

## XII. Cicero's *Pro Archia* and the Periclean *Epitaphios*

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One who comes to Cicero's *Pro Archia* fresh from the Periclean *Epitaphios* of Thucydides<sup>1</sup> is struck by the parallel passages in the two speeches. After study of the circumstances under which Cicero composed the *Pro Archia*, the reader may well conclude that the *Epitaphios* is an important source of Cicero's speech, and that Cicero's use of it sets off his humanistic ideal.

One writer on Cicero appropriately follows his account of the substance of the *Pro Archia* with this sentence: "Cicero's own writings at this time were chiefly directed to the history of his consulship."<sup>2</sup> The student of this oration is especially interested in Cicero's Greek commentary on his consulship and in the Greek authors he most likely read in preparation for composing it. For it was "the settled habit of Cicero to undertake *no* general literary theme without some Greek model or incentive."<sup>3</sup> Cicero himself considered history to be a variety of epideictic literature (*Orat.* 207). And he finally wrote of his completed Greek commentary that it had used up "totum Isocrati myrothecium atque omnis eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta" (*Att.* 2.1.2); i.e., it contained many epideictic elements, including some borrowed from tragedy.<sup>4</sup> Not only was Cicero very familiar with the works of Isocrates and Theopompus, but he had so carefully studied the *Menexenus* of Plato (?), an *epitaphios*, that he could draw conclusions on the presence and absence of hiatus therein (*Orat.* 151). And since Cicero was well acquainted with

<sup>1</sup> 2.35-46. The *epitaphios*, or funeral speech, is a variety of epideictic literature, literature consisting in praise or blame of someone or something usually contemporary with the speaker. Cf. T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature* (*Univ. of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* 3 [1902]).

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic* (New York 1894, repr. 1906) 191.

<sup>3</sup> E. G. Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum*<sup>2</sup> (New York 1933) 195, note 1: *Cic. Att.* 8.11.7, 8.12.6, 12.40.2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. B. L. Ullman, "History and Tragedy," *TAPA* 73 (1942) 25-53.

the works of Thucydides, it would not be surprising that elements derived from the Periclean *Epitaphios* should appear in an epideictic work of Cicero.

## I

The *Pro Archia* is as a whole a forensic speech, for it is a defense of Archias' Roman citizenship in a court of law. The Auctor *ad Herennium* (3.15) states that there may be epideictic elements in a speech basically forensic or deliberative. Therefore, those portions of this speech in which Cicero praises Archias as a worthy representative of a long line of gifted and inspired poets, especially the substantial and unified *argumentatio extra causam* (12–30), can soundly be called epideictic elements. This fact has been casually recognized, but it deserves summary confirmation from literary history and theory.

Formally, the *Pro Archia* falls into two parts so far as its epideictic character is concerned. The first part includes the material preceding the *argumentatio extra causam* as well as one of the two portions of this *argumentatio* itself, which deals with the merits of literature, especially poetry, and with Archias' poetic gift (12–19). The second part comprises the other portion of this *argumentatio* and deals with Archias as a national poet of Rome (20–30). The *epilogos* (31) draws the two parts together.

The first part of the speech qualifies to be called epideictic literature in two respects. First, the main emphasis of this type of literature is upon *honestas* (Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* 2.12), and the examples of conduct of which *pleni omnes sunt libri* inspire Cicero to strive for *honestas* (14). Second, Cicero's praise of Archias contains the essential features of an ordinary encomium of a person<sup>5</sup>: *prooimion* (1–2), *genos* (that he was born of a distinguished family [3]), *anatrophê* (that he received a liberal education and soon showed marked intellectual ability [3]), *epitêdeumata* (that he was distinguished for his *natura* and *virtus* [5]), *praxeis* (that he won fame and honor in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy [3]), *synkrisis* (that his renown matched that of the ancient writers [18]). Whereas some epideictic orations describe the miraculous features attending the *genesis* of the person praised, the miracle propounded here is that poets are inspired *quasi divino spiritu* (18), and consequently exercise miraculous powers ("bestiae saepe immanes cantu

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Burgess (above, note 1) 122–6.

flectuntur" [19]). In the *epilogos*, which in many orations of this type ends with a prayer, the divine favor clearly bestowed on Archias is the basis for asking the jury to decide in his favor (31).

The portion of the speech dealing with Archias as a national poet of Rome has here been called the second part with reference to Cicero's epideictic technique because it lauds poetry commemorating historical or supposedly historical events and personages. This is indirect praise of the epideictic tradition itself, for heroic poetry was the ancestor of biography and of epideictic literature. Here Cicero quotes the words of Alexander the Great in which he counts Achilles fortunate in having been blest with Homer as a herald of his valor (*virtutis Homerum praeconem*, 24). Quite significantly, Cicero again refers to these words of Alexander in *Fam.* 5.12.7, in the letter in which Cicero asks that Lucceius write an historical monograph (a type of epideictic literature) on Cicero's consulship. Here he speaks of "praeconium quod . . . Alexander ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit." The motif of heraldic praise first heard in *praeconium* Cicero develops further in §8, where he explains that it is better to be praised by another than by oneself:

Accedit ut . . . multi . . . dicant verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymnasticorum, qui cum ceteris coronas imposuerint victoribus . . ., cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce se ipsi victores esse praedicent.

As Homer, the poet, was the herald of the valor of Achilles, so Cicero, the orator, is the herald of the worth of Archias. Finally Lucceius, the historian, was to be the herald of the accomplishments of Cicero. Thus we have virtually a brief catalogue of the types of practitioners of the epideictic art.

## II

That Cicero's works are full of reminiscences and summaries of passages from Greek authors requires no proof here. But in the development of epideictic literature so many ideas and expressions became commonplaces that almost any suggestion of borrowing by one author from another may plausibly be met with the objection that the passage at issue is a commonplace; hence a vindication of the possibility of borrowing is in place here.

Thucydides (2.41.4) makes Pericles say that the Athenians have

made "every land and sea a highway of their daring,"<sup>6</sup> πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀΐδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες ("having set up everywhere eternal monuments to good and ill [fortune]"). This passage has been much debated. Were those who experienced good and ill fortune the friends and enemies of Athens respectively, with particular reference to friendly and hostile inhabitants of regions in which Athens had planted colonies? Or shall one see here a reference to the experiences of the Athenians themselves, both to their glorious victories and to their failure in the ambitious Egyptian campaign against the Persians of 460–455 B.C., a failure which brought fame to Athens in spite of all?

But whatever may be the merits of either interpretation, apparently no one has called attention to the two passages from the *Epitaphios* of Lysias (?) and the *Menexenus* of Plato (?) which recall Pericles' words on glory won through someone's misfortunes: the two authors disagree on who suffered the misfortunes just as do modern interpreters of Thucydides. The already quoted words of Pericles, which refer to the Athenians, are prefaced by πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἔσβατον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι ("having forced every sea and land to become a highway of our daring"). The pertinent Lysian passage (2) begins with οὔτε γὰρ γῆς ἀπειροὶ οὔτε θαλάττης οὐδεμίας ("lacking acquaintance with no land or sea") and concludes with πανταχῇ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν πενθοῦντες κακὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς ὑμνοῦσιν ("everywhere, amongst all people, those who bewail their own misfortunes thereby extol the prowess of these [Athenians]"). While the just described memorial to Athenian valor is the bewailing of their own misfortunes by those who have opposed Athens, the author of the *Menexenus* (243A) at the proper point in the review of the Athenians' far-flung wars refers thus to their fame won through the disaster they suffered at Syracuse in 413 B.C.: ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ προσπολεμήσαντες πλείω ἔπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ φίλοι ("whose enemies and adversaries express higher praise of their moderation and valor than do [even] the friends of others"). These two quoted passages are obviously borrowings rather than different versions of the same commonplace; otherwise the two authors would not have understood their model so differently.

<sup>6</sup> This expression is Crawley's; all other translations are mine except those ascribed in notes 8 and 9 below.

In the same way, a moot passage from the *Epitaphios* of Gorgias can be clarified by the help of a passage from the *Epitaphios* of Demosthenes (?). The Gorgian passage, which describes the fallen as *εὐόργετοι πρὸς τὸ πρέπον*,<sup>7</sup> has been variously interpreted; but although the recent rendering *partisans du décorum*,<sup>8</sup> "ready to submit to the dictates of good form,"<sup>9</sup> has deservedly found wide favor, I have found no attention called to the passage of Demosthenes (16) which confirms this interpretation: οἷδε γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς παιδεύμασιν ἦσαν ἐπιφανεῖς, τὰ πρέποντα καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀσκοῦντες ἐκάστην, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκοντες οἷς χρή, γονεῦσιν, φίλοις, οἰκείοις ("For these men were from the outset distinguished in every phase of their education, cultivating good form in each [successive] time of life, and giving satisfaction to all to whom it was due—to parents, friends, and relatives"). For a similar commendation compare Hyperides' *Epitaphios* 8: ἐν πολλῇ σ[ωφρο]σύνῃ παῖδες ὄντ[ες] ἐτράφθησαν καὶ ἐπαιδε[ύθησαν]<sup>10</sup> ("As boys they were reared and educated in strict moderation"). And that the Demosthenic passage is derived from the recently quoted description by Gorgias seems more probable to one who reads in Gorgias' penultimate sentence (*ibid.*) ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει ("Reverent toward parents in their service, just toward fellow citizens in their equity, loyal toward friends in their faithfulness").<sup>11</sup>

Cicero himself seems to have borrowed epideictic material from Isocrates in *Arch.* 30, asking after mention of statues and busts that represent the body, "consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam?" ("ought we not greatly to prefer to leave behind a likeness of our thoughts and virtues, moulded and polished by the greatest intellects?"). For while one might see merely two versions of the same commonplace in the above and in *To Nicocles* 36, βούλου τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ σώματος καταλιπεῖν ("Choose to leave behind as a memorial

<sup>7</sup> Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>8</sup> (Berlin 1956) vol. 2, page 286.

<sup>8</sup> W. Vollgraff, *L'Oraison funèbre de Gorgias* (= *Philosophia Antiqua* 4) (Leiden 1952) 39.

<sup>9</sup> G. M. A. Grube, *AJP* 75 (1954) 335.

<sup>10</sup> The text is that of G. Colin's Budé edition of 1946.

<sup>11</sup> L. Pearson, following the method employed here, has in *AJP* 64 (1943) 399–407 used Lysias *Epit.* 15 and 23 to interpret Thuc. 2.42.4.

likenesses of virtue rather than of the body”), the probability of borrowing is increased by the addition to this same sentiment in *Evagoras* 73 of the assertion that such likenesses of accomplishments and intelligence can be found only in τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσι (“artistically composed descriptions”).<sup>12</sup>

Still other factors heighten the expectation that Cicero’s epideictic work would show the influence of the Periclean *Epitaphios*. First, Cicero quotes the Greek of Thucydides more extensively than that of any other writer of Greek prose (true, the aggregate of these quotations is only five O.C.T. lines).<sup>13</sup> Second, in the year before he delivered the *Pro Archia* Cicero protested in *1 Cat.* 11, “Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae,” probably meaning, “The very existence of the State must not too often be staked on one person” —i.e., Cicero himself,<sup>14</sup> and echoing a statement made early in the Periclean *Epitaphios* (2.35.1). Here the speaker says that it does not seem right ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εἰ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι (“for belief in the report of the brave deeds of many to be staked on one man’s speaking ability”).<sup>15</sup> Cicero would naturally be very interested in a

<sup>12</sup> As A. Gudeman comments (rev. ed. of *Tac. Agr. and Germ.* [Boston 1928] 153), the contrast between the short-lived body and the enduring influence of the character is found as early as Pind. *Nem.* 5.1. But since study of the examples of this contrast in Greek and Latin literature which Gudeman cites shows that Cicero in his contrast between the *images* of body and spirit is much closer to Isocrates than to any other Greek author, in view of the manifold influence of Isocrates upon Cicero, I agree with A.-M. Guillemin, *Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps* (Paris 1929) 18, note 3, in turning my back upon the skeptics and seeing an imitation of Isocrates in *Arch.* 30.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. J. Rose, “The Greek of Cicero,” *JHS* 41 (1921) 91–116.

<sup>14</sup> Some have believed this “one person” to be Catiline. But Cicero says at the end of § 12: “videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam.”

<sup>15</sup> The similarity between the two passages is pointed out in the notes of the Poppo-Stahl ed.<sup>3</sup> of *Thuc.*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Leipzig 1886) 70. That we have here a reminiscence is convincingly argued by D. Tabachovitz in *Eranos* 47 (1949) 136–7, who reminds us that the passive periphrastic construction of *periclitari* is not found elsewhere in Latin literature. “To be staked on one man” is a colorful and highly quotable expression, as is shown by Lucian’s parodying the words of Thucydides in *Iupp. Trag.* 4 (the two passages are cited together in Stephanus’ lexicon), where Jupiter laments that in a debate between two philosophers on the existence of the gods and divine providence the case of the gods is in a strait, ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κινδυνεύόμενα “staked on the speaking ability of one man.” F. W. Householder, Jr., in his Columbia dissertation, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian* (New York 1941) 38–39, does not include *Iupp. Trag.* 4 in his list of forty-six passages in Lucian showing the influence of Thucydides. But in a recent letter to me he states that *Iupp. Trag.* 4 “is beyond a doubt a reminiscence of the Thucydides passage.”

speech of Pericles, whom he characterized as *Pericles ille, et auctoritate et eloquentia et consilio princeps civitatis suae* (*Rep.* 1.[16]25). Cicero did write that he neither could imitate the orations of Thucydides if he wished nor would if he could (*Brut.* 287); but it will here be suggested that Cicero, far from merely imitating Thucydides, either used the sentiments he took from the Periclean *Epitaphios* to suit his purpose or actually attempted a refutation of them.

### III

It is time to consider the first passage from the *Pro Archia* which seems to show the influence of Thucydides. Pericles (2.38.1) claims, *πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα* ("we have provided for our spirits a great many relaxations from toil"); *laboribus plurimas animi remissiones indulgemus*.<sup>16</sup> Cicero (12) says of Archias, "*suppeditat nobis ubi . . . animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur*" ("he provides for us a place where our spirit may find rest from the hubbub of the forum"). This verbal similarity might not be significant in itself. But one does tarry over the likeness between the following two quotations. Pericles (2.40.2): *τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν* ("the man who takes no part in these [affairs of state] we consider not a man of leisure but a useless fellow"); *non civem otiosum sed inutilem arbitramur*. Cicero (12):

Ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se litteris abdiderunt, ut *nihil possint ex eis . . . ad communem afferre fructum . . .*: me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo . . . ut a nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo aut *otium* meum abstraxerit aut voluptas avocarit . . .?<sup>17</sup>

Still, the insistence that *otium* should serve the needs of the state is found not only in Cicero but also in Sallust<sup>18</sup> and, being a typically Roman attitude, need not be traced to a Greek source. But when

<sup>16</sup> The italicized Latin translations of portions or the whole of the quotations from Thuc. are those of H. Stephanus in his ed. and trans. of Thuc. (Paris 1564, repr. 1588). Henceforth certain words in the quotations from the *Arch.* are also italicized to invite special attention to them.

<sup>17</sup> "Let the rest be ashamed—all those who have so buried themselves in literature that they can contribute nothing from it to the common good. . . . But why should I be ashamed, who have for so many years lived in such a way that the activities of my leisure have never drawn me or pleasure ever spirited me away from [duties involving] anyone's peril or advantage. . . .?"

<sup>18</sup> Cf. E. Bernert, "Otium," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 4 (1949-50) 89-99.

Cicero (13), perhaps to disarm criticism of his irregular attendance at the games, concludes his series of rhetorical questions by asking, "Quare quis tandem me reprehendat aut *quis mihi iure suscenseat* . . . ?" ("Therefore who, pray, would find fault with me, or who would rightly be indignant with me" [for devoting as much time to intellectual pursuits as others spend in relaxation and pleasures]?), he seems to be invoking the ideal of tolerance expressed by Pericles (2.37.2) in οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾶ ἔχοντες ("not being angry with our neighbor if he indulges his personal liberty"); *non suscensentes*. . . .

The Scipionic Circle had developed the concept of an *otium* devoted to literary activity based on a study of Greek culture<sup>19</sup> and productive of *humanitas*;<sup>20</sup> and although Cicero and Sallust did much to establish a Roman concept of a useful *otium*, removed from political life but contributing to it, the typical *otiosus* remained the Greek man of letters: "[Gellius] Graeculum se atque otiosum putari voluit; studio se subito deditit" (Cic. *Sest.* 51). In *Planc.* 66 Cicero quotes Cato the Censor on the importance of the leisure activities of famous men:

Nam quas tu commemoras, Cassi, legere te solere orationes, cum otiosus sis, has ego scripsi ludis et feriis, ne omnino essem otiosus. Etenim M. Catonis illud quod in principio scripsit Originum suarum semper magnificum et praeclarum putavi, "clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus oti quam negoti rationem exstare oportere" ("an account ought to be given of the inactive time of great and famous men no less than of their activity").

But Cato had taken this thought from the very beginning of Xenophon's *Symposium*: 'Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς πραττόμενα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς ("But I think that not only the things

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. M. Brown, *A Study of the Scipionic Circle* ([Univ. of] *Iowa Studies in Classical Philology* 1 [1934]) 24.

<sup>20</sup> One cannot be sure that the word *humanitas* was "already current among the circle of the Scipios" (B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* [trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer] [Cambridge, Mass. 1953] 254). *Humanitas* (*Romana*) and *humanism* are in this paper used in the sense defined by O. E. Nybakken, "Humanitas Romana," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 410: "The concept comprised broad universal human duties, extensive feelings of love and sympathy, general refinement of living including beauty of social outward form, enjoyment of literature, art, and the fruits of contemplation and scholarship, and a rational application of virtuous modes of bearing and conduct, to the end that the welfare of men individually and collectively might be served."



that gentlemen do in earnest are worthy of mention, but also the things that they do for amusement").<sup>21</sup> Just as this Greek motif was used by both Cato and Cicero in support of *otium*, it also seems likely that Cicero took his already quoted plea for tolerance in the *Pro Archia* from Thucydides and seven years later used it again in the *Academica priora* 6: "... quis reprehendet otium nostrum, qui in eo non modo nosmet ipsos hebescere et languere nolumus, sed etiam ut plurimis prosimus enitimur?" ("... who will find fault with my leisure, in which I not only want to keep myself from growing dull and idle, but even do my best to help a great many others?"). Inasmuch as Cicero elsewhere employs no such rhetorical question in defense of his leisure activities, *suscensere* and *reprehendere* as used in the *Arch.* and the *Acad. pr.* may well stem from the Periclean δι' ὀργῆς εἶχειν. But if we are still in the realm of likelihood, we shall soon reach greater certainty.

Toward the end of the *argumentatio extra causam* Cicero (23-4) pleads the worth of Archias as a national poet:

Qua re, si res eae quas gessimus orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum<sup>22</sup> nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare, quod cum ipsis populis de quorum rebus scribitur haec ampla sunt, tum eis certe qui de vita gloriae causa dimicant hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est et laborum. Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: "O fortunate," inquit, "adulescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praekonem inveneris!" Et vere. Nam, nisi Ilias illa exstisset, idem tumulus qui corpus eius contexerat nomen etiam obruisset.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> According to H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae* 1<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1914) 55, E. Wölfflin discerned that this statement of Cato's came from Xenophon.

<sup>22</sup> Here I follow Madvig, who accepted the reading of two younger MSS., seeing in the *quo minus manuum* of the older MSS. a dittography encouraged by the affinity of *quo* for *minus*.

<sup>23</sup> "If, therefore, our accomplishments are limited only by the ends of the earth, we ought to desire that our glory and fame will penetrate where the weapons held in our hands have gone. For not only are glory and fame of great value to the nations themselves whose accomplishments are described, but doubtless this [prospect] is the greatest spur to the facing of toils and dangers by those who risk their lives in the pursuit of glory. How many chroniclers of his deeds the famous Alexander the Great is said to have had in his entourage! And yet, when he stood at Sigeum at the grave mound of Achilles, he exclaimed, 'Fortunate man, to have found Homer as a herald of your valor!' And he spoke the truth. For unless the famous *Iliad* had come into being, the same mound that covered his body would also have buried his name."

Since the following words of Pericles contain the boast that the Athenians (much as Cicero says of the Romans) have made the whole earth "a highway of their daring," Cicero's insistence that Homer's heralding of Achilles' valor was all that had kept the memory of it alive seems clearly to be a reply to Pericles' depreciation of the contribution of poetry to national glory:

μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὅμηρου ἐπαινέτου (*Homerum praeconept*) οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἔσβατον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι (*omnia maria omnesque terras nostra audacia pervias fecimus*), πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἰδία ξυγκατοικίσαντες. (2.41.4).<sup>24</sup>

For Pericles is challenging the traditional office of Homer recognized in these verses inscribed on a double herm of Homer and Menander, now lost, found just outside Rome (*IG* xiv.1188.1-2):

Ἡρώων κάρνυκα ἀρετῶς μακάρων τε προφήτταν,  
Ἑλλάνων δόξης δεύτερον ἄελιον. . . .

Of perceptive modern readers who join in this appraisal one<sup>25</sup> has written of Homer's role as "herald of the valor of heroes" and "interpreter of the blessed ones": "Homer devoted his genius to the composition of two poems dealing with the sorrows and the glory of certain heroes many of whom were worshipped in his own time wherever there were Greeks. . . ." Another<sup>26</sup> defines Homer's role as "second sun of Hellenic glory," saying of Homer's attitude toward the distinction between Greeks and barbarians: "Absorbed in this Greek idea, he gives himself wholly to it, and seems as though he had no superlative care for heaven or earth, near or far, old or new, except in relation to the Achaian race, which it was his office alike to commemorate and to mould."

<sup>24</sup> "By evident tokens we have made our power abundantly clear to our own generation and the generations yet to come, and hence we shall continue to win men's admiration; and we have no need besides either of Homer as a herald or of anyone else whose words will give pleasure for the moment but whose hazy picture of the facts truth will blast. But we have made every land and sea a highway of our daring, having set up everywhere eternal monuments of good and ill [fortune]."

<sup>25</sup> R. K. Hack, "Homer and the Cult of Heroes," *TAPA* 60 (1929) 74.

<sup>26</sup> W. E. Gladstone, *Landmarks of Homeric Study* (London and New York 1890) 31.

## IV

If it is clear to us that Pericles was challenging tradition, it was even more so to Cicero, who was so sensitive to contrast that he recalled that Solon had wanted to be mourned after death, while Ennius had called such mourning for himself unnecessary in view of his undying fame (*Sen.* 73). And the Hellenists in Cicero's audience must at the very least have recognized the source of his reference to Homer as herald. It passes belief that Cicero, at a time when he was concentrating on the writing of epideictic literature based on Greek models, was not here consciously replying to a famous statement in one of the greatest of Greek funeral orations.

We notice how systematically Cicero refutes Pericles' idea: after his reference to Roman world-wide conquests<sup>27</sup> he opposes to Pericles' boast that the Athenians need no Homer to herald their accomplishments a confirmation of the tradition that the poet serves both nation and individual. Then, after taking from a source unknown to us<sup>28</sup> the words spoken by Alexander in praise of Homer as a herald of valor, he explains that, had it not been for Homer, the grave mound of Achilles (a *mnēmeion kakōn*, Thucydides might have said, in the eyes of the Trojans) would have obscured Achilles' fame instead of preserving it. Here in his Greek source Cicero has found material well suited to a Roman audience: "Pericles' words would suit Alexander better [than Athens], and, still better, Rome, whose empire, and with it the spread of her language, law, and the concept of a common European civilization, was also the result of her military conquest."<sup>29</sup> And if it is practically certain that Cicero is replying to Pericles here, the other parallels between the two speeches become more significant.

In a time of national emergency Pericles in his great and beautiful speech summons the Athenians to arm themselves with tough-mindedness in defense of their freedom. In order to foster

<sup>27</sup> It is true that Cicero makes such references elsewhere, not only in and after 63 B.C. (e.g., 3 *Cat.* 26, 4 *Cat.* 21, *Balb.* 64, *Sest.* 67), but also at least as early as 66 (*Leg. Man.* 56).

<sup>28</sup> The words spoken by Alexander at the tomb of Achilles are apparently given by no author antedating Cicero; Arrian (*Anab.* 1.12.1) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 15.4) summarize them.

<sup>29</sup> A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 2 (Oxford 1956) 130.

tough-mindedness he even depreciates the need for poetry as a monument of national greatness in contrast to the monuments established by daring military campaigns. He can take his hearers' interest in literature and art for granted and, so far as intellectual matters are concerned, stress the ability to "recognize what is required" in order to maintain Athens' position in the world.<sup>30</sup> Cicero speaks at a time of triumph after he has led the defense against Catiline. Now he need not rouse his hearers against an enemy of the state; but, unable to assume that art is generally appreciated at Rome, he corrects Pericles' statement on the limited function of the poet and expresses the humanistic concept of the intellectual as leader of the state, a concept exemplified by the Scipionic Circle, but never so publicly and explicitly expounded as in the *Pro Archia*.

Cicero is on his way to the concept of humanism which he expresses more fully in *Tusc.* 1.64, where he indeed recognizes the divine quality of poetry and eloquence, but names philosophy *omnium mater artium*, the guide to law and civilized social life. Finally the beatific vision of the *Somnium Scipionis* teaches that "the humanist . . . will make his soul immortal by reverencing the power supreme and by devoting his life to the state."<sup>31</sup>

Pericles' view is that the state (the product of common thought, toil, and sacrifice) is the source of blessings and glory for its citizens and thereby merits their service and devotion—the state even provides the citizens with relaxation and amusement. Cicero does not contradict this view, but he says that it is the poet who furnishes the statesman with the learning which qualifies him to guide the state and with the spiritual calmness and strength which enable him to weather the storms of political affairs.

A comparison of the following two passages illustrates this difference between Pericles and Cicero: *μόνη [ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις] τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσω ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται* (2.41.3) ("Our city alone of the cities of our time meets the test superior to her reputation").

Post in ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaque Graecia sic eius [Archiae]

<sup>30</sup> Cf. G. F. Else, "Some Implications of Pericles' Funeral Speech," *CJ* 49 (1953-4) 153-6.

<sup>31</sup> E. K. Rand, "The Humanism of Cicero," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 71 (1932) 213.

adventus celebrabantur ut famam ingeni expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret (4).<sup>32</sup>

In Pericles' speech it is the city which in time of trial surpasses its reputation; Cicero says it is Archias (whose success is to be crowned by his intimacy with Roman statesmen) whose appearances in person have outdone his reputation. Pericles contrasts the solid accomplishments of the state with the unreliable words of poets; Cicero insists that the memory of the valorous deeds of men can endure only as the poet fixes it in the hearts and minds of generations to come.

Cicero has with great skill and originality taken material from a distinguished Greek representative of the epideictic genre, adapted and criticized it, and made it a living part of a speech definitely his own.

<sup>32</sup> "Afterwards in the rest of the localities of Asia and in all of Greece his arrivals were so thronged that the anticipation of [seeing] the man himself exceeded the reputation of his talent, and the wonder inspired by his [actual] arrival exceeded the anticipation."