BEAUTY'S HEARTBEAT: ORNAMENTATION AND SENTENCE-LENGTH IN CICERO'S NINTH PHILIPPIC

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Cameron Paterson: Beauty's Heartbeat: Ornamentation and Sentence-Length

in Cicero's Ninth Philippic

(Under the direction of Cecil Wooten)

To persuade the senators that he is speaking sincerely, to please their ears with proportioned

and balanced sentences, to impress them with praises of Sulpicius, whose virtues he wants

memorialized by a statue, to impress them with criticisms not only of Antony, whose bold-

ness he wants branded by that statue, but also with criticisms of their insistence to send Sul-

picius on the embassy and ultimately to die, to make them understand clearly what he is say-

ing, Cicero uses a combination of styles in the *Ninth Philippic*. I wed Hermogenes' theory of

types with close analyses of sentence structure to describe Cicero's "Making" in a way that

avoids the problems with recent efforts, marriages on the rocks. My study is a happy mar-

riage: the variety of ornamentation in Cicero's late-style shines out, epideictic speeches of

different time periods dance together in new ways and relations of style to content interlock.

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"The fond observer is by his very nature committed everywhere to his impression—which means essentially, I think, that he is foredoomed, in one place as in another, to 'put in' a certain quantity of emotion and reflection."

Henry James, "The American Scene"

"Prose rhythm may be an area in which the more 'scientific' precision and order we seek, the further we shall get from an understanding of the real application and desired effect of the technique."

Harold Gotoff, Cicero's Elegant Style

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This study is dedicated to Courtney ("How do you say 'epideictic'?") and to the dogs Gus ("I didn't see those drafts on the floor!") and Sky ("Move your Cicero books off the couch!") and Ivy ("Who is Cicero? Does he have my bone?").

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INTRODUCTION

If the metal of an author's mind chooses his style, then Cicero's metal in the *Philip-pics* balances flexibility and strength. Titanium. Characterizations of his late-style capture its strength, but not its flexibility. Disregarded and overlooked, the supple *Ninth Philippic* expands with soft embellishments and contracts into hard statements, beautifully eulogizing a friend who died on an embassy, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and subtly vilifying an adversary, Mark Antony. The presentation of their characters in this speech is an instance and variation of what's at stake throughout the *Philippics*: "constitutionality, the Republic, and the forces of tradition, goodness, and right" versus "the forces of despotism, madness, evil, darkness, hostility, and inhumanity." Cicero's style moulds and accentuates this juxtaposition.

To place the conclusion of an argument before the argument itself makes, in Hermogenes' system, a speech Clear. I begin, accordingly, with my main conclusions: (1) the *Ninth*, like the other *Philippics*, shows more range in style than has often been acknowledged: it artfully combines ornamentation with a variety of sentence-lengths; (2) like his praises of Pompey and Caesar, Cicero's praise of Sulpicius displays similarities with early imperial panegyric; finally, (3) the *Ninth* plays a more important part in Cicero's opposition

¹ Its brevity has led scholars to conclude that it is relatively unimportant, a mere interlude (Manuwald 2007, 1038, citing Schirlitz 1844, 6; Fuhrmann 1982, 106; and Hall 2002, 280). A personal anecdote illustrates this neglect best. While reading through commentaries I came across one that had pencil marks in the text. Above the title of the *Ninth* was written "*Not this*."

² May 1988, 149.

³ Adjectives and nouns that refer to styles in Hermogenes' system are capitalized.

to Antony's attempts to gain control of the Republic than has previously been recognized: if people like Sulpicius govern the Republic, order would be restored. In order to provide the background for these conclusions, it will be useful to outline approaches to Cicero's latestyle and to his practice of epideictic oratory.

1. Between Economy and Luxuriance: Cicero's Late-Style

The theory of the three styles (plain, middle, grand) is like a small shopping cart. You can put most essential items in it, but there is always something desirable that will not fit. One scholar has described the style of the *Philippics* as "plain," another as "grand." These descriptions fail to capture Cicero's *evolution* as a stylist. In his book W. R. Johnson rejects the concept of three styles in favor of two: luxuriance and economy. He conceives of these styles in terms of sentence structure and modes of subordination rather than in traditional terms like diction, rhythm, figures, phrases and clauses. With the characterization of Cicero's style in his final speeches (*pro Marcello*, *pro Ligario*, *pro Deiotaro*, *Philippics*) as one of "economy" predominating over "luxuriance," of statement over its embellishments, Johnson takes a new approach to understanding Cicero's late-style.

Johnson provides a basis for the analysis of style in a new way through a statistical analysis of sentence-length in thirty opening sentences of thirty-two of Cicero's speeches, eight from each period of his life: Period I (81-66), Period II (66-59), Period III (57-52) and Period IV (46-43). By looking at sentence-length, at the average number of words per sentence, Johnson concludes that in Period IV Cicero dramatically shortens the length of his sentence.

⁴ Hauschield 1886 and Laurand 1965, respectively. Summarized in Johnson 3-4.

⁵ 1971.

⁶ This division of Cicero's life into four periods is not Johnson's own, but Schanz-Hosius' (1927, 404). Even from a cursory glance at Johnson's footnotes, one can see that his inspiration for describing style through sentence-length was found in English literary studies, not in Classics, which perhaps explains why Johnson's method has had few followers. Among the ancient rhetorical critics, Johnson sees only Demetrius as a predecessor, though Johnson claims that when Demetrius says "cola," he really means "sentences" (10).

tence, he uses less subjunctive subordination and he balances simple-compound sentences with sentences that place subordinate clauses between main clauses.⁷

What explains this stylistic change, this late-style? At least three possibilities emerge. One, Cicero's vanity. Humiliation hurts. And the neo-Atticists' criticism of Cicero's florid style seems to have wounded him, according to Johnson, into adopting an "alien" style. Imitating the simplicity and pure diction of orators in the remote past, such as Lysias', they accused Cicero of Asianism, a style associated with violent delivery, excessive ornamentation and artificial Hellenistic prose. Two, Cicero admired and learned propriety from Demosthenes. Romans tended to imitate by example and there is clear textual evidence that Cicero greatly admired Demosthenes. The third explanation and the least interesting one is that Cicero simply matured as an orator in his old age. But why would Cicero's style grow to clarity and simplicity and not to greater floridity? If we take an example of my favorite prose writer in English, a writer whose sentences are often compared to Cicero's, Henry James, we see a development toward contorted syntax, sentences so complicated that a reader can easily get lost, as if he were circling through fields of dense thickets. Furthermore, our original question becomes almost impossible to answer, in a general way, when considerations of

⁷ Results summarized in Johnson, 67-72.

⁸ Not least because of his own luxuriance do I find Johnson's book engaging, e.g. "The final glory of Cicero the stylist and the final proof not so much of his great virtuosity and artistic intelligence (which needed no proof) as of his artistic morality is that shame moved him to abandon the corruption of luxuriance and to move, against his grain, to a bitter but triumphant mastery of the other, alien style" (63). Johnson cites *Brutus* 201 as evidence that Cicero knows the criticism is fair. Asianism was associated above all with Hortensius, Cicero's early rival.

⁹ See Kennedy 1972 for succinct discussions of Neo-Atticism (241-243) and Asianism (97-100).

¹⁰ Wooten 1983, 46-57. Cicero expresses his admiration for Demosthenes at *Brutus* 35 and *Orator* 7.23, among other places. Stroh 1982 finds verbal and thematic parallels with Demosthenes.

¹¹ Wilkinson 1963, 182. In the *Dialogus* Tacitus explains Cicero's late-style in terms of development: experience and practice taught Cicero what the best kind of oratory was (22).

types of speeches (judicial, deliberative, epideictic) and audience (law court, senate, assembly) are added. Whatever the reason for his late-style, all recognize Cicero's style in the *Philippics* differs from his earlier speeches. ¹³

Exactly what this difference amounts to—vocabulary, word-order or sentence-construction—remains controversial. Laurand tries to refute Hauschield's claim that the *Philippics* have a special vocabulary, "le prétendu style spécial des Philippiques," but some remain resilient that the *Philippics* tend toward purism. Word-order shows more promise. The arrangement of words seems more natural, which means, for example, that Cicero places possessives before nouns and uses less hyperbaton. But the concept of "natural" word-order is vague. Theoretical linguistics has made the study of word-order more technical and the most comprehensive study of Latin word order is Devine's and Stephens'. They prefer to speak of a "neutral word-order," which, on the basis of their analysis of Latin prose, is Subj

¹² Heibges, in a review of Johnson's book, points out in Period II that speeches with the highest number of words were delivered to people in the assembly, those with the lowest number to the senate (1974, 77).

¹³ On the differences between Cicero's and Demosthenes' styles, "Longinus" description is the most vivid and deserves to be quoted in full: "Demosthenes' strength is usually in rugged sublimity, Cicero's in diffusion. Our countryman with his violence, yes, and his speed, his force, his terrific power of rhetoric, burns, as it were, and scatters everything before him, and may therefore be compared to a flash of lightning or a thunderbolt. Cicero seems to me like a widespread conflagration, rolling along and devouring all around it: his is a strong and steady fire, its flames duly distributed, now here, now there, and fed by fresh supplies of fuel" (4; translation Innes 1995). Among other things "Longinus" captures, I think, that Cicero constantly varies his style ("fed by fresh supplies of fuel") to achieve his persuasive goal ("devouring all around it").

¹⁴ 1965, 332-342. Hauschield 1886. Laurand does acknowledge that the rhythms are more energetic (341).

¹⁵ e.g., Von Albrecht 2003, 112-113. Von Albrecht's particular examples of vocabulary are fascinating, but they require further explanation because it is often not clear *why* some of these words appear more frequently later in Cicero's career than earlier, a task I hope to return to one day. Here is his list: higher frequency of *quidem* (shows refinement of argument); *sed* (instead of stronger *verum*); *etsi*; *cerno* (instead of *animadverto*); *id est* (instead of more emphatic *hoc est*); *vel dicam*, *vel si mavis*, *sive etiam*, *vel etiam si vis*, *vel ut verius dicam* (instead of more objective *atque adeo*); ablatives of comparison (instead of constructions with *quam*); ellipses with *nihil* and *quid*; *iam iam*; *facit et fecit*; lower frequency of anaphora; more participles that express attendant circumstances ("concomitant participles"); more nominatives.

¹⁶ Von Albrect 2003, 113.

DO IO/Obl Adj Goal/Source Nonref-DO V.¹⁷ In neutral word-order it is remarkable that possessives do not always precede the noun and different nouns have different neutral placements of the possessive.¹⁸ They demonstrate that there are lexical restrictions to neutral word-order. Along the same lines they confirm that no one can generalize about a work apart from its context and that, as a subject like word-order becomes more technical, "context" will become narrower and narrower.

After word-order and vocabulary, sentence-construction offers the best chance to capture the difference between the *Philippics* and Cicero's earlier speeches. This is why Johnson's work still has so much value. Sentences in the *Philippics* are choppier and less subordinated, brief and simple. The problem with this general characterization, the problem that concerns this thesis, is that sentence-construction by itself, without a consideration of content, diction, figures of speech and clausulae, cannot define a style. The *Ninth Philippic* deviates strikingly, furthermore, from the other *Philippics*: parallel and symmetrical thoughts, ornamentation, and well-ordered periods are abundant. The *Ninth* is *luxurious*. This fact has been already both observed and explained on the grounds that a rich, abundant style is fitting for panegyric. But alternating with these elaborate periods are brief, compact ex-

¹⁷ 2006, 75. They discuss hyperbaton at length (524-610), but I confess that my understanding of hyperbaton is only as sophisticated as that of Gildersleeve & Lodge's, Allen & Greenough's, works written around the time of the Franco-Prussian war.

¹⁸ 314. To give some of their examples, neutral word-order for *spes* + possessive differs from *metus*, *defensor* from *auctor*, *uxor* from *filius*.

¹⁹ Johnson 46. Manuwald, who has written the most recent commentary on *Philippics* 3-9, puts the point as follows: "Cicero's style developed into a clearer and simpler form: rhetorical abundance is limited; rhetorical ornament is suppressed; clarity, exactness and impact are aimed at" (2007, 122).

²⁰ As Johnson himself honestly admits (40).

²¹ Wooten 1983, 132. "Mais certains passages ont un tout autre caractère; c'est avec une gravitè émue que Cicéron rend homage à la mémoire de Sulpicius; aussi serait-ce une erreur de voir du style familier dans la neuvième Philippique" (Laurand, 339-340).

pressions more typical of the *Philippics*. One can see this in the first two sentences of the *Ninth*, 17 to 57 words. How do we characterize this movement? Modulating sentence-length often seems to interest neither ancient nor modern rhetorical critics.²²

So the problem remains. What is the most accurate way to characterize the style of the *Ninth Philippic*? Up to this point I have summarized approaches to Cicero's late-style. Although it is good because it calls attention to sentences, nevertheless Johnson's work has deficiencies. A statistical average is like a plateau. We cannot see the mountains (long sentences) nor the valleys (short sentences). His statistical analysis, which is based on averages, flattens out crucial differences between and within speeches.²³ My own solution to the problem of how best to understand Cicero's late-style is two-fold: I carefully scrutinize one entire speech in order to avoid reductive generalizations, and I discuss style with reference to content.²⁴ My own approach builds upon Johnson's. I count the number of words per sentence and chart the elevations of the *Ninth* (Appendix II) in order to show how varied sentence-

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²² In rhetorical theory *compositio* refers to the sentence, its elements and word-order (Quintilian *Inst.* 9.4, which closely follows Cicero *De Oratore* 3.173-199 and *Orator* 168-238). The best summary that I have come across is Lausberg 1998, 411-412. Ancient rhetorical critics of course recognize that a writer must vary his style to engage the audience. My point is that modulating long sentences and short ones is not discussed in detail. An entertaining example in English studies is Tufte 2006, 9-34.

²³ The average sentence-length for the *Ninth* is 20.4 words. One may reasonably ask: what is a sentence? This question is more complicated than it first appears. I follow Johnson's methodology when I number the sentences of the *Ninth*: "I have counted as a sentence any utterance that contains a subject-verb complement, together with any subordinate clauses and participial phrases that are connected with it. Clauses that would by this definition otherwise be counted as distinct figures, whether of speech or thought, I have treated, in the usual way, as 'compound sentences,' and such groups of clauses are therefore counted as one sentence" (16). I do not follow, however, his model of eight sentence types (18-20) in preference of Hermogenes, a choice for which I will argue shortly.

²⁴ The model for this approach is Gotoff 1979 and 1993. He argues that the most practical method for analyzing Cicero's sentence structure is to examine every single sentence of a single work in order to avoid reductive generalities (1979, xi-xii). But Gotoff has the same problems as Johnson: he does not discuss how sentences *connect* to one another nor does he discuss the *content* of sentences.

length is, how steep the mountains are, and I perform a sentence-by-sentence analysis of *Philippic Nine* with focus on the questions: how and why does Cicero modulate between styles?

To Johnson's impoverished model of style, a model without reference to content, I graft Hermogenes'. ²⁵ Of all the ancient rhetorical critics, Hermogenes offers the most variety of styles. His rhetorical scheme will allow me to make one of my central points: the *Ninth Philippic* shows a range of styles. Hermogenes divides style into seven types (*ideai*): Clarity, Grandeur, Beauty, Rapidity, Character, Sincerity and Force. ²⁶ Although he never defines what "type" means, the noun is derived from Platonism. ²⁷ As we perceive intelligible paradigms of properties in objects, like the roundness of a basketball ball, so there are intelligible types of styles that we recognize when we read or hear a speaker. We perceive these types most clearly, according to Hermogenes, in the speeches of Demosthenes. What makes this theory so convincing and so attractive is Hermogenes' extensive use of quotation. ²⁸ Four of these seven types of style—Clarity, Grandeur, Character, and Sincerity—are made up of various subtypes. Clarity (Purity and Distinctness); Grandeur (Solemnity, Asperity, Vehemence, Brilliance, Florescence, Abundance); Character (Simplicity, Sweetness, Subtlety,

²⁵ The text I rely on is Rabe 1913, the translation Wooten 1987.

²⁶ Hermogenes developed his types of style over two centuries after Cicero's death and he relies on no Roman examples. One could object, therefore, that my method is anachronistic. But I would respond that Hellenistic rhetorical theory developed from the need for a systematic way to teach earlier oratorical practice.

²⁷ Kennedy 1972, 628.

²⁸ One could also make the case that Hermogenes represents the culmination of the "virtues of style," to summarize (in admittedly simplistic terms) as follows. The virtues were first discussed by Aristotle (*Rhet*. III.2) in terms of clarity, grammatical correctness and ornamentation. These virtues were developed by his student Theophrastus (all works lost) into correctness, clarity, propriety and ornamentation. This formulation appears in Cicero (*Orator* 79 and *De Oratore*, 3.37-212). It is slightly changed in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.17), and was slightly changed again by Quintilian to correctness, lucidity, ornament and propriety (8.1-3). Hermogenes' system is the most complex. About Hermogenes Walker 2000 says that he was "the last great rhetorical theorist of antiquity and the chief authority for Byzantine rhetoric up to the fifteenth century" (113).

Modesty); Sincerity (Indignation). To describe one, or all, of these subtypes, is to describe the type at the same time. I limit my discussion to those styles present in the *Ninth*.²⁹

Creating each type and subtype are eight elements which, ranked in level of importance in expressing a style, are thought, approach to the thought, diction, figures, clauses, word order, cadences, and rhythm. "Thought" (ennoia) refers to the content or subject matter; "approach to the thought" (methodos) to the manner of treating that subject matter or how the subject matter is conceived; "diction" (lexis) to word choice; "figures" (schēmata) to figures of speech or how the subject matter is presented by artistic means; "clauses" (cōla) to the building blocks of the sentence and period; "word-order" (suntheseis) to forming periods, creating rhythm terms and avoiding hiatus; "cadences" (anapauseis) to clausulae or the metrical pattern of one of more words ending a sentence; and finally "rhythm" (rhuthmos) to the combination of word-order and cadence. "Rhythm" is described in a striking metaphor as the shape of a house or of a ship. A sentence without rhythm is like being blindfolded. One does not know whether he should sit down to dinner or set sail.

These eight elements of style allow me to coordinate sentence-length with content, approach, diction, figures, clauses, word-order, cadences and rhythm. I summarize my results as follows:

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²⁹ For more substantive discussions of Hermogenes' system, see Wooten 1983, 21-45; 1987, xi-xviii; Linberg 1977; Kennedy 1972, 619-633; Walker 2000, 113-118. For an excellent discussion of Hermogenes' influence on English Renaissance poets, see Patterson 1970. Patterson's book lead me to George Herbert's *A Priest to the Temple*, in which Herbert says "the character of [the Priest's] sermon is holiness; he is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but holy. A character that Hermogenes' never dreamed of, and therefore he could give no precepts thereof" (Chapter 7). This is the only correction to Hermogenes' system that I know of. But Herbert is wrong: holiness is a mixture of Solemnity, Modesty and Sincerity. This testifies, I think, to the flexibility of Hermogenes' system as well as to its continuing relevance for writers.

³⁰ These are also called figures of thought.

Thoughts	Styles
I. Cicero mourns Sulpicius' death and binds the failure of the embassy to it. (1) ³¹	#1: Sincerity #2: Abundance
II. Cicero praises Sulpicius' intention when he undertook the embassy. Although he knew he would die, Sulpicius still set out because of his dedication to the state. (2)	#3-#6: combination of Brilliance and Beauty
III. After he states Publius Servilius' objection to honoring Sulpicius with a statue their ancestors honored an ambassador with a statue only if he had been killed with a sword Cicero gives a counter-interpretation of the ancestral custom: the cause of death, not its manner, should be examined. This is his first line of argument for honoring Sulpicius with a statue. (3)	#7-#11: shift to an argumentative tone: Distinctness
III.A. Cicero defends his interpretation with two historical precedents of ambassadors honored with statues: (i) four ambassadors who were killed by Lars Tolumnius, King of the Veii, in 437; and (ii) Gnaeus Octavius, who was assassinated on an embassy in 163. (4-5.14)	#12-#19: return to combination of Brilliance and Beauty
III.B. After restating his interpretation that the cause of an ambassador's death determines whether he is honored with a statue or not, Cicero argues that the embassy itself caused Sulpicius' death. If Sulpicius had stayed home, or even rested on the journey to meet with Antony, he would still be alive. (5.15-6)	#20-#26: combination of Brilliance and Beauty continued
IV. The second line of argument for honoring Sulpicius with a statue. The blame for Sulpicius' death attaches to Antony himself. A statue will be a monument to the war with Antony. (7)	#27-#31: shift to style of blame: Florescence
V. The third line of argument for honoring Sulpicius with a statue. Because the senators themselves pressed Sulpicius into service, they too are responsible for his death. A statue will redress that injury. (8-10.29)	#32-#33: shift to stronger style of blame: Asperity #34-#37: shift to Beauty #38-#40: shift back to Asperity #41: shift back to Beauty
VI. The fourth, and final, line of argument. A statue will be a testament to posterity of Sulpi-	#42-#56: continuation of Beauty

³¹ Numbers in parentheses in left column refer to sections in Shackleton-Bailey's text, numbers in right column to sentence numbers.

cius' virtuous life. (10.30-13)	
VII. Cicero circles back to Publius Servilius' objection to giving Sulpicius a statue. The statue will be a mark of Antony's criminal boldness. (14-15.6)	#57-#64: shift back to Distinctness
VIII. Cicero makes his formal motion to honor Sulpicius with a statue and a public burial. (15.7-17)	#65-#67: shift back to Beauty

These styles are discussed in detail in the rhetorical commentary that follows and are outlined in Appendix I. For now the point is that Beauty's fresh and healthy complexion beams throughout the speech, ³² but that there is also great stylistic variety. In order to clarify what "combination" means, a brief sketch of Beauty and Brilliance, the dominant styles of the speech, is necessary. Ornamentation is Beauty's heartbeat. Brilliance is mostly content and approach. Throughout the speech Cicero combines the thought and approach of Brilliance with the diction, figures, clauses, and rhythm of Beauty. A fine thread, according to Hermogenes, connects these styles: "in every way there is a relationship between Brilliance and Beauty...since techniques associated with Beauty are used in both these styles" (302). There can be Beauty without Brilliance if a sentence does not narrate illustrious acts, but there cannot be Brilliance without Beauty. The upshot of all this stylistic variety is that between luxuriance and economy is propriety. ³³ Ornamentation, Beauty's heartbeat, continues to pump throughout long *and* short sentences in the *Ninth Philippic*.

Now that I have distinguished my approach to style in the *Ninth*, I summarize Cicero's practice of epideictic oratory to show why Beauty is appropriate for epideictic and what

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³² The metaphor is Hermogenes': "Beauty generally consists of symmetry and harmony and proportion in the various parts and limbs of the body, combined with a fresh and healthy complexion" (297).

³³ This propriety was learned from Demosthenes (Wooten 1982, 133).

similarities the *Ninth* shares with other examples of Cicero's epideictic oratory, looking briefly at his praises of Pompey in his first deliberative speech (*pro lege Manilia*) and his praises of Caesar in *pro Marcello*.

2. A Salesman of Eloquence: Epideictic and Proto-Imperial Panegyric

Praise and glory—this is the single and overriding concern of epideictic oratory (*ad solum finem laudis et gloriae tendat*, Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.11), and the praise of Sulpicius is one of Cicero's projects in the *Ninth*. Epideictic is widely acknowledged to be the most difficult type of oratory to define, referring to those speeches not easily grouped with the judicial and deliberative genres. Ancient rhetorical critics wrestled with what to call the third kind of oratory after the judicial and deliberative types: "epideictic" or "panegyric" or "encomium," or simply "praise and blame." Antonius in the *de Oratore* is careful to say that panegyric is a Greek form, a form more for pleasure than for the practical purposes of the forum (2.341), which has been seen as an effort to establish the preeminence of Roman rhetoric over Greek. Epideictic" is Aristotle's term (*Rhet.* 1.3), and Cicero translates it as *demonstratio* (*Inv.* 1.12). The basic senses of both words are "display," as when a flute player gives a display of his skill. An observer listens to a speech as a display of oratorical skill in ornamentation. This points to the defining characteristic of epideictic: a Beautiful style. The spoints to the defining characteristic of epideictic: a Beautiful style.

³⁴ Russell 1998, 19-21. Originally, "panegyric" meant speeches at major festivals; "encomium" extended praise of individuals.; "praise and blame" praise of virtue.

³⁵ e.g., Rees 2007, 136-139. He understands this statement as Cicero's denouncement of Greek panegyric. Rees is mistaken because Antonius goes on to say that Romans also praise people for the sake of glorification. Also, Rees seems to ignore Cicero's dialogue technique of gradually refining a point of view.

³⁶ Lausberg 103.

³⁷ Burgess 2008, 94. He cites *Orator* 61, 207 and Quintilian 3.8, 7, 63 as evidence.

Epideictic never really sprouted during the Republic, unlike the *laudatio funebris*. ³⁸
But after the Republic collapsed, epideictic grew in the form of panegyric of the emperors.

Illustrating its lack of importance during the Republic is Cicero's comment that epideictic does not need a separate category because all types of speeches deal with praise and blame to some extent. ³⁹ One can see late Cicero, however, as a bridge to early imperial panegyric, especially in his praises of Caesar's *clementia* (46-45 BCE) and of Pompey's unique capacity to fight Mithridates (66 BCE). ⁴⁰ Praising a single man's virtues and placing one's hopes for the future in him and elevating him above the rest form the prototype for imperial panegyric. ⁴¹ The *Philippics* have not yet been connected to this precedent, though Hall, remarking on the purpose of praise and the granting of decrees within the *Philippics* paves the way. ⁴²

Although it is technically a deliberative speech, I maintain that the *Ninth*, with its praise of Sulpicius, shows similarities with proto-imperial panegyric.

Because Quintilian follows traditional rhetorical theory closely in discussing the training of the *bonus orator* and gives specific precepts for creating epideictic, directions for how to praise a man like Sulpicius or Caesar or Pompey, his analysis offers valuable insights

³⁸ Kennedy 1972, 21. On the *laudatio funebris*, Kierdorf 1980 is fundamental. Ramage 2006 sees the genre as particularly suited for propaganda during the Republic. Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks that funeral panegyric is not Greek, but Roman (*Ant. Rom.* 5.17.3). One explanation for the lack of epideictic and for the popularity of the funeral genre is that Romans during the Republic had no use for epideictic oratory apart from a funeral context. Clarke 1996 offers this explanation, pointing out though that *laudatio* had its own conventions apart from epideictic oratory (xii). Cicero discusses eulogies for the dead at *Brutus* 61-62.

³⁹ I am following May and Wisse 2001, 28: "*De Oratore* shows no signs of this [threefold] classification." But in *de Inventione*, I.v.7 Cicero follows this classification.

⁴⁰ Discussed most recently by Rees 2007, 136-142; Braund 1998, 68-71, 74-75. Their works form the basis of my discussion here.

⁴¹ Braund 1998, 75. I borrow her phrase "proto-imperial panegyric."

⁴² 2002: "Cicero aims not just to convince the Senate to support certain generals; he also hopes to exert some kind of influence on the *generals themselves...* to act within the constitutional framework rather than against it" (296; his emphasis).

into the nature and presuppositions of epideictic in a Roman context. Kennedy remarks that Quintilian helps us to understand what kind of rhetoric was possible during the Empire. ⁴³ I would qualify this by pointing out that his references to Cicero's own practice as a model for imitation also reveal that Quintilian was keenly aware of the possibilities of oratory during Cicero's own time (3.7.2-3). This illustrates in another way that Cicero forms a bridge for early imperial panegyric.

Quintilian prefers to translate *epideiktikos* as *ostentatio* in order to stress not its content, but its demonstrative intent (3.4.13). From this translation it was easy for him to describe the orator of an epideictic speech as a "salesman of eloquence" because this salesman allows the audience to handle with their ears his rich stylistic ornamentation:

Namque illud genus ostentationi compositum solam petit audientium voluptatem, ideoque omnes dicendi artes aperit ornatumque orationis exponit, ut quod non insidietur nec ad victoriam sed ad solum finem laudis et gloriae tendat. XII. Quare quidquid erit sententiis populare, verbis nitidum, figuris iucundum, tralationibus magnificum, compositione elaboratum, velut institor quidam eloquentiae intuendum et paene pertractandum dabit: nam eventus ad ipsum, non ad causam refertur. (8.3.11-12)

["Epideictic, devised for display, seeks nothing but the pleasure of the hearer; it therefore openly displays all the arts of speech and puts Ornament on view, because it does not lay traps or plan to win a case but addresses itself solely to the end of praise and glory. And so the speaker, as a sort of salesman of eloquence, will allow the customer to see and almost to handle all his most attractive maxims, all his brilliant words, all his pretty figures, grand metaphors, and studied Composition. For the success is seen as due to him, not to the Cause."]

The speaker puts his eloquence on display, as if at an expensive market, striving to please the audience with his maxims, elegant diction, figures, metaphors, and highly finished composition. But there is also a persuasive goal to his display. Like the *laudatio funebris*, epideictic

⁴³ 1972, 509.

⁴⁴ I take the translation and text from Russell 2001.

inspires the emulation of virtues, 45 but it can also influence practical matters like unifying a country (3.4.14). 46

In section 3.7 Quintilian gives detailed instructions for praising gods, men, cities, public works, places, and noble sayings. Since I am concerned with Cicero's praise of Sulpicius and how that praise anticipates early imperial panegyric, I outline Quintilian's topics for praising a man, which are divided into three chronological categories:

- I. The time before he was born (3.7.11)
 - A. His country, parents, and ancestors
 - i) He lived up to his country, parents, and ancestors
 - ii) His achievement distinguishes them
 - B. Prophecies or omens promised his fame
- II. During his lifetime (3.7.13-16)
 - A. His mind and body and external circumstances
 - i) He had beauty and physical strength
 - ii) He overcame physical weakness or fortune
 - iii) He made good use of wealth, power and influence
 - B. A chronology of his life
 - i) His first years showed natural abilities
 - ii) His education was good
 - iii) His deeds and sayings remarkable
 - C. The virtues of his life
 - i) He showed courage
 - ii) Justice
 - iii) Self-control
 - iv) Other virtues

⁴⁵ On the rhetoric of the funeral genre, see Ramage 2006, 41-43.

⁴⁶ Burgess 2008, 95. Quintilian uses the example of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, a work that attempts to unify the Greeks against the Persians.

III. The time after his death (3.7.17-18)

- A. Divine honors, decrees, statues erected for him at public expense
- B. His children
- C. His foundation of cities
- D. His proposals of law
- E. His arts
- F. His institutions

To decide which approach is the most useful for praising a man during his lifetime, chronology or a list of virtues, Quintilian states that the orator must look to the particulars of the situation and keep the audience's view of what is praiseworthy in mind:

Utra sit autem harum via utilior cum materia deliberabimus, dum sciamus gratiora esse audientibus quae solus quis aut primus aut certe cum paucis fecisse dicetur, si quid praeterea supra spem aut expectationem, praecipue quod aliena potius causa quam sua. (3.7.16)

["Which is the better of the two is a matter for consideration in the light of the subject, always bearing in mind that what is particularly agreeable to an audience is anything that a man can be said to have done first, or among the very few, to have done; anything that exceeds hope or expectation; and especially anything done for altruistic motives."]

Since Cicero's proposal is to erect a statue at public expense (IIIA), he focuses mainly on the time after Sulpicius' death. Quintilian points out, furthermore, that praise of the body and circumstances is trivial in comparison with praise of the mind, which is always real praise (*animi semper vera laus*, 3.7.15), and that even weaknesses of the body can be admired if a person has made the best of them. And Cicero begins by praising Sulpicius' altruistic motives and his overcoming illness in exactly this fashion. Then he moves on to Sulpicius' power of influence, his fairness, his remarkable deeds and sayings, and above all, his virtues—good character, courage, steadfastness, piety and intellect. Sulpicius surpasses everyone of every time period with his knowledge of jurisprudence, possessing an almost

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⁴⁷ The classic virtues of a ruler, according to Menander Rhetor, are courage, justice, temperance and wisdom (373).

divine expertise in interpreting the laws (10.34).⁴⁸ In this limited sense Cicero's elevation of Sulpicius above all men is similar to his elevation of Pompey and Caesar.

Yet the differences between Sulpicius, Caesar and Pompey are significant and important. Sulpicius did not have or potentially have absolute power. The audiences in these three speeches also differ: *pro Marcello*: Caesar; *pro lege Manilia*: the people in assembly; and the *Ninth Phillipc*: the senate. The character of the audience and their commitments determine whether an epideictic speech will be successful or not (Quint. 3.7.23). To a large extent, an orator must identify with his audience and reinforce their existing beliefs, but Quintilian also points out that if an orator puts some praise of the audience in this speech, he will make them well disposed to him (3.7.24), leaving the possibility that an orator can change their beliefs. Although the *Ninth* does not attempt to persuade an autocrat, nevertheless it does set out a program of behavior for senators to follow.

On the basis of what we have seen in Quintilian, then, there are four aspects to Cicero's practice of epideictic, to a successful "sell": (1) create pleasure in the audience; (2) achieve this pleasure with an ornamented style; (3) be flexible with the three categories of praising; and (4) incorporate the audience into the speech to make them well-disposed to your persuasive goals. Now that I have outlined approaches to Cicero's late-style and to his practice of epideictic oratory, I identify the wares of the salesman in the *Ninth*.

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⁴⁸ The reference is to Shackleton-Bailey's text.

⁴⁹ And, most obviously, unlike Caesar and Pompey he is dead when the speech was delivered.

A READING OF THE NINTH PHILIPPIC

I. Cicero mourns Sulpicius' death and binds the failure of the embassy to it. (1)

1 (#1) Vellem di immortales fecissent, patres conscripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus quam honores mortuo quaereremus. (#2) nec vero dubito quin, si ille vir legationem renuntiare potuisset, reditus eius et vobis gratus fuerit et rei publicae salutaris futurus, non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut studium aut cura defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere, sed cum Ser. Sulpicius aetate illis anteiret, sapientia omnibus, subito ereptus e causa totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit.⁵⁰

His military cloak. This is what perhaps struck senators before Cicero uttered these solemn words on February 4th, 43 BCE. ⁵¹ Drawing attention to his clothing in the previous speech, Cicero declares that although his consular rank allows him to wear civic clothing in military situations, he will not wear garments that differ from his fellow-citizens' (*Phil*. 8.32). ⁵² *est in sagis civitas*. And so is Cicero. Military cloaks, civilian garb—these details evidence two strategies that scholars have noticed throughout the *Philippics*: Cicero polarizes the conflict—here, into consulars who wear military cloaks and those who do not, those who want to go to war with Antony and those who want to appease him—and he identifies him—

⁵⁰ The text used is Shackleton-Bailey's (1986). There are surprisingly few textual issues in the *Ninth Philippic*. The place where commentators differ substantively is *resta[re]t*, 9.5. Although Clark 1918 reads *restaret*, I follow Fedeli 1986 and Shackleton-Bailey and read *restat*.

⁵¹ This senate meeting is widely assumed to have taken place on the day after the *Eighth Philippic* was delivered, February 3rd, 43 BCE (Manuwald 1037). Manuwald cites Ganter 1894, 616 for one argument that *Philippics* 8 and 9 were possibly delivered on the same day (ibid). In light of controversies surrounding the *Second Philippic*, many scholars have looked for evidence that the published versions differ from the delivered ones. For an extensive summary of the positions and the evidence, see Manuwald 54-90. I assume that the published version of the *Ninth* is the same as the delivered one.

⁵² Cicero's references to clothing in the *Philippics* are discussed well by Heskel 1994, 136-141, although she overlooks military cloaks in *Philippic Eight and Fourteen*. Not surprisingly, *Philippic Two* contains the most references to clothing. Antony's clothing as a magistrate reveals his wretched character.

self with the state.⁵³ Because of his consistent call for senators to declare war against Antony, it seems likely that he would wear his military cloak again on February 4th. If so, he would have communicated three non-verbal ideas. He continues to separate himself from men of consular rank who support Antony's cause. He continues to represent the people's endorsement of war. He continues his fight against Antony.

Without any advance indication, Cicero begins the speech much like the *First Catilinarian*. No formal introduction appears. This creates the impression that he is speaking spontaneously and sincerely, a characteristic of the style Hermogenes labels Sincerity (352-68). The simple thought of this short sentence, a wish that the gods had made things turn out differently, also contributes to Sincerity. Both the assonance of *o*'s in *vivo potius...Sulpicio...honores mortuo* and the nine words of three syllables or more give the sentence a solemn tone. Broad sounds like *o*'s force us to open our mouths wide and slow down the prose (Hermogenes 247; hereafter "H"). So

The tight patterning of the chiasmus *vivo* ... *gratias...honores mortuo* and the parallelism of *ageremus...quaereremus* demonstrate that Cicero controls his grief. His panegyric will not kindle torches, as Antony's did when he spoke at Caesar's funeral (*tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio, Phil.* 2.91). By inserting *potius Ser. Sulpicio* between *vivo* and *gratias*, Cicero avoids a strict parallelism that would be too polished and detract

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⁵³ Hall 2002, 283-287 summarizes scholarship on Cicero' rhetoric of crisis.

⁵⁴ One difference is that the *Ninth Philippic* begins with mention of the gods, whereas the *First Catilinarian* ends with one. The difference is, I think, beginning grandly from the divine plane vs. a gradual elevation of his speech to the divine plane.

⁵⁵ I am indebted to Professor Wooten in conversation for this parallel.

⁵⁶ Numbers refer to page numbers in Rabe's Greek edition. Appendix III analyzes the clausulae of the entire speech. According to Hermogenes, the rhythms appropriate for panegyric are dactyls and spondees. The proper description of prose rhythm is hotly contested among scholars. I modestly look only at the ends of clausulae. The results are expected: lots of long vowels.

from the impression that he is speaking truthfully.⁵⁷ The placement of *patres conscripti* between the verb *fecissent* and its noun clause offers an opportunity for a dramatic pause. Listeners wait to hear how Cicero will complete the thought. They lean forward.

No other speech of Cicero's begins in quite this fashion. No other speech begins with an optative imperfect subjunctive and the exact phrase *Vellem di immortales* appears only here. Neither recycling old material nor starting predictably then, his grief seems sincere and spontaneous. Two examples of Cicero's panegyric elsewhere, *Pro lege Manilia* (66 BCE) and *Pro Marcello* (46 BCE), offer contrasts in style:

Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo iucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas ad huc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. (*Pro lege Manilia*)⁵⁸

Diuturni silenti, patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus—non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia—finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium quae vellem quaeque sentirem meo pristino more dicendi. (*Pro Marcello*)⁵⁹

Despite many fundamental differences between *Pro lege Manilia* and *Pro Marcello*, these two speeches start with complex sentences full of ornamentation and qualification. At 45 words and 31 words respectively, neither sentence seems as emotional as the 17 words of sentence #1. Demetrius says that short sentences are "forceful and preemptory" and leave a

⁵⁷ Hermogenes identifies the avoidance of strict parallelism as a characteristic of Demosthenes' style (299-301).

⁵⁸ The text used is Hodge 1927.

⁵⁹ The text used is Clark 1918.

⁶⁰ Gotoff 1993 points out that Cicero could have begun the *Pro Marcello* with a reference to Marcellus or to Caesar, but instead he begins with himself (12). It is striking that the *Ninth* begins with an emphasis on Sulpicius and a wish that they could thank him in life. This creates the impression that Cicero feels more distress.

great deal to be inferred (*On Style*, 241). Like most short sentences in the *Ninth Philippic*, sentence #1 generates intensity. A long sentence would have dissipated it.⁶¹

Proemia in epideictic can be very free (*prohoemia esse maxime libera*, Quint. 3.8.9). Orators begin some speeches by leaping far from the subject matter like Isocrates, who starts *Helen* by discussing the state of oratory in his time. Other speeches stick to the issue at hand closely. This approach characterizes the *Philippics* in general. According to Aristotle proemia in epideictic attempt "to make the hearer think he shares the praise, either himself or his family or his way of life or at least something of the sort" (*Rhetoric* 1415b28-30). If the orator shares the audience's beliefs about what is praiseworthy, he creates goodwill and makes his listeners well-disposed to his arguments. Even though proemia can be free, the *Ninth* does not strictly speaking have one. Any trace of a formal introduction would take away from the impression that Cicero is speaking spontaneously.

If one imagines a speech as a landscape, and longer sentences as hills, then the listener hits a steeper slope in sentence #2 (51 words) and climbs what Hermogenes calls Abundance.⁶⁴ This style gives Grandeur to a speech (277-96). The following diagram illustrates how main clauses frame subordinate clauses:⁶⁵

1) nec vero dubito quin,

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⁶¹ It is also noteworthy that, although no other speech begins with *vellem*, Cicero had written letters to Cassius and Trebonius two days before he delivered the 9th that start with *vellem* (*Ad fam*. XII 4; X 28). He says to both, famously, that he wished that he had been invited to the feast on the Ides of March because no leftovers would have remained. The effect of the optative is the same. Informal, sincere communication.
⁶² Cf. the beginnings of *Philippics 5* and *7*.

⁶³ The translation is Kennedy 2007.

⁶⁴ By imagining sentence-length in visual terms, summarized in Appendix I, I was inspired by Aristotle. Kennedy 2007, 222 first directed my attention to Aristotle's emphasis on the visual when he discusses the effects of style.

⁶⁵ Johnson calls this type of sentence an "initial-terminal" sentence (19).

si ille vir legationem renuntiare potuisset, reditus eius et vobis gratus fuerit et rei publicae salutaris futurus,

non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut studium aut cura defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere,

2) sed

cum Ser. Sulpicius aetate illis anteiret, sapientia omnibus, subito ereptus e causa totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit.

This sentence begins and ends in the indicative, in facts, but there is a higher ratio of words in the subordinate clauses as against the main clauses. Hermogenes states that subordination creates the most Abundance because it implies other thoughts (288). We can see other characteristics of this style.

Cicero packs many thoughts into this sentence, a figure of thought Hermogenes calls to kata systrophēn schēma (294); Cicero tells the audience not only what was done, but also what would have been done. ⁶⁶ Connectives et...et and aut...aut fill out the sentence (polysyndeton). Placing the hypothetical situation of a successful mission first creates suspense (antitheton). The thought of the past contrary-to-fact condition expands with an explanation non quo...munere, and Cicero chooses a grammatical construction that requires subordination, a quin clause. ⁶⁷ A cum-clause introduces a causal explanation. Synonyms tanto officio tantoque munere state a single idea. Finally, the doublet orbam et debilitatam also adds abundance.

From sentence #1 to #2, from Sincerity to Abundance, Cicero convinces the audience that he is speaking the truth and impresses them with Sulpicius' character. The stark contrast between these styles is striking, proving one of the main conclusions of this study. Cicero's

⁶⁷ The tense in subordinate clause seems unusual, but because *dubito* is a primary tense, the pluperfect in the apodosis of the past contrary-to-fact condition is changed to a periphrastic perfect subjunctive (G 596 5a).

⁶⁶ Loutsch 1994 remarks that Cicero is making a major concession to the senators by admitting that the plan voted on January 4th would have lead to unity (462).

modulation of styles also serves a rhetorical purpose. He wants to redefine the account of Sulpicius' death. The senators know that Sulpicius died from illness. By using *mortuo* in the first sentence instead of *in morte*, Cicero calls to mind "a dead man," an image that gives a slight pulse of pathos over "him in death." ⁶⁸ The participle *ereptus* in sentence #2 has possible implications of violence that Cicero will address later. By taking advantage of the different meanings of *causa*, Cicero will go on to equate Sulpicius' "commission" (*e causa*) with the "cause" of his death (*causa mortis*). The responsibility for Sulpicius' death will rest not only with Antony's violence, but also with the senators themselves.

Cicero modulates from this full style to a more ornamented style in the next section, to Brilliance.

II. Cicero praises Sulpicius' intention when he undertook the embassy. Although he knew he would die, Sulpicius still set out because of his dedication to the state. (2)

2 (#3) Quod si cuiquam iustus honos habitus est in morte legato, in nullo iustior quam in Ser. Sulpicio reperietur. (#4) ceteri qui in legatione mortem obierunt ad incertum vitae periculum sine ullo mortis metu profecti sunt: Ser. Sulpicius cum aliqua perveniendi ad M. Antonium spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. (#5) qui cum ita adfectus esset ut, si ad gravem valetudinem labor accessisset, sibi ipse diffideret, non recusavit quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset, experiretur. (#6) itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingravescens retardavit, cumque iam ad congressum conloquiumque eius pervenisset ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura ac meditatione obeundi sui muneris excessit e vita.

⁶⁸ In a separate (unpublished) work, "Translating Death in Cicero's *Philippics*," I argue that Cicero's English translators are uncomfortable with his violent descriptions and visceral appeals to emotion. Translators such as Ker and even Shackleton-Bailey domesticate Cicero's concrete and physical descriptions by abstraction and generalization. Domestication of violence and strong emotion does not seem to be a productive method of translating Latin authors. If one accepts that a domestic cultural identity could be formed through translation, the danger is that such bloodless translation forms identities immune to the effects of war. In the Bush-era sound bite on the aircraft carrier, civilian deaths are described as "merited sacrifice," as bumps on a "course" that must be "stayed." The best translations of the *Philippics* into English would confront the violent and emotional aspects of Roman culture and translate them more openly and honestly than Ker and Shackleton-Bailey.

Here one can see the standard topics of praise as Quintilian describes them. Sulpicius' altruistic motives (non recusavit quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset) exemplify what Quintilian calls "real praise." In service of the state he met his death freely. Cicero turns Sulpicius' sickness into a positive characteristic by emphasizing the harsh conditions that he met stoically along the way. The argument is persuasive. Sulpicius deserves a statue because he demonstrated behavior that very few have ever performed. But the implications for Antony are damning. Sulpicius' self-sacrifice and resilience tacitly contradict Antony's self-interest and indulgence painted throughout the *Philippics*. Cicero characterizes Sulpicius as the model of a good citizen that he defined in the *First Philippic*: to be dear to all, to deserve well of the state, to be praised, courted, and esteemed (33).

To express these remarkable, illustrious acts Cicero combines the thought and approach of Brilliance with the diction, figures, clauses, and rhythm of Beauty. Sulpicius' acts, which are less universal than solemn thoughts about the gods' actions or nature's, shine because all recognize them as noble in and of themselves. Describing Suplicius' actions directly, Cicero narrates without digressions. This approach characterizes Brilliance (H 266). Sentence #3 runs short (18 words) and breaks the moderate pace of sentence #2. Words of one or two syllables dominate. The hyperbaton of *cuiquam...legato* and the alliteration of *honos*

⁶⁹ Outlined in the introduction 13-14.

⁷⁰ "real" insofar as the audience finds the praise of the mind more agreeable than the praise of the body.

⁷¹ e.g., *Philippics* I.33, II.115.

habitus call attention to iustus honos.⁷² A dactyl and spondee (morte legato) weigh down the subordinate clause with a somber emotion. No vowels clash.

Sentences #4-#6 (29, 30 and 39 words) swell with increasing ornamentation, gradually filling out a healthy complexion of Beauty. Repetitions create balance and proportion:

Cicero repeats *qui* at the beginning of sentences #4 and #5 (epanadiplosis), then varying repetition with an anaphora of *non* in 6. Each sentence builds, in the relationship between subordinate and main clauses, to greater and greater things. In #4 the asyndeton between *profectis sunt* and *profectus est* creates a sharp antithesis to heighten Sulpicius' actions. Sentences #4 and #5 roughly match in sentence length, but #5 contains more subordinate clauses.

These clauses frame the main verb *non recusavit*. Sentence #6, which has two main verbs, *retardavit* and *excessit*, has longer clauses than #4 and #5, filling out in sharp detail the difficult external and internal circumstances of the embassy. The increases in ornamentation and in sentence length build to a high peak, on which Sulpicius' character stands. A sight for all to see.

Next Cicero modulates from an ornate style to a more argumentative tone, from Brilliance to Distinctness.

III. After he states Publius Servilius' objection to honoring Sulpicius with a statue—their ancestors honored an ambassador with a statue only if he has been killed with a sword—Cicero gives a counter-interpretation of the ancestral custom: the cause of death, not its manner, should be examined. This is his first line of argument for honoring Sulpicius with a statue. (3)

⁷² On hyperbaton Gotoff says "[it] can have a dramatic effect either by the postponement of an expected element or by emphasizing the element inserted into the natural collocation, or an exquisite effect by presenting a less usual word order" (1979, 70). Here I take it *iustus honos* is inserted into the natural collocation *cuiquam...legato*.

⁷³ On the body as a metaphor for Beauty, Hermogenes .296-297.

3 (#7) Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praeclare, quod et nos ad honorandum Ser. Sulpicium cohortatus es et ipse multa copiose de illius laude dixisti. (#8) quibus a te dictis nihil praeter sententiam dicerem, nisi P. Seruilio, clarissimo viro, respondendum putarem, qui hunc honorem statuae nemini tribuendum censuit nisi ei qui ferro esset in legatione interfectus. (#9) ego autem, patres conscripti, sic interpretor sensisse maiores nostros ut causam mortis censuerint, non genus esse quaerendum. (#10) etenim cui legatio ipsa morti fuisset, eius monumentum exstare voluerunt, ut in bellis periculosis obirent homines legationis munus audacius. (#11) non igitur exempla maiorum quaerenda, sed consilium est eorum a quo ipsa exempla nata sunt explicandum

If an orator provides the relevant background material, if he follows the chronological order of events and arguments, if he states the aspects of an issue, then his approach is what Hermogenes calls Distinct (235-41). To be as clear as possible with the presentation of the argument is the aim of Distinctness. Pansa's initial proposal (#7), then Servilius' objection (#8). Cicero follows the order of the speakers in his presentation before he makes his own counterproposition (#9). Examining their ancestors' intentions in historical precedents will reveal the crucial characteristic of the issue, *causam mortis...non genus* (#10). Repeating *non genus...quaerendum* and *non exempla...quaerenda* varies his point for emphasis and clarity (poikilia). Sentence #10 contains a summary, marked by *igitur*, of Cicero's train of thought. The conclusive particle *igitur*, the adversative particle *autem*, and the explicative particle *etenim* mark clear, logical relationships between sentences. Cicero is going to great lengths to be distinct.

The diction of Distinctness is the same as Purity's. Common language, easily understandable by all. No striking words like *legationem orbam et debilitatam* flare. Figures, clauses, word order, cadences and rhythm, however, show some ornamentation to fit the epideictic context. Highlighting Pansa's rhetorical skill in #7, the hyperbaton of *praec*-

lare...dixisti and the balance of ut...sic emphasize the manner in which Pansa spoke. Anaphora of nisi in #8 links Cicero's motivation for speaking to Servilius' objection. Instead of moving to greater and greater things in longer and longer sentences, Cicero moves from praising Pansa and summarizing Servilius' objection in two longish sentences (25, 30 words) that contain some subordination, to short, declarative sentences (17, 19 and 16 words) of his own position that contain little subordination. He does not hesitate, which can be seen throughout the *Philippics*. Words of at least three syllables or more—dixisti, interfectus, quaerendum, audacius, explicandum—weigh down the end of these sentences with long, solemn syllables.

Having laid out what he will say, Cicero now turns to his proofs, modulating from Distinctness back into Brilliance.

A. Cicero defends his interpretation with two historical precedents of ambassadors honored with statues: (i) four ambassadors who were killed by Lars Tolumnius, King of the Veii, in 437 BCE; and (ii) Gnaeus Octavius, who was assassinated on an embassy in 163 BCE. (4-5.14)

4 (#12) Lars Tolumnius, rex Veientium, quattuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit, quorum statuae steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in rostris: (#13) iustus honos; eis enim maiores nostri qui ob rem publicam mortem obierant pro brevi vita diuturnam memoriam reddiderunt. (#14) Cn. Octavi, clari viri et magni, qui primus in eam familiam quae postea viris fortissimis floruit attulit consulatum, statuam videmus in rostris. (#15) nemo tum novitati invidebat; nemo virtutem non honorabat. (#16) at ea fuit legatio Octavi in qua periculi suspicio non subesset. (#17) nam cum esset missus a senatu ad animos regum perspiciendos liberorumque populorum, maximeque, ut nepotem regis Antiochi, eius qui cum maioribus nostris bellum gesserat, classis habere, elephantos alere prohiberet, Laudiceae in gymnasio a quodam Leptine est interfectus. 5 (#18) reddita est ei tum a maioribus statua pro vita quae multos per annos progeniem eius honestaret; nunc ad tantae familiae memoriam sola restat. (#19) Atqui et huic et Tullo Cluilio et L. Roscio et Sp. Antio et C. Fulcinio qui a Veientium rege caesi sunt, non sanguis qui est profusus in morte, sed ipsa mors ob rem publicam obita honori fuit.

⁷⁴ Manuwald may be overstating when she says that this statement is "more likely rhetorical flattery" (1052). I take it as at least a token sign of respect.

The puzzle in this section arises not from Cicero's stylistic choices—his use of Brilliance here is appropriate for narrating remarkable, illustrious acts, and this style is meant to resonate with his earlier descriptions of Sulpicius—but from his two choices for historical precedents. Why *these* two? Historical facts about these ambassadors are relatively obscure. Shackleton-Bailey proposes that Cicero may intend to compliment Octavian by mentioning his *gens*. But we still need to account for Lars Tolumnius. No one has put forward a satisfactory explanation.

Common sense dictates that since these precedents are old (437, 103 BCE), the audience would pay them a great deal of respect. My own view is that these *exempla* matter less for what they add to the issue of memorializing Sulpicius with a statue, and matter more for linking Antony with kings. A negative association. Using *rex* three times in a short space (*rex Veientium, ad animos regum perspiciendos, nepotem regis Antiochi*) hammers his point: kings received these ambassadors. Later Cicero will say that Antony killed Sulpicius no less than the king of the Veii or Leptines killed these ambassadors, strengthening the association. But this remains one possibility. To recover Cicero's reasoning or to know exactly what these names meant to his audience is difficult.

Cicero states his points directly and without hesitation in sentences #12-16. Composed of nearly the same number of words (19, 18, 22 words), #12-14 demonstrate his ability to vary syntax in sentences of similar length. Once again this shows that word order is not enough to describe a style. The short subordinate clause in #13 emphasizes the indirect ob-

⁷⁵ 1986, 239 n.3.

⁷⁶ Manuwald remarks that only a few cases of statues erected on the rostrae are known (1057). I agree with her remark that Cicero assumes that his audience knows about the incident (1056).

⁷⁷ Sentences #28 and #29.

ject *eis*, stressing the point Cicero wants to make the most, namely that Sulpicius died for the state too. The genitive singular *Cn. Octavi* in #14 works the same way.

Clauses here are shorter than the clauses in the Brilliant sentences discussed earlier, and other characteristics of Brilliance gleam: the alliteration of initial consonants and homoioteleuton form memorable sound patterns (e.g., *meam memoriam; fortissimis floruit attulit*); repeating *in rostris* at the ends of sentences #12 and #14 creates parallelism, which convinces the listener through word order that these two examples belong together. The suppression of the verb with *iustus honos* stresses the physicality of the statue, and refers back to the mention of Sulpicius' *iustus honos* in sentence #3. *iustus honos* is also an added value-judgment, an example of what Hermogenes calls epikrisis (250), and conveys Cicero's great certainty.⁷⁸

Cicero never sticks with the same length of sentence for long, as the graph in Appendix I shows. Next he transitions into two short sentences of 8 and 11 words that make forceful statements. Sentence #15, a direct denial, is a model of Brilliance mixed with Beauty. Ornamentation has too often been thought to be used not in short sentences, but in long ones. #15 proves otherwise: alliteration of *n*'s, copulative asyndeton, litotes (*nemo...non*), a near perfect isocolon of subject, object, verb—all of these give luster to this sentence. Chiastic word order in #16 (*legatio Octavi...periculi suspicio*) binds the most significant thought in the middle of the sentence.

Breaking this pattern of short sentences, sentence #17 swells to form a suspenseful period of 37 words. The main thought, *est interfectus*, is postponed until the end of the sen-

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⁷⁸ Hall discusses the rhetoric of praise and honorific decrees in the *Philippics* (294-298). On Cicero's praise of generals he says "by celebrating their achievements Cicero shows why these men deserve senatorial backing, and the elevated, enthusiastic language is designed to evoke a similarly positive emotional response from the audience...There is a high moral ground to be claimed as well. In a civil war where the line between constitutional and unconstitutional acts was becoming increasingly blurred, official pronouncements of praise and honors became important for helping to define the 'good' from the 'bad'" (295). This passage has been quoted at length because it also describes well what's at stake in erecting Sulpicius' statue: a definition of the good.

tence and forms a chiasmus with the beginning of sentence #18, *reddita est*. This chiasmus closely connects the cause of his death, the embassy, with his reward. This is Cicero's main argument for giving Sulpicius a statue. We can see other figures of Beauty, parallelism and balance. The word order *classis habere*, *elephantos alere* forms copulative asyndeton.

Avoiding a strict parallelism of two purposes clauses, which according to Hermogenes is not beautiful, Cicero uses *ad* + the gerundive *perspiciendos*. The choice to use the long clause *ut...prohiberet* reflects *maxime*, which contains the more important thought. Also important is the idea in the *qui*-clause because Cicero is adding background material. *cum maioribus nostris bellum gesserat*—here again he invites the audience to make a comparison with Antony who, in Cicero's mind, is already waging a war against the Roman people.

reddita est in sentence #18 is noteworthy not only for the chiasmus already discussed, but also for, at 25 words, forming a valley between two hills, between suspenseful periods #17 and #19 (37 words each). The placement of the datives at the beginning of the sentence #19 and the polysyndeton of et draws attention to each name in the list, adding grandeur to their deaths and emphasizing how often the precedent for Sulpicius has been repeated. Stating his point first negatively, non sanguis, then positively, sed ipsa mors, creates suspense and emphasizes ipsa mors, the main line of his argument.

In the next section Cicero continues his mixture of Brilliance with Beauty, of illustrious acts with an ornate style, but length varies more from one sentence to another as Cicero builds clause by clause, brick by brick, strong emotion.

B. After restating his interpretation that the cause of an ambassador's death determines whether he is honored with a statue or not, Cicero argues that the

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⁷⁹ As Manuwald also notes (1059).

embassy itself caused Sulpicius' death. If Sulpicius had stayed home, or even rested on the journey to meet with Antony, he would still be alive. (5.15-6)

(#20) itaque, patres conscripti, si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dolerem equidem tanto rei publicae vulnere, mortem vero eius non monumento, sed luctu publico esse ornandam putarem. (#21) nunc autem quis dubitat quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? (#22) secum enim ille mortem extulit quam, si nobis cum remansisset, sua cura, optimi fili fidelissimaeque coniugis diligentia vitare potuisset. 6 (#23) at ille cum videret, si vestrae auctoritati non paruisset, dissimilem se futurum sui, sin paruisset, munus sibi illud pro re publica susceptum vitae finem fore, maluit in maximo rei publicae discrimine emori quam minus quam potuisset videri rei publicae profuisse. (#24) multis illi in urbibus iter qua faciebat reficiendi se et curandi potestas fuit. (#25) aderat et hospitum invitatio liberalis pro dignitate summi viri et eorum hortatio qui una erant missi ad requiescendum et vitae suae consulendum. (#26) at ille properans, festinans, mandata vestra conficere cupiens, in hac constantia morbo adversante perseveravit.

itaque in #20 marks the simple consequence between facts. To create a sharper contrast, Cicero places the consequents of the condition at opposite ends of their clauses, at the beginning (dolerem) and at the end (putarem). The assonance of o's gives the sentence a solemn tone and slows down the prose, as we have seen already. non monumento, sed luctu publico repeats the structure in #19 of making a negative statement, then a positive one, and emphasizes luctu publico. #21 is remarkable because it is the first question in the speech. It sets off a series of statements about Sulpicius that dare anyone to answer affirmatively. Its short length (10 words), furthermore, breaks up the recent pattern of four long sentences with 25 words or more and comes across as forceful. Here Cicero modulates into a more argumentative mode. This demonstrates once again the wide variety and tone of this speech.

Cicero's praise of Sulpicius' son and wife (*optimi fili fidelissimaeque*) in #22 gains luster through word order and diction. –*que* both allows alliteration and draws attention to the son and wife making up a single item, an outstanding household that would have nursed Sulpicius to health. The implication is that his family justifies the honor of a statue. And this shows just how many ideas Cicero attaches to the statue: the mark of a model citizen, a mod-

el father and husband, and, as we will see, the mark of Antony's audacity. These marks, furthermore, pick up themes prominent in the *Philippics* in general.

A masterful example of a suspenseful period, sentence #23 incrementally expands with clauses as ideas increase in importance. Cicero is trying to be neither clear nor logical, but emotional, the strongest means of persuasion. ⁸⁰ The *si...sin* conditions break up the indirect direct statements, the second of which (*munus...fore*) has exactly twice as many words as the first (*dissimilem...sui*) to reflect the more important thought. The longest clause, however, and the crucial thought, is the main clause (*maluit...profuisse*). By mentioning the influence that the senate's authority (*vestrae auctoritati*) had over Sulpicius, Cicero starts to lay the blame for Sulpicius' death partially with the Senate.

Sentences #24, #25 and #26 show familiar characteristics of Brilliance: parallelism of syntax between sentences (two gerunds each in #24 and #25), alliteration (*conficere cupiens* in #26) and accounts of illustrious acts. To emphasize *hospitum invitatio*, Cicero places *aderat* at the beginning of sentence #25 and makes the verb singular, even though it has a plural subject. Many wanted to host such an excellent man. In contrast, Cicero is about to show how disturbed Antony became at Sulpicius' approach. This isolates Antony's reactions from the reactions of everyday Romans. Sentence #26 displays a tricolon of present active participles that emphasize Sulpicius' energy and loyalty to the senate. Not even disease could keep him from his task. The rare hiatus in *morbo* (*h*) *adversante* indicates Cicero is becoming slightly more emotional as he describes this. In short, all three sentences portray Sulpicius as a resilient, energetic proponent for the State who is worthy of a statue.

⁸⁰ That the emotional appeal is the most important for winning a case is claimed throughout *de Oratore*, e.g. 1.17, 30, 53, 60.

For devoted readers of the *Second Philippic*, Cicero's choice of style to criticize Antony in the next section is rather surprising.

IV. The second line of argument for honoring Sulpicius with a statue. The blame for Sulpicius' death attaches to Antony himself. A statue will be a monument to the war with Antony. (7)

7 (#27) cuius cum adventu maxime perturbatus esset Antonius, quod ea quae sibi iussu vestro denuntiarentur auctoritate erant et sententia Ser. Sulpici constituta, declaravit quam odisset senatum, cum auctorem senatus exstinctum laete atque insolenter tulit. (#28) non igitur magis Leptines Octavium nec Veientium rex eos quos modo nominavi quam Ser. Sulpicium occidit Antonius: (#29) is enim profecto mortem attulit qui causa mortis fuit. (#30) quocirca etiam ad posteritatis memoriam pertinere arbitror exstare quod fuerit de hoc bello iudicium senatus. (#31) erit enim statua ipsa testis bellum tam grave fuisse ut legati interitus honoris memoriam consecutus sit.

For an explicit criticism of Antony (#27), one would expect a style harshly critical of an adversary like Vehemence. Aimed at someone who is less important than the speaker, it is full of commands, exclamations, and pointing expressions in its approach; harsh sounding language and coined metaphors; apostrophe; and choppy clauses with no hint of metrical patterns (H 260-64).⁸¹

In its thought sentence #27 is somewhat vehement: *declaravit quam odisset senatum*, *laete atque insolenter tulit*. The doublet, *laete* (*h*) *atque* (*h*) *insolenter*, approaches vehemence and the two instances of hiatus convey that Cicero is emotional, but the main and subordinate clauses are relatively long, no pointing expressions call out Antony and the clausula is metrical, a double cretic. One can see, then, a mixture of Vehemence in thought and Brilliance in clauses and cadences. Hermogenes calls this mixture of styles Florescence (269-77). A sudden shift to Vehemence would be too artificial because it takes time to generate strong emotion, and Vehemence would be too jolting in an epideictic speech. Therefore, the

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⁸¹ Hermogenes quotes Demosthenes criticism of Philip—"he is a barbarian, a wretched Macedonian"—as an example (260).

modulation in tone from Brilliance (#26) to Florescence (#27) is more convincing as Cicero separates Antony from other Romans by showing how little he cared about Sulpicius' health.

As Cicero targets Antony, he shortens the next two sentences by almost halves, 33 (#27) to 17 (#28) to 9 (#29) words. In sentence #28, he breaks the pattern of nominative/direct object (*Leptines Octavium*; *rex eos*) with the direct object/nominative (*Sulpicium occidit Antonius*), setting off *Antonius* and picking him out. Sentence #29 drives home emphatically Cicero's key point in nine words: the one who caused Sulpicius' death bears responsibility for it. This hammering effect derives not from a particular sentence type, but from the movement of long sentences to a very short one. *2 #29 also generates stronger emotion than #28: *is* points straight to Antony, producing vehemence (H 262-63). And yet a consistent metrical pattern in the clausulae of sentences #27-#29 links them together (double cretics), and keeps the expression from becoming too fierce. Conclusive particles—*igitur*, *quocirca*, #28, #30—and the argumentative particle *enim* in both #29 and #31 also convey that Cicero is arguing on the basis of reasons, not only of emotion.

Sentences #30 and #31 demonstrate Hermogenes' point that words of one or two syllables are beautiful (298-99), words of three syllables or more solemn and stately (309). *quocirca etiam ad posteritatis memoriam pertinere arbitror exstare quod*—the gravity of the thought is paired with mostly words of three syllables or more that slow the sentence down and burden it. No words in sentence #31 are either long or difficult to pronounce or intellectually demanding— *erit enim statua ipsa testis bellum tam grave*—and the repetitions of sound are pleasing. In contrast, the rest of this sentence returns to long words and a solemn

⁸² In *pro Archia*, a judicial speech that contains epideictic elements and has much in common with the *Ninth Philippic*, short sentences nail Cicero's points. For example, after Cicero proves that Archias has followed the conditions for citizenship, he says "si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est" (8).

tone in order to reflect the seriousness of the issue: fuisse ut legati interitus honoris memoriam consecutus sit.

In the next section, Cicero keeps using a style of blame but he increases the bite of the criticism slightly, as if beginning to growl and to show his teeth. He modulates from Florescence to Asperity in order to censure the senators themselves.

V. The third line of argument for honoring Sulpicius with a statue. Because the senators themselves pressed Sulpicius into service, they too are responsible for his death. A statue will redress that injury. (8-10.29)

(#32) quod si excusationem Ser. Sulpici, patres conscripti, legationis obeundae recordari volueritis, nulla dubitatio relinquetur quin honore mortui quam vivo iniuriam fecimus sarciamus. (#33) vos enim, patres conscripti, - grave dictu est sed dicendum tamen - vos, inquam, Ser. Sulpicium vita privastis: quem cum videretis re magis morbum quam oratione excusantem, non vos quidem crudeles fuistis - quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit? - sed cum speraretis nihil esse quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis atque eum qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum iudicavisset de sententia deiecistis. (#34) ut vero Pansae consulis accessit cohortatio gravior quam aures Ser. Sulpici ferre didicissent, tum vero denique filium meque seduxit atque ita locutus est ut auctoritatem vestram vitae suae se diceret anteferre. (#35) cuius nos virtutem admirati non ausi sumus adversari voluntati. (#36) movebatur singulari pietate filius; non multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat: sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi orationisque gravitati, cum quidem ille maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum pollicitus est se quod velletis esse facturum, neque eius sententiae periculum vitaturum cuius ipse auctor fuisset: quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus. (#37) qui quidem discedens me cum ita locutus est ut eius oratio omen fati videretur. (#38) Reddite igitur, patres conscripti, ei vitam cui ademistis. (#39) vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum. (#40) perficite ut is quem vos inscii ad mortem misistis immortalitatem habeat a vobis. (#41) cui si statuam in rostris decreto vestro statueritis, nulla eius legationem posteritatis obscurabit oblivio.

Sentence #32 is a logical period. Cicero does not place the main thought at the beginning of the sentence (an analytical period) nor suspends it to the end (a suspenseful period), but he arranges the ideas in the order in which they occurred. Here one can see a chronological order: Sulpicius' mission, the recognition of an obligation to Sulpicius (main clause), and fu-

ture repayment. Cicero continues to appear to reason methodically, the *quod si* continuing the argument.

Shifting from Florescence to Asperity, sentence #33 is extraordinary for its length. At 68 words, it is the longest sentence so far, forming a major hill in the speech. The shift from first person plural to second person plural also removes Cicero from the blame. In terms of severity of criticism, Asperity lies between Vehemence (strongest) and Florescence (weakest) (H 254-60). Like Vehemence, pointing expressions, exclamations, commands, and questions make the speaker's point. Clauses are short, choppy. Unlike Vehemence, however, Asperity is critical of someone *more* important than the speaker: Cicero treats the senate as more important than himself, as he always does in the *Philippics*.

He uses many pointing expressions in a short space in sentence #33—three instances of vos and one direct address (patres conscripti). But he mitigates his criticism somewhat: grave dictu est sed dicendum; non vos quidem crudeles fuistis. The question quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit? also softens his censure. The clauses, initially short—vos, inquam, Ser. Sulpicium vita privastis—lengthen as the sentence turns to Sulpicius' respect for the senate's consensus. This creates the impression that Cicero is moving from anger and accusation to more restraint. No harsh sounding language or metaphors stand out. The double spondee in the clausula reflects the gravity of the senate's decision to change Sulpicius' mind. In order not to alienate his audience, Cicero takes care not to criticize his audience too long or too harshly. And yet this sentence begins with strong criticism, a characteristic more of Asperity than Florescence.

⁸³ The effect of pointing expressions can also be seen in the *Seventh Philippic* as Cicero attacks Antony's supporters who are consulars: "faveas **tu** hosti? ille litteras ad **te** mittat de sua spe rerum secundarum? eas tu laetus proferas, recites, describendas etiam des improbis civibus, eorum augeas animos, bonorum spem virtutemque debilites, et **te** consularem aut senatorem, denique civem putes?"

Cicero shortens the next two sentences #34 and #35 dramatically, from 68 to 31 to 9 words, again bringing the shortest sentence into sharp relief. Manuwald observes that the unusual grouping of the three adverbs *tum vero denique* in #34 signals the climax of Sulpicius' decision to undertake the embassy. Each adverb functions, according to her, individually: *tum*, time; *vero*, intensification or climax; *denique*, end of a development. Yet Manuwald overlooks what I consider an important point about these adverbs: *tum vero* ties the main clause to the subordinate clause *ut vero... didicissent. denique* breaks strict parallelism, as we have seen Cicero do so many times. *tum vero denique* expands, moreover, from one syllable to two syllables to three syllables. The real climax emerges if we take these three adverbs together.

Sentence #35 is striking not only for its force, but also for the ornamentation in such a short sentence. Homoioteleuton, assonance, and alliteration—all figures of Beauty—ring pleasantly in the ear: *admirati...ausi...adversari voluntati*. #35 is very similar to sentence #15 in musical effect: *nemo tum novitati invidebat; nemo virtutem non honorabat*. Ornamentation and sentence-length do not exclude each other, as some critics seem to think. One purpose for modulating from Asperity to Beauty is to avoid seeming shrill. Cicero adds some sweetness to bitter criticism, some honey to the lip of the senators' cup.

Ornamentation increases in #36, a sentence that swells out to 54 words. Although heavily subordinated, this period is made up of clauses that Cicero artfully connects to one another:

movebatur singulari pietate filius; non multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat: sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi orationisque gravitati, cum quidem ille maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum pollicitus est se quod velletis esse facturum,

⁸⁴ 1072

neque eius sententiae periculum vitaturum cuius ipse auctor fuisset:

quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus.

Copulative asyndeton connects *filius; non multum*. The ablative phrase *singulari pietate* is remarkable for its balance. Each word contains four syllables. *singulari* indirectly praises Sulpicius as an exceptional father. *non multum...sed uterque*, an instance of kata arsin kai thesin, draws contrast with the first two clauses and emphasizes shared feelings (*uterque no-strum*). Calling attention to Sulpicius' virtues is the chiastic word order *magnitudini animi orationisque gravitati*. Here Cicero expresses a close, personal relationship with Sulpicius and his family.⁸⁵

Throughout this speech Cicero repeats the same points about Sulpicius' actions in slightly different ways. One can see this in the recurrence of *exsequi mandata vestra properantem* from sentence #26 *at ille properans*, *festinans*, *mandata vestra conficere cupiens*. What is different, however, is that Cicero now makes no mention of Sulpicius' disease, as he does in #26 (*in hac constantia morbo adversante perseveravit*). At this point in the speech, Cicero has shifted the blame from the disease to the senate and he reminds them of their guilt.

The brevity of sentence #37 sharply contrasts with the length of #36. Here the alternation of length signals a change of style. Sentences #38-#41 modulate back into Asperity and then into Beauty. A pair of imperatives (*reddite*, #38; *perficite*, #40), some mitigation of the criticism (*inscii*, #40), inconsistent metrical patterns (two examples of a cretic + spondee, two examples of a fourth paeon + spondee, and one example of a double cretic, respectively) and short, direct sentences with little or no subordination (14 words or less) reflect the criti-

⁸⁵ Braund points out that asserting a personal relationship between panegyrist and his subject characterizes both Cicero's panegyrics of Caesar and Pliny's panegyrics of Trajan (70).

cism of more important people by someone who is less important. The two examples of one fourth paeon + one spondee in #39 and #40 are striking because they occur in this speech only here.

In commenting on paeons Quintilian notes that many excellent scholars (*doctissimos homines*, 9.4.87) prefer this foot because poets rarely use it, and in *Orator* Cicero himself says that it is the most pleasant and stately rhythm. ⁸⁶ It follows, then, that Cicero intends these two sentences to stand out, and they are perhaps the two most fundamental ideas of his argument. The dead continue to live in the memory of the living; the senators can ensure that Sulpicius will continue to live. Framed by *vita* and *vivorum*, by memorable alliteration, sentence #39 reads like a proverb.

Ornamentation and clause-length increase in sentence #41, marking a transition from Asperity to Beauty. Cicero uses paronomasia with *statuam...statueritis*, here a play on the etymology of *statua*, which is derived from *statuo*. This figure reinforces through sound that a decree of the senate and a statue share an affinity of intention. Both establish something authoritative: the statue establishes a definition of the good citizen, the senate's decree a denouncement of Antony. The author of *Ad Herennium* remarks that plays upon words should be used rarely because "their labor seems impossible without labor and pains" (4.32). Wordplay gives grace and beauty to a speech, he goes on to say, but if an orator uses it too frequently, his speech will seem artificial and more like entertainment than a serious case. ⁸⁷ Cicero reserves, then, this striking ornament to make the thought memorable. Alliteration (*si statuam*) and assonance (*obscurabit oblivio*) produce a memorable effect. The strong hyper-

⁸⁶ "Nam et qui paeana praetereunt non vident mollissimum a sese numerum eundemque amplissimum praeteriri" (191-192).

⁸⁷ cf. Quintilian 9.3.66-7.

baton of *nulla...oblivio* emphasizes *eius legationem posteritatis obscurabit*. Again and again Cicero points to the embassy and to the conflict with Antony.

Cicero enriches the style with more ornamentation in the next section, using mostly Beauty to make his final argument.

VI. The fourth, and final, line of argument. A statue will be a testament to posterity of Sulpicius' virtuous life. (10.30-13)

(#42) Nam reliqua Ser. Sulpici vita multis erit praeclarisque monumentis ad omnem memoriam commendata. (#43) semper illius gravitatem, constantiam, fidem, praestantem in re publica tuenda curam atque prudentiam omnium mortalium fama celebrabit. (#44) nec vero silebitur admirabilis quaedam et incredibilis ac paene divina eius in legibus interpretandis, aequitate explicanda scientia. (#45) omnes ex omni aetate qui in civitate intellegentiam iuris habuerunt si unum in locum conferantur, cum Ser. Sulpicio non sint comparandi. (#46) nec enim ille magis iuris consultus quam iustitiae fuit. (#47) ita ea quae proficiscebantur a legibus et ab iure civili semper ad facilitatem aequitatemque referebat, neque instituere litium actiones malebat quam controversias tollere. (#48) Ergo hoc statuae monumento non eget; habet alia maiora. (#49) haec enim statua mortis honestae testis erit, illa memoria vitae gloriosae, ut hoc magis monumentum grati senatus quam clari viri futurum sit. (#50) multum etiam valuisse ad patris honorem pietas fili videbitur; qui quamquam adflictus luctu non adest, tamen sic animati esse debetis ut si ille adesset. (#51) est autem ita adfectus ut nemo umquam unici fili mortem magis doluerit quam ille maeret patris. (#52) et quidem etiam ad famam Ser. Sulpici fili arbitror pertinere ut videatur honorem debitum patri praestitisse. (#53) quamquam nullum monumentum clarius Ser. Sulpicius relinquere potuit quam effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiae, pietatis, ingeni filium, cuius luctus aut hoc honore vestro aut nullo solacio levari potest. (#54) Mihi autem recordanti Ser. Sulpici multos in nostra familiaritate sermones gratior illi videtur, si qui est sensus in morte, aenea statua futura et ea pedestris quam inaurata equestris, qualis L. Sullae primum statu<t>a est. (#55) mirifice enim Servius maiorum continentiam diligebat, huius saeculi insolentiam vituperabat. (#56) ut igitur si ipsum consulam quid velit, sic pedestrem ex aere statuam tamquam ex eius auctoritate et voluntate decerno: quae quidem magnum civium dolorem et desiderium honore monumenti minuet et leniet.

Four thoughts organize this section. One, Sulpicius possessed virtues like gravity, steadfastness, faithfulness, diligence and wisdom. ⁸⁸ Two, he had an unparalleled expertise in

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⁸⁸ In these general terms Cicero also praises Caesar for his *sapientia*, *iustitia*, *aequitas*, *liberalitas*, *bonitas*, *clementia*, Pompey for his *innocentia*, *temperantia*, *fides*, *facilitas*, *ingenium*, *humanitas*, among other qualities.

law. ⁸⁹ Three, his son brings him glory as a father and he will be comforted by a statue. Four, a bronze statue on foot would be in accordance with Sulpicius' sense of restraint and hatred of excess. What unites these thoughts is the implicit argument that Sulpicius' character justifies a statue. Since none of these thoughts relate remarkable, illustrious acts, the style is not Brilliant, but Beautiful. To produce Beauty Hermogenes says that an orator must arrange the speech with symmetry and proportion (H 297). To achieve symmetry and proportion in this section, Cicero uses paired words, paired phrases and even sentences paired through length.

Exactly half of the sentences in this section—seven out of fourteen—contain comparatives that express both likeness and difference: 90

(#46) nec...magis...quam; (#47) neque...malebat quam; (#48) maiora; (#49) magis...quam; (#51) magis...quam; (#53) quamquam...clarius...quam; (#54) gratior... quam

Here one can see Cicero prefers the comparative adverb *magis* + the comparative conjunction *quam* in order to create syntactic balance between parts of speech. He balances two nouns: *nec enim ille magis iuris consultus quam iustitiae fuit* (#46). He switches parts of speech in sentence # 47 and balances complementary infinitives and direct objects in a chiasmus: *neque instituere litium actiones malebat quam controversias tollere*. Because two sentences in a row have *quam*, the audience expects a third usage in sentence #48. Instead, Cicero thwarts the listener's expectations with *habet alia maiora* to sharpen the statement that Sulpicius does not require a statue. Vague phrases like *alia maiora* also enlarge the scope of the speech, evoking many thoughts not stated.

42

⁸⁹ incredibilis ac paene divina...scientia is remarkably close to Pompey's incredibilis ac divina virtus (33).

⁹⁰ The use of comparatives also characterizes Cicero's praises of Caesar and Pompey.

Next Cicero balances two nouns and two adjectives: ut hoc magis monumentum grati senatus quam clari viri futurum sit (#49). In a more ornate construction, he balances two nominatives, two genitives and two verbs: ut nemo umquam unici fili mortem magis doluerit quam ille maeret patris (#51). Soon he switches again and uses the comparative adjectives clarius to balance two nouns—monumentum clarius Ser. Sulpicius relinquere potuit quam effigiem (#53)—and gratior to balance two adjectives—gratior illi videtur, si qui est sensus in morte, aenea statua futura et ea pedestris quam inaurata equestris (#54). In sum, then, Cicero creates Beauty through balanced comparisons, varying the parts of speech in order to avoid monotony and create stylistic range.

Doublets in the phrases of four sentences also achieve balance:

(#42) multis...praeclarisque monumentis; (#43) curam atque prudentiam; (#47) a legibus et ab iure... ad facilitatem aequitatemque; (#56) ex eius auctoritate et voluntate... dolorem et desiderium...minuet et leniet.

Cicero varies his approach to making doublets with –que, atque and et. Sentence #56 is especially striking because it contains three doublets; two verbs with the same number of syllables form the last one. The coordinating adverbs ut...sic at the beginning of this same sentence adds another element of balance. At 31 words, it follows one of the shortest sentences in the speech (10 words), swelling out with moderately long clauses that are created in part by these doublets. This sentence demonstrates so much symmetry, so much Beauty, because it forms the conclusion (igitur) for this section.

Here sentence-length in most cases takes one of two forms: either Cicero pairs short sentences of equal length (#43 and #44, 17 words; #46 and #48, 9 words; #51 and #52, 16 words) or he brings long sentences up against short sentences (#45 and #46, 21 to 9 words; #47 and #48, 23 to 9 words; #54 and #55, 34 to 10 words). The alternation of long and short

sentences sets a leisurely and moderate pace. And, indeed, one can feel this effect more or less throughout the speech. Listeners do not strain to follow too many lengthy periods or rapid statements in a row. This mixture creates mildness, and makes the passage intellectually undemanding to follow.

Pairs of short sentences, on the other hand, create forceful expressions. The two shortest sentences in this particular passage, #46 and #48 (9 words), bring into sharp relief Sulpicius' excellences. Although these sentences do not contain moderately long clauses, nevertheless they demonstrate typical figures of Beauty. #46 exhibits a balance of nouns in a comparative clause that was discussed above. Copulative asyndeton and chiasmus decorate #48: ergo hoc statuae monumento non eget; habet alia maiora.

Other figures and rhythms of Beauty stand out. Cicero organizes Sulpicius' virtues into a triplet (gravitatem, constantiam, fidem) and a doublet (curam atque prudentiam) in sentence #43; the participle and prepositional phrase praestantem in re publica tuenda divides the units. Here atque is additive: it adds a second element, prudentiam, which has more force and weight than curam. Again the effect is one of emphasis. By extension, he plays upon the expectations of a triplet and doublet in sentence #53: effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiae, pietatis, ingeni filium; filium stands in apposition to effigiem. If one removes the commas, which virtues belong to Sulpicius and which to his son? Given that Cicero says pietas fili videbitur (#50), the natural break occurs after constantiae, but the lack of a pause breaks the structure. This creates the impression that the excellences of Sulpicius and his son blend together.

The one instance of a word in different cases in the *Ninth Philippic* (*omnes ex omni*, #45) is striking. Quintilian discusses polyptoton in the context of figures based on addition

⁹¹ Allen and Greenough 324b.

that give "charm and force to the thought itself" (*ipsis sensibus cum gratiam tum etiam vires accommodat*, 9.3.28). *omnes ex omni* here adds force to the claim that Sulpicius' legal knowledge is unparalleled. Asyndeton (e.g., *in legibus interpretandis, aequitate explicanda*, #44) and pleasing rhythms—mostly cretics and trochees—abound. Here asyndeton and trochees give the impression that the list could rush on.

This section sparkles as the artistic showpiece of the speech. To praise and give glory to Sulpicius, which is the primary concern of epideictic, Cicero has brought Beauty into every sentence, both long and short, demonstrating a range of style. ⁹² To praise someone in a way that comes across as sincere is hard. Since Cicero varies his ornamentation and keeps the speech from becoming too artificial, the audience experiences a sense of pleasure in what Sulpicius' abilities and efforts are capable of achieving. This behavior becomes a model for other senators that can be imitated in this time of crisis. Sulpicius, as a model for behavior, fosters a norm, since the senators are given a set of standards to gauge performance by. Antony, on this model, comes off very badly, and this shows how different he is from most Romans.

The next section returns to objections for giving Sulpicius a statue and, as one would expect in an argumentative tone, modulates from Beauty back to Distinctness.

VII. Cicero circles back to Publius Servilius' objection to giving Sulpicius a statue. The statue will be a mark of Antony's criminal boldness. (14-15.6)

(#57) Atque hanc meam sententiam, patres conscripti, P. Servili sententia comprobari necesse est: qui sepulcrum publice decernendum Ser. Sulpicio censuit, statuam non censuit. (#58) nam si mors legati sine caede atque ferro nullum honorem desiderat,

⁹² His range of style is relative. The most extreme example of stylistic variation in Western literature that I know of is Raymond Queneau's *Exercices de Style* (1947). The plot is simple: a man sees a stranger twice. Queneau tells this story in 99 different ways.

cur decernit honorem sepulturae, qui maximus haberi potest mortuo? (#59) sin id tribuit Ser. Sulpicio, quod non est datum Cn. Octavio, cur quod illi datum est huic dandum esse non censet? (#60) maiores quidem nostri statuas multis decreverunt, sepulcra paucis. (#61) sed statuae intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate, sepulcrorum autem sanctitas in ipso solo est, quod nulla vi moveri neque deleri potest, atque, ut cetera exstinguuntur, sic sepulcra sanctiora fiunt vetustate. (#62) augeatur igitur isto honore etiam is vir cui nullus honos tribui non debitus potest; grati simus in eius morte decoranda cui nullam iam aliam gratiam referre possumus. (#63) notetur etiam M. Antoni nefarium bellum gerentis scelerata audacia. (#64) his enim honoribus habitis Ser. Sulpicio repudiatae reiectaeque legationis ab Antonio manebit testificatio sempiterna.

hanc meam sententiam (#57) signals that Cicero is bringing his argument to a close, an approach to thought Hermogenes calls a "completion" (symplēroseis, 237). Cicero puts his counterproposition—Servilius' proposal necessarily (necesse est) includes his own proposal—before his refutation. In order to delineate clearly the absurdity of Servilius' position, Cicero divides it into measured parts in sentences #58 and #59: he uses si...sin conditions that exclude each other, he employs nearly the same number of words in each sentence (20 and 21, respectively), and he uses parallel constructions (the si-clause, then the apodosis in the form of a rhetorical question).

One way to restate the indirect proof briefly is as follows. Servilius' objection (to-be-refuted) and his proposal yield a contradiction. No statue but a public burial is inconsistent because a public burial is a far greater honor than a statue. After Cicero refutes Servilius' objection, he cleverly incorporates Servilius' proposal into his own on the grounds that a public burial implies Sulpicius deserves every honor. Therefore, both a statue and a public burial should be granted to him. The argument so stated would be too boring, too logical. The rhetorical questions evoke passion, distracting the audience from thinking too hard about Cicero's logic. 93

⁹³ His reasoning is, in fact, fallacious, a weakness of which he is well-aware. If (P) Sulpicius deserves a statue and a public burial, then (Q) he is worthy of every honor. Cicero argues that (Q) he is worthy of every honor.

Repetitions of what Cicero has said earlier create Distinctness. He repeats key words—decernendum (#57), decernit (#58), decreverunt (#60); sententiam...sententia (#57); honorem...honorem (#58), honore...honos (#62), honoribus (#64); censuit (#57), censet (#59), sepulcrum (#57), sepulcra (#60), sepulcrorum...sepulcra (#61); statuam (#57), statuas (#60), statuae (#61); Datum...datum...dandum (#59)—in order to make his organization orderly and clear. The syntax of these sentences is straight-forward and paratactic. Few sentences subordinate. The two shortest sentences (#60, 8 words; #63, 9 words) display no subordination. They are forceful and certain and clear. notetur in sentence #63—notetur etiam M. Antoni nefarium bellum gerentis scelerata audacia may allude to a sentence in the First Philippic, with a twist: haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam (32). Directly addressing Antony, Cicero exhorts him to remember that he branded Caesar's name, the name of a dictator, to infamy, and questions why he is now acting against the state. The twist is that by the time of the Ninth Philippic Cicero is calling for Antony's own audacity to be branded.

Now that the listener understands clearly what is being said, Cicero concludes with three sentences, two of which are the longest in the speech. These two mountains display the heights of Beauty and overwhelm the hearer with proofs.

VIII. Cicero makes his formal motion to honor Sulpicius with a statue and a public burial. (15.7-17)

(#65) Quas ob res ita censeo: "Cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus difficillimo rei publicae tempore, gravi periculosoque morbo adfectus, auctoritatem senatus, salutem rei publicae vitae suae praeposuerit contraque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut in castra M. Antoni quo senatus eum miserat perveniret, isque, cum iam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus vitam amiserit maximo rei publicae tem-

Therefore, (P) Sulpicius deserves a public burial and a statue. The fallacy is to affirm the consequent Q, overlooking alternative rewards. Even if the premises P and Q are true, the conclusion is not guaranteed.

pore, eiusque mors consentanea vitae fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque actae in qua saepe magno usui rei publicae Ser. Sulpicius et privatus et in magistratibus fuerit: cum talis vir ob rem publicam in legatione mortem obierit, senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui, circumque eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere, eamque causam in basi inscribi quod is ob rem publicam mortem obierit; utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videatur, quaestoribus urb<an>is imperent ut eam basim statuamque faciendam et in rostris statuendam locent, quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvendamque curent. (#66) Cumque antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, placere eum quam amplissime supremo suo die efferri. (#67) et cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus ita de re publica meritus sit ut eis ornamentis decorari debeat, senatum censere atque e re publica existimare aedilis curulis edictum quod de funeribus habeant Ser. Sulpici Q. f. Lemonia Rufi funeri remittere: utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquo versus adsignet quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur; quod sepulcrum ipsius, liberorum posterorumque eius esset, uti quod optimo iure publice sepulcrum datum esset."

With these three Beautiful sentences Cicero summarizes the speech. If we outline them, we can see that, despite their length, the syntax is not terribly complicated. All three sentences exhibit, in fact, the same structures, and this parallelism parses the periods for the audience. *Quas ob res ita censeo* introduces five indirect statements (and one indirect command) that are paratactically arranged. Sentences so formed appear stable and authoritative: ⁹⁴

Sentence #65: Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui,

circum**que eam statuam** locum ludis gladiatoribusque liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere,

eamque causam in basi inscribi quod is ob rem publicam mortem obierit;

utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videatur, quaestoribus urb<an>is imperent

Sentence #66: placere

⁹⁴ A stability of organization is also present in *pro Lege Manilia*. About this speech Mackendrick says it "is perhaps the most elegantly structured of all Cicero's speeches. It is proportioned, balanced, harmonious: the rhetorical equivalent of the harmony of the orders which was Cicero's lifelong ideal" (14).

Sentence #67: senatum censere atque e re publica existimare

Repetition of *statuam*, the demonstratives *eam* and the conjunction –*que* in sentence #65 all keep the audience from getting lost. Gotoff remarks that "the success of the periodic style lies in its ability to signal what is to follow…the author must plant unmistakable sign-posts for what is to come." By this measure Cicero is successful: his orderly decorum gives clarity to the thoughts. In order to create a tricolon and move away from predictability, he varies the indirect statements with an indirect command.

cum-casual clauses interrupt and precede these indirect statements in these three sentences to create suspense: 96

Sentence #65: "Cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus difficillimo rei publicae tempore, gravi periculosoque morbo adfectus, auctoritatem senatus, salutem rei publicae vitae suae praeposuerit (V #1)

contra**que** vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit (V #2), ut in castra M. Antoni quo senatus eum miserat perveniret

isque, cum iam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus vitam amiserit (V #3) maximo rei publicae tempore, (abl of time within which)

eiusque mors consentanea vitae fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque actae (V #4) in qua saepe magno usui rei publicae Ser. Sulpicius et privatus et in magistratibus fuerit:

cum talis vir ob rem publicam in legatione mortem obierit

Sentence #66: **Cumque** antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit,

Sentence #67: **et cum** Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus ita de re publica meritus sit Again repetition (*cum*), deictics (*is, eius, talis*) and –*que* form road signs, as it were, that direct the audience through these moderately long clauses. The repetition of the name *Ser*.

⁹⁵ 1979, 71.

⁹⁶ Cicero's eulogy in the *Fourteenth Philippic* for the soldiers who fell at the first battle of Mutina follows the same basic organization (36-38): *ita censeo*, *cum*-clauses, indirect statements, indirect commands. What's more striking is that Cicero also uses three sentences in this formal proposal: two long sentences separated by a short one. Space forbids a detailed comparison of his eulogy for the soldiers and for Sulpicius here. I hope to return to this project.

Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus from the first cum-clause (#65) generates a sense of closure in the last one (#67). Parallelism extends within these cum-clauses also. Remarkable because of its perfect symmetry of syllables—thirteen in each phrase—is difficillimo rei publicae tempore and gravi periculosoque morbo adfectus.

Even more remarkable is that another instance of asyndeton and a perfect symmetry of syllables immediately follows: *auctoritatem senatus, salutem rei publicae* (eight syllables each). Cicero balances an ablative of time within which and a perfect passive participle + an ablative of means again after the *isque*: *vi morbi oppressus vitam amiserit maximo rei publicae tempore*. But this time he avoids complete symmetry by varying the number of syllables and by separating the phrases with *vitam amiserit*. The doublet *sanctissime honestissimeque* (#65) generates the strongest praise. Finally, alliteration and assonance—*fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit* (#66)—call attention to themselves.

The indirect statements, which *censeo* governs, introduce either more indirect statements or indirect commands:

Sentence #65: ut **eam basim statuamque** faciendam et in rostris statuendam locent, quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvendamque curent.

Sentence #66: **eum** quam amplissime supremo suo die efferri.

Sentence #67: aedilis curulis edictum quod de funeribus habeant Ser. Sulpici Q. f. Lemonia Rufi funeri remittere:

utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquo versus adsignet quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur;

quod sepulcrum ipsius, liberorum posterorumque eius esset,

uti quod optimo iure publice sepulcrum datum esset."

Here too repetition of key words (*statuam*, *sepulcrum*) and demonstratives (*eam*, *eum*, *ipsius*) offer mutually reinforcing echoes for the audience. Doublets in sentence #65 (*basim sta-*

the isocolon of direct object-gerundive-verb (eam basim statuamque faciendam et in rostris statuendam lucent...tantam pecuniam ...attribuendam solvendamque curent) adds symmetry. quantique locaverint (#65) is interwoven to create a brief pause and to prevent the construction from appearing too artificial. Cicero also interweaves relative clauses—quod de funeribus habeant and seu quo in loco videbitur—to create hyperbaton in sentence #67. The latter instance expresses deference to the chair of the meeting, the consul Pansa, and makes Cicero seem modest. He does not dictate too much.

On two mountain-tops the speech ends (163 and 79 words). A small hill (19 words) separates them. A long sentence (#65) followed by a short one (#66) gives the audience a chance to catch its breath. Suspended to the ends of the sentences is the completion of the main thoughts, which *quas ob res ita censeo* introduces. These three sentences form, then, suspenseful periods. Many ornaments make these sentences Beautiful, but the parallel syntax is what is most striking. Connection, balance, calm. This syntax symbolizes the order that will be restored when people like Sulpicius, not like Antony, govern the state again. The final sentence swells out, its last two thoughts referring to Sulpicius' children and descendants, and the legal title for the sepulcher. The sepulcher will represent the honor not only of Sulpicius' family, but also of the senate itself. Cicero presents a model of the senate which acts with full legality. He stands ready as its helmsman.

In conclusion, Cicero has at once restricted and enlarged the field of epideictic. He has cut all the fat from his early and middle styles, but he has kept the choicest parts appropriate for panegyric. This variety of styles has never been seen before in his epideictic speeches. To praise Sulpicius is at once to brand Antony's boldness. In the *Thirteenth Phi*-

lippic Cicero mentions Sulpicius one last time to generate hostility against Antony (29). The *Ninth* itself can be seen as a statue, as it were, from one orator who glides grandly and swiftly, but not uncritically across the very waters of the senate that have both ruined and preserved the state, a state he sees in crisis. The *Ninth Philippic* stands as one monument of the good in the flood.

APPENDIX I: STYLES OF EPIDEICTIC, A HOW-TO-GUIDE FOR GRANDEUR ${\tt STYLES\ OF\ PRAISE}$

Elements of Style	Solemnity	Brilliance	Abundance	Beauty
Thought	describe gods, nature, philoso- phy, glorious af- fairs, abstract or universal expres- sions	describe remarka- ble, illustrious acts	add extraneous thoughts: conse- quences and ante- cedents of what happened; use unnecessary words, phrases, details, and sen- tences	n/a
Approach to the Thought	make direct statements without hesitation	describe Brilliant acts with dignity; narrate them without digres- sions; state confi- dently and honor- ably	reverse order of facts; put reasons or proofs or amplifications of the statement before the statement itself (delay); use polysyndeton; defined and undefined; repetitions and patterning; put a hypothetical situation first to make the audience wonder what the actual situation is (suspense); use subordinate clauses; copulative constructions of negation ("not this, but that"); dense constructions	n/a
Diction	use words with long vowels, diphthongs; mod- erate metaphori- cal expressions; substantival words and nouns; few verbs	use same as Solemnity	n/a	use short words composed of only a few syllables; same as Purity

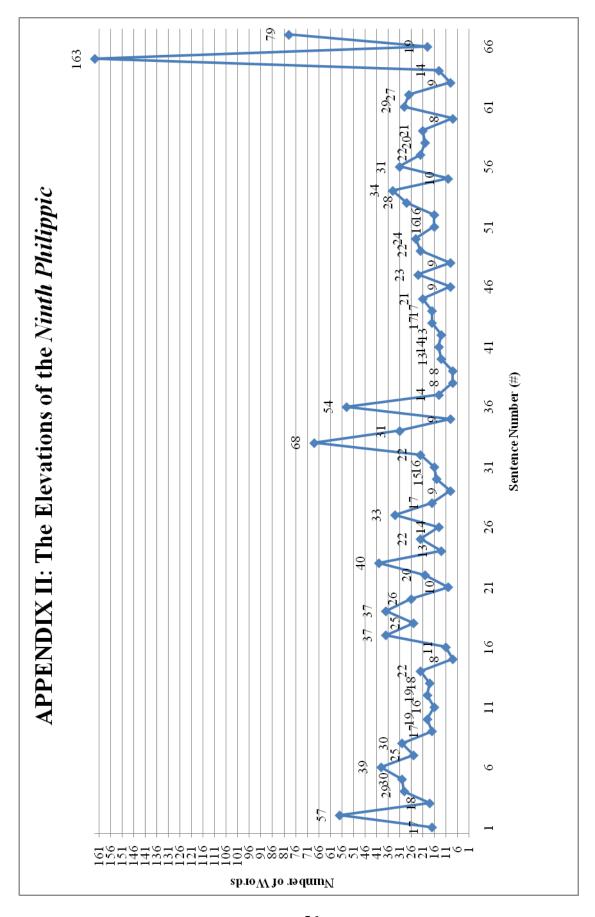
Elements of Style	Solemnity	Brilliance	Abundance	Beauty
Figures	use straight- forward construc- tions with the noun in the no- minative case; do not amplify the thought; no hesi- tation, direct ad- dress or paren- theses	use direct denials; indicate fresh starts; asyndeton; other figures of Beauty strengthen Brilliant thoughts	use synonymity; enumeration; re- petition with de- lay; fictitious suppositions; subordinate clauses; delayed and incomplete divisions; inser- tions; lists; paren- theses	use balanced and parallel phrases; epanaphora; antistrophe, epanastrophe; climax; divisions of paired thoughts in clauses of equal length; novel expressions; polyptoton, litotes, assonance, homeoteleuton, isocolon, hyperbaton
Clauses	use short clauses that express a complete thought	use longer and more expansive clauses than So- lemn ones	use any clauses typical of other styles	use moderately long clauses with no hiatus; can use short clauses, but interweave them with one another such that the thought in each is not completed, but make them all be taken together; intellectually not demanding
Word Order	word order should create long syl- lables and diph- thongs: dactyls, spondees, ana- pests, paeons, epitrites, iambs; avoid trochees and ionic feet	use same as Solemnity	use any word or- der typical of oth- er styles	avoid clashing of vowels; produce metrical configu- rations appropri- ate to the thought; alternate short words with long ones; some words should have one accent, others more
Cadences	use broad sounds that force the mouth open and slow down the clause; use "state- ly cadences": end the clause with a long word that has a long sylla- ble at the end or next to the end	use same as So- lemnity but also add trochees	use any cadences typical of other styles	use "limping rhythms": interrupt the thought and end the cadence with a short word that has a short syllable at the end or next to the end

Elements of Style	Solemnity	Brilliance	Abundance	Beauty
Rhythms	end sentence with	use same as So-	use any rhythms	use rhythms close
	noun or some	lemnity	typical of other	to meter,; avoid
	substantival form		styles	meters found in
	with at least three			poetry
	syllables			

STYLES OF BLAME

Elements of Style	Asperity	[Vehemence ⁹⁷]	Florescence
Thought	reproach more important people	reproach less important people whom the au- dience likes to hear criticized and abused	same as Asperity and Vehemence, but re- proach more gently
Approach to the Thought	make bold and open reproaches with no mitigation of criticism	make reproaches more openly than Asperity	same as Asperity and Vehemence, but fewer commands and point- ing expressions
Diction	use harsh sounding language and severe metaphors	use same as Asperity; also add invented words that sound harsh	same as Asperity and Vehemence, but tone down language
Figures	use exclamations, commands; make points by means of questions	same as Asperity; also use apostrophe, ques- tions to adversary, pointing expressions	use same as Brilliance; also add direct ad- dresses, refutations, parentheses
Clauses	short, choppy	do not use clauses at all, but short phrases	use same as Brilliance, long clauses
Word Order	use no meters; no charm	create pauses after sin- gle words	use same as Brilliance
Cadences	use inconsistent me- trical patterns: end clauses with different kinds of feet	use same as Asperity, but more pronounced	use same as Brilliance
Rhythms	make the rhythms un- harmonious and grat- ing and unpleasant	use same as Asperity, but more pronounced	use same as Brilliance

⁹⁷ Vehemence is not an appropriate style for epideictic, hence brackets. I include it for contrast.



APPENDIX III: RHYTHMS IN CLAUSULAE OF *NINTH PHILIPPIC* AND *SIXTH PHILIPPIC*⁹⁸ (two metrical feet)

Rhythms	9 th : Number of	9 th : Percentage	6 th : Number of	6 th : Percentage
	Sentences		Sentences	
Double trochee	19	28%	31	28%
(u x)				
Cretic + spon-	18	27%	28	25%
dee				
(ux)				
Double cretic	11	16%	14	13%
(u u)				
Double spondee	5	7%	8	7%
(X)				
First paeon +	4	6%	9	8%
spondee				
(u u u x)				
Fourth paeon +	2	3%	5	4%
spondee				
(u u u x)				
Cretic + iamb (2	3%	3	3%
u u x)				
Spondee + cretic	2	3%	5	4%
(u x)		4		
Choriamb +	1	1%	0	0
cretic				
(u u u x)		101		
Fourth paeon +	1	1%	0	0
cretic				
(u u u u x)	1	10/	0	0
Dactyl + cretic	1	1%	0	0
(u u u x)	1	10/	0	0
Choriamb +	1	1%	0	0
spondee				
(u u x)	0	0	9	8.5%
Others	U	U	9	8.3%

⁹⁸ Analysis of *Sixth Philippic* taken from Laurand 1965, 161-164. Habinek 1985, 171-174 compares Laurand's results for clausulae in the final two feet of the sentence with his own analysis of internal clausulae in the *Sixth Philippic* in order to justify the study of internal clausulae. In the same way that I have argued the use of rhythm creates a similarity or a difference in content between *sentences*, he shows that the use of rhythm creates a similarity or a difference in content between *cola*. The problem with Habinek's analysis is that formal criteria for identifying internal clausulae seem arbitrary: some internal clausulae bridge cola or begin in the middle of the word, others do not.

APPENDIX IV: ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL CLAUSULAE IN NINTH PHILIPPI C^{99}

() = e	lision	
I.		
	1.	quaērĕrēmūs. (double trochee)
	2.	debilitatām rělīquīt. (double trochee)
II.		•
	3.	Sulpiciō rĕpĕrĭētūr. (first paeon + spondee)
	4.	nullā rěvērtēndī. (cretic + spondee)
	5.	ēxpěrīrētūr. (cretic + spondee)
	6.	excēssĭt ē vītā. (cretic + spondee)
III.		•
	7.	laūdě dīxīstī. (cretic + spondee)
	8.	īntērfēctūs. (double spondee)
	9.	ēssĕ quaērēndūm. (cretic + spondee)
	10.	mūnŭs aūdācĭūs. (double cretic)
	11.	ēxplĭcāndūm. (double trochee)
III.A.		,
	12.	memōrĭam īn rōstrīs: (cretic + spondee)
	13.	rēddĭdērūnt. (double trochee)
	14.	vidēmus īn rostrīs. (cretic + spondee)
	15.	non honorabat. (cretic + spondee)
	16.	non subesset. (double trochee)
	17.	īntērfēctūs. (double spondee)
	18.	sōlă rēstā[rē]t. (cretic + spondee)
	19.	ŏbĭt(a h)ŏnōrī fŭīt. (fourth paeon + cretic)
III.B.		
	20.	ornandām pŭtārēm. (double trochee)
	21.	īpsă lēgātĭō? (double cretic)
	22.	vitārĕ pŏtŭīssēt. (first paeon + spondee)
	23.	prōfŭīssē. (double trochee)
	24.	curandī pŏtēstās fūīt. (double cretic)
	25.	consulendum. (double trochee)
	26.	pērsĕvērāvīt. (cretic + spondee)
IV.		
	27.	īnsŏlēntēr tŭlīt. (double cretic)
	28.	occīdĭt Āntōnĭūs: (double cretic)
	29.	caūsă mortīs fuīt. (double cretic)
	30.	iudiciūm sĕnātūs. (double trochee)

⁹⁹ Quintilian says that, consulting his own ears, it matters whether the final syllable is long or treated as long: a long syllable marks an ending, a short one only a brief stop (9.4.93-94). To treat the final syllable as "indifferent" and mark it with an "x" is to ignore an important component of a sentence's meaning. Because short syllables produce a light and rapid effect, they are fitting for an argumentative passage like a partition. In the following analysis of individual clasulae, therefore, I have assumed that Cicero draws out and treats final syllables as long to create the solemn tone appropriate for epideictic.

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31.
              consecutus sit. (cretic + spondee)
V.
       32.
              sārcĭāmūs. (double trochee)
       33.
              dēiēcīstīs. (double spondee)
              āntĕfērrē. (double trochee)
       34.
       35.
              adversarī vŏlūntātī. (cretic + spondee)
       36.
              prōsĕcūtī sŭmūs. (double cretic)
       37.
              fatī vĭdērētūr. (cretic + spondee)
       38.
              vitām cu(i) ădēmīstīs. (cretic + spondee)
       39.
              pŏsĭtă vīvōrūm. (fourth paeon + spondee)
       40.
              hăběăt ā vōbīs. (fourth paeon + spondee)
              obscurābĭt ōblīvĭō. (double cretic)
       41.
VI.
       42.
              commendata. (double spondee)
       43.
              fāmă cĕlēbrābīt. (choriamb + spondee)
       44.
              explicandā sciēntiā. (cretic + iamb)
              compărandi. (double trochee)
       45.
              iūstĭtĭaē fŭīt. (dactyl + cretic)
       46.
       47.
              controvērsiās tollerē. (double cretic)
              habět ălĭă măiōrā. (first paeon + spondee; resolution of initial long)
       48.
       49.
              virī fŭtūrūm sīt. (cretic + spondee)
       50.
              s(i) īll(e) ădēssēt. (double trochee)
       51.
              maērēt pātrīs. (double spondee)
       52.
              praēstĭtīssē. (double trochee)
       53.
              solaciō lĕvārī pŏtēst. (double cretic)
              primūm stătū<t>a ēst. (double trochee)
       54.
              insolentiām vĭtŭpĕrābāt. (first paeon + spondee)
       55.
              mīnŭĕt ēt lēnĭēt. (choriamb + cretic)
       56.
VII.
       57.
              statuām non censuīt. (spondee + cretic)
              haberī pŏtēst mōrtŭō? (double cretic)
       58.
       59.
              ēssě non cēnsēt? (cretic + spondee)
              sepūlcră paūcīs. (double trochee)
       60.
              fiunt větustate. (cretic + spondee)
       61.
       62.
              referre possumus. (cretic + iamb)
              scelerāt(a) aūdācĭā. (spondee + cretic)
       63.
              sēmpĭtērnā. (double trochee)
       64.
VIII.
       65.
              solvendāmquĕ cūrēnt. (double trochee)
              suō dĭ(e) ēffērrī. (cretic + spondee)
       66.
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sepulcrūm dăt(um) ēssēt. (double trochee)

67.

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