear." Cicero translates the line (1.27):

"Quas nostri septem soliti vocitare Triones."

He apparently took Ἄρκτου in its literal meaning of a bear and $\xi\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta\varsigma$ to mean not 'wain-like' but 'connected with a wain' (compare 'cart-horse'). So he arrived at the conception of a bear yoked to a wain.

An interesting point arises where Cicero (1.365) translates Λαγῶος (Ar.338) by 'levipes Lepus'. The epithet is not entirely unsuitable here, as Cicero, like Aratus, goes on to describe how the Hare is being pursued by the Dog. But no epithet/

epithet is used in the Greek and it looks as though Cicero was tempted to introduce a piece of Latin etymology on his own initiative. For he undoubtedly suggests that 'lepus' is derived from 'levis' and 'pes'.

Besides explaining Greek and Latin words, Cicero inserts other explanations where he thinks that Aratus has not made his meaning clear. The passage already quoted which describes the effect of the dog-days on vegetation is a good example. τὰ μὲν ἔρρωσεν τῶν δὲ φλόον ὠλεσε πάντα (Ar.335) is translated (Cic:358):

"Nam quorum stirpis tellus amplexaprehendit
Haec augens anima vitali flamina mulcet
At quorum nequeunt radices findere terras
Denudat foliis ramos et cortice truncos."

In the same way he adds a line in explanation of Aratus' demand that ships should be beached before night in November (1.312):

"Nam iam tum nimis exiguo lux tempore praesto est."
and when Aratus says that Hercules rises and sets in one night Cicero adds:

"Persaepe ut parvum tranans geminaverit orbem."

In one place he explains with some ingenuity a word whose meaning he has almost certainly misunderstood.

Aratus is describing the constellation Perseus and says (1.254) "ἰχθυὶα μακύνει κεκονιμένος ἐν Δὲ πατρὶ." κεκονιμένος is/

is surely used here in its metaphorical sense of 'in haste'. There would be no point in calling a constellation 'dusty'. It is true that Aratus does sometimes use epithets which are inapplicable to stars, but these are all characteristic epithets, e.g. *εὐπρόητος* *Ὀϊστός* *ἦ*
χάροψ *Λαγώς* . Perseus was not invariably travel-stained, and he is given his characteristic mark in the preceding line "*τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶν οἶα διώκων*" which Cicero translates "*pedes vinctis talaribus aptis.*" But Cicero labours to explain the literal meaning of *κεκονιμένος* and renders the lines (1.259):

"pedes.....
 pulverulentus uti de terra elapsu' repente
 in caelum victor magno sub culmine portat."

Sometimes Cicero is at pains to make clearer a reference to a Greek legend. In speaking of the river Eridanus, Aratus says (1.359):

*οἶον γὰρ κἀκείνο θεῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ φορεῖται
 λείψανον Ἑριδανοῖο πολυκλάυτου ποταμοῖο.*

Cicero renders the passage (1.389):

"Namque etiam Eridanum cernes in parte locatum
 Caeli funestum magnis cum viribus amnem
 Quem lacrimis maestae Phaethontis saepe sorores
 Sparserunt letum maerenti voce canentes."

So too, where Aratus, describing the constellation of Perseus, says that his right hand is stretched (1.251)

----- ἐπὶ κλισμὸν -----
 πενθερίου δίφρῳ

(towards the seat of his mother-in-law's couch) Cicero (1.257) says simply and clearly "ad sedes Cassiepieae"; and when Aratus explains that lady's undignified exit (1.657):

ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλεν ἑκείνη
 Δωρίδι καὶ πανόπηι μεγάλων ἄτερ ἰσώσασθαι

Cicero says more explicitly (1.698):

"Hanc illi tribuunt poenam Nereides almae
 Cum quibus ut perhibet ausa est contendere forma."

But Cicero does not only amplify his original when he wants to make the meaning clearer. Sometimes he elaborates an idea entirely for poetic effect. He tries to make his poem more vivid and beautiful than its original. Where, for instance, Aratus introduces the Lion with the words (1.148):

ποσσὶ δ' ὀπισθοτέροισι Λέων ὑπο καλὰ φαίνει

Cicero, with more sense of what is due to the king of beasts, renders the line (1.152):

".....pedibusque tenetur
 magnu' Leo tremulam quatiens e corpore flammam."

Again, when Aratus enumerates certain constellations which set at the same time and says (1.597):

Λύρη τότε κυλληναίη
 καὶ Δελφὶς δύρουσι

Cicero/

Cicero thinks of the dolphin as homeward bound and translates (1.627):

"Cedit clara Fides Cyllenia, mergitur undā
Delphinus."

And when he speaks of the unfortunate Andromeda he describes her more vividly than Aratus. Aratus (1.353) says:

τὴν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγον περ ἀπόπροθι πεπτησίδαν
Ἀνδρομέδην μέγα κήτεος ἐπερχόμενον κατεπείγει

which Cicero translates (1.383):

"Exin semotam procul in tutoque locatam
Andromedam tamen explorans fera quaerere Pistrix
Pergit."

The eagerness of the monster is emphasised but we are assured that Andromeda is safe. Later on, when Aratus again refers to Andromeda and the sea monster in the

words (1.629): δύνει δ' Ἀνδρομέδης κεφαλῇ· τὸ δέ οἱ μέγα δειμά
κήτεος ἡερόσις ἐπάγει νότος

Cicero expatiates on her precarious position (1.661):

"Occidit Andromedae clarum caput et fera Pistrix
Labitur, horribiles epulas funesta requirens."

It is in connection with Andromeda that Cicero makes his only serious error of taste. Aratus gives the information (useful to one who is trying to pick out the constellations and therefore a necessary part of his treatise) that one common star shines on the horses navel and the tip of Andromeda's/

Andromeda's head (1.206):

ξυνός δ' ἐπιλάμπεται ἀστὴρ
 τοῦ μὲν ἐπ' ὀμφαλίῳ, τῆς δ' ἐσχατόωντι καρῆνῳ

Cicero translates (1.209):

"Huic equus ille.....
 Summum contingit caput alvo stellaque iungens
 Una tenet duplices communi lumine formas."

and adds "Aeternum ex astris cupiens connectere nodum."

The only possible justification that I can suggest for such a line is in Plator's "Tamaeus" (C.4, § 38) which Cicero translates (C.1V, § 38):

".....mundum efficere moliens deus terram
 primum ignemque iungebat: omnia autem duo
 ad cohaerendum tertium aliquid anquirunt
 et quasi nodum vinclumque desiderant."

If we can suppose that this passage was in Cicero's mind we may see some point and dignity in the present passage from Aratus.

The passage where Cicero's elaboration for poetic effect is most marked and most successful is the account of Orion's death from the Scorpion's bite. The whole story is translated freely but the second part is especially striking. Aratus gives it in four lines (1.640):

ἡ δὲ (i.e. Ἄρτεμις) οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπετείλατο θηρίον ἄλλο,
 νήσου ἀναρρήξασα μέσας ἐκέρθε κολώνδας,
 Σκορπίον, ὅς ῥά μιν οὕτω καὶ ἐκτανε πολλὸν ἔοντα
 πλειότερος προφανείς, ἐπεὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἠκαχεν αὐτήν.

Cicero/

Cicero (1.678) gives the following description:

"At vero pedibus subito perculsa Dianae
 Insula discessit disiectaque saxa revellens
 Perculit et caecas lustravit luce lacunas;
 Equibus ingenti exstitit cum corpore prae se
 Scorpios infestus praeportans flebile acumen
 Hic valido cupide venantem perculit ictu
 Mortiferum in venas figens per vulnera virus
 Ille gravi moriens constravit corpore terram."

In some instances Cicero adds to the vividness of his version by inserting an epithet or qualifying phrase for which there is no authority in the Greek. Thus he writes (1.332):

"Tum magni curvus Capricorni corpora propter
 Delphinus iacet....."

where there are no adjectives in the Greek. So we find (1.344) "truculenti Tauri". And later, where speaking of the Hydra, Aratus says (1.445):

----- οἱ κεφαλῇ ὑπὸ μέσσον
 καρκίνον ἰκρῆϊται, σπείρη δ' ὑπὸ σῶμα Λέοντος,
 οὐρή δὲ κρέματα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κενταύροιο.

Cicero embellishes this rather bare description thus:-

(1.460) "Haec caput atque oculos torquens ad terga Nepai
 Convexoque sinu subiens inferna Leonis
 Centaurum leni contingit lubrica cauda."

When Aratus (1.398) speaks of a star as situated $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon$ ὑπὸ
 $\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ οὐρῆ Cicero ignores the conventional
 epithet of the sea-monster (how could a constellation seen
 in the night skies be $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon$?) and renders the line
 (422)/

(422):

"Spiniferam subter caudam Pistricis adhaesit." - surely a more gruesome creature!

↳But Cicero does not always avoid this conventional epithet. He says of Cetus (l.664):

"Illa usque ad spinam mergens se caerula condit," where Aratus has ἐς λοφίην and no epithet, cf Cicero 1.384 "pistrix.....caerula", Aratus 354 μέγα κῆτος ; and Cicero 1.521 "...caeruleam...caudam Pistricis", Aratus 1.502 κήτεος οὐρήν only).

We come now to a particular method of increasing the effectiveness of his poem which is used by Cicero in almost every line, and seems to me to be the strongest characteristic of his translation, and that which gives it a different tone from its original. I mean the constant use of words connoting light.

Aratus has put into verse a comparatively accurate and elaborate description of the constellations, including their risings and settings, the course of the five Circles, and certain signs of wind, rain or heat. He succeeds in making his poem more than a bare enumeration of facts by describing the constellations as living creatures, conscious and moving, and by references to myths connected with them. So he describes the Hare (1.338):

ποσσὶν δ' Ὀρίωνος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέροισι λαγῶος
 ἔμμενές ἤματα πάντα διώκεται· αὐτὰρ δ' ὕ' αἰεὶ
 Σείριος ἐξόπιθεν φέρεται μετίοντι ἑοικῶς
 καὶ οἱ ἐπαντέλλει, καὶ μιν κατιούτα δοκεύει.
 and the Bird (1.275):

ἦτοι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ παρατρέχει δίολος ὄρνις ----
 αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' εὐδιόωντι ποτὴν ὄρνιθι ἑοικῶς
 οὐρίος εἰς ἑτέρην φέρεται.

and Andromeda (1.202):

ἀλλ' ἔμπηγς κᾶκῆιθι διωλενίῃ τετάνυσται
 δεσμὰ δέ οἱ κῆιται καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ----

Besides a constant reference to myths, he embellishes his poem with the story of the Maiden (Justice), and of Orion's death. The didactic nature of the poem gives opportunities for such treatment as that of the Milky Way (1.465..) and of the storm at sea (1.408).

Cicero reproduces all these characteristics, but stresses some and curtails others so as to leave the reader with a rather different impression from that which Aratus gives him. Aratus portrays the heavens primarily as a "storied window"; Cicero as "a storied window richly dight". Never does he regard the stars as mere symbols - grouped together by men of old, and thereafter used by them to mark the time of night, forecast the weather, and recall old legends. For him each star is a beautiful reality - bright, glittering, gleaming, whether "evalida cum/

cum luce refulgens" or "exiguo candore nitescit."

Accordingly, Cicero uses words connoting light whenever he can do so without weakening, or seriously changing the sense of his original. A few statistics help to confirm this impression which a perusal of the poem must give. Cicero uses words or phrases connoting light about 120 times in 480 lines. About 70 of these have no corresponding reference to light in the Greek. Moreover, in 10 passages where Aratus uses altogether 11 words connoting light Cicero uses 29 in translating. Of nouns connoting light he uses 'stella' 13 times (where $\delta\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ occurs only 6 times), 'lumen' 47 times, 'lux' 12 times, 'fulgor' 6 times and 'sidus', 'aster', 'nitor', 'ardor', 'flamma', 'ignis' occasionally; of verbs he uses 'fulgeo' (or 'refulgeo') 15 times, 'lucere' (or 'conlucere' or 'relucere') 12 times, 'nitescere' 5 times, 'micare' and 'radiare' each 4 times, and occasionally 'ardere', 'flagrare', 'fervere', 'clarare', 'lustrare'; of adjectives he uses 'clarus' (or 'praeclarus') 9 times, 'illustris' 5 times, 'fervidus' 4 times, 'rutilus' 3 times, (besides many participles, qualifying nouns e.g. 'fulgens', 'nitens'). Reckoning together nouns, verbs, and adjectives, Cicero uses 31 different Latin words. Aratus uses 27 different Greek words. Considering the comparative poverty of Latin/

Latin compared with Greek this is significant.

In 24 places Cicero adds an epithet connoting light where there is no epithet of any kind in the Greek. The most striking examples occur in the enumeration of the signs of the zodiac. Aratus gives merely a list of their names. Cicero adds to most of them an epithet. (Cicero 1.566):

"Aestifer est pandens ferventia sidera Cancer.
Hunc subter fulgens cedit vis torva Leonis
Quem rutilo sequitur conlucens corpore Virgo.
Exin projectae claro cum lumine Chelae
Ipsaque consequitur lucens vis magna **Nepai**."

The description of the Claws as 'claro cum lumine' is actually wrong. Aratus says in three places (1.89, 520, 607) that the Claws is not a bright constellation. In two of these Cicero translates him accurately. (His version of the third is lost). In the present passage his enthusiasm for epithets of light is indulged at the expense of truth and even consistency.

Besides the addition of such epithets, Cicero sometimes substitutes such an epithet for a different epithet in the Greek. This change seems to be based on his desire to describe the stars themselves rather than the objects which they represent. Many of Aratus' epithets have no meaning as applied to stars. For example, Aratus (1.440) speaks of *Σινωτόιο θουρπίου* (the round altar), and Cicero (1.457) renders it 'illustrem aram'. Where Aratus, (1.163) has/

has $\alpha\iota\grave{\xi}$ $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$, Cicero (1.167) says 'capra.... clara'; and when Aratus says (1.690) $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\alpha$ Cicero gives only 'clara Sagitta' (1.724). Similarly where Cicero has only 'clara Fides' Aratus has $\Lambda\upsilon\rho\eta$ $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta$ (1.674). When Aratus describes Orion (1.588) as $\xi\phi\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\phi\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ Cicero goes straight for the portrayal of Orion which this implies and says (1.655): "retinens non cassum luminis ensem."

In connection with this alteration of Greek epithets and phrases in Cicero's version it is interesting to note that, where Aratus seeks to dignify his subject by suggesting that some of the constellations inspire wonder and dread, Cicero is inclined to ignore this conception of them. The substitution of 'clara' for $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$ ($\alpha\iota\grave{\xi}$) noticed above, is an instance of this; and when Aratus, speaking of Ophiuchus, says (1.84):

$\pi\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$ $\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$
 $\Sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$

Cicero (1.90) says:

"atque oculos urguet pedibus pectusque Nepai".

and when Aratus says (1.402):

$\text{Αυτὰρ ὑπ' αἰθομένην κέντρῳ τέρας μεγάλοιο}$
 $\Sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$

Cicero gives only (1.427):

"inde Nepae cernes propter fulgentis acumen..."

When/

When Aratus introduces the Horse with the words (1.205):

πέλωρ ἐπελήλαται ἵππος

Cicero substitutes for πέλωρ (1.209):

"iubam quatiens fulgore micanti."

He apparently regards the Greek words θηρίον, τεράος, πέλωρ as mere devices for emphasizing the noun to which they are attached; or, for filling out the line so that the important noun can be reserved for the beginning of a new line.

His treatment of δεινή in the following passage suggests that he regarded it merely as emphasizing γένυς Aratus says of Sirius (1.330):

ἀστὲρ βέβληται δεινή γένυς, ὅς ῥα μάλιστα
ὄξεία σειρίδει ----- ἢ δέ οἱ ἄκρη

and Cicero paraphrases (1.351):

"Nec toto spirans rabido de corpore flammam
Aestiferos validis erumpit flatibus ignes
Totus ab ore micans iacitur mortalibus ardor."

But at 1.46 he translates μέγα θαῦμα Δράκων by 'torvus Draco' (1.47) and in translating 'Aratus' (1.55):

----- οὐδ' οἷος κεφαλῇ ἐπιλάμπεται ἀστήρ
ἀλλὰ δύο κροτάφοις, δύο δ' ὄμμασιν· εἰς δ' ὑπένερθεν
ἔσχατιν ἐπέχει γένυος δεινόιο πελώρου

he says (1.59):

"....e trucibusque oculis duo fervida lumina flagrant
Atque/

"Atque uno mentum radianti sidere lucet."

That is, he omits $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ but adds 'trucibus' to 'oculis'. It is interesting to find in his prose translation the same vacillation between a literal rendering of $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and the substitution of a different, but equally emphatic, word. He says ("de Fin." II, Cl6):

"oculorum, inquit Plato, est in nobis
sensus acerrimus; quibus sapientiam
non cernimus. Quam illa ardentis amores
excitaret sui!"

The Greek of this last sentence is (Plato. Phaedr: C.65):

$\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ γὰρ ἂν παρῆχεν ἔρωτας - - - -

Yet in another place, (de Off. I, § 14) referring to the same passage in Plato, Cicero says:

"quae si oculis cerneretur, ut ait Plato,
mirabiles amores excitaret sapientiae."

In the few passages where Aratus has occasion amid his astronomical observations to speak of human beings Cicero's translation is severer in tone. Where Aratus suggests that men must be mistaken who assume that there are seven Pleiads, whereas only six stars are visible, (1.259) and says:

$\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\eta\theta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu,\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\alpha\lambda\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$

Cicero translates (1.265):

"At non interiisse putari convenit unam
Sed frustra temere a vulgo ratione sine ulla

Septem/

"Septem dicier, ut veteres statuere poetae."

Again, when Aratus emphasizes the brightness of Orion in rather indirect language (1.323):

--- μὴ κείνον ὅτις καθαρῇ ἐνὶ νυκτί
 ὕψου πεπτηῶτα παρέρχεται ἄλλα πεποίθοι
 οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδῶν προφέρεστερα θηήσασθαί

Cicero translates encouragingly (1.345):

"Quem qui suspiciens in caelum nocte serena
 Late dispersum non viderit, haud ita vero
 Cetera se speret cognoscere signa potesse."

Compare also his description of the five circles where his language is more vigorous than Aratus'. (A.529,C.548).

There are a few passages in which Cicero's meaning is obviously different from Aratus'. Does Cicero misunderstand Aratus, or does he think that he is correcting an inaccurate statement? We know that he regarded Aratus primarily as a poet and only secondarily as an astronomer. But he regarded himself as firstly a poet, secondly a translator, and only thirdly - if at all - as an astronomer. We should therefore expect him to translate rather than correct. Moreover, in the two passages where the discrepancy is most noticeable it seems clear that Cicero misunderstood Aratus. In one of them (1.332-42) Cicero says that the stars on the Dolphin's head lie between the North and the ecliptic circle and that the lower part of the Dolphin/

Dolphin lies between the ecliptic circle and the South,
i.e., the ecliptic circle cuts the Dolphin in two (1.333):

"Delphinus iacet haud nimio lustratu' nitore
praeter quadruplices stellas in fronte locatas...
Illae quae fulgent luces ex ore corusco
sunt inter partes gelidas Aquiloni' locatae
Atque inter spatium et laeti vestigia Solis.
At pars inferior iam pertractanda videtur
inter Solis iter simul inter flamina venti
viribus erumpit qua summi spiritus Austri."

But the dolphin is wholly North of the ecliptic circle.

The Greek is (Ar.316):

Δελφίς δ' οὐ μάλα πολλός, ἐπιτρέχει - - -
- - - - τὰ δὲ οἱ περὶ τέσσαρα κείται / γληνέα...
καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν Βορέω καὶ ἀλήσιος ἡελίοιο
μεσσηγύς κέχεται. τὰ δὲ νειόθι τέλλεται ἄλλα
πολλὰ μετὰξὺ νότοιο καὶ ἡελίοιο κελεύθου.

Modern commentators understand by τὰ μὲν ... τὰ δὲ not dif-
ferent parts of the Dolphin, but different constellations.
Some, including the Dolphin, lie North of the ecliptic
circle, and others South. This seems to be Aratus' meaning;
and Cicero has not understood it. Nor, apparently, does
he know enough about the stars to perceive that his inter-
pretation must be wrong.

In the second passage Cicero misses the point com-
pletely. Aratus is describing the order in which the con-
stellations set. He says that most of the Bird sets when
the/

the Maiden rises. (1.596):

οὐ μὲν θῆν ὀλίγους γαίης ὑπὸ νείατα βάλλει
 Παρθένος ἀντέλλουσα - - - - -
 σὺν τοῖς ὄρνιθος πρῶτα πτερὰ μέσφα παρ' αὐτὴν
 οὐρήν - - - - -

and later on, he says that the tip of the Bird's tail

sets at the same time as the Horse. (1.627):

τῆμος ἀποιχομένην κεφαλὴν μεταδύεται ἵππος,
 καὶ προτέρου ὄρνιθος ἐφέλκεται ἔσχατος οὐρήν.

In translating this latter passage, Cicero apparently regards the bird as merely explaining the position of the Horse, for he says (1.659):

"Hic se iam totum caecas Equus abdit in umbras
 quem rutila fulgens pluma praetervolat Ales."

In view of the earlier passage this must be a wrong interpretation.

We may note here a curious ambiguity of meaning in Cicero's version. In 1.460 he uses 'Nepas' for the Crab. Except in that one place, he always calls the Scorpion 'Nepas' and the Crab 'Cancer'. Such a confusing interchange of names is difficult to excuse - if indeed we have what Cicero really wrote.

But passages where Cicero's translation is clearly inadequate are few. Considering the poem as a whole, we may say, I think, that it is usually an accurate, and always/

ways an interesting, version. It may be called accurate because it means what the original means. Cicero seldom omits a statement or misrepresents it. But, by re-arranging the material and omitting what is irrelevant, he avoids the obscurity and confusion of some of Aratus' writing. He accepts the subject matter and tries to express it more clearly and more beautifully than Aratus. His work is primarily a poem and secondarily a translation; for it omits some of the characteristic faults of the original. Yet if we compare it with the versions of Germanicus and Avienus we see at once how much more faithful Cicero is to his original than are other Roman translators.

Is this faithfulness due to Cicero's conception of a translator's duty, or is it due to his inability to translate more freely? A passage like the story of Orion's⁴ suggests that he was willing to fly higher than Aratus when inspiration enabled him to do so.

This suspicion is strengthened when we turn to his translations from Aratus' "Prognostica" or Weather Signs, which he made, not in early youth, but when his powers were fully matured. Less than thirty lines of his version remain, but they are extremely interesting; for they are much less literal and more poetic than most of his translation/

lation of the "Phenomena". Compare with its original the lines which give the signs of coming wind and storm.

The Greek is (Aratus Progn: 177 (Phen:909)):

Σῆμα δὲ τοι ἀνέμοιο καὶ οἰδαίνουσα θάλασσα
 γινέσθω καὶ μακρὸν ἔπ' ἀγιάλοι βόωντες
 ἄκται τ' εἰνάλιοι ὅπ' οὐδ' οἱ ἤχησσαι
 γίνονται, κορυφαί τε βώμενα οὐρέος ἄκραι.

This is truly an enumeration of signs with little attempt at poetry. The same word βόων is used for both phenomena. But Cicero varies his vocabulary and makes vivid pictures out of the signs described. He says (1.177):

"Atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros
 Inflatum mare, cum subito penitusque tumescit,
 Saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore,
 Tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces;
 Aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis
 Ortus adhaerescit scopulorum saepe repulsus."

One cannot help comparing his version with Virgil's (Georg: I 356):

"Continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti
 Incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis
 Montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe
 Litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur."

Virgil elaborates the phenomenon on land - the wind in the trees - while Cicero concentrates his attention on the sea-shore. In this he is nearer to Aratus. But in his vivid pictorial treatment of the weather signs, he is much nearer to Virgil than to Aratus. As in his use/

use of the dactylic hexameter, Cicero improves greatly on Aratus, though he is inferior to Virgil.

In another passage, describing signs of coming rain, Cicero shows a far keener sense of what is poetic than Aratus. This is Aratus' way of saying 'frogs'. (Progn: 214 Phen: 945):

----- δειλαὶ γενεαί, ὕδροισιν ὄνειαρ,
αὐτόθεν ἔξ ὕδατος πατέρης βοόωσι γυρίων.

Even though the metre does forbid the use of *βάτραχα* such paraphrases are surely unjustifiable. Cicero realises their absurdity and renders the lines (1.216):

"Vos quoque signa videtis aquae dulces alumnae
Cum clamore paratis inanes fundere voces
Absurdoque sono fontes et stagna cietis."

The details are less graphic, but the description is far more poetic and more appropriate to its context. It is worth noticing how Virgil treats the subject. He strikes the mean between Aratus and Cicero. He shuns the extravagance of Aratus and is more definite than Cicero. He says (Georgics I 378):

"Et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam" -
no more, no less.

In the same passage of his translation we find Cicero elaborating a single line of Aratus' to an unusual extent./

tent. His intention is clearly to make poetry out of his material, but the repetition of the same ideas, without the addition of anything fresh, seems weak. Aratus says (Aratus Progn: 216, Phen: 948):

ἢ τρύξει ὄρθρινόν ἐρημίην ὀλοθυγών.

Cicero renders it (l.219):

"Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,
vocibus instat, et assiduas iacit ore querelas
cum primum gelidos rores Aurora remittit."

Whether the creature concerned is an owl, or a thrush, or a frog, or a nightingale - or something different from any of these - one cannot help feeling that Cicero had suffered from its ill-timed warnings.

Before leaving Cicero's translations into verse, there is one other aspect of them which I think it is worth while to consider. This is his use of the dactylic hexameter. Since he uses that metre for his translations from Homer and Aratus, it may be said with truth that it was largely through his translations that he contributed to the development of the Latin hexameter. This is an important result of his efforts as a translator.

CHAPTER VI.

Cicero's use of the dactylic hexameter.

In using the dactylic hexameter for his translations from Homer and Aratus Cicero is, of course, following his original. Though this metre was old to Aratus it was comparatively new to Cicero, for it had been little used in Latin literature. Ennius had introduced it into Latin literature rather more than a hundred years before Cicero used it.

Since Cicero translated the "Phenomena" in early manhood this translation is probably our earliest example of his hexameter verse. His handling of it shows far greater variety than Aratus' metre, which is composed almost entirely of dactyls in the first five feet. But Cicero would, of course, have been familiar with the Homeric hexameter from childhood; probably long before he became acquainted with Aratus. He must also have been familiar with Ennius; and it is interesting to compare his hexameters with those of the older Latin poet. They show a greater variety of rhythm and have more beauty. At times Cicero's verse is almost equal to Virgil's. This suggests that he may have had/

had a considerable influence on the development of the Latin hexameter and have helped to pave the way for Virgil.

It is difficult to compare Cicero closely with Ennius as regards metre because so few of the extant fragments of Ennius' "Annales" consist of more than two or three lines. Moreover, the three longest fragments (each containing less than twenty lines) deal with totally different subjects from Cicero's "Phenomena." But the following characteristics of Ennius' verse may be noted (1) The end of a clause usually coincides with the end of a line; and there is seldom a full stop or any other long pause in the middle of a verse. It follows that many verses end with a verb. (2) The word and the foot often coincide, and diaeresis is commoner than caesura, e.g. "sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret." (3) Archaic forms are common and "s" is often elided. (4) The last word of a verse is often polysyllabic. (5) Consecutive lines having the same rhythm are not uncommon. This makes the verse sound monotonous.

Cicero shares with Ennius the first of these characteristics - the simultaneous ending of clause and line. He also resembles him in having one favourite rhythm; but it is different from Ennius'. Ennius commonly puts a trisyllabic word at the end of the line e.g. "libenter"; but Cicero prefers
a/

a dissyllabic, preceded by a trisyllabic word e.g. "ignea venis;" "lumina clarae;" "nubibus atris." This means that the accent of the word coincides with the ictus of the verse and the rhythm of the line is emphasized in consequence. Cicero rarely uses a polysyllabic ending and isolation of the foot (i.e. word and foot coinciding) is not so characteristic of his verse. It is perhaps chiefly owing to this lack of diaeresis in the first four feet, and coincidence of word accent with verse ictus in the last two feet, that Cicero's verse sounds so much more like Virgil's than like Ennius'. Cicero follows Ennius in using archaic words and in eliding "s", but both usages are comparatively rare in his verse.

Let us consider these characteristics in a little more detail. With regard to the simultaneous ending of clause and line, it must be remembered that Aratus himself seldom allows one clause to run on into the next verse. If, as is sometimes suggested, (by Clavel, for example,) the object in writing a didactic poem describing the names and positions of the stars was to help men to commit them to memory, it is possible that Aratus deliberately aimed at making the ends of phrases and sentences coincide with the end of the verse. In that case Cicero might be defended on the grounds that he is reproducing an important characteristic of his original. But it is probable that he composed his verses in this way, not/

not so much from choice as from inability to handle the metre more freely. For his own original poems show the same characteristic.

But occasionally he succeeds in writing a passage in which no such rigidity is found; for example; the description of Orion's death ("Phenomena" 667.) Here we have poetry which might have been written by Virgil himself. Nor is it surprising to find Cicero's best verses among his translations if we accept Faguet's theory concerning this question. He maintains that Cicero's finest poetry is to be found in his translations because in them he is not striving to portray new subjects and ideas of his own, and is therefore able to give all his thought to the versification, and to expressing in poetry material supplied by others.

But apart from a few "purple patches" in the "Phenomena" Cicero is nearer to Ennius than to Virgil in his arrangement of sentences in relation to the verses.

The practice of placing at the end of the line the main verb, or a participle closing a phrase, clearly tends to make the versification monotonous if it is employed frequently, and involves rigidity in construction. Ennius seems to have found difficulty in avoiding it. In one passage of seventeen lines no less than eight end with a finite verb. Virgil, however, seldom has a verb at the end of the line. In a hundred lines/

lines of "Georgics III" (l. 19-63, 336-359, 475-505) only ten close with a verb or participle. Cicero comes between Ennius and Virgil. In a hundred lines of the "Phenomena" (l. 235-277, 357-389, 660-683,) thirty-four lines close with a finite verb or participle. This shows that his use of the hexameter is freer than Ennius' but not so free as Virgil's. (It may be noted that in his original poems in one passage of forty lines fifteen have verbs at the end.) This is in accordance with the view that his original poems are inferior to his translations in versification as well as in other ways.

As regards those pauses in the sense which come not at the end, but in the middle, of the line (the distribution of which can give so much variety to the rhythm of the verse,) Cicero shows a definite advance in technique. Few of Ennius' sentences (so far as one can judge from extant passages) ended in the middle of a line; and there are not many instances of other prolonged pauses in sense which do not coincide with the end of the verse. Cicero has more of such pauses than Ennius, but not nearly so many as Virgil. In the hundred lines of Cicero given above there are twenty pauses within the line, usually after the first foot or in the middle of the third. In none of these lines is there more than one pause. But in the hundred lines from the "Georgics III" given above there are forty pauses, most commonly after the/

the fourth foot (eleven times.) In three lines the pause comes after the fifth foot, where Cicero had^s none. Two pauses in the same line occur five times.

The elision of a final "s" is a striking characteristic of Ennius' verse e.g.

"suavis homo, facundu' suo contentu' beatus
scitu' secunda loquens in tempore commodu' verbum".

Cicero only elides an "s" occasionally, and in later life he described such elision as "subrusticum." But his use of it in the "Phenomena" is a strong link with Ennius, and marks his verse as coming between that of Ennius and Virgil. Examples are "torvu' draco" (1.47) "Orioni' iacet"(1.365); "lapsu' repente" (1.259).

Another indication of development in the hexameter is the gradual disappearance of the polysyllabic ending. The somewhat heavy character of Ennius' verse appears in his fondness for closing the line with a word containing four, or even five syllables. In a hundred lines of Ennius' hexameters I have found thirteen with this ending e.g.(1.57)

"Omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator."

and again (1.72) "Qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt!
O pater, O genitor, O sanguen disoriondum!"

Some of these lines are intentionally slow and heavy to suit their subject. e.g. (1.65).

"Maerentes flentes lacrimantes commiserantes"

and/

and again (7.9), "Denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque
elephanti
 Projiciunt se....."

If the shades of the Latin poets had ever been called upon to weigh their verses one against another, Virgil himself might well have dreaded to meet Ennius! But in a hundred lines of Cicero's "Phaenomena" I have found only three ending with a word of four or five syllables, all of them Greek proper names; while in a hundred lines of Virgil ("Aeneid XII"441...) there is only one line ending with a word of four syllables, which is also a Greek proper name. In a hundred lines of "Georgics III" two such lines occur, ending with "elephanto" and "hymenaeos" respectively; both Greek words.

Though he practically discarded polysyllabic endings Cicero's verse is heavier than Virgil's. A comparison of the same passages from Cicero and Virgil (Cic: Phen: 235-277; 357-389; 660-683: Virg: Georg. III: 19-63; 336-359; 475-505) shows that Cicero employs fewer dactyls than Virgil. In these hundred lines Cicero has a hundred and fifty-two dactyls in the first four feet of the verse, and Virgil a hundred and seventy-five. (But Cicero seldom uses the spondaic ending which was so much affected by the Alexandrine poets and some of their Roman imitators.) Virgil more often than Cicero has a dactyl in the first and fourth feet. He has a dactyl in the first foot sixty times and Cicero forty-nine times./

times. He has a dactyl in the fourth foot thirty-two times and Cicero only twenty. (In the second and third feet the proportion of dactyls is almost the same in both poets.)

Cicero's preference for the heavier measure (whether conscious or not) is also illustrated by the fact that in these hundred lines fifteen contain five spondees, whereas Virgil has only ten. Ennius has six of such lines in forty-three lines.

It has already been said that the rhythm of the closing words of the line is much less varied in Ennius' verse than in Virgil's. In a hundred lines of Ennius fifty close with a word of three syllables, and in one of the longer fragments six consecutive lines have this ending. But in a hundred lines of Virgil ("Georgics III") there are only twenty-seven such verses. It is not a favourite ending of Cicero's either. In a hundred lines of the "Phaenomena" there are only nineteen which have it.

Cicero, however, is nearer to Ennius than to Virgil in that he does have one rhythm at the close of his verse which is commoner than any other. His favourite ending is a dissyllabic word preceded by a trissyllabic word. It occurs in forty-six lines out of a hundred which were examined.

It is clear, therefore, that Cicero and Ennius both have far less variety in the rhythm of their verses than Virgil/

Virgil and that Cicero's verse is still somewhat rigid in construction and heavy in sound. But in his poetry the hexameter is becoming smoother and lighter and more rhythmical.

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CHAPTER VII.

Cicero's Translation from Plato's "Timaeus".

Of Cicero's translations into prose by far the longest fragments are three passages from Plato's "Timaeus". They are all that remains of Cicero's "de Universo", which was, presumably, a translation of the whole dialogue. _____ Cicero was the first Roman to make philosophical writing a branch of Latin literature and he was himself the greatest of Roman philosophical writers. He had few, if any philosophic ideas of his own, and based all his writings on Greek philosophy; usually with acknowledgments to his masters. In a passage of the "de Finibus" he explains that he considers it his duty to give his countrymen access to these great thinkers through Latin literature.

(de Fin: I § 10):-

"Ego vero, quoniam forensibus operis, laboribus, periculis non deservisse mihi videor praesidium in quo a populo Romano locatus sum, debeo profecto quantumcumque possum, in eo quoque elaborare ut sint opera, studio, labore meo doctiores cives mei.....et eis servire qui vel utrisque litteris (i.e. Graecis et Latinis) uti velint vel, si suas habent, illas non magno opere desiderent."

Of all the Greek philosophers, Plato was his favourite/

favourite and his writings abound in admiration and gratitude inspired by him. No greater proof of Cicero's interest in Platonic philosophy can be found than the fact that he translated this most difficult dialogue, the "Timaeus". His own writings are full of Platonic doctrines, but mostly of such as deal with ethics rather than metaphysics. But here we find him carefully, and for the most part accurately, translating some of Plato's most complicated metaphysics. The passages extant are translations of 27D - 47B (omitting 37C - 38C and 43B - 45B).

His translation is, on the whole, extraordinarily accurate, though the difficulty of much of the subject matter and the difference between the two languages make a literal rendering impossible. Take for example the following sentence, where the Greek participles, adjectives, adverbial phrase and cognate words must all be rendered differently in Latin. (30A)

βουληθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φλαύρον δὲ
μηδὲν εἶναι, κατὰ δύναμιν, οὕτω δὲ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὁρατὸν
παραλαβὼν οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμυλιῶς
καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας ἡγησάμενος
Cicero translates it (C.3.89):= ἐκείνο τούτου πάντως ἀμείνον.

"Nam cum constituisset deus bonis omnibus
explere mundum, mali nihil admiscere,
quoad natura pateretur, quicquid erat
quod in cernendi sensum caderet id sibi
adsumpsit, non tranquillum et quietum, sed
immoderate agitatum et fluitans, idque
ex/

ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit: hoc enim iudicabat esse praestantius".

Cicero tends to use shorter sentences than Plato and more direct language. His aim is always to put the argument as clearly and briefly as possible. Compare his translation of the following passage (29D):-

Λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἣν τινὰ αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ξυριστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος. τούτου δ' ἕκτος ὢν, πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ. ταύτην δὲ γενέσεως καὶ κόσμου μάλιστα ἄν τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρ' ἀνδρῶν φρονίμων ἀποδεχόμενος ὀρθότατα ἀποδέχοιτ' ἄν.

Cicero renders it (C.111):-

"Quaeramus igitur causam quae eum impulerit qui haec machinatus sit ut originem rerum et molitionem novam quaereret. Probitate videlicet praestabat; probus autem invidet nemini; itaque omnia sui similia generavit. Haec nimirum gignendi mundi causa iustissima."

The opening sentence is more cumbersome than Plato's; but this is intentional, since Cicero is setting forth the subject and wishes to make it impressive. The argument which follows is brief, and clear, and direct in language. Of course Cicero has lost something. He has lost the human and personal feeling of the Greek. The vigour and protest of

ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος

is entirely absent from

"probus/

"probus autem invidet nemini";

the personal note in γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη

is lost; and there is no appeal to the judgment of 'οἱ φρόνιμοι.' Nor is there any reservation corresponding to ὅτι μάλιστα.

This passage illustrates in an extreme form the general tendency of Cicero's translation of the dialogue. Considering the difficulty of the subjects treated Cicero is surely justified in his determination to make the main points of every argument and description as easy to grasp as he can and to regard all else as of secondary importance. We may not always agree with his interpretation of the Greek, but he never uses ambiguous language and seldom leaves us in doubt as to how he understands his original.

Sometimes Cicero omits a small point if he thinks that it confuses the main line of argument. In § 29B Plato argues that the possibility of attaining truth in a discourse must depend on the subject under discussion and that words must necessarily be like their subject -

διοριστέον, --- τοῦ μὲν οὖν μονίμου καὶ βεβαίου καὶ μετὰ νοῦ καταφανούς μονίμους (τοὺς λόγους) καὶ ἀμεταπτώτους, καθ' ὅσον τε ἀνελέγκτοις προσήκει λόγοις εἶναι καὶ ἀκινήτοις, τούτου δεῖ μηδὲν ἑλλείπειν. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνο ἀπεικασθέντος, ὄντος δὲ εἰκόνας, εἰκότας ἀπὸ λόγον τε ἐκείνων ὄντας.

Cicero translates (C.3.38):-

"Itaque, cum de re stabilē et immutabilē disputat, oratio talis sit qualis illa quae neque redargui neque convinci potest. Cum autem ingressa est imitata et efficta simulacra, bene agi putat si similitudinem veri consequatur."

Plato, in his desire for absolute accuracy, adds the qualification

"καθ' ὅσον τε ἀνελέγκτοις προσήκει λόγοις
εἶναι καὶ ἀκινήτοις."

Cicero omits it, thereby simplifying a somewhat complicated passage and leaving the essential points unobscured. So too in that passage intentionally complicated, where Plato expresses the difficulty of following the movements of the heavenly bodies and of

knowing κατὰ χρόνους οὕστινας ἕκαστοι
κατακαλύπτονται καὶ πάλιν ἀναφαινόμενοι
φόβους καὶ σημεία τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων
τοῖς οὐ δυναμένοις λογίεσθαι πέμπουσι --- (40c)

Cicero omits to translate

σημεία τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων

and says only (C.10. § 37):-

"quibusque temporibus a nostro aspectu oblitescant rursusque emersi terrorem incutiant rationis expertibus..."

No doubt he felt that it added little to φόβους and protracted/

protracted unnecessarily a sentence already sufficiently long and involved.

Occasionally Cicero allows himself to write a somewhat clumsy sentence in order to make his interpretation of the Greek perfectly clear. This is unusual. Generally his interpretation - whether right or wrong - is beautifully expressed and shows no evidence of being a translation. But in this passage (C.8.27) he writes:-

"Et corpus quidem caeli aspectabile effectum est, animus autem oculorum effugit optutum. Est autem unus ex omnibus, rationis concentrationisque, quae ἁρμονία Graece, sempiternarum rerum et sub intellegentiam cadentium compos et particeps; quo nihil ab optimo et praestantissimo genitore melius procreatum...."

The Greek is (36E):-

καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ σῶμα ὁρατὸν οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν,
αὐτὴ δὲ ἄσρατος μὲν, λογισμοῦ δὲ μετέχουσα
καὶ ἁρμονίας ψυχῆ, τῶν νοητῶν ἀεὶ τε ὄντων
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀρίστη γενομένη τῶν
γεννηθέντων.

Cicero construes the genitives

τῶν νοητῶν ἀεὶ τε ὄντων

in apposition to

λογισμοῦ καὶ ἁρμονίας

and is anxious to make this clear. (Modern editors construe them with ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου which seems more probably right, as they are then balanced by τῶν γεννηθέντων).

Besides/

Besides the necessity of making this point plain, Cicero had another difficulty to contend with - that of finding an adequate translation for ἀρμονία. Having rendered it by a rare word 'concentio', (possibly one which he invented for the occasion) he felt bound to justify it by adding the Greek word which it was intended to represent. A modern translator would have given the Greek in a footnote. Cicero had to incorporate all his comments in the text. Having, therefore, made these two points clear, he does not trouble about the elegance of the sentence, nor does he attempt to reproduce the effect of ἀρίστου, ἀρίστη (although sometimes he does reproduce verbal assonances; for example in C.3. § 8 quoted above εἰκόνας, εἰκότας is rendered 'simulacra....similitudinem.)

The passage just discussed is not the only one in which Cicero introduces the Greek word which he is translating and comments upon it. In chapter 4 § 13 he says:-

"Omnia autem duo ad cohaerendum tertium aliquid requirunt. Sed vinculorum id est optissimum atque pulcherrimum quod ex se atque de iis quae stringit quam maxime unum efficit. Id optime adsequitur, quae Graece ἀναλογία, Latine (audendum est enim, quoniam haec primum a nobis novantur) comparatio proportiove dici potest."

Again, (in chapter 6 § 17) speaking of the shape of the universe he says:-

"globosum/

"globosus^s est fabricatus quod σφαιροειδές
Graeci vocant, cuius omnis extremitas
paribus a medio radiis attingitur, idque
ita tornavit ut nihil effici posset ro-
tundius, nihil asperitatis ut haberet, nihil
offensionis, nihil incisum angulis, nihil
anfractibus, nihil eminens, nihil lacunosum..

All that Plato says is (33B):-

διὸ καὶ σφαιροειδές, ἕκ μέρους πάντη πρὸς
τὰς τελευταίας ἴσον ἀπέχον, κυκλωτέρης
δὲ τοῦ ἑτορνεύσαστο

The other phrases have nothing corresponding to them in the Greek, and must be taken as amplifications of Plato's meaning incorporated in the translation. Cicero seems to have invented the word 'globosus' and he evidently felt that it required a full description of its connotation. Again, when he is dealing with "middle terms" in mathematical progressions he says (C.7.23):-

"quas (partes) in intervallis ita locabat
ut in singulis essent bina media (vix enim
audeo dicere medietates quas Graeci
appellant; sed quasi ita dixerim intellegatur: erit enim planius):..

The objection is to the plural form. He has previously translated (32B)

τὰ δὲ στερεὰ μίᾳ μὲν οὐδέποτε, δύο δὲ
ἄσι μεσότητες συναρμόττουσιν

by a neat variation (C.5. § 15)

"solida autem omnia uno medio numquam duobus
semper copulentur".

In one passage he adds the Greek *κόσμος*, a word which he has already translated many times, in order to show that here there is a reference to the use of the word to mean adornment, an allusion which cannot be shown in translation. Again, when he finds it impossible to get an exact equivalent for the Greek word *δαίμονες*, he says (C.11. § 38):-

"quos Graeci *δαίμονες* appellant, nostri, ut opinor, Lares, si modo hoc recte conversum videri potest."

His hesitation seems justified when one reads, later, that these Lares include Jupiter and Juno and their kindred.

Sometimes Cicero adds a few words of his own to make Plato's meaning clearer. These slight additions may also be regarded as explanations which would be put in the form of footnotes in a modern translation. So, when Plato concludes his description of the creation of the planets with the words (39D):-

κατὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα ἐγεννήθη
τῶν ἀστροῦν ὅσα δὲ οὐρανοῦ πορευόμενα
ἔσχε τροπὰς - - -

Cicero translates (C.9. § 34):-

"Has igitur ob causas nata astra sunt quae per caelum penetrantia solstitiali se et brumali revocatione converterent".

Similarly (in C.2. § 5) he translates the Greek (28B)

σκέπτεον δ' οὖν - - - - πρότερον ἢν αἰ, γενέσεως
 ἀρχὴν ἔχων οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
 τινὸς ἀρξάμενος

by:-

"consideremus semperne fuerit nullo gener-
 atus ortu an ortus sit ab aliquo temporis
 principatu". (C.2. § 5)

Occasionally Cicero's painstaking efforts to make
 an obscure phrase or involved sentence easier to under-
 stand betrays a misinterpretation of the Greek. Where
 Plato says of the Creator addressing the newly created
 souls (41E)

εἶπεν αὐταῖς ὅτι - - - δέοι - - - σπαρείσθαι αὐτὰς εἰς
 τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάσταις ἑκάστα ὄργανα χρόνου
 φύσει ζῶων τὸ θεοσεβέστατον - - - -
 the ὄργανα χρόνου

are surely the planets. But Cicero translates (C.12. § 43):-

"ostendit...satis autem et quasi sparsis
 animis fore ut certis temporum intervallis
 oriretur animal.."

(The phrase ὄργανα χρόνου occurs again in 42D, where he
 translates it with studied accuracy (C13):-

"reliquas mundi partes quae sunt ad
 spatiorum temporis significationem notae
 constitutae".)

So too, when Cicero re-casts the long sentence beginning

(42B) καὶ ὁ μὲν εὖ τὸν προσήκοντα - - - -

he gives a slightly different meaning from the Greek.

Plato/

Plato says that the erring soul must first begin to follow the revolution of the same that is within him and will thereby subdue his passions to reason. After that he will succeed in reaching his first state

οὐ πρότερον --- λήξοι πρὶν τῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ὁμοίου
περιόδῳ --- συνεπισπόμενος --- λόγῳ κρατήσας
εἰς τὸ τῆς πρώτης --- ἀφίκοιτο εἶδος ἐξέως.

But Cicero's translation implies that he will only begin to follow the revolution of same after he has subdued his passions and reached his first state. (C.12.§45):-

"neque terminum malorum prius aspiciet quam illam sequi coeperit conversionem quam habebat in se ipse eiusdem et similis innatam et insitam. Quod tum eveniet cum illa quae rationis expertia insederint demique ratione depulerit et ad primam atque optimam affectionem animi pervenerit."

It may be noted here that there are several passages where Cicero seems to have been conscious of his liability to misinterpret; for he omits a whole phrase, presumably because he was uncertain of its meaning. Such passages are 33A where Plato says that the Creator used up all the four elements in making the universe and left nothing over, reflecting that

πάνθ' ὅσα δυνάμεις ἰσχυρὰς ἔχει περιστάμενα
ἐξῶθεν καὶ προσπίπτοντα ἀκείρως λύει ---

Cicero leaves ἀκείρως untranslated. So too, in section

36D where Plato describes the division of the circle of
Other into seven circles, Cicero omits

οὐσῶν ἑκατέρων τριῶν, κ, ἐν λόγῳ φερομένου.

In 40B Plato says that each star was given only two
movements and was bereft of the other five

ἵν' ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον γένοιτο ὡς ἄριστον.

Cicero omits the final clause.

There is one curious omission which it seems hard
to explain. In describing the destiny of the soul which
has lived a good life Plato says (42B):-

καὶ ὁ μὲν εὖ τὸν προσήκοντα χρόνον βίου,
πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συννόμου πορευθεὶς οἴκησιν
ἀστρου, βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ συνήθη ἔξει.

Cicero (C.12.45) gives only:-

"atque ille qui recte atque honeste curri-
culum vivendi a natura datum confecerit ad
illud astrum quocum aptus fuerit revertetur".

At this point he loses interest in the good soul's fate.

As regards language, Cicero is consistent in his use
of special terms. Plato has three words for the universe
κόσμος, οὐρανός κ τὸ πᾶν (or similar phrases, e.g. τὸ
περιέχον πάντα) and he says at the beginning of the dis-
cussion (28B)

ὁ δὲ πᾶς οὐρανός - ἢ κόσμος ἢ καὶ ἄλλο
 ὅ τί ποτε ὀνόμαζομενος μάλιστα ἂν δέχοιτο,
 τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὀνομάσθω -

thus stating clearly that the terms are to be interchangeable. Yet Cicero uses 'caelum' for οὐρανός and 'mundus' for κόσμος, and never translates κόσμος by any other word than 'mundus', though once he translates οὐρανός by 'mundus'. The exception occurs in a passage (31A) where Plato compares the universe with a hypothetical twin, and the use of two words for 'universe' is convenient. In this passage he also uses 'caelum' once where Plato has τὸ περιέχον πάντα; but throughout the rest of the dialogue he translates τὸ πᾶν and its variations by 'universum' or 'universitas' (once, also, by 'haec' and once by 'omnia').

He translates νοῦς by 'intelligentia', and words akin to νοῦς by words akin to 'intelligentia' τὰ νοῦτα becomes 'sub intelligentiam cadentia', or 'qui ratione intellegentur'; οὐδὲν ἀνοητὸν becomes 'nihil inintelligens'; κατὰ νοῦσιν ^(sc. ἐστὶ) becomes 'intelligi' ^(sc. est). (There are only two exceptions, where νοῦς is rendered 'mens').

Similarly λόγος is always translated by 'ratio' except where it means 'discourse' - when it becomes 'oratio'. Even in his translations of δημιουργός he has one common basis. He renders it 'is qui aliquod munus/

munus efficere molitur', 'effector', 'effectrix', 'efficientes'. (The only exception is the translation 'artifex', which occurs once.) δημιουργεῖν is translated by 'efficere'.

But just as Cicero uses one Latin word for one Greek term where such consistency is essential, or at least helpful, he is careful to avoid rigid adherence to one translation where the same Greek word is used in slightly different senses. For κύκλος Cicero uses 'orbis', 'cursus', 'rotundus ambitus', according to the exact sense; for φορά he has 'motus', 'motis', 'cursus' and 'orbis'; for περιφορά he has 'motus' and 'conversio'; and for περιόδος 'conversio', and, more commonly, 'circum-itus' or 'ambitus'.

The consideration of Cicero's use of particular words brings us to what is perhaps the strongest characteristic of his translation of the dialogue. Careful as he is to make the arguments easy to follow and his own interpretation of Plato's meaning perfectly clear, to use rigid translations of special words where this produces the greater accuracy, to vary his translation when the meaning of the Greek word varies; when none of these considerations applies, he indulges a passion for pairs of synonyms, for the translation of one Greek word by two Latin ones. Examples are/

are to be found in the passages already quoted, and others occur in nearly every paragraph. In translating Plato (42D)

διαθεσμοθετήσας δὲ πάντα αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, ἵνα
τῆς ἐπειτα εἴη κακίας ἑκάστων ἀνδρείος ...

he says:-

"Quae cum ita designasset seseque, si quid postea fraudis aut vitii evenisset extra omnem culpam causamque posuisset....".

'fraudis aut vitii' for κακίας; and 'extra culpam causamque' for ἀνδρείος. Similarly where Plato completes his genealogy of the gods with the words (41A):-

πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν

Cicero renders the sentence (C.11. § 39):-

"reliquos quos fratres agnatosque usurp^ari atque appellari videmus".

Compare also his translation of (39D) the words:-

ἔστι δ' ὅμως, οὐδὲν ἤττον κατανοῆσαι δυνατόν
ὡς ὅτι γε τέλος ἀριθμὸς χρόνου τὸν τέλος
ἐνιδυτὸν πληροῖ τότε ὅταν ...

Cicero says (C.9. § 33):-

"ac tamen illud perspici et intellegi potest absoluto perfectoque numero temporis absolutum annum perfectumque tum compleri ... cum..."

He translates δεσμόν by 'nodum vinclumque', φιλία
by/

φθίσειν

by 'concordi quasi amicitia et caritate', ^λ by 'consumptione et senio'; νόμῳ by 'veteri legi morique'; θηρῶν φυσίν by 'figuras pecudum et ferarum'. Verbs and participles are duplicated as we have seen. Other instances are 'confecit et peragravit' for περιέλθῃ; 'perpolerint et absolverent' for ἀπεργασμένοι; 'confecti et consumpti' for τρώφην ἐξικμασμένην. Sometimes adjectives are given two Latin equivalents: ὄρατόν is translated by 'aspici et videri'; ἀμέριστον by 'invidiam atque simplicem'; σωματοειδές by 'concretum atque corporeum'.

This use of pairs of words is clearly not due to the impossibility of finding an exact equivalent in one Latin word, and it is noteworthy that when Cicero professes to hesitate over the translation of a Greek word he does not render it by two Latin ones. He translates ἁρμονία by 'concentio', σφαιροειδές by 'globosum', δαίμονες by 'Lares' and ἀναλογία by 'comparatio proportiove' (not -que).

In view of this tendency to use pairs of words it is perhaps worth noting that occasionally Cicero uses only one word to translate two in his original. He translates πῆξον καὶ χερσαῖον (sc. ζώων εἶδος) by 'terrestre' and καθῶς ἀρμσθεν καὶ ἔχον εἶ by 'ratione vinctum'.

In/

In dealing with metaphors and similes Cicero seldom hesitates to translate his original literally and without comments. Indeed he could hardly do otherwise having once undertaken a translation of this dialogue. But he shows a definite tendency to treat the Creator and the created gods with less familiarity than Plato does, especially when speaking of them in their relation to mortals. So he writes (C.2.§ 6):-

"atque illum quidem quasi parentem huius universitatis invenire difficile; et cum iam inveneris, indicare in vulgus nefas".

where Plato has:-

τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ πάντος
εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντα
ἀδύνατον λέγειν (28c).

Besides the apologetic "quasi", the meaning and position of 'nefas' is stronger than ἀδύνατον, and perhaps 'vulgus' is more contemptuous than πάντας. And again, where Plato says that, after the Creator had sown the seed of mortal souls:-

τοῖς νέοις παρέδωκε θεοῖς;

Cicero translates:-

"dis, ut ita dicam, iunioribus permisit".

So too, where the Creator is made to say of these souls (41C):-

καθ' ὅσον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀθανάτοις ἁμύνουμον εἶναι προσήκει

Cicero/

Cicero renders it:-

"in quibus qui tales creabuntur ut deorum
immortalium quasi gentiles esse debeant".

(C.11. § 41). Cicero's hesitation in using 'gentiles' is doubtless due, in part, to the fact that the word connotes kinship more definitely than ὁμώνυμος.

He does not like to speak directly of the Creator as performing what seem to be undignified tasks. Where Plato says without hesitation (39B):-

φῶς ὃ θεὸς ἐνῆψεν - - - ὃ δὲ νῦν κεκλήκαμεν ἥλιον,

Cicero translates (C.9. § 31):-

"deus ipse solem quasi lumen accendit".

It is not, therefore, surprising to find that he refuses to translate literally (41D) :-

καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον κρατῆρα, ἐν ᾧ τὴν τοῦ παντός ψυχὴν κεραννύς ἐμισγες, τὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ὑπόλοιπα κατέχευε.

He says discreetly (C.12. § 42):-

"deinde ad temperationem superiorem revertit..."

In connection with Cicero's treatment of the gods it is noteworthy that he translates δαίμονες by 'Lares' and gives the Roman theogony in place of the Greek. That is, he gives the Greek gods and goddesses their corresponding/

corresponding Latin names and where Plato gives the children of Ocean and Tethys as:-

Φόρκυς, Κρόνος τε καὶ Ρέα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων

(40E) Cicero gives only Saturn and Ops (C.11. § 39).

Returning to the discussion of similes it may be noted that Cicero will not accept the literal use of γόμοι in the creation of the human body. Plato says that in order to make human beings the gods took the immortal seed and portions of the four elements and

εἰς ταῦτόν τε λαμβανόμενα συνεκόλλων οὐ τοῖς ἀλύτοις οἷς αὐτοὶ συνείχοντο δεσμῶσι ἀλλὰ διὰ σμικρότητα ἁραιῶσι πυκνοῖς γόμοις συντήκοντες;

(43A) which Cicero renders (C.13. § 47):-

"easque (particulas) inter se copulabant, haud isdem vinculis quibus ipsi erant colligati, sed talibus quae cerni non possent propter parvitatem, crebris quasi cuneolis inliquefactis.... talis quae... quasi....."

Similarly we find that while in this passage he does not hesitate to use 'particulae' for the portions of earth, air, fire and water (as a translation of μόρια) when these ^{μόρια} are living creatures he says 'quasi particula quaedam'. The Greek is (30C)

οὗ ἐστὶ τὰλλα ξῶα ---- μόρια

and Cicero translates (C.4. § 11):-

"cuius/

"cuius ergo omne animal quasi particula
quaedam est...."

He has an interesting translation of the Greek

οἶον χῖ . Plato says, in describing the process where-
by the universe was created :-(36c)

ταύτην οἶον τὴν σύστασιν πᾶσαν διπλῆν κατὰ
μῆκος σχίσας μέσῃν πρὸς μέσῃν ἑκατέραν
ἀλλήλαις οἶον χῖ προσβαλῶν - - -

36c) Cicero translates (C.7. § 24):-

"Hanc igitur omnem coniunctionem duplicem
in longitudinem diffidit mediaeque accomodans
mediam quasi decussavit".

The verb 'decussare' is derived from 'decussis' meaning
the number ten. Possibly the verb is invented by Cicero
- cf 'globosus' for σφαιροειδές - but at all events he
has changed the Greek simile into one which will be fam-
iliar to his Roman readers.

Has Cicero succeeded in presenting this great dia-
logue to readers of his translation? I think we may say
without hesitation that he has - so far as the subject
is concerned. He does, as a rule, present Plato's meaning
clearly, accurately and eloquently. It is not hard to
understand such omissions and elaborations as occur in
his translation. They are the result of thoughtfulness,
not of carelessness. But while he shows his readers what
Plato/

Plato said, he does not show them how he said it. The style is his own; and his writing is less bold, less human, less crowded with detail than Plato's - in a word, less vivid.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cicero's Prose Translations (other than the "Timaeus".)

Cicero translated many passages from Plato in addition to the "Timaeus". He translated the whole of the "Protagoras", though only four short fragments of his translation remain. Other passages from Plato occur in his philosophical works and were apparently translated only for the purpose of illustration. There is no reason to suppose that they are extracts from a translation of the whole dialogue. To these must be added many short passages translated from Aristotle, Epicurus and the Stoic philosophers, and a translation of Xenophon's "Oeconomicus", parts of which are still extant; besides several passages from other parts of Xenophon's writings.

The short passages translated from Plato show more clearly than the "de Universo" how often Cicero aims at translating the important points in the argument and either omits unessential details or generalises Plato's particulars. The result is that where in Plato we get a life-like painting of scenes and characters and events Cicero gives only a colourless sketch. Take for example the/

the incident in the "de Senectute" (C.11,111) where Cato tells Laelius and Scipio that it is character, and not senile decay, which makes old age grievous to some men. This passage, though not openly ascribed to Plato (Republic A32 § D), is too close to it to escape criticism as a translation.

Cicero gives the essential points of the argument though he omits much of the detail. Where Socrates asks about the path of old age (1.328):-

ποῖά τις ἔστι, τραχέια καὶ χαλεπή, ἢ ῥαδία καὶ εὐπόρος

Laelius says only:-

"volumus...istuc quo pervenisti videre quale sit".

Cato gives no details of youthful pleasures:-

περὶ τῆς ἀφροδισίου καὶ περὶ πότους τε καὶ εὐωχίας

but generalises them in the one word 'voluptatibus'.

The reported conversation with Sophocles has no counterpart in Cato's words, and the conclusions to be drawn from it are paraphrased only. One cannot help regretting that, while Cicero was inspired to give to his countrymen Plato's thoughts and arguments, (and, moreover, in the form of dialogue), that he was often satisfied, when he had extracted the line of argument and reproduced that, to omit/

omit or generalise the details which make Plato's portrayal of a subject so vivid and impressive.

There is another passage from the Republic - in many respects well rendered - where Cicero seems to hesitate between fidelity to his original and his own inclination to omit unessential detail. This is the story of Gyges and the magic ring. Cicero's version (de Off: III C.9) gives a swift, vigorous narrative, yet lacking in much of the detail which Plato supplies. It is not essential to know (what Plato tells us) that Gyges was a shepherd who tended the flocks of a king of Lydia, nor that, when he rejoined his companions after obtaining the ring, he found them gathered together to discuss their monthly report to the king on the state of his flocks; or even that Gyges went to the palace by getting himself chosen to take the report to the king. He was scarcely in need of such an excuse. Nevertheless, these details give reality and plausibility to the fairy tale. Cicero ignores some of them and introduces others in awkward places; being torn between faithful translation and omission of unnecessary additions. He begins the story in outline:-

"Hinc ille Gyges inducitur a Platone, qui,
cum terra discessisset...."

Plato/

Plato begins (359d):-

---- εἶναι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιμένα θητεύοντα
παρὰ τῷ τότε Λυδίας ἄρχοντι, ὄμβρου δὲ κτλ.

After describing how Gyges got possession of the ring

Cicero says:-

"quem ut detraxit ipse induit (erat autem
pastor); tum in concilium se pastorum recepit".

And, after describing how Gyges discovered the ring's
magic power, he continues:-

"Itaque hac opportunitate annuli usus,
reginae stuprum intulit, eaque adiutrice
regem dominum interemit; sustulit quos
obstare arbitratur; nec in his eum
facinoribus quisquam potuit videre. Sic
repente annuli beneficio rex exortus est
Lydiae".

The disjointed character of the narrative is obvious.

The parenthesis:-

"erat autem regius pastor"

coming in the middle of the action, is extremely awkward;
and the last sentence is quite out of place - forming an
anticlimax. Both would have been better omitted. For,
as Cicero tells the story, the fact that Gyges was the
king's shepherd is pointless, since Gyges is not sent to
the palace by the shepherds as their representative. But
Cicero apparently begins the story as a mere illustration
intending to give only the outline; and then, feeling
that/

that he is departing too far from his original, drags in certain points in Plato's narrative which he had previously omitted. As a result his story is far less skilfully told than Plato's.

But it should be noted, in justice to Cicero, that there is one short story translated by him where he is more successful. It comes from Xenophon (Oec: IV 20) and is an anecdote about Lysander the Spartan visiting the gardens of Cyrus, where the prince was wont to labour with his own hands. Cicero tells it well and renders it accurately though freely.

Returning for a moment to Cicero's translations from Plato, we find an interesting passage from the Republic (IX 571 B), highly characteristic of Plato in thought and language, and it is worth noticing how Cicero deals with it (de Div: I 29). Plato is describing the havoc wrought in a man's soul when he is asleep by evil dreams arising from his intemperate revels before retiring to rest. He contrasts them with the inspiring visions of the temperate man who has feasted his soul on intellectual food. The three parts of the soul are each endowed with life and personality and their activities are described with great dramatic power. The passage would/

would test the resources of any translator into any language. That Cicero has succeeded in giving so spirited and eloquent a rendering is proof of his ability, while his version reveals his chief characteristics as a translator.

His personification of the three parts of soul is not so vivid as Plato's. Cicero does not speak of them as tamed or soothed, like animals. Where Plato says of τὰ θηριώδες that it is:-

λελυμένον τε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον δίσχυνης καὶ φρονησέως

Cicero has only:-

"a mente et ratione vacua"

So too

(τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν) παρέχῃ θόρυβον τῷ βελτίστῳ χαίρον
ἢ λυπούμενον

is rendered by:-

"praestringere aciem mentis solet".

Though maintaining the sequence of ideas, Cicero leaves out some phrases where he finds that Plato's abundance of words is becoming unwieldy in Latin. He omits:-

ἀλλ' ἴα αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μόνον καθαρὸν σκοπεῖν
καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι τοῦ δισθάνεσθαι ὃ μὴ οἶδεν, ἢ
τι τῶν γεγονότων ἢ ὄντων ἢ καὶ μελλόντων:

which/

which is not absolutely essential as it is only an expansion of the preceding sentence:-

ὅπως ----- μὴ παρέλξη θόρυβον τῷ βελτίστῳ,

and is summed up at the end of the sentence in the words:-

οἶσθ' ὅτι τῆς τ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ μάλιστα
ἀπτεται -----

Cicero uses pairs of words to translate one Greek word - 'qui salubri et moderato cultu atque victu ^{quiete et tranquillitate} (ὕγιεινῶς) ΤΙΣ ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σωφρόνως) - 'ea parte animi, quae mentis et consilii est, agitata et erecta' (for τὸ λογιστικὸν μὲν ἐγείρας) - 'illa etiam tertia parte animi sedata atque restincta (for τὸ θυμοειδὲς πραύνας)

In one place Cicero substitutes for Plato's metaphor a metaphor of his own - his favourite metaphor of fire and light. Plato says:-

----- ἡσυχίας μὲν τῷ δύο εἶδη, τὸ τρίτον δὲ
----- ἀναπαύηται

which Cicero renders:-

"illa etiam tertia parte animi, in qua rarum existit ardor, sedata atque restincta, tum eveniet....ut illa tertia pars rationis et mentis eluceat".

His use of 'tertia pars' twice in the same sentence for two different parts of the soul is not elegant though the meaning is clear. He shows a similar lack of resourcefulness in using the phrase 'mens et ratio' three times/

times where Plato has:-

τὸ λογιστικόν, - αἰσχύνης καὶ φρονήσεως, - κ.,
ἐν ᾧ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐγγίγνεται.

But the repetition 'immoderato tumefacta potu.....

immoderateque iactari' is, of course, a deliberate

translation of Plato's

μέθης πλησθῆν - - - ἀποπιμπλάει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἦθη.

At the end of his translation Cicero has the interesting remark:-

"haec verba ipsa Platonis expressi".

Whether this implies that he is well satisfied with his rendering, or whether it is an apology for what appeared to him an extravagant allegory, I am not perfectly sure.

In the other translations from Plato and Xenophon only one point seems to me of particular interest. This is Cicero's method of treating certain common Greek words and Greek ideas by correspondingly family Latin ones.

Where Plato describes how the democratic city is apt to abuse its councillors unless they conform to its wishes he says (Republic § 562D):-

δημοκρατουμένη πόλις - - - τοὺς ἄρχοντας - - -
κολάζει λιπιωμένη ὡς μικροὺς τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικούς.

Cicero translates (de Republica I 43):-

"inexplebiles populi fauces...magistratus
et/

"et principes...insequitur, insimulat arguit; praepotentes, reges, tyrannos vocat".

Cicero's feelings on this subject almost run away with him!

In the same passage for the Greek:

οἱ μὲν νέοι πρῆσβυτέροις ἀπεικάζονται καὶ διαμίλλωνται καὶ ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν ἔργοις

we find the more dignified and typically Roman rendering:

"adolescentes ut senum sibi pondus assument"

Again, where Cicero ascribes certain patriotic tenets to the Stoics (de Fin: III 19) the words:-

ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλων

are rendered:-

"pro re publica".

His translations from the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers are illustrations of their beliefs, and definitions of terms used by them. Most of these are very accurate and eloquent translations. He translates the Stoic definition of:-

ὀργή — ἐπιθυμία τιμωρίας τοῦ σοκοῦντος
ἡδίκηκέναι οὐ προσηκόντως

by the words:- (Tusc: IV § 20)

"ira...libido poeniendi eius qui videatur laesisse injuria"

But/

But he could not always find words to express the Greek so literally. In many of these translations he had to coin new words. He says in one passage (Tus: IV § 25):-

"Similiterque ceteri morbi, ut gloriae cupiditas, ut mulierositas, ut ita appellem eam quae Graece φιλογύνησις dicitur"

and in another (Tusc: IV § 34):-

"huius igitur virtutis contraria est vitiositas (sic enim malo quam malitiam appellare eam quam Graeci κακίαν appellant: nam malitia certi cuiusdam vitii nomen est; vitiositas, omnium."

Many of the new words invented by Cicero became incorporated in the language, and we have now to consider what is perhaps the most important aspect of Cicero's translations - the way in which the Latin tongue was enriched through his translations of Greek philosophical terms.

CHAPTER IX.

Cicero as the Creator of a Philosophic Language.

Cicero was the first Roman to attempt philosophical writing, and, in accordance with the practice of his nation, he never aimed at originality, but set about translating the works of the Greek philosophers, or giving their ideas in his own words and setting. Other branches of Roman literature had developed in the same way. Epic poetry had its origin in Ennius' translation of Homer; tragedy in translations of Sophocles and Euripides made by Ennius, Naevius and Livius; comedy in Plautus' translations from Menander and other Greek comic poets. It was to Cicero that the Romans owed their first and greatest philosophical writings.

This new branch of literature demanded, as Cicero saw, a new philosophical language. His own words about the relative richness of the Greek and Latin language are worth quoting. He maintains that Latin is no poorer than Greek and that both languages had to create philosophical terms. He says (de Fin: I § 10):-

"sed ita sentio et saepe disserui Latinam
linguam non modo non inopem, ut vulgo
putarent/

putarent, sed locupletiolem etiam esse quam Graecam. Quando enim nobis, vel dicam aut oratoribus bonis aut poetis, postea quidem quam fuit quem imitarentur ullus orationis vel copiosae vel elegantis ornatus defuit?"

But he makes it clear that it is through his own writings that this richness has been revealed and even created. The fact that he puts orators before poets in the passage just quoted is sufficient proof. Moreover, he says (de Nat: deorum I § 8):

"complures enim Graecis institutionibus eruditē ea quae didicerant cum civibus suis communicare non poterant quod illa quae a Graecis accepissent Latine dici posse diffiderent. Quo in genere tantum profecisse videmur ut a Graecis ne verborum quidem copia vinceremur."

But, though Cicero did undoubtedly create a new language of philosophy (as has been shown by the French scholar, Victor Clavel, in his dissertation 'de M. Tullii Ciceronis Graecorum interprete'), this does not mean that he invented a great number of new words. He did invent some words, as he himself confesses (e.g., 'proportio', 'medietates'), but he was exceedingly cautious about coining words. Clavel (Part II, c. VII, p. 280, 289) ascribes this to the fact that his readers, the educated Romans of his day, would not have taken kindly to new words, and thinks that Cicero was acutely conscious of this. Personally, I think that Cicero was influenced more by his own sensibilities than by his readers.² It seems probable/

probable that his own good taste made him shrink from creating a new, technical jargon. He finds it necessary to defend innovations in language, at some length, in the third book of the "de Finibus" (§ 3). He says:

"Stoicorum autem non ignores quam sit subtile vel spinosum potius disserendi genus idque cum Graecis, tum magis nobis, quibus etiam verba parienda sunt imponendaque nova rebus novis nomina. . . .

(§ 5) . . . Quod si in ea lingua quam plerique uberiores putant concessum est ut doctissimi homines de rebus non pervagatis inusitatis verbis uterentur, quanto id nobis magis est concedendum qui ea nunc primum audemus attingere? Et, quoniam saepe diximus. . . nos non modo non vinci a Graecis verborum copia sed esse in ea etiam superiores, elaborandum est ut hoc non in nostris solum artibus sed etiam in illorum ipsorum assequamur."

Cicero's method of creating a philosophical language was to combine old words into new phrases and to give a new meaning to familiar words. We may take as illustrations of such combinations of old words the expressions 'sub intelligentiam cadentia' and 'in cernendi sensum cadentia' by which he translates the Platonic terms

'τὰ νοητά' and 'τὰ ὁρατά' respectively. He renders

"τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικὰ, τὰ δὲ ποιητικὰ"

"bonorum alia sint ad illud ultimum pertinentia . . . alia autem efficientia,"
(de Fin: III § 54)

'πᾶσα ἡ κατ' ἀρετὴν πρᾶξις' becomes 'actiones honestae.'

Among/

Among the vast number of familiar words to which he gave a new, specialised meaning in the course of his philosophical writings, we may take as examples 'materia', 'species', 'scientia', 'fides', used to translate the Platonic terms ἰδέα, ἰδέα, ἐπιστημὴ and πίστις respectively, and 'corpuscula' used for the ἄτομοι of Democritus.

In writing on ethics he gives a special meaning to 'gaudium' and 'laetitia' when he uses them to translate χαρά and ἡδονή. The Greek is χαρὰ, εὐλογος ἔπαρσις. ἡδονή, ἄλογος ἔπαρσις. Cicero says (Tusc: IV § 13):

"Nam cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur . . . laetitia, gestiens vel nimia dici potest."

If we turn to the consideration of those words which are not found in Latin literature before Cicero wrote his philosophical treatises, and which, it seems probable, were invented by him, or, at any rate, made familiar, and incorporated into literary language through his use of them, we find two types of words, especially common. The first consists of abstract nouns, e.g. 'colligatio', 'universitas', 'animatio', 'circumvectio', 'commentatio' (for μελετή), 'aequilibritas'. The second consists of adjectives with the termination -bilis, e.g. 'indissolubilis' (ἀλύτοι), 'comprehensibile' (καταληπτόν) aspectabile/

'aspectabile' (ὄρατόν) 'aestimabile' (ἀξιόν), (Clavel gives these and other examples).

There is another way in which Cicero seems to me to have made a definite contribution to the creation of a philosophic language. I refer to his rigid use of one and the same term for one philosophical concept. I have commented on this in discussing his translation of the "Timaeus". Cicero always translates 'κόσμος', by 'mundus', and (with two exceptions) 'νοῦς' with its kindred words by 'intelligentia' and its kindred words. That this consistency is deliberate is shown by the fact that where he is not translating a strictly philosophical term he uses a different Latin equivalent. So, in rendering "Republic" IX 571 B he translates 'ἄνοια' by 'temeritas'. Had 'ἄνοια' occurred in the "Timaeus", I am convinced that Cicero would not have translated it by 'temeritas' there.

In the words of J. S. Phillimore:

"Cicero taught Philosophy to speak Latin; and through Latin she learned to express herself in the modern languages, . . . and so he spoke to no small purpose; for it is largely owing to him that our minds are articulate."

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion.

In the preceding chapters I have attempted to describe Cicero's translations and to discover what are his chief characteristics as a translator.

We find, as I said at the beginning, that his method of translating varies according to his purpose. Sometimes he give the original in outline only, ignoring those details which gave to the Greek its special charm and character; but preserving the main thought or line of argument. Of this kind are many short passages from Homer and Plato.

Sometimes his translation is extremely free, and alters the whole tone of the original. This is true of the two longer passages from Homer and much of Aratus' poem. These were not, originally, intended to be used as illustrations of a particular point and Cicero indulged his own taste and imagination in turning them into Latin verse.

Where he is not literal, he favours a rather more severe and logical presentation of his subject than the Greek/

Greek writers, and where he amplifies his original, he does not add subtle descriptive touches, but obvious epithets and straight forward explanations. In particular, we must note in his translation from Aratus' "Phenomena" the lavish addition of words connoting light, and in all his verse translations a tendency to translate a vague word or phrase by a more precise one. In his prose translations we note especially the frequent translation of one Greek word by two Latin synonyms.

But, in general, his translations keep close to their originals, and such omissions and additions as occur can be accounted for without difficulty. Broadly speaking, Cicero omits what is irrelevant or superfluous, if by so doing he can make the sense clearer, and adds explanations where he thinks that a Roman reader might not be able to follow the Greek writer's meaning.

His language is usually simple and nearly always eloquent. He coined few new words, either in prose or verse translation; but by combining familiar words into new phrases, by giving a philosophical import to familiar words, by the consistent use of terms, and by careful definitions, he made Latin a vehicle for philosophical expositions.

His use of the dactylic hexameter is lighter, smoother, and/

and more varied than Ennius', and may well have had considerable influence in developing that metre which was perfected by Virgil.

It must be clear to everyone that the art of translating is extremely difficult and demands for its execution a great master, if not a genius. What satisfies one person may not seem adequate to another, and it is always easier to criticise the faults of a translation than to appreciate its virtues. We ought, therefore, to exercise the utmost caution in criticising the translations of a great writer like Cicero. We must remember that in turning Greek literature into Latin, Cicero was translating from a language which he wrote and spoke almost as fluently as his own into the language which was his native tongue, and in the use of which he was perhaps the greatest master who ever lived.

