

DRESSING TO KILL: ATTIRE AS A PROOF AND MEANS OF CHARACTERIZATION IN CICERO'S SPEECHES¹

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Not all means of persuasion exploited in Cicero's speeches were codified and dissected in ancient rhetorical handbooks. Ann Vasaly (1993) has recently called attention to one example, namely Cicero's use of place in his speeches: both the scene of delivery and the distant places he conjures up. But Cicero was also keen to observe and exploit other phenomena of the world around him. In particular, he made a most judicious use of details of clothing to reinforce his case in court, whether in defense or prosecution, or to undergird his position in senatorial debate, with details of dress usually serving to reinforce the orator's characterizations of people. Recent interest in the body and its construction has fed into the study of antiquity and has sparked examination of attitudes toward both the nude body and the body clothed for presentation in public.² In particular, Julia Heskel has undertaken an interesting attempt to reconstruct late republican dress codes from Cicero's speeches.³ Such codes, however, were not hard and fast, but were open to much manipulation and interpretation by the orator. Clothing still remains to be considered as a component of Cicero's rhetorical toolkit.

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2 Cf. Brown 1988, Bynum 1991, Edwards 1993.ch. 2, Gleason 1995.

3 Heskel 1994; see references and disagreements in the following notes.

The use of clothing for emotional effect was a regular feature of the judicial business of both Athens and Rome. During the peroration of the defense speech, the accused, together with his or her parents, children, spouse, or other relatives would stand before the court dressed in squalid raiment in a blatant attempt to move the jurors to pity. This ploy, obvious though it was, must often have been felt to be effective, for Cicero used it whenever possible,⁴ but he also introduced some interesting variants. The non-fulfillment of the expected ritual of *vestitus mutatio* could be used to characterize a defendant, like Cicero's client Milo, as too brave to demean himself and his loved ones in this fashion (*Mil.* 101). This is part of Cicero's strategy of portraying Milo as a kind of Stoic hero, unmoved by emotion, and thus incapable of killing in the heat of passion as the prosecution alleged.⁵ However, Milo's refusal to play the usual game of charades was not necessarily a matter of fixed principle with him, for he had, in fact, appeared *sordidatus* at the trial of P. Sestius four years earlier (*Sest.* 144). In another case, Cicero succeeded in turning this tactic to the advantage, not of the defense, but of the prosecution. In prosecuting C. Verres *de repetundis*, Cicero introduced in court one of the defendant's victims, the ward P. Junius, dressed in the rags to which he had been reduced by Verres' scam in letting a contract for the repair of the temple of Castor in the forum for which young Junius bore financial responsibility. This tactic seems to have had some effect on the jury, for Verres' defense counsel, Q. Hortensius, was sufficiently annoyed to accuse Cicero of using populist rhetoric (*populariter agere*, quoted at *Ver.* 2.1.151–53⁶).

More striking, however, than the wearing of filthy clothes in court, because much more rare, was the removal of clothing there.⁷ The defense counsel Marcus Antonius parted the tunic of his client M'. Aquilius, accused of extortion, in order to display the wounds the veteran commander had

4 Cf., e.g., *Planc.* 29 and 102.

5 See further Dyck 1998.

6 Though this speech is part of the *actio secunda* that was not delivered in court, Cicero is clearly referring to previous court transactions (2.1.151): *hic etiam priore actione Q. Hortensius pupillum Iunium praetextatum venisse in vestrum conspectum et stetisse cum patruo testimonium dicente questus est, et me populariter agere . . . clamavit*, "Even in the prior process Q. Hortensius complained that the ward Junius had come before you dressed in the purple-bordered toga and stood with his uncle as he gave testimony, and he shouted that I was indulging in populist rhetoric . . ."

7 For the dubiously authentic anecdote of the baring of the charms of the courtesan Phryne by her defense counsel Hyperides, cf. Cooper 1995.

received facing the enemy. In the sequel, Aquilius, though surely guilty as charged, was acquitted.⁸ Cicero seems to have imitated this ploy and displayed his client's wounds in the peroration of his defense in the treason trial of C. Rabirius.⁹

Now the ancients generally believed that there were external signs pointing to inner virtues and vices. The Homeric poems sometimes seem to imply that good looks and fine physique point to sterling character,¹⁰ though Homer also shows awareness that Paris' character by no means matches his handsome appearance (*Il.* 3.39ff.). The possible divergence of appearance and reality receives further emphasis from Archilochus (F 114 West), Euripides (*Hipp.* 925–31), and others. By Aristotle's day, the pseudo-science of physiognomy was available to aid the curious in reading a person's character from his or her visage.¹¹ Even quite subtle details of behavior could be scanned for their characterological significance. As Cicero observes in *de Officiis* (1.146): *ex oculorum obtutu, superciliorum aut remissione aut contractione, . . . ex locutione, ex reticentia, ex contentione vocis, ex summissione . . . facile iudicabimus quid eorum apte fiat . . .*, "We shall readily be able to judge what is done fittingly . . . from a glance of the eyes, from the relaxation or contraction of an eyebrow . . . from speech or from silence, from the raising or lowering of the voice" (trans. Atkins).

It is not surprising, then, that details of dress were closely studied and gave rise to comment in open court or senatorial debate. A good place to begin the study of Cicero's technique of depicting character through dress is with the state of undress, for, as Maud Gleason has remarked (1995.156), "sometimes the symbolic significance of clothing lies less in the new identity one puts on after the removal of one's old clothes than the revelation of the original identity underneath. Like an athlete, one strips down to one's true self." So in the case of Milo, whom Cicero once compares to gladiators (*Mil.* 92): his stripping naked at a meeting of the senate in the temple of

8 Liv. per. 70, Cic. *de Orat.* 2.124 and 194 = *orat.* pp. 228–29, Alexander 1990.no. 84.

9 *Rab. Perd.* 36: *qui hasce ore adverso pro re publica cicatrices ac notas virtutis accepit*, "who received these very wounds and marks of courage, face forward, in behalf of the state." The preceding matter is lost; the actual display of the wounds would account for the deictic *hasce*. For the contextualization of such displays within popular rhetoric at Rome, see Leigh 1995.209ff.

10 Cf. Bernsdorff 1992, esp. 115ff.

11 Even if the *Physiognomica* attributed to him is not by Aristotle, it is likely to preserve an Aristotelian organization and viewpoint; cf. Schmidt 1941.1070.48ff., followed by Düring 1968.314.49ff.

Capitoline Jupiter was as rare an act as stripping in court. He did so, Cicero explains (*Mil.* 66), to confute charges that he was carrying a concealed weapon. Cicero seems to suggest that his client's physical nakedness corresponds to the *nuda veritas* of his position, in contrast to the penumbra of rumor and suspicion surrounding him. On the other hand, Cicero reacts with consternation to the bare-chested Antony who, *nudus* after running in the Lupercalia, appeared as consul in the theater to offer a crown to Caesar. Caesar himself was dressed in the purple toga Romans associated with kingship: a sartorial deficiency on the one side, excess on the other (*Phil.* 2.85–86).¹²

In general, as Cicero remarks, in dress, “the intermediate course is best,”¹³ i.e., if one hits a mean between negligence and over-refinement, one is safely unmarked and will escape caustic comment.¹⁴ Even so legendary a pillar of Roman morality as the elder Cato was not exempt from criticism on grounds of negligent turnout; he appealed to the *mos maiorum* as precedent for appearing on hot summer days clad only in his toga without a tunic underneath (but presumably wearing a linen loincloth, *subligar* or *subligaculum*, instead).¹⁵ Eyebrows were likewise raised at the elder Scipio's adoption of Greek dress at Syracuse (Liv. 29.19.12, V. Max. 3.6.1) and, later, by Caecina's wearing of *bracae* (Tac. *Hist.* 2.20.1). Similarly, some of Cicero's political or forensic adversaries made the mistake of falling into non-standard dress, and thus provided the gleeful orator sartorial grist for his vituperative mill.

The jury in the trial of Verres was made up of senators, but members of the greatly expanded Sullan senate,¹⁶ and most had had no such opportunities as Verres for enriching themselves in the provinces. Hence the

12 Other cases of *nuditās* (Apronius at *Ver.* 3.23 and Deiotarus at *Deiot.* 26–27) are discussed by Hessel 1994.139. For Cicero on Caesar's *praecinctura* (implying effeminacy), cf. *Macr. Sat.* 2.3.9 with Corbeil 1996.195.

13 *Off.* 1.130: *eadem ratio est habenda vestitus, in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est*, “account must likewise be taken of clothing, in which, as in a great many things, moderation is best.”

14 Cf. Augustus' claim (Suet. *Aug.* 73): . . . *usus est . . . togis neque restrictis neque fuis, clavo nec lato nec angusto* . . ., “He made use of togas which were neither tight nor loose and a stripe which was neither wide nor narrow.”

15 Cf. Blümner 1911.205, Leigh 1995.195–96, Asc. *Scaur.* 30: Cato points to statues of Romulus, Tatius, and Camillus as precedent (cf. Aeschines' use of the statue of Solon at *Tim.* 25).

16 Cf. Mommsen 1887–88.3.2.847–48, Lintott 1999.70.

chance for a clever prosecutor to alienate the jury from the defendant. If, in his general behavior, Verres was anything but a model of what a Roman official should be, so, too, in his dress, as depicted by Cicero, he cut an absurd figure. One of his obsessions during his misrule of Sicily (73–71 B.C.E.) was to collect the inlaid reliefs attached to silver bowls. Cicero explains what he did with them: he opened up a workshop in the palace at Syracuse, summoned craftsmen from far and near, and proceeded to have the reliefs so skillfully attached to golden bowls that you could barely see a joint. The description reaches its climax with the governor's own rôle in this: Verres took such interest in this work that he was in the habit of sitting in the workshop the greater part of the day dressed like the Greek workmen in a dark tunic and the characteristic Greek informal cloak, the *pallium*.¹⁷ This lingering image is part of Cicero's larger strategy for constructing Verres in these speeches, as delineated by Vasaly (1993.110ff.): he must be stripped of the dignity of a Roman senator and made to reveal himself through his pastimes and dress as lower-class and un-Roman and thus unworthy of the sympathy or support of the senatorial jury.

The opposite strategy of Romanizing an alien appears in Cicero's defense, in a case of contested citizenship, of the Syrian Greek poet Archias. Here Cicero tells how Archias was received into the home of the Luculli when still *praetextatus* (Arch. 5). But the *toga praetexta* was the garb of Roman boys, whereas, on Cicero's own showing, Archias was not, at this point, as yet a Roman. The clothing term *cum* age-designator, like the first reference to his client in the speech as A. Licinius (Arch. 1), serves to plant a subtle suggestion of Archias' Romanness.

Like Verres, another famous target of Ciceronian invective, Marc Antony, is also portrayed as slacking off sartorially. With characteristic exaggeration, Cicero professes never to have seen anything more disgraceful than when Antony, holding the second most powerful office of the state, master of the horse, was campaigning for the consulate in the towns of Gaul wearing, not a toga, but a *lacerna*, a kind of cloak fitted with a hood. His footwear was also outrageous: instead of wearing normal Roman outdoors shoes, the *calcei*, which covered the upper foot as well as the heel and sole, he was wearing shoes called *Gallicae* or *soleae*, a kind of slipper usually

17 Cic. Ver. 2.4.54: . . . *in hac officina maiorem partem diei cum tunica pulla sedere solebat et pallio*, "he was wont to sit in this workshop the better part of the day with a dark tunic and a *pallium*."

worn indoors (cf. Blümner 1911.222ff.). For contrast, Cicero adds a vignette of himself returning to Rome after breaking off a voyage to Greece, wearing, like a proper Roman, the toga and *calcei* (*Phil.* 2.76).

Antony was not alone in this footwear, however. Here he was anticipated by two other Ciceronian *bêtes noires*, Verres and Piso: the former stood on the Sicilian shore, shod in *soleae* with a purple *pallium* and ankle-length tunic¹⁸ (note again the unRoman *pallium* and the effeminate long tunic¹⁹), whereas the drunken Piso showed himself out of doors with head wrapped up and shod with *soleae* (*Pis.* 13). In wearing the *lacerna*, however, Antony may have been at the forefront of a fashion trend, for though the word itself occurs for the first time in the *Second Philippic*,²⁰ this item of clothing was destined to become so popular that Augustus, snorting and declaiming the Virgilian tag, *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam* (*Aen.* 1.282), banned the *lacerna* from the forum altogether (Suet. *Aug.* 40.5). The Romans' flight from the toga was unstoppable, however; a century later Juvenal wrote that, in a large part of Italy, one would hardly see a toga except that covering the corpse at a funeral (3.171–72). But Cicero is clearly counting on readers of the *Second Philippic* to share the kind of revulsion professed by himself and later by Augustus at the public wearing of the *lacerna*.²¹ The aim of the characterization by dress is again to brand

18 *Ver.* 2.5.86. The implication of effeminacy is even clearer in the description of the young men who followed Catiline (*Cat.* 2.22): *postremum genus est . . . de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu eius ac sinu, quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbis aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis*, “the last group . . . is . . . his special choice—let me say—or rather his most intimate and bosom friends. These are the men you see with their carefully combed hair, dripping with oil, some smooth as girls, others with shaggy beards, with tunics down to their ankles and wrists, and wearing frocks not togas” (trans. C. MacDonald). *Velis* has, since Manutius, been explained as *tenuissimis togis*. The diminutive of both toga and *sagum* is used at *Pis.* 55 when Cicero describes the change of clothing of Piso’s lictors after the arrival at the city-gate from the province of Macedonia: *togulae lictoribus ad portam praesto fuerunt; quibus illi acceptis sagula reiecerunt, catervam imperatori suo novam praebuerunt*, “Little togas were ready for the lictors at the gate; when they had cast off their little military cloaks and put these on, they provided their general with a remarkable entourage.” Such change of garb at the gate was, of course, routine, but Cicero, by use of the underlined diminutives (cf. Heskel 1994.143) and by the suggestion that the lictors, now in mufti, are impersonating the absent welcoming throng, contrives to create a travesty of a triumphal entry.

19 For the implication of *mollitia* in Cicero’s attacks on adversaries, see notes 12 and 18 above and 27 and 28 below.

20 Cf. *TLL* s.v. *lacerna* 823.28ff.

21 Not necessarily to be taken at face value, cf. Vout 1996.

the adversary as alien, unRoman—a goal aided by the designation of Antony's slippers as Gallic (*Gallicae*) in the context of a visit to Gaul.²² Cicero thus makes Antony, in his choice of footwear, seem to have sided against Roman culture.

It is well to remember Cicero's remark that his speeches in advocacy need not show his true opinions.²³ Thus, if the occasion demands, we find him arguing just as readily the opposite case. Such a situation arose when, at the end of 54, he defended against extortion charges C. Rabirius Postumus, the former finance minister of the king of Egypt. In the course of the trial, the prosecutor C. Memmius, taking a leaf from Cicero's own book in the prosecution of Verres, tried to use the fact that Rabirius had put aside Roman clothing and entered the service of a foreign monarch to alienate the jury from him. Cicero counters by putting forward an elaborate *apologia* to the effect that Rabirius had no other choice if he wanted to keep his property. He cites as a parallel the case of P. Rutilius Rufus, who, in 88, had avoided what today would be called the ethnic cleansing fomented by Mithridates against Roman citizens resident in Asia Minor. Rutilius had done so by putting on Greek clothing. Cicero adds that he has seen senators and noble youths in Naples wearing the dark tunic rather than the toga and that Sulla and L. Scipio had worn Greek dress in public at Rome itself (*Rab. Post.* 27–28). Thus there was ample precedent for what Rabirius—and Verres!—had done.²⁴

These cases illustrate that, apart from Plato's "unwritten law" that no one enters the marketplace naked,²⁵ codes of dress were flexible and allowed for many variations of practice. These codes were also relative to the place or occasion. With a keen sense of the ridiculous, Cicero paints in detail the scenario of the prosecution's witnesses, wearing togas and *calcei*, hiding in the Senian baths to spy on the transfer of poison from Caelius'

22 Was he perhaps seeking in this way to curry favor with the local voters?

23 *Clu.* 139: *sed errat vehementer; si quis in orationibus nostris quas in iudiciis habuimus auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitrat. omnes enim illae causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum aut patronorum*, "But if anyone supposes that in the speeches which we have delivered before the bar he has our sealed opinions, he strays far from the mark; for these all depend upon the cases and the circumstances, not the men themselves or the advocates."

24 Cf. Riggsby 1999.136 and 221, notes 68 and 69.

25 Plato *apud* D. L. 3.86: ὁ δὲ κατὰ ἔθνη γινόμενος οὗτος ἄγραφος καλεῖται [sc. νόμος]. οἷον τὸ μὴ γυμνὸν πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν . . ., "This customary law among individual peoples is called unwritten; for instance, not going into the marketplace naked . . ."

friend P. Licinius to Clodia's slaves. He even manages to insert an insinuation against Clodia, when he wonders how they settled on the baths as the rendezvous, since the vestibule afforded no hiding place and men clothed and shod could hardly proceed into the interior of the baths—unless, he adds with a malevolent gleam in his eye, that powerful lady, with the well-known penny trick, had become intimate with the bathkeeper.²⁶ Less hilarious but no less inapposite was P. Vatinius, who appeared at a funeral banquet in mourning clothes (the *toga pulla*), even though these were to be worn at the funeral only (*Vat.* 30–32).

Another problem is the mismatch of clothing and gender, i.e., cross-dressing. If the long tunic was a pointer to the effeminacy of Verres or Catiline's young men, Cicero has still more blatant breaches of decorum to record. Above all there is the spectacle of Clodius invading the rites of the Bona Dea, for women only, in drag. Cicero does not stint with detail in conjuring up the scene: *P. Clodius a crocata, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio, a psalterio, a flagitio, a stupro factus est repente popularis*, "Publius Clodius—emerging from his saffron robe, his turban, his ladies' slippers and purple leg ribbons, his brassiere and lute, his act of gross immorality, all of a sudden he became a people's man."²⁷ The effect depends upon "*popularis*" being held in reserve to the very end and

26 *Cael.* 62: *cur enim potissimum balneas publicas constituerant, in quibus non invenio quae latebra togatis hominibus esse potest? nam si essent in vestibulo balnearum, non laterent; sin se in intimum conicere vellent, nec satis commode calceati et vestiti id facere possent et fortasse non reciperentur, nisi forte mulier potens quadrantaria illa permutatione familiaris facta erat balneari.* "Why in particular had they settled upon the public baths, in which I fail to find what hiding-place there can be for men wearing togas? For if they were in the anteroom of the baths, they would not be hidden; but if they wanted to penetrate into the inner part, they could not conveniently do so wearing shoes and clothing and perhaps they would not be admitted, unless perhaps a powerful woman, by means of the well-known penny transformation, became intimate with the bathkeeper." Wiseman 1974.172, n. 9 plausibly suggests that the rendezvous was to take place in the changing room.

27 *Har.* 44 (trans. Shackleton Bailey); cf. the similar attribution of feminine dress to Clodius at *in Clodium et Curionem* F 21–22 Crawford. Opelt 1965.153 thinks that the designator *Pulchellus* in three of the letters to Atticus (2.1.4, 2.18.3, 2.22.1) has reference to Clodius' "weibische[s] Aussehen"; sim. Koster 1980.117. Hessel 1994.140 thinks that Cicero does not pursue the sexual implications of Clodius' transvestism in *Har.*, "because he wants to allude to his opponent's well-known *stuprum*, his attempted adultery with Pompeia Caesar's wife"; but charges of effeminacy and adultery do not exclude each other; see Herter 1959.621, Williams 1999.143–48, and below. The allusion to Clodius' dress is quite enough for Cicero's purpose.

substituting for an expected word. In terms of the sequence of imagery, Clodius might have been expected to be transformed, in the wake of the Bona Dea scandal, from a lady into a prostitute (*scortum*). Cicero traces the reverse metamorphosis when he dresses up Marc Antony as a woman: *sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti*, "You put on the toga of manhood, which you immediately turned into a toga of womanhood"—a reference to prostitutes' wearing of the toga, a point which he elaborates in the sequel, finally allowing Antony to put on the stola when Curio has made an "honest woman" of him!²⁸ But Antony was also depicted as an adulterer.²⁹ Such charges are not to be taken at face value; the accusation of *mollitia*, as of adultery, was standardly deployed to discredit political foes.³⁰ In Clodius' case, there is another possible endpoint of the process: the Bona Dea scandal led directly to his becoming a *plebeius*. But Cicero chooses to depict him not in terms of civil category but, provocatively, in terms of political stance. It is true that *popularis* is not per se pejorative or a designation that Clodius himself would have eschewed,³¹ but the context gives it a cynical twist.

Though, unlike some recent defense attorneys, Cicero did not have to deal with a bloody glove entered in evidence against his client, he did handle a high-profile murder case that included clothing interpreted as

28 *Phil.* 2.44; nor is he content to leave the matter there but continues: *primo vulgare scortum; certa flagiti merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo conlocavit*, "At first, you were a common whore; there was a fixed price for vice and that no small one; but Curio quickly intervened, who removed you from prostitution and, as if he had given you a stola, settled you in a stable and fixed matrimony." For Cicero's depiction of Clodius and Antony as effeminate, cf. also Herter 1959.625, Gouffier 1978.225–27, Edwards 1993.64–65, Corbeill 1996.160–63. For the prostitutes' toga, see Non. p. 540M: *toga non solum viri sed etiam feminae utebantur*. Afranius *Fratriis* (182): *et quidem prandere stantem nobiscum, incinctam toga*, "not only men but women also used to wear the toga; Afranius in the *Sisters-in-Law*: 'and moreover for her to take lunch standing with us, with toga ungirt'; sim. Var. *Vit. Pop. Rom.* 1.44 *Riposati*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.62–63 with Acro *ad loc.*, Mart. 2.39 and 10.52, Juv. 2.68–70, Serv. A. 1.282. This practice is explained as follows by E. Badian *apud* Heskel 1994.141 and n. 44: "Such women were believed to behave like men, that is, in their promiscuous actions"; but the custom is unlikely to be based on such attitudes, even if they existed among the Romans, which has not been shown. The toga for prostitutes is rather a relic of the original unisex toga, from which the stola of the Roman matron was a departure.

29 That is the clear implication of the description of his parade through Italy with Volumnia in his entourage, cf. *Phil.* 2.58; further testimonies at Huzar 1978.279 n. 33.

30 Cf. Herter 1959.625–26, Edwards 1993.ch. 2.

31 I owe this point to John Briscoe.

evidence. In describing the encounter of Milo and Clodius on the Appian Way on 18 January 52, Cicero claims that circumstances prove that Clodius struck the unsuspecting Milo from ambush, but was himself cut down in the struggle. Cicero poses the questions: which of the two struck from ambush and which was the unsuspecting victim, as if these alternatives exhausted the possibilities.³² Cicero goes on to suggest that Clodius' guilt follows from the location of the attack near his own estate on the Alban hill, the fact that Milo was travelling with his wife and a group of musicians and maidservants in a *raeda* or four-wheeled travelling coach, whereas Clodius was mounted and not accompanied by his usual entourage of degenerates and whores—not to mention the fact that Milo was dressed in a *paenula*, a hooded waterproof garment like our poncho, by which he would have been encumbered in a fight as if by a net (*Mil.* 54: *paenula inretitus*). The clothing itself argues against any criminal intent on Milo's part, Cicero suggests; he was, quite literally, *not* dressed to kill. That may be so, but the two men could, *pace* Cicero, have met by chance, and this was indeed the common version of the encounter.³³

The sartorial parade of Cicero's speeches could be extended indefinitely, but the main tendencies are clear. When mentioned, clothing tends to be a telling indicator of character, like the linens and fine Maltese woollens Verres collected³⁴—further evidence of his connoisseurship, but also of his corruption, for Verres was not used to paying for his acquisitions, or, if he did pay, paying full price. Again, there is the expensive clothing purchased by Marc Antony at a fire-sale price in the auction of Pompey's confiscated estate; a little later, when his accumulating gambling debts forced Antony to hold his own auction, all that remained was "Pompey's clothing, in no great quantity, and that covered with stains."³⁵ That single detail of his stewardship stands, with no further comment needed, as a pointer to Antony's character.

The basic categories of Cicero's sartorial invective are Roman and unRoman. If he can make the suggestion of unRoman behavior stick to a Verres, a Piso, or a Marc Antony, he is well on his way to achieving his goal of vilification. However, no coherent philosophy of dress can be abstracted

32 *Mil.* 23 (*uter utri insidias fecerit*, "which plotted an ambush for which"), *sim.* 31; cf. Dyck 1998.230, n. 48.

33 *Asc. Mil.* 32 with Dyck 1998.226–27.

34 *Ver.* 2.2.176 and 2.5.27 and 146.

35 *Phil.* 2.66 and 73: *vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa*; cf. *Phil.* 13.11.

from his speeches (see n. 23 above): though generally on the side of tradition, he could also think of precedent or apology for non-Roman dress if the case demanded, as in the defense of C. Rabirius Postumus. Thus if, in general, clothing is one of the more mundane materials Cicero uses to construct the persons of his speeches, he knows how to interweave it with the utmost skill.

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