

7-1-2008

Twinned Fortunes And The Publication Of Cicero's Pro Milone

Aislinn A. Melchior

University of Puget Sound, amelchior@pugetsound.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/faculty_pubs

Citation

Melchior, Aislinn. "Twinned Fortunes and the Publication of Cicero's Pro Milone." *Classical Philology*. 103.3 (2008): 282. Print.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Faculty Scholarship at Sound Ideas. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Faculty Scholarship by an authorized administrator of Sound Ideas. For more information, please contact soundideas@pugetsound.edu.



Twinned Fortunes and the Publication of Cicero's *Pro Milone*

Author(s): Aislinn Melchior

Source: *Classical Philology*, Vol. 103, No. 3 (July 2008), pp. 282-297

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/596518>

Accessed: 08/10/2014 12:57

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The University of Chicago Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Classical Philology*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

TWINNED FORTUNES AND THE PUBLICATION OF CICERO'S *PRO MILONE*

AISLINN MELCHIOR

THE PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY THE *PRO MILONE*

IN 52 B.C.E., Publius Clodius Pulcher, the man who had engineered Cicero's exile, met Titus Annius Milo on the Via Appia by chance. Fighting broke out between their entourages and Clodius was wounded. Milo, apparently believing that he might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, ordered his followers to drag Clodius from the inn where he was recovering and kill him. The body of Clodius was left on the roadway. So we are told by Asconius,¹ though these events leave little mark on the speech that Cicero wrote to defend Milo.

The corpse of Clodius was conveyed to Rome in the litter of a senator who had happened upon it. The arrival of the body in Rome created a furor. The senate, under the pressure of fiery *contiones* held by the supporters of both Clodius and Milo, declared that the violence that had taken place on the Via Appia was detrimental to the state.² Pompey was declared sole consul in a bid to calm the chaos. He established a special court and it was here that Milo appeared with Cicero as his only advocate.³

The circumstances of the trial are famous and are alluded to in the exordium of Cicero's speech, where he confesses his fear at seeing the unaccustomed glitter of weapons in the Forum (*Mil.* 1).⁴ Surrounded by Clodian supporters and Pompey's troops, Cicero failed to maintain his own equanimity.⁵ The

I would like to thank the anonymous readers at *CP* for their thoughtful and generous comments on my work, Amanda Wilcox for reading an earlier draft, and Shane Butler for first teaching me to love Cicero.

1. See Asconius *In Milonianum* (hereafter, *Asc. Mil.*) 33–37.

2. The senatorial decree that the violence was *contra rem publicam* meant that at the actual trial Cicero was unable to employ the argument that the death of Clodius had been a public benefit. See Lintott 1974, 72; and Stone 1980, 91–95. Riggsby (1995, 248) notes the apparent agreement between defense and prosecution that an ambush had occurred.

3. For a chronology of events, see Ruebel 1979; Craig 2002 provides a useful bibliography on this speech.

4. We need not, however, posit anything like a terrified and tongue-tied Cicero in order to explain the jury's vote to convict. The manifest guilt of the defendant and his role in hunting down his wounded quarry will suffice.

5. There are various views about how completely Cicero failed, based upon Cassius Dio (40.54.2) and Plutarch (*Cic.* 35.5). Asconius (*Mil.* 36) states only that Cicero spoke without his usual *constantia*. Settle (1963) suggests a moderate view of Cicero's difficulties, pointing out both the hostility of Dio as well as the fact that if Cicero had been truly afraid, it would have made little sense since the troops had been brought in to protect Milo's supporters from the Clodian gangs.

Classical Philology 103 (2008): 282–97

[© 2008 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved] 0009-837X/08/10303-0004\$10.00

TABLE 1. CICERO'S DEFENSE SPEECHES AND THEIR OUTCOMES

Year	Speech	Outcome
80	<i>Pro Roscio Amerino</i>	Acquitted?
76/66	<i>Pro Roscio Comoedo</i>	Unknown
71/69	<i>Pro Tullio</i>	Unknown
69	<i>Pro Fonteio</i>	Unknown
66	<i>Pro Cluentio</i>	Acquitted
63	<i>Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo</i>	Interrupted
63	<i>Pro Murena</i>	Acquitted
62	<i>Pro Sulla</i>	Acquitted
62	<i>Pro Archia</i>	Acquitted
59	<i>Pro Flacco</i>	Acquitted
56	<i>Pro Sestio</i>	Acquitted
56	<i>Pro Caelio</i>	Acquitted
56	<i>Pro Balbo</i>	Acquitted
54	<i>Pro Plancio</i>	Acquitted
54	<i>Pro Scauro</i>	Acquitted
53	<i>Pro Rabirio Postumo</i>	Acquitted?
52	<i>Pro Milone</i>	Convicted
46	<i>Pro Ligario</i>	Acquitted

Source: Compiled from Alexander 1990.

speech Cicero gave that day was a failure and Milo was exiled. Cicero published a revised version of the *Pro Milone*, rewritten after Milo's condemnation, and it is this speech that we possess.⁶ The *Pro Milone* is anomalous in the judicial corpus of Cicero's writings since it is the only extant speech that Cicero published despite its failure in court.⁷ There was an unauthorized version of the delivered speech in circulation that Cicero had no hand in releasing,⁸ and while it is understandable that Cicero would have wanted to supersede the inferior speech with his published redraft, I maintain that he must have had some greater motive for breaking with his usual practice.

Milo was tried at the height of Cicero's forensic powers and the *Pro Milone* capped a flood of publication of successful defenses. Although the verdicts in many of Cicero's early cases are uncertain, for the entire ten years that preceded the trial of Milo, Cicero appears to have distributed only winning speeches (table 1). Cicero did of course have losing clients, but his regular practice seems to have been not to publish the speeches that had lost in court.⁹

6. For a brief introduction to what it meant for Cicero to "publish" his work and his motives in doing so, see the first chapter of Settle 1962; Crawford 1984, 2; Riggsby 1999, 178–84; and Butler 2002, 70–73. For the possible role of Tiro in the publication of Cicero's writing, see McDermott 1972.

7. The introduction to Powell and Paterson (2004, 52–57) makes it clear that there is still no scholarly consensus as to the reason or reasons for the publication of the *Pro Milone*.

8. For more on the unauthorized version of the *Pro Milone*, see n. 16 below.

9. Crawford 1984, 15.

TABLE 2. CICERO'S LOSING CLIENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Year	Client	Publication
80–70	Varenius	Yes
74	Scamander	No
65	Manilius	Unknown
59	Antonius	No
56	Cispius	No
55	L. Caninius Gallus	No
54	Gabinus	No
52	Milo	Yes
52	Scaurus	No

We have records of only nine men whom his advocacy failed (table 2).¹⁰ All of these speeches went unpublished with the sole exception of the *Pro Vareno*,¹¹ which is of uncertain date but was probably delivered nearer to 80 than 70.¹² As Jane Crawford has shown, between 80 and 70 Cicero published nearly 70 percent of his forensic output, making the *Pro Vareno* one in a host of publications that increased his visibility. In the years 59–50, on the other hand, he published slightly less than 30 percent of his forensic speeches, disdaining to publish even many successful orations (fig. 1). The relative dearth of publications during this period makes the distribution of the *Pro Milone* doubly anomalous, and suggests that for some reason Cicero felt it was vitally important to break with his established practices and to publish the *Pro Milone*.

One common explanation for the publication of Cicero's speeches—indeed, one supported by his own claims—is pedagogical, namely, that they were intended to serve as exempla for budding young advocates.¹³ But there is little pedagogy to be had from a speech that had failed in court, and Cicero was not of a temperament to make a demonstration of his own miscalculations. Another possibility is that the *Pro Milone* as we have it was a forensic display piece—the speech that would have won had he given it.¹⁴ But there appears to be no other instance when Cicero wrote up the speech that might have won a case already decided against his client. While the artist in Cicero might well have wanted to create a better speech than the one he had presented, the appearance of the *Pro Milone* would inevitably have served as a reminder of Cicero's original failure—something the politician in Cicero must have abhorred. Furthermore, because this speech discusses one of the most inflammatory events of the late fifties, the written version

10. This list is compiled from Alexander 1990.

11. On the *Pro Vareno* and the testimonia, see Crawford 1994, 7–18. The speech for Varenius involved the same prosecutor as the *Pro Roscio Amerino*. Given Cicero's tendency to take up rhetorical arms against individuals later in his life (e.g., Catiline, Clodius, Antony), this speech may have been published as part of an effort to discredit Gaius Erucius.

12. The proposed dates span the decade. For citations, see Crawford 1994, 8–9.

13. Stroh 1975, 51–53.

14. Most recently, May 2001.

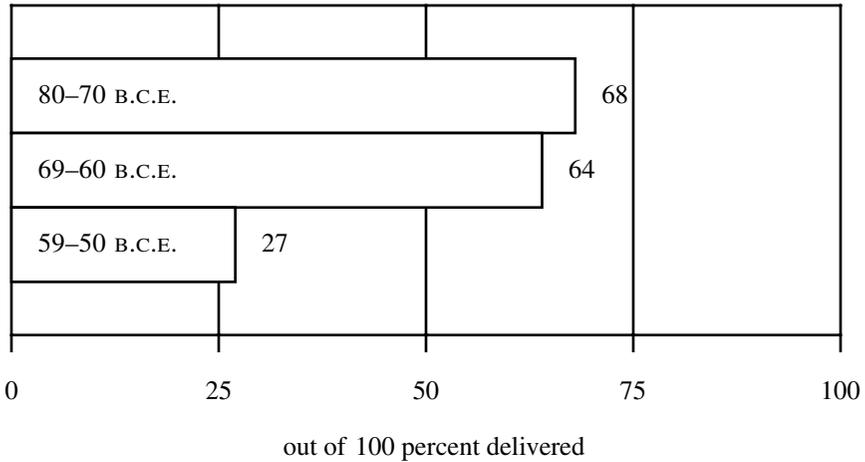


FIG. 1. Proportion of delivered orations published (based upon Crawford 1984)

must have been received by the public, anyway, as a document with political importance. This suggests that the speech may have been published more in the spirit of the *Second Philippic*, as a sort of political tract, than as a sop to Cicero's wounded vanity or a consolation for his exiled friend.¹⁵ In other words, I am suggesting that Cicero circulated the *Pro Milone* as a calculated, partisan act.

This article attempts to answer the questions surrounding the publication of the *Pro Milone* by mining the rhetoric of the speech itself for answers. I will argue that within the speech, Cicero seeks in various ways to identify Milo's experiences with his own personal account of heroic service during the Catilinarian conspiracy. By rhetorically twinning their experiences, Cicero paves the way for a twinned outcome: recall from undeserved exile. Although the speech that we have is not identical to the one that Cicero delivered publicly in front of the Pompeian tribunal,¹⁶ the changes that Cicero made reveal his intentions in publishing the piece.¹⁷ I will attempt to demonstrate that

15. Clark and Ruebel (1985, 72) offer the suggestion that one of the goals of the extant *Pro Milone* was to console Milo in his exile.

16. Both Asconius and Quintilian appear to have had access to the original (and inferior) speech. A few fragments of this earlier speech (that do not appear in our extant speech) are known from Quintilian and the Scholia Bobensia. This would mean that there were two *Pro Milones*: the speech performed in court, perhaps taken down by shorthand and distributed against Cicero's will, and the speech crafted specifically for distribution. Scholarly attempts to grapple with the issue of the "original" speech have led to the suggestions that it was a forgery or school exercise (Settle 1963), that it was derived from the *acta diurna* (Marshall 1987), or that it was the product of shorthand (most recently, Dyck 2002). It is also possible that the unknown lines fell out of our manuscript early on or were misremembered by a writer who was quoting from memory. See also Powell and Paterson 2004, 52–55. A discussion of the testimonia is provided by Settle 1962, 242–48; and Crawford 1984, 210–18.

17. On the task of evaluating the changes between the speech from the trial (not extant) and the version of the *Pro Milone* that we have, see further below and n. 23.

Cicero's additions were written and produced with the goal of achieving Milo's eventual pardon and recall.¹⁸

Milo's famous quip that he would not be enjoying the seafood of Massilia if Cicero had delivered the published version of the *Pro Milone*¹⁹ has led to attempts to discern how the speech at the trial was altered.²⁰ The most convincing reconstruction relies upon pronouncements in the commentary on the *Pro Milone* written by Asconius Pedianus (41):²¹

... cum quibusdam placuisset ita defendi crimen, interfici Clodium pro re publica fuisse (quam formam M. Brutus secutus est in ea oratione, quam pro Milone composuit et edidit, quasi egisset), Ciceroni id non placuit.

... although it was pleasing to some people that the crime be defended on the grounds that Clodius had been killed for the good of the state (which form of argument Marcus Brutus followed in his oration that he composed in defense of Milo, and published as if he had given it),²² this [line of argument] was not favored by Cicero.

Because the speech, as we have it, contains a number of sections that do in fact defend the murder of Clodius as *pro re publica*, it has been plausibly suggested that the statements within the *Pro Milone* that portray the murder as a public good were subsequent additions made by Cicero.²³

The comments of Asconius give us a good understanding of what the original speech must have looked like (Asc. *Mil.* 41):

itaque cum insidias Milonem Clodio fecisse posuissent accusatores, quia falsum id erat—nam forte illa rixa commissa fuerat—Cicero apprehendit et contra Clodium Miloni fecisse insidias disputavit, eoque tota oratio eius spectavit.

And so, when the accusers set forth that Milo had ambushed Clodius, Cicero seized upon this because it was false—the quarrel had broken out by accident—and he argued to the contrary that Clodius had laid a trap for Milo, and his whole speech was directed towards this point.

18. The unauthorized copy of *In Clodium et Curionem* provides a mirror opposite of my argument on the *Pro Milone*. Cicero feared that the rough copy of his invective, distributed without his knowledge, might jeopardize his recall from exile. Cicero therefore urged Atticus (*Att.* 3.12) to try to pass the speech off as a forgery. Thus in place of a polished speech written to replace an unauthorized copy in order to win a desired recall, we have in this earlier instance an unauthorized speech in rough form that threatened Cicero's restoration. I am indebted to one of the anonymous readers at *CP* for this elegant parallel. Crawford (1994, 227–63) discusses *In Clodium et Curionem* at length.

19. Cass. Dio 40.54.3.

20. For changes between the written and oral versions of Cicero's speeches, see Humbert (1925, 262–63), who argues for considerable changes between delivered and published speeches, and Stroh (1975, 31–54), who argues that Cicero regularly engaged in only slight modifications. I agree with Settle (1963, 269), however, that the circumstances surrounding both the delivery and publication of the *Pro Milone* are so extraordinary that it is not especially useful as evidence in this larger debate. On the changes in the *Pro Milone*, see also Kennedy 1972, 232–33.

21. The Latin is from A. C. Clark's OCT (1907). The translations are my own. For the dates of Asconius Pedianus and his sources, see Marshall 1985, 26–32.

22. On Brutus' written speech, see Quint. 3.6.93, 10.1.23, 10.5.20. Marshall (1985, ad loc.) terms it a "rhetorical exercise." That Brutus felt compelled to write such a piece can be construed as further proof of the political nature of Cicero's rewrite.

23. Stone's 1980 article focuses primarily upon the inconsistent and fluctuating portrayal of Pompey in the speech, but his reconstruction of the changes made by Cicero is essentially sound and amplifies the suggestions made by Lintott (1974, 74). See also the qualified support of Riggsby 1999, 110.

Much of the speech does strive to establish that it was Clodius who lay in ambush for Milo, and it is probable that this argument formed the bulk of the original speech. Sections that argue that Milo had saved the state by eliminating one of its most vile citizens, however, were most likely Cicero's later additions. Cicero may have added his own punning commentary on this fact by relegating the state's benefit argument to a section he describes in the speech as *extra causam* (*Mil.* 92).²⁴ These *extra causam* arguments were literally written after the court case had already taken place, as additions to the legal argument that had been put forward during the tribunal.

TRANSFORMING PATRON-CLIENT RHETORIC

An answer to the crux of why Cicero published the *Pro Milone* can be found in an analysis of the rhetoric of the speech. Quite often when Cicero wishes to make a particular point—say, that he saved the Republic—he will reiterate that point during the course of an oration. In this speech one of the themes he repeats is this: Cicero is like Milo, and Milo is like Cicero.²⁵ Both men had served the state nobly, slain tyrants, and been exiled by an ungrateful nation. By drawing on allusions to the Catilinarian orations and a dramatic use of *sermocinatio*²⁶—that flourish where an orator speaks in the character of someone else—Cicero blurred the boundaries of identity between himself and Milo and promoted what I contend was the real goal of his rewrite: the recall of his client.²⁷

Cicero and Milo are cast in a similar role in part because their enemies are cast in a similar role. Thus, Cicero styles Clodius as a second Catiline—a project that Cicero worked on throughout the period following his return from exile, as he attempted to avenge himself upon the chief architect of his *dolor*.²⁸ The Clodius-Catiline linkage in the *Pro Milone* is more often by category than by direct comparison. Thus they are both *latrones*, *parricidae*, and *insidiatores*, characterized by their *furor* and *audacia*.²⁹ Table 3 is not exhaustive, but it gives a sense of the overlap of invective terms in the speeches.³⁰ The language Cicero employs is crafted to the circumstances of

24. Stone (1980, 102 n. 113) hints at such an interpretation.

25. Although others have touched on the comparisons (e.g., May 1988, 133–39), Stevens, in the third chapter of her 1995 dissertation, provides the most thorough outline of the similarities between Milo and Cicero in the *Pro Milone*, although she does not press for any larger conclusion from these parallels.

26. See Lausberg 1998, 370, on *sermocinatio*. While often used interchangeably, *prosopopoeia* is the impersonation of an inanimate object or of the dead, whereas *sermocinatio* is the imitation of someone still living.

27. For a discussion of the attested methods of restoration from exile, see Kelly 2006.

28. On the identification of Clodius and Catiline, see Riggsby 2002, 165. In *De domo sua* (27.72), Clodius is said to be addressed by his followers as *felix Catilina*. The immediacy and aggression of Cicero's rhetoric suggest that Cicero returned to Rome with every intention of avenging himself upon Clodius, though it should be acknowledged that Clodius was by no means acting blamelessly during this same period.

29. For a discussion on the use of invective in the *Pro Milone*, see Craig 2004, 187–214.

30. Categories in table 3 include related terms, e.g., *latro* includes *latrocinor*. Interesting for their absence, and in partial support of Clark and Ruebel 1985, are the terms *belva* and *tyrannus*, which are unique to the *Pro Milone*. Clark and Ruebel (1985) argue that Cicero's rewrite was largely motivated by his developing philosophical justifications for violence. For a critique of their argument, see Riggsby 1999, 110–12.

Table 3. A Representative List of Abuse in the *Pro Milone* and the *Catilinarians*

Target	<i>latro</i>	<i>audacia</i>	<i>furor</i>	<i>insidiator</i>	<i>parricida</i>
Catiline	<i>Cat.</i> 1.23; 1.31; 2.16	<i>Cat.</i> 1.1; 1.4; 1.7; 2.10; 2.3	<i>Cat.</i> 1.1; 1.2; 1.15; 1.23	<i>Cat.</i> 1.11; 1.32; 2.6	<i>Cat.</i> 1.17; 1.29
<i>Coniurati</i>	<i>Cat.</i> 1.33; 2.7; 2.22	<i>Cat.</i> 2.10; 3.27	<i>Cat.</i> 1.31; 2.19; 2.25; 3.4; 4.12	<i>Cat.</i> 2.10	<i>Cat.</i> 1.33; 2.7; 2.22
Clodius	<i>Mil.</i> 17; 18; 55	<i>Mil.</i> 6; 9 (implied); 30; 32	<i>Mil.</i> 3; 27; 32; 35; 77	<i>Mil.</i> 6; 10; 11; 14; 27; 30; 54	<i>Mil.</i> 18; 86
Clodiani			<i>Mil.</i> 34	<i>Mil.</i> 19	

the legal issues at stake. *Insidiator*, for instance, is more common in the *Pro Milone* due to the parameters of the case.³¹ Since the senatorial decree had declared that the violence on the Via Appia was not accidental, Cicero had to portray Clodius as the aggressor.³² The focus is upon Clodius, the robber who got his just deserts, rather than upon the Clodiani. Catiline's followers, on the other hand, appear more often than their putative leader in the second, third, and fourth Catilinarian orations because Catiline had withdrawn from Rome after the first oration was delivered. Cicero's emphasis in the later speeches is not so much on Catiline, the individual, as on shaping the image of Catiline's supporters.³³

The rhetorical link that Cicero forges between Clodius and Catiline is most clearly expressed when Cicero describes the reason for his own departure from Rome into exile (*Mil.* 36–37):

... servorum et egentium civium et facinorosorum armis meos civis, meis consiliis periculisque servatos pro me obici nolui. . . . itaque quando illius postea sica illa quam a Catilina acceperat conqueivit?

I did not wish my (fellow) citizens—who had been saved by the plans and risks I had undergone—to be exposed on my behalf to the arms of slaves, of the poor, and of the most criminal element. . . . And so, from that time forward, when has that dagger of Clodius—which he received from Catiline—been quiet?

The goal of the larger passage from which this is drawn is to demonstrate that Clodius had a propensity for violence. But in describing the earlier scenes of civil strife, Cicero also reconfigures his flight from Rome in 58 as his noble effort to safeguard the citizenry.³⁴ Elided is his desire to save himself from the political maneuvering of Clodius. To make this highly contentious

31. See Lintott 1974, 75, on the use of *insidiae* and *insidiator* in the speech, and Vasaly 1993, 23–24, for a discussion of the use of place in the construction of Clodius' guilt.

32. On the senatorial decree and its effect on the argumentation used during trial, see n. 2 above.

33. It should be remembered that the *Catilinarians* were not published until 60, after it was clear that Cicero's actions stood in need of defense. The focus upon the conspirators was dictated both at the time of delivery, by their arrest, as well as later, when Cicero needed to justify his actions in executing these men.

34. May (1981, 310) notes Cicero's self-presentation as one who had saved "the State a second time by sacrificing himself to exile."

version of the past credible, the scenes of bloodshed caused by Clodius are portrayed as continuations of Catilinarian unrest. Catiline's dagger is passed to Clodius to strike at the preservers of the state.³⁵ By wielding the same weapon, Clodius is cast as a similar threat that requires liquidation.³⁶ This violence both justifies Cicero's withdrawal into exile and proves that Milo was the victim of Clodius, rather than the aggressor.³⁷

Because Clodius is likened to Catiline, we might expect that Milo will be likened to Cicero, and this is precisely what Cicero does: he explicitly juxtaposes his own heroic patriotism with that of Milo. Cicero and Milo become, in essence, the defenders of Rome and the slayers of would-be tyrants. The framework for their identification with one another is set in place early in the speech. Cicero quickly seeks in the *Pro Milone* to establish the fact that the confession of a killing need not equate to conviction for murder. He lists a number of men as legal precedents: Nasica, Ahala, Opimius, Marius, and the Roman senate during his own consulship. This full list occurs only twice in the *Pro Milone*; once near the beginning (8, shown here), and once near the end (82) to introduce the peroration:

nisi vero existimatis dementem P. Africanum fuisse, qui cum a C. Carbone tribuno plebis seditiose in contione interrogaretur quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, responderit iure caesum videri. neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius aut P. Nasica aut L. Opimius aut C. Marius aut me consule senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos civis interfici nefas esset.

Unless indeed you think that Publius Africanus was out of his senses when he was questioned during an assembly by that seditious tribune of the plebs, Gaius Carbo, what he thought about the death of Tiberius Gracchus, and Africanus replied that it appeared that Gracchus had been justly killed. For Servilius Ahala, Publius Nasica, Lucius Opimius, Gaius Marius, or the senate—when I was consul—could be considered impious, if it was impious for wicked citizens to be killed.

Not only does Cicero demonstrate that homicide need not result in conviction, but he also demonstrates that killing a man can benefit the republic by giving a laundry list of great men who had killed Roman desperadoes.³⁸ Note also how he neatly implicates the senate in the execution of the conspirators during his consulship.³⁹ The senate is placed in the firmament of righteous

35. Examples of Cicero mapping Clodius onto Catiline in his earlier orations include *Post reditum in senatu* (5.12) and *De haruspicum responsis* (4.7).

36. *Mil.* 37; *Cat.* 1.16, 2.1, etc.

37. In addition, this reimagining of the past depicts Cicero's acceptance of exile as serene. Thus Cicero's reaction to exile is parallel to Milo's stoic resignation to his own exile as portrayed in the peroration of the *Pro Milone*. The rewrite of the *Pro Milone* must have had psychological appeal for Cicero, whose emotional collapse during his exile had been so completely at variance with all of his attempts to create a consular and philosophical ethos for himself. Cicero's assertion in the *Pro Milone* is not merely that he had gone into exile in 58 to save the citizens of Rome. Cicero also asserts that just as Milo was acting like Cicero by subordinating his personal well-being for the benefit of the state, so too had Cicero acted like Milo, and faced his own exile with fortitude, equanimity, and courage.

38. The claim of just killing moves the issue from being contextual to juridical. This is the major shift in terms of formal rhetoric caused by Cicero's rewrite. May 1979 offers a clear analysis of the formal strategies in the *Pro Milone* as we have it.

39. See Robinson 1994a. By referencing the senate (and thereby indirectly citing their authorization of the *senatus consultum ultimum*), Cicero neatly passes the buck for the execution of the conspirators.

killers, and Cicero is able to shirk responsibility until later in the speech when he will declare that he—like these other great men—killed an enemy of the state. (And he will say this at the same time that he pretends to be Milo making the same declaration.)

Cicero had used the very same men in the *First Catilinarian* (1.3–4) to justify his actions when suppressing the conspiracy.

an vero vir amplissimus P. Scipio pontifex maximus Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus? nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit. . . . decrevit quondam senatus uti L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus clarissimo patre avo maioribus, occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est?

Indeed, that most noble man Publius Scipio, when pontifex maximus but still a private citizen, killed Tiberius Gracchus though he was only causing the state to falter a little: Will we consuls put up with Catiline in his desire to destroy the world with slaughter and fire? For I omit as too long ago to mention the fact that Gaius Servilius Ahala, with his own hand, killed Spurius Maelius since he lusted for revolution. Formerly, the senate decreed that the consul Lucius Opimius see to it that the state take no harm: not a single night intervened; Gaius Gracchus, due to a certain suspicion of treason and despite his most illustrious forebears, was killed, Marcus Fulvius was killed with his children. By a similar decree of the senate, the state was entrusted to the consuls Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius. Did death and the penalty demanded by the state keep the tribune of the plebs Lucius Saturninus and the praetor Gaius Servilius waiting for a single day?

Although members of this list appear elsewhere in the exculpatory autobiographies that Cicero laces through the *post reditum* speeches,⁴⁰ this is the only full listing—of Nasica,⁴¹ Ahala, Opimius, and Marius—outside of the two instances in the *Pro Milone*.

Echoes between the *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Milone* would have been fairly apparent to Cicero's reading audience, since young Romans learned speeches like these by heart as part of their early training.⁴² This sort of intertextual referencing even in delivered speeches was recognized and appreciated by educated audiences. For instance, we know from Suetonius that Caesar, in one of his early speeches, quoted verbatim a passage from Caesar Strabo as a nod to his own oratorical lineage.⁴³ Given the fame of the *First Catilinarian*, it is almost a certainty that Cicero's evocations of that great speech would have been recognized by readers of the *Pro Milone*.

40. See Riggsby 2002, 160–67 for a discussion of Cicero's highly edited version of the past after his return in 57.

41. Publius Scipio is Publius Nasica. See Clark 1895, ad loc.

42. Stroh 1975, 52–54. See, for example, Cicero's comment on schoolboys learning the *In Pisonem* (*Q Fr.* 3.1.11).

43. Suet. *Iul.* 55.

Spurius Maelius and Tiberius Gracchus—executed by Ahala and Publius Scipio Nasica, respectively—appear again in Cicero's second *sermocinatio* of Milo (72–73):

de qua, si iam nollem ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, tamen impune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose liceret: "occidi, occidi! non Sp. Maelium, qui annonae levanda iac-turisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem videbatur in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi, non Ti. Gracchum, qui conlegae magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, quorum interfectores impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria, sed eum—auderet enim dicere cum patriam periculo suo liberasset— . . . eum qui civem, quem senatus quem populus Romanus quem omnes gentes urbis ac vitae civium conservatorem iudicarent, servorum armis exterminavit . . ."

About this, if I now preferred not to refute the crime as I have refuted it, nevertheless it would be permitted to Milo to cry out openly and with impunity, and to lie boastfully, "I killed him! I killed him! Not Spurius Maelius, who by squandering his personal wealth and lessening the price of grain, because he seemed to court the people too much, fell under suspicion of seeking kingship, not Tiberius Gracchus, who annulled the magistracy of a colleague through sedition and whose killers filled the world with the glory of their names,"—for he would dare to say these things since he had freed the fatherland from danger— . . . "[but I, Milo, killed] that one [Clodius] who exterminated with the weapons of slaves the citizen [Cicero] adjudged by the Roman people and by all men to be the savior of [both] the city and of the lives of its citizens . . ."

This echoes a similar passage in the *Fourth Catilinarian* (4.4):

non Ti. Gracchus quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium adducitur: tenentur ei qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae resisterunt . . .

It is not Tiberius Gracchus, because he wished to become tribune of the plebs again, not Gaius Gracchus, because he attempted to stir up agrarian reform, not Lucius Saturninus, because he killed Gaius Memmius, who is brought to trial and the sentence of your severity. The men under arrest are those who remained in Rome to burn the city, to slaughter all of you, and to welcome Catiline . . .

The men in custody are not Tiberius Gracchus, not Gaius Gracchus, not Saturninus—each name followed in turn by a minimizing description that highlights the villainy of the conspirators whom Cicero is attempting to punish. In the same way, Cicero's dismissive characterizations of Maelius and Gracchus in the *Pro Milone* emphasize the wickedness of Clodius. If Marius and Ahala had been forgiven for taking up arms against these lesser threats to the state, then surely Milo should be forgiven the execution of a second Catiline.

Just as Clodius mirrors Catiline, so too does Milo mirror Cicero's noble service to the state. Within the *Pro Milone* they are overtly identified by the heroizing title *conservator*. Cicero describes himself as a savior of citizens (*conservator civium*) and deems Milo a savior of the people (*conservator populi*).⁴⁴ The context of these terms once again links the unjust punishment

44. Cic. *Mil.* 73 and 80, respectively.

experienced by both men. Cicero states that he, a decreed preserver of the citizenry, had been driven out by Clodius. He later describes Milo as a savior when he asks whether the judges will allow Milo not only to receive no honor for having avenged so great a crime but even to suffer punishment.

What makes this “rhetoric of advocacy”⁴⁵ extraordinary is that here Cicero is not pursuing a patron-client relationship, but a one-to-one correspondence: as Catiline is to Clodius, so Cicero is to Milo. He achieves this in part by a sustained use of *sermocinatio*. Six times during the last half of the speech, Cicero speaks as his client in the first person.⁴⁶ Given that Milo was present in court, this degree of mimicry would have been decidedly odd if it was used on the day of trial. Further, as Stevens notes, most of these passages apply equally well to the experiences of both Milo and Cicero.⁴⁷ The very act of speaking in the guise of his client may have served to merge the identities of the orator and the one he ventriloquized. For instance, in the *Third Catilinarian*, Cicero describes himself as warding off the swords of the conspirators from Roman throats (3.2):

idemque gladios in rem publicam dstrictos rettudimus mucronesque eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus.

And again, I beat back the swords that had been drawn against the state and deflected the blades from your throats.

In Cicero’s third *sermocinatio* of Milo he undertakes a similar deed (*Mil.* 77):

. . . hoc ferro et hac dextera a cervicibus vestris reppuli . . .

With this sword and with this right hand I drove [Clodius] back from your throats.

The mimicry transcends acting and coalesces patron and client on the level of physical action.⁴⁸ Through the use of *sermocinatio*, Cicero and Milo are funneled into a single identity.

The conflation of Cicero and Milo is further strengthened by implied comparisons. In the *Fourth Catilinarian*, Cicero claims that he had been saved from death “not for his own life” but for the salvation of those listening to him speak (*Cat.* 4.18), and in the *Pro Milone* he states that Milo was not able “to save himself without preserving at the same time both the state” and his audience (*Mil.* 30).⁴⁹ Moreover, the same braggadocio that charac-

45. See Kennedy 1968; May 1988; and Wisse 1989. As May states (1982, 309): “By identifying himself with his clients and their causes with his cause, Cicero bestows upon their defenses a measure of his own authority.”

46. *Cic. Mil.* 69, 72, 77, 93, 98, 104.

47. Stevens 1995, 119.

48. For a discussion of the similarities between the delivery of an oration (*actio*) and acting, see Fantham 2002.

49. *Cat.* 4.18: . . . *habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam sed ad salutem vestram reservatum* (“You have a consul, preserved from many dangers and traps and from the middle of death, not for his own life, but for your salvation”); *Mil.* 30: *hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare potuerit quin una rem publicam vosque servaret* (“[Milo] was born with this fate; that he not even be able to save himself without preserving at the same time the state and you all”). In each case, the preservation of the liberator (Cicero or Milo) metaphorically preserves the state.

terized Cicero's celebration of his own deeds⁵⁰ marks his description of Milo's act (*Mil.* 77):

nunc enim quis est qui non probet, qui non laudet, qui non unum post hominum memoriam T. Annium plurimum rei publicae profuisse, maxima laetitia populum Romanum cunctam Italiam nationes omnis adfecisse et dicat et sentiat? non quo vetera illa populi Romani gaudia quanta fuerint iudicare: multas tamen iam summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias aetas nostra vidit, quarum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit laetitiam nec tantam.

For now who does not approve, who does not praise, who does not both say and think that Titus Annius alone in history has most benefited the republic, and caused the greatest joy to the Roman people, all Italy, and all nations? I am not able to judge how great were the ancient joys of the Roman people, nevertheless, our own age has seen many of the most illustrious victories of the greatest generals—but none of these has brought either the lasting happiness, or the magnitude of happiness [of Milo's act].

This passage overlaps with Cicero's self-presentation when he claimed to have equaled or surpassed the achievements of Rome's generals in his handling of domestic sedition.⁵¹

It is with the final listing of patriotic *exempla* that the shared heroic lineage of Cicero and Milo is made explicit (*Mil.* 82–83):

. . . viri fortis ne suppliciiis quidem moveri ut fortiter fecisse paeniteat. quam ob rem uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius, qua Ahala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, qua Marius, qua nosmet ipsi . . .

It is for a brave man to be moved not even by punishment to repent that he acted courageously. Therefore, Titus Annius could use the same confession which Ahala, which Nasica, which Opimius, which Marius, and which I myself used . . .

Having expressed the glory of Milo's deed, Cicero now boldly links Milo's name and his own with the earlier list of great Romans. The reference to punishment (*suppliciiis*) strongly suggests that this was written *after* Milo had been condemned.⁵² Nevertheless, Cicero embeds both himself and Milo in a list of heroic liberators and, in this way, both Cicero and Milo are absolved of guilt.

Just as Cicero's revision transformed the *Pro Milone* from a failure into a rhetorical triumph, the rewriting also constituted a rewriting of Cicero's past. In this literary fantasy, Cicero had the pleasure of scripting himself in the role of Milo, sword aloft, triumphing over his most bitter personal enemy.⁵³ Both men were recast. In place of an opportunistic thug, Milo was crowned a tyrannicide, and Cicero became a man of action instead of what he so often was—a man paralyzed by his own ability to argue both sides of a case eloquently.

50. There were tensions between Pompey and Cicero over Cicero's vaunting of his actions during the conspiracy. See Seager 2002, 77, and, for relations between Pompey and Cicero during the late sixties in general, Shackleton Bailey 1971, 36–40.

51. For example, *Cat.* 2.11, 3.26, and 4.21.

52. Stone 1980, 101.

53. Cicero's admiration for Milo can be detected as early as 57 when he writes to Atticus his prescient suspicion that Clodius will be killed by Milo (*Att.* 4.3).

There is no external evidence that tells us what Cicero intended to achieve by publishing the *Pro Milone*. We do have a letter, however, that sheds additional light on this period. Sometime after March of 52, Cicero wrote to Titus Fadius, a man sentenced to exile by the same special tribunal that convicted Milo.⁵⁴ Cicero's letter notes public disapproval of Pompey's influence in the court where his addressee was condemned and hints that Fadius' recall might not be far distant (*Fam.* 5.18.2):⁵⁵

tu vero, qui et fortunas et liberos habeas et nos ceterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos, quique magnam facultatem sis habiturus nobiscum et cum omnibus tuis vivendi, et cuius unum sit iudicium ex tam multis quod reprehendatur ut quod una sententia eaque dubia potentiae alicuius condonatum existimetur . . .

Indeed you, who have your fortunes and your children as well as myself and others most attached to you by friendship and goodwill, and who will have a sizeable possibility of living with me and with all your intimates—and whose verdict alone is the only one from so many that is censured, as a verdict which was granted, it is thought, to the power of one man . . .

Although perhaps offered as a comforting fiction, Cicero's suggestion that Fadius might soon be recalled (*facultatem vivendi*)—issuing as it does from a similar time and situation in the courts—proves that recall was at least notionally possible.⁵⁶

We also have evidence from Cicero's earlier speeches that the comparison of exiles was a rhetorical technique with which he was familiar. In the *Pro Sestio* and the *Post reditum in senatu*, Cicero commends the *prosopopoeia* performed by P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.⁵⁷ Servilius had urged Cicero's recall by summoning nearly all of the Metelli up from the dead (*Sest.* 130), including Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus. Metellus Numidicus went into exile in 100 B.C.E. but almost immediately began a campaign through his friends and through letters seeking his own restoration.⁵⁸ Numidicus was ultimately successful and was restored in 98, a comparandum that Servilius exploited. Indeed, Cicero apparently found the parallel between his own situation and that of Metellus Numidicus appealing as it was a theme to which he returned even in his private correspondence.⁵⁹ The importance of Servilius' argument to our understanding of the *Pro Milone* is that it demonstrates that Cicero had seen such a comparison—of exiles and restoration—succeed on his own behalf. Thereafter, Cicero could have easily grasped the potential of this approach in arguing for Milo's recall.

If we apply this evidence to the *Pro Milone*, the heightened rhetoric of the peroration becomes pointed in its meaning (*Mil.* 100):

54. Shackleton Bailey 1977, ad loc.

55. See Tyrrell and Purser 1969, ad loc. Unlike Tyrrell and Purser, Shackleton Bailey believes that this letter in no way implies that a recall was actually forthcoming.

56. For a discussion of exile in the Republican period, see Crifo 1961 and Kelly 2006.

57. *Sest.* 130–31 and *Red. sen.* 25–26. I am grateful to one of *CP*'s anonymous reviewers for bringing the speech of Servilius to my attention.

58. On the exile of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, the innovation of using letters as propaganda, and the possible relevance of this to the *Pro Milone*, see Kelly 2006, 84–87 and 126–27.

59. E.g., *Fam.* 1.9.16.

bona, fortunas meas ac liberorum meorum in communionem tuorum temporum contuli; hoc denique ipso die, si quae vis est parata, si quae dimicatio capitis futura, depono. quid iam restat? quid habeo quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis nisi ut eam fortunam, quaecumque erit tua, ducam meam?

My possessions, my fortunes, and those of my children, I have thrown in with the dangers threatening you; on this very day, if any violence has been prepared against you, if there will be any struggle for your life, I seek it. What now remains? What can I do in exchange for your services to me except to consider whatever fortune befalls you as my own?

I argue that by claiming Milo's fortune as his own, Cicero hoped to ensure that Milo would enjoy *his* fortune as well: an expeditious recall from exile. Note that the word Cicero uses for life, *caput*, can regularly mean civil rights as well.⁶⁰

The geminate quality of Milo and Cicero in the *Pro Milone* is rarely remarked upon, and the reason for this may well be the way that Cicero frames the speech. The first and last sections, rather than focusing upon the similarities of Milo and Cicero, highlight their differences.⁶¹ In the exordium, Cicero—in a trope of apology for his delivery—juxtaposes his own fear with Milo's courage.⁶² Likewise, at the end, Cicero reformulates the comparison he had made at the beginning of the speech by depicting Milo as calm in the face of his impending exile while Cicero weeps and beseeches the court on behalf of his client.⁶³ This substitution of Cicero's tearful pleas for those customarily employed by the accused impressed Quintilian deeply⁶⁴ and can easily distract a reader from the subsequent parallels. But rather than obscuring the theme of twinned heroes, I suggest that we take these juxtapositions at beginning and end as a cue that Cicero wanted us to consider his interrelationship with Milo and notice its thematic centrality. Rather than a contradiction, the contrasts at the opening and close of the speech serve as a framing device that foregrounds the importance of the likeness of their actions: they had both fought against men who would have destroyed Rome, and they had both suffered exile for their noble actions.

To twin himself with Milo, then, allowed Cicero to attempt to win the case literally *extra causam*. Cicero's final judicial speech, it should be remembered, was also a recall speech, the *Pro Ligario*. If one reexamines the *Pro Milone* with all of this evidence in mind, one word that Cicero chooses in the exordium helps to confirm my contention that Cicero's goal in publishing the rewritten speech was the recall of Milo. In the exordium he addresses

60. This interpretation is strengthened by the use of the phrase *in meo capite* earlier in the same passage, which Clark (1895, ad loc.) suggests translating as “by my condemnation” or exile, *caput* being used in its technical sense.”

61. This does not constitute, however, a polarizing portrayal of Milo and Cicero. For the use of such a strategy, see Dugan (2001, 60–69, and 2005, 58–66), who describes how Cicero, in the *In Pisonem*, presents Piso's consulship as the antithesis of his own.

62. *Mil.* 1. See Dyck 1998, 240: “The advocate's *persona* in the exordium and peroration is essentially a foil for Milo; the timid advocate of a brave client; the emotional advocate of an unflinching client.”

63. *Mil.* 101, 105.

64. Quint. *Inst.* 6.10.

the judges, using the verb *recreare*—a word that Cicero had used often to describe his own recall (*Mil.* 4):⁶⁵

... eam potestatem omnem vos habetis, ut statuatis, utrum nos,⁶⁶ qui semper vestrae auctoritati dediti fuimus semper miseri lugeamus an diu vexati a perditissimis civibus aliquando per vos ac per vestram fidem, virtutem sapientiamque recreemur.

You all have this power to decide whether we who have always surrendered to your authority grieve wretchedly forevermore, or, having been tormented for a time by the worst citizens—through your loyalty, courage, and wisdom—are restored.

Cicero offers two alternatives: *lugere*, the grief of exile, or *recreare*. I suggest that by using the word *recreare*, Cicero signals that his reader should understand not acquittal—a goal already lost due to the outcome of the trial—but the recall and the restoration of Milo.

University of Puget Sound

65. E.g., *Post red. pop.* 4 and *Sest.* 140. For more on Cicero's obfuscating use of language concerning his exile, see Robinson 1994b.

66. That this is not self-referential *nos* (as so often in Cicero) is confirmed by the next phrase in the speech, *nobis duobus*, which further strengthens the sense that Milo and Cicero are functioning as a pair in this speech.

LITERATURE CITED

- Alexander, M. 1990. *Trials in the Late Roman Republic 149 BC to 50 BC*. Toronto.
- Butler, S. 2002. *The Hand of Cicero*. London.
- Clark, A. C., ed. 1895. *M. Tulli Ciceronis "pro T. Annio Milone" ad iudices oratio*. Oxford.
- Clark, M., and J. Ruebel. 1985. Philosophy and Rhetoric in Cicero's *Pro Milone*. *RhM* 128: 52–72.
- Craig, C. 2002. A Survey of Selected Recent Work on Cicero's Rhetorica and Speeches. In May 2002, 503–99.
- . 2004. Audience Expectations, Invective, and Proof. In *Cicero the Advocate*, ed. J. Powell and J. Paterson, 187–213. Oxford.
- Crawford, J. 1984. *M. Tullius Cicero: The Lost and Unpublished Orations*. Göttingen.
- . 1994. *M. Tullius Cicero: The Fragmentary Speeches*. Atlanta.
- Crifo, G. 1961. *Ricerche sull'exilium nel periodo repubblicano*. Part 1. Milan.
- Dugan, J. 2001. How to Make (and Break) a Cicero: *Epideixis*, Textuality, and Self-Fashioning in the *Pro Archia* and *In Pisonem*. *ClAnt* 20: 35–77.
- . 2005. *Making a New Man: Ciceronian Self-Fashioning in the Rhetorical Works*. Oxford.
- Dyck, A. R. 1998. Narrative Obfuscation, Philosophical *Topoi*, and Tragic Patterning in Cicero's *Pro Milone*. *HSCP* 98: 219–41.
- . 2002. The "Other" *Pro Milone* Reconsidered. *Philologus* 146: 182–85.
- Fantham, E. 2002. Orator and/et actor. In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. P. E. Easterling and E. Hall, 362–76. Cambridge.
- Humbert, J. 1925. *Les plaidoyers écrits et les plaidoiries réelles de Cicéron*. Paris.
- Kelly, G. 2006. *A History of Exile in the Roman Republic*. Cambridge.
- Kennedy, G. A. 1968. The Rhetoric of Advocacy in Greece and Rome. *AJP* 89: 419–36.
- . 1972. *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World*. Princeton, N.J.
- Lausberg, H. 1998. *Handbook of Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*. Trans. M. T. Bliss, A. Jansen, and D. Orton. Leiden.

- Lintott, A. 1974. Cicero and Milo. *JRS* 64: 62–78.
- Marshall, B. A. 1985. *A Historical Commentary on Asconius*. Columbia, Mo.
- . 1987. *Excepta Oratio*: The Other *Pro Milone* and the Question of Shorthand. *Latomus* 46: 730–36.
- May, J. M. 1979. The *Ethica Digressio* and Cicero's *Pro Milone*: A Progression of Intensity from *Logos* to *Ethos* to *Pathos*. *CJ* 74: 240–46.
- . 1981. The Rhetoric of Advocacy and Patron-Client Identification: Variation on a Theme. *AJP* 102: 308–15.
- . 1988. *Trials of Character: The Eloquence of Ciceronian Ethos*. Chapel Hill, N.C.
- . 2001. Cicero's *Pro Milone*: An Ideal Speech of an Ideal Orator. In *The Orator in Action and Theory in Greece and Rome*, ed. C. Wooten, 123–34. Leiden.
- , ed. 2002. *Brill's Companion to Cicero: Oratory and Rhetoric*. Leiden.
- McDermott, W. C. 1972. M. Cicero and M. Tiro. *Historia* 21: 259–86.
- Powell, J., and J. Paterson, eds. 2004. *Cicero the Advocate*. Oxford.
- Riggsby, A. 1995. Appropriation and Reversal as a Basis for Oratorical Proof. *CP* 90: 245–56.
- . 1999. *Crime and Community in Ciceronian Rome*. Austin.
- . 2002. The *Post Reditum* Speeches. In *May 2002*, 165–85.
- Robinson, A. W. 1994a. Avoiding Responsibility: Cicero and the Suppression of Catiline's Conspiracy. *SyllClass* 5: 43–51.
- . 1994b. Cicero's References to His Banishment. *CW* 87: 475–80.
- Ruebel, J. 1979. The Trial of Milo in 52 B.C.: A Chronological Study. *TAPA* 109: 231–49.
- Seager, R. 2002. *Pompey the Great*². Oxford.
- Settle, J. N. 1962. The Publication of Cicero's Orations. Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- . 1963. The Trial of Milo and the Other *Pro Milone*. *TAPA* 94: 268–80.
- Shackleton Bailey, D. R. 1971. *Cicero*. London.
- . 1977. *Cicero: "Epistulae ad familiares."* Cambridge.
- Stevens, S. 1995. Political Program and Autobiography in Cicero's *Pro Milone*. Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University.
- Stone, A. M. 1980. *Pro Milone*: Cicero's Second Thoughts. *Antichthon* 14: 88–111.
- Stroh, W. 1975. *Taxis und Taktik: Die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden*. Stuttgart.
- Tyrrell, R., and L. Purser. 1969. *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*. Darmstadt.
- Vasaly, A. 1993. *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Wisse, J. 1989. *Ethos and Pathos from Aristotle to Cicero*. Amsterdam.