

R elevant HETORIC

“Knives in the Air”:

Argumentative Arrangement in Demosthenes’s
330 BCE *On The Crown* and Donald Trump’s
October 10, 2019 Minnesota Rally Speech



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Introduction

Demosthenes's 330 BCE judicial speech *De Corona* (*On the Crown*) continues to see scholarly interest, recently in Worthington's *Demosthenes of Athens and the Fall of Classical Greece* in 2013,¹ and a notable collection on the speech edited by Murphy in 2016.² Throughout criticism of the speech, however, two major judgments about its quality have held fast. The first judgment is that Demosthenes's Attic style in the speech is exemplary.³ The second judgment is a widespread appreciation of Demosthenes's brilliance in working around a weak legal case⁴ with a decisive emotional argument that tied the Athenian jury's belief in their patriotism and the sacrifice of the fallen at Chaeronea together to form a positive referendum on Demosthenes's policies toward Macedon. However, while the Attic style of the speech and its success with the jury is discussed extensively, I argue for treatment of Demosthenes's argumentative arrangement that offers a functional and descriptive explanation of how he switches between dozens of similar claims to increase their cumulative power, a technique I call "knives in the air."

I further demonstrate this alternative view of *On the Crown* by analyzing the speech in parallel to a October 10, 2019 rally speech in Minnesota given by Donald Trump. Trump's impromptu delivery is initially incongruous when placed next to Demosthenes's stylistically masterful speech. However, Trump addresses a similar defensive rhetorical occasion to Demosthenes's judicial setting, namely, an ongoing impeachment inquiry by the U.S. House of Representatives. Furthermore, and more importantly, Trump also uses a similar four-claim "knives in the air" arrangement that resonates with his rally audience much like Demosthenes's speech seems to have secured the votes of at least four-fifths of the Athenian jury over two millennia ago.



"Demòstenes (còpia romana d'un original hel·lenístic de Polieucte), Musei Vaticani, Roma." by Sebastià Giralt is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0



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In light of this parallel, I argue that a “knives in the air” arrangement is both detectable and natural to employ when a speaker wishes to mount an aggressive, totalizing counterattack against opponents and also avoid too much attention being paid to any given instance of a claim they might use, as many of them on closer examination may be spurious. Demosthenes and Trump constantly return to the same four basic claims – they are without fault, their opponents have no redeeming qualities, the audience (with which they identify) represents the patriotic best of the nation, and any past events described will bear these claims out – but in a dizzying amount of variant forms.

Given the similarity of arrangement, I would preface my analysis with two explanations that come to mind for why the *On the Crown* is an immortal rhetorical classic and Trump’s rally speech is, well, not. The first is that Demosthenes’s style is much “higher,” moving deftly between what Cicero later defined as the “high” and the “middle” styles, with great attention paid to the flow and balance between the four revolving claims. Trump’s style, on the other hand, is consistently “low” or “plain,” and he does not demonstrate much command of claim flow, lingering far longer on his infallibility, for example. The second explanation is that Demosthenes’s attempts to show that his foreign policy aligned with the ideals of Athenian democracy, independence, and virtue are far more convincing - not so much on merit, but by the difficulty of winning over a lottery-chosen



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jury that by definition represented the entire citizenry of Athens - compared to the ease of Trump’s attempt to convince a hand-picked rally of supporters that his presidency represents the real America. That said, both supporters of Trump in 2019 CE and supporters of Demosthenes in 330 BCE chose their man, so to speak, and to stand against him is to convict themselves, whether for voting for Trump in 2016 or backing Demosthenes’s aggressive policies against Macedon. They are captive audiences, linked inexorably to their rhetors before the speech began.



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The “knives in the air” arrangement reinforces this preexisting relationship, and thus, I argue, carries a heavier weight than style or content in explaining the rhetorical effectiveness of the two speeches.

I share this dual rhetorical analysis to showcase the relevancy and timeliness of understanding how lengthy political addresses can be constructed out of arranged and juxtaposed claims and how the complexity and effectiveness of demagogic rhetoric, whether employing high or low style, can be profitably viewed from the perspective of argumentative arrangement. Such side-by-side comparisons of rhetorical texts separated by time and culture work well as pedagogical showcases for the universality of rhetorical technique.

On the Crown’s Rhetorical Situation

A brief overview of the context of the 330 BCE *On the Crown* speech is appropriate. In previous decades, the Athenian citizen-orator Demosthenes and his political rival, Aeschines, had been heavily involved in negotiations and diplomacy regarding the machinations of Philip, Macedon’s expansionist king, toward Athens. Philip dealt a crushing defeat to the combined military forces of Athens, Thebes, and their allies at the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE, in which Demosthenes served as a hoplite. Afterward, Philip razed Thebes, but spared Athens and left its democratic structures intact, and asserted hegemony over Greece afterward. Despite the ultimate failure of Demosthenes’s defiant foreign policy toward Macedon, he remained well regarded in Athens, and two years later in 336 BCE, an Athenian named Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes be honored with a golden crown for his services to Athens.

Before the Athenian assembly could vote on the proposal, however, Aeschines quickly charged Ctesiphon with a *graphē paranomōn* - a “suit for unlawful action,” roughly, brought against the proposer of a motion in the assembly, charging them with corruption of the law (most prominently, making false statements about Demosthenes’s actions).



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Such suits were often used purely as a political attack, and in this case, to launch a jury trial where Aeschines could argue that Demosthenes's policies and conduct had led Athens into defeat when war could have been averted, and thus ruin Demosthenes's reputation. The trial did not happen until six years later in 330 BCE, possibly from seismic political events favorable to Demosthenes, such as the assassination of Philip in 336 BCE, the destruction of Thebes by his son Alexander in



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335 BCE, and Alexander's departure to conquer the known world afterward.⁵ As the accuser, Aeschines gave the opening speech to the jury; *On the Crown* is Demosthenes's following speech in defense of Cteisphon, though more accurately it is a sophistic defense of himself and his policies, carefully linked to notions of Athenian virtue and independence against an implacable Philip, and appeasement and treason by Aeschines and his ilk. The jury voted immediately after hearing Demosthenes, and Cteisphon was overwhelmingly acquitted. As Aeschines's suit did not receive at least one-fifth of the votes, he was forced to pay a hefty fine and leave Athens.

Past Critical Efforts Addressing On the Crown's Arrangement

Ochs puts the standard position plainly: "Outlining Demosthenes's defensive strategy is an exercise in the impossible."⁶ Other than that *On the Crown* is a lengthy speech that contains hundreds of claims, with a beginning, a narrative not necessarily in chronological order, some incentive and legal sections, and an end, critics have largely left the speech at that rough macrostructure. The few surviving rhetorical treatises in the centuries following Demosthenes make any systematic use or analysis of its text as instructional in arrangement impossible to determine,⁷ but deep analysis of macrostructure was not a major topic of interest in ancient writing treatises, compared to style. Cicero was a champion of Demosthenes, mentioning him often in his *Orator*⁸ and modelling his Philippics on him, but is chiefly concerned with his style and politics.

Dionysus of Halicarnassus's *On Literary Composition* treats copious examples of *On the Crown's* sentence style, but never beyond the cola; arrangement is restricted to the workings of sentences.⁹ Demetrius's *On Style* is similar, sticking to single passages; Longinus's *On the Sublime* mentions Demosthenes's skill at variation but, again, in a single passage¹⁰; Plutarch's *Lives* likewise.¹¹ Gibson's overview of ancient hypomnemata on passages from Demosthenes's works reveals none concerned with arrangement.¹²

Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, too, says little about arrangement compared to the supposed pinnacle, *On the Crown*, roughly contemporarily composed. Our extant text of the *Rhetoric* states that a speech needs two parts: state the case, the *prosthesis*, and prove it, the *pistis*.¹³ After this maxim, the text promptly (and characteristically) contradicts itself by describing the *prooemion* or *proemium* (introduction), *diegesis* (narration), *erotesis* (interrogation), and finally the *epilogos* (conclusion), along with a few minor judicial maneuvers. So it would seem there are different parts – but not many, and they are formalized. The discussion is brief, filtered through concerns of occasion (deliberative vs. judicial) and feels like an afterthought.¹⁴ What is missing is what Demosthenes does in his speech.¹⁵ *On the Crown* has a formal *prooemion* and *epilogos*, but the extensive body cannot be understood with classical tools.

Even by the end of 19th century, analysis of Demosthenes remained hagiographical and stylistic; Bredif, for example, reflects the two undisputed claims mentioned earlier – the burial of the legal case¹⁶ and the superior style.¹⁷ Modern commentary starts with Goodwin's 1901 edition: "The argument of the Oration follows no recognized model, and it cannot be brought under any system of rhetorical rules."¹⁸ The typical analysis that follows focuses on sentence-level Greek style, such as Yunis's brief account of Demosthenes's rhetorical art.¹⁹ Pearson's commentary is insightful, but not focused on argumentative structure other than the speech is a "long and elaborate contrast with many repetitions."²⁰

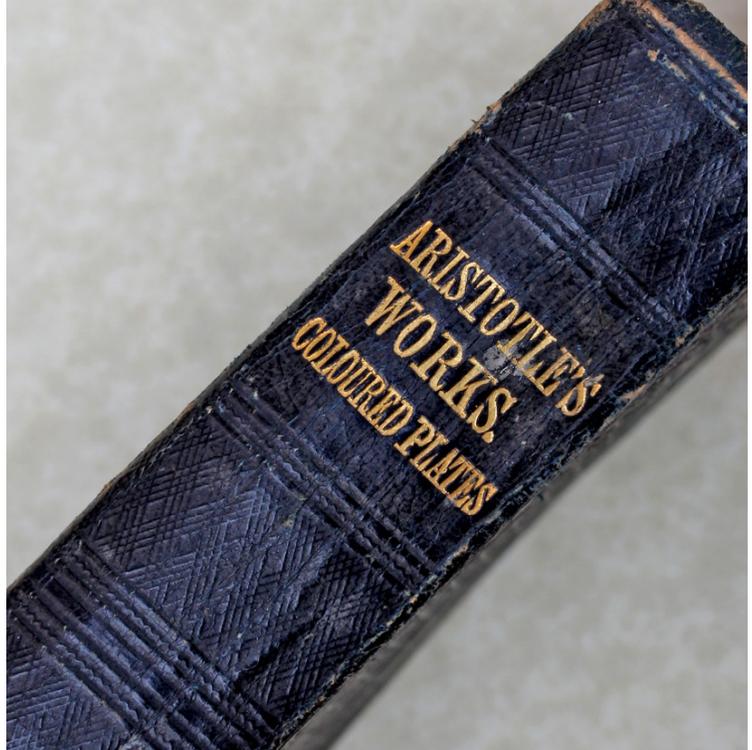


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In political biography, such Samotta's *Demosthenes*, the speech's expression of Demosthenes's policy, rather, is stressed,²¹ or Brun's *Démosthène*, which emphasizes the political drama of the trial.²²

Some critics, however, have attempted outlines. MacDowell asserts that Demosthenes has organized the speech in three sections – first, his political achievements, second, the legal points, and then finally personalities.²³ Donnelly's 1941 outline, reprinted twice in collections on the speech edited by Murphy²⁴ and Goodwin,²⁵ plus another by Usher,²⁶ are more complex, but fail to capture the speech's complexity via reduction to a linear chronology. Cook's outline focuses how a specific charge – cowardice against Demosthenes – affects the macrostructure,²⁷ but there are hundreds of other claims. Dyck notes there are two formal parts with their own introductions

arranged against Aeschines²⁸, but he neglects how Aeschines is also pilloried throughout the speech, mentioned by name over 90 times and more through pronouns and implication. Walker's recent chapter in 2016, however, is on stronger ground, describing Demosthenes's overall argumentation thusly:

“...he makes his case at the stasis of counterplea by a fundamentally exetastic procedure, showing the contradictions between Aeschines' words and deeds and the behavior of good citizens – the “good men” buried in the public tombs – while presenting himself, or his actions, as a fulfillment of the high Athenian ideals for which those honored dead gave their lives...Further, he interweaves his exetastic/enthymematic arguments with a narrative of his career and the events leading up to the present situation.”²⁹

This “interweaved” narrative comes in four parts: everything up to the Peace of Philocrates, from then to the war, then the events before the loss at Chaeronea in 338 BCE, and then everything until the trial in 330 BCE. The argument is repetitive; the narration serves up evidence that Demosthenes then examines in “digressions” that have a progressive, cumulative effect.

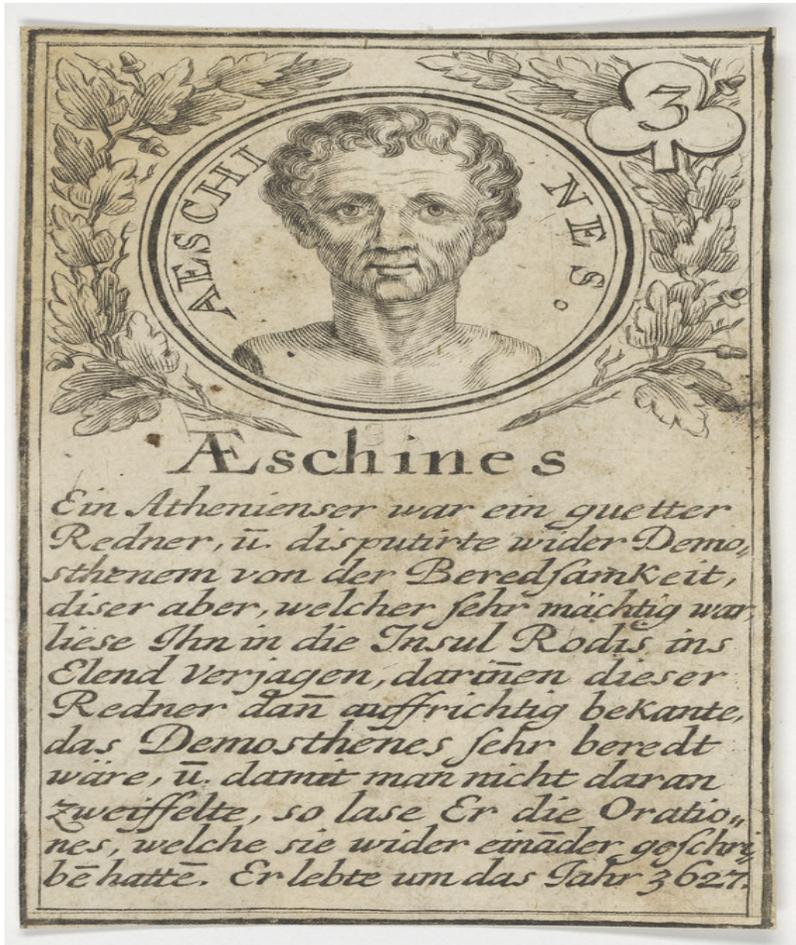


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Demosthenes, Walker claims, “builds, or accretes, a bundle of resonant ‘thoughts,’ that come to a head in the climactic, emotive outburst of section 208” – the entire argumentative process, indeed, is a “repetitive, discontinuous, accumulative procedure that the audience cannot fully predict.”³⁰ This echoes the stress on “repetitive form” in the speech noted by Wooten,³¹ and is a step forward. However, it is incomplete as

asserted, without adequate illustration and evidence. Three areas need further development for a better picture of the speech’s arrangement.

The first area is the recurring insistence that passage 208³² must be the climax for the listener. On the Crown’s length and complexity allow many different climaxes other than passage 208 where the listener can be pushed over a persuasive precipice. For example, the drama of passages 169-173, 126-129, 69-73, or 50-52 all serve. The multitude of opportunities, combined with the overall number of claims, maximize the speech’s potential impact; if one phrase did not land, another might, and this is a hint that there is a more complex, planned structure in the speech than the past outlines of “repetition” suggest.

Second, the “exetastic” (roughly, “critical examination”) qualities of the speech are brought out, I argue, through the four central claims that recur and

interact with each other, and that they, not the narrative alone, dictate the flow and momentum of the speech. The narrative is a time-keeping formality compared to the circulating claims that govern it. Rather than the claims hanging from the skeleton of the narrative, the reverse applies; the narrative is dependent on the claims, serving as camouflage for the controlling structure.

Third, while the speech’s arguments are certainly additive, the impact of the total number of individual claims in the speech is not recognized. Demosthenes’s speech was three hours of one crushing and witty claim after another. There is a limit to what classical rhetorical theory could describe, and this speech pushes well past Aristotle’s sectional approach into something more complicated.

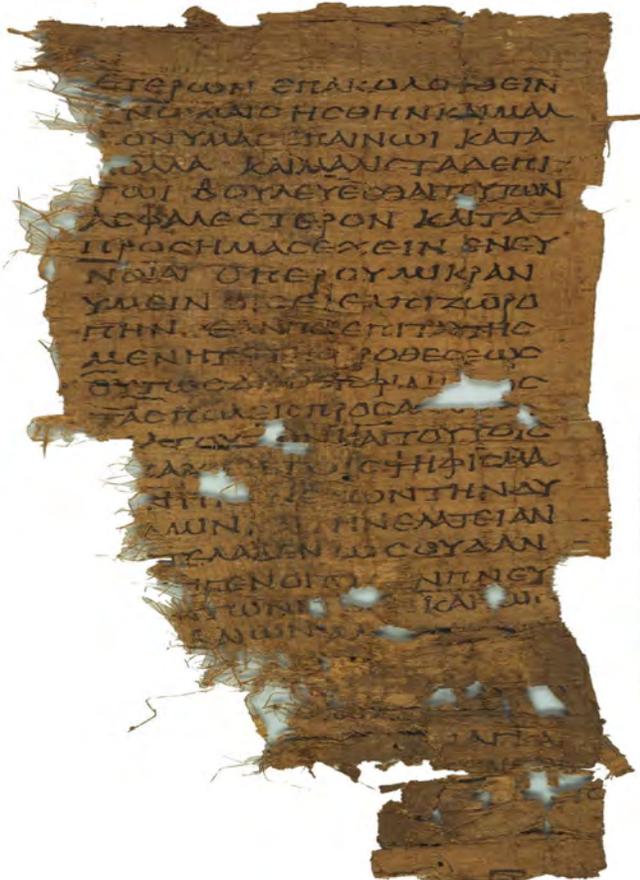


Photo credit: [[File:Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1377 - Princeton University Library, AM 9051 - Demosthenes, De Corona 167-169.jpg|Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1377 - Princeton University Library, AM 9051 - Demosthenes, De Corona 167-169]] Wikimedia



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I address these three issues with an analogy – about juggling knives – where each “knife” is one of four types of claims, in a Toulmin-style argumentative analysis. At any given time, the juggler is catching one knife and throwing up another, with at least two always in the air and still visible, vertically spinning with the blades flashing in the sun.

The “Knives in the Air” Analogy

On a simple level, Demosthenes’s main, overreaching argument might seem to take the form of a morality play, a fantasy theme, or a Gorgias-style antithesis. On one side are the good – the men of the Athenian jury, Athenian tradition, and Demosthenes himself. On the other side are the bad – Aeschines

and other assorted traitors to Athens, some named in passage 294. The good are always pure, noble, and brave; Demosthenes never admits a single fault and any apologies he makes are always flattering. The bad are always treasonous, untrustworthy, and gutless; Aeschines has no redeeming characteristics.

This totalizing argument is of no surprise to anyone familiar with jury trials, whether they be in ancient Athens or modern-day courtrooms. Demosthenes uses over thirty different analogies over the course of the speech to depict Aeschines unfavorably (Donnelly “The Argument” 156). Indeed, Enos composes a list that delineates this “chiastic contrasting” division from the perspective of style but does not go farther.³⁴ There

is more, though. Between these two sides is the point of contention as reframed by Demosthenes – not the legal case, but Athenian policy (really, Demosthenes’s policy) toward Philip of Macedon. It is hard to predict the massively complicated speech that comes from this simple line of argument. Demosthenes could have composed countless different speeches given this starting point, but his ultimate curation of the options suggests he had a certain effect in mind – dazzlement.

Imagine watching a juggler wielding four knives (a typical juggler would employ three, but ours is very good and uses four). Call the first knife “Good Demosthenes,” the second “Evil Aeschines,” the third, “Athenian Virtue,” and the fourth “Seemingly Factual Narration.”



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At any given time, the juggler is catching one knife and throwing up another, with at least two always in the air and still visible, vertically spinning with the blades flashing in the sun.

The first knife, “Good Demosthenes,” which I will henceforth call Argument A, lies behind any statement that Demosthenes’s character is beyond reproach and that his plans and intentions for Athens have consistently been noble and reasonable. Whereas in the *Philippics* he was but a participant, here, Demosthenes is the “hero who has broken the rules of the theater by surviving the catastrophe.”³⁵

The second knife, “Bad Aeschines,” Argument B, stands behind any claim that Aeschines is a deceitful, low-born, effeminate³⁶ traitor – the “abominable, deformed little clerk” of passage



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209. One might combine A and B into a simple statement of opposition, but Demosthenes physically separates his praise of himself and his condemnation of Aeschines in many creative ways. He attacks Aeschines at length, makes a direct comparison to himself, brings in Aeschines at the last second in a seemingly unrelated train of thought – in other words, “Evil Aeschines” is constantly repositioned, and while still a foil, can function separately and independently.

The third knife, “Athenian Virtue,” Argument C, rests behind any claim that reminds the jury that Athens’s citizens and martyrs are wise and virtuous, with their traditions of democratic independence and patriotism being worthy of being upheld despite any military defeat. Unlike Demosthenes’s earlier judicial speech *Against Meidias*,³⁷ which functioned as a constant comparison between two claims: “Good Demosthenes” and “Bad Meidias” – now there is a clear third player, the Athenians, who can be aligned with Demosthenes and introduce a three-body level of complexity.

The fourth and last knife, “Seemingly Factual Narration,” Argument D, consists of Demosthenes’s biased versions of past events, decrees, and embassies, which always support the first three arguments A, B, and C, and serve as a veneer of objectivity as well as a deceptive way to keep time.³⁸ When Kennedy notes that Demosthenes’s structure “gives the impression of logical order and clear narration” he is close, but does not address how that “impression” relates to other claims. Furthermore, Kennedy’s position that “... [the speech’s] presentation of the need for loyalty to Athenian traditions [is] the central issue logically and the central topic rhetorically...” subtracts the Demosthenes-

Aeschines feud and the narrative episodes.³⁹ These cannot be neglected in any full accounting of the arrangement.

Demosthenes multiplies these four interlocked claims into hundreds of variants. Each variant is a different toss of a knife, but it is always the same four knives, and Demosthenes never goes very long without touching all four knives, which makes the speech surprisingly predictable once the pattern is glimpsed – a



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variant of “Bad Aeschines” (Argument B) is never far away, for example. It is difficult to keep track of any one variant⁴⁰ because it is gone an instant later, only to reappear shortly afterward in another form.

Demosthenes’s audience was well primed for this technique. They had an imperfect memory of the numerous events narrated⁴¹ as no official account existed, and gossip, by nature, shifts with each retelling. This state left openings for Demosthenes to fashion those events in his favor – just as Aeschines did before him. Immediate favorable impression, not objective historical accuracy, was their aim.⁴² When the Athenians jurors voted immediately after the speech, they might have retained a memory of a few individual claims, but they would have been forced to view the entire three-hour performance holistically as a blend of dozens. By constantly revisiting these arguments in slightly different forms in no predictable order, Demosthenes created a sense of off-the-cuff improvisation and

dazzlement, which, again, belied a flexible compositional structure designed to keep the audience in a highly engaged, but always slightly off-balance state of hypnotization. The combination of this arrangement and his high style marks real innovation and growth in Demosthenes's rhetorical technique since his early days as a *logographos*.

It is impossible to examine the entire speech adequately here, so I offer three representative sections from the passages immediately following the *prooemion* (an attack on Aeschines that reframes his argument in Demosthenes's favor), namely passages 17-109. These passages set a precedent for how the four main claims, A through D, intertwine and multiply throughout the rest of the speech.



First Example: Passages 17-33

As the *prooemion* ends, Demosthenes's initial framing claim in passage 17 that he wants to “examine them [Aeschines's claims] one by one”⁴³ is a strategic lie. He never does this. Indeed, only three passages later, he veers from his take of the political situation at the Phocian war's outbreak (Argument D) to an attack (Argument B) on Aeschines (passages 20-21) as a traitorous agent of Philip that does not relent until passage 24. This verbal assault is intermingled with arguments C and A – that the Athenian people did not tell Demosthenes to act otherwise (Argument C) than he did (passage 23) and that Demosthenes himself (Argument A) is innocent of promoting the initial peace (passage 24). The narration (argument D) resumes in passage 25. The initial rhetorical effect as the speech begins to accelerate is that Demosthenes was overcome by emotion from passage 20-24 and has now restrained himself. The audience has heard all four main claims in perhaps two minutes, and he signals calmness may return.



It does not. Demosthenes is barely started in passage 25 before a loaded antithesis appears: “You will thereby ascertain who acted throughout as Philip’s agent, and who served your interests and sought the good of the city.” This is Argument A and B, filtered through Argument C – the judgment of the seemingly all-wise Athenian jury – with the promise of resolution through narration (Argument D). Unlike in 17-24, where A, B, C, and D were present but spread out, all four knives are in the air here for an instant, then the juggling resumes.

Passages 25-27 return to narration (Argument D) but serve chiefly to set up yet another condemnation of Aeschines (Argument B) and a defense of Demosthenes’s actions (Argument A) in passage 28, followed by a reading of

Demosthenes’s decree (passage 29), representing Argument D. The decree’s recitation is not allowed to stand on its own –Demosthenes answers it (passage 30) with Argument A – “My object in moving this decree was to serve Athens, not Philip” and another restatement of passage 25’s “A vs. B” thesis in passage 31.

Narration (Argument D) resumes in passage 32-33, but the diction portrays the Athenians as powerful and capable, the equals of Philip (Argument C). Hence, “He was afraid that, if we reported that he intended and was already preparing to march, you would turn out and sail round with your fleet to Thermopylae, and block the passage, as you did before.” Passage 33 switches back to Aeschines the traitor (Argument B) just in time to catch the falling knife before the audience forgets his villainous role.

Following the claims and understanding how they work together even with this kind of close, slow-motion commentary is difficult – by design. A juggler with a practiced eye would be able to follow what was happening, but most people are not jugglers – or rhetorical critics. Reading the speech offers more time to process the claims, but only if the reader notes how quickly Demosthenes reaches for the next knife/claim and slows accordingly to compensate.

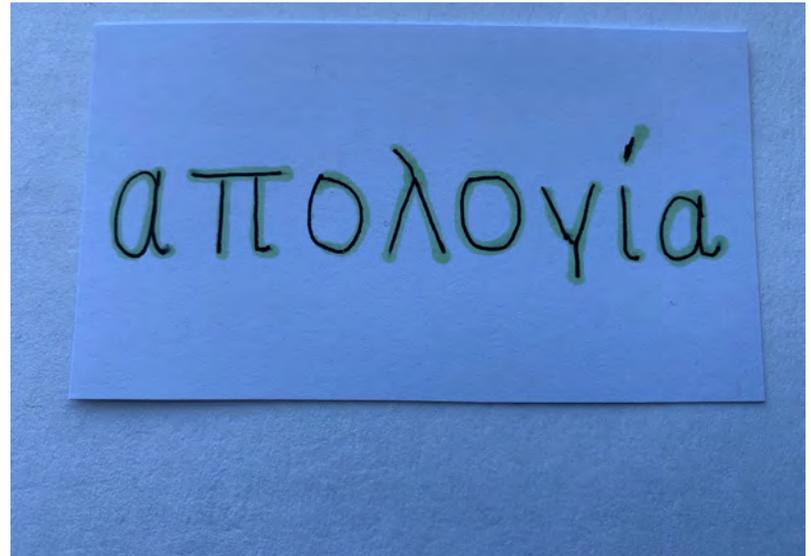
It is critical to note that Demosthenes could have held his promise in passage 17 and maintained a continuous narration (Argument D) between passages 17-34. However, he did not; his chronological order is interrupted at will. This inconsistency is another sign that the “digressions” are the determining order, and the narration is time-keeping.

Second Example: Passages 34-60

Passage 34 is a staged apology that repeats the earlier framing fib of passage 17. All four arguments are present: The jury (Argument C) is implored to remember that Aeschines has made a slanderous attack (Argument B) that has forced Demosthenes to digress, which is not his fault (Argument A) and he is “compelled to reply briefly to all his charges in turn,” another way to restate Argument D.

Passages 35-36 narrate again (Argument D), but this is intermingled with an account of Aeschines’s deception regarding Philip’s intentions (Argument B) and the second-person, deceived but innocent Athenians (Argument C). Another decree is read for Argument D (passage 37-38) but Demosthenes launches another attack at Aeschines afterward (passage 38, Argument B): “Was it with such expectation that you made the peace? Were these the promises of this hireling?” that is aimed at the jury (Argument C). After this sting, another decree follows (Argument D) with a spin that flatters the jury by pretending his interpretation is theirs: “Though the letter is addressed to you, it contains, as you hear...” (Argument C). On schedule, Aeschines is then berated (Argument B) in passage 41 with Demosthenes as a victim of Alexander (Argument A).

Demosthenes apologizes for digression in passage 42, artifice to make the constructed anger of passages 35-41 resound. He “returns” at full speed with a rhetorical question that could seem to undercut Argument C (“When you were deceived...”) but turns to blame the deceit on the unnamed Aeschines (Argument B).



Narration that places no blame on Athenian inaction (Argument C) continues (Argument D), concluding with an attack on Aeschines (Argument B) in passage 44. It is time for Argument A to reappear in passage 45-46; Demosthenes warned (Argument A) the Greek city-states to act against Philip's maneuvers, but they were demoralized and apathetic. This shifts into a mini-essay on traitors that climaxes in passage 49 with the reveal of Aeschines as its subject (Argument B).



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Passage 50 seemingly marks the end of a narrative section (Argument D), but its existence is blamed on Aeschines (Argument B) who forced Demosthenes to defend himself (Argument A) and indeed, Demosthenes states some in the jury already know Aeschines was bribed (Argument C); all four arguments are present. Passages 51-52 are superficially an assault on Aeschines's friendship with Alexander (Argument B), via attacks launched with the pronoun ἐγώ ("I [myself] taunt you..."), which add Argument A to the mix, and then end with a sardonic appeal to the jury (Argument C).⁴⁴

In this second selection, Demosthenes's manipulation of time is superb. His frequent apologies, passing of blame, outright digressions, and placement of decree reading are dizzying. The reader may note I have done the exact opposite by slowing down the speech twice – once, by analyzing it claim by claim, and again, by breaking one long section into three parts with a summative paragraph after each, to reveal the claim manipulation inherent in the arrangement.

Third Example: Passages 53-109

After telling blows like passages 50-52, Demosthenes typically pauses, and passage 53 slows the speech to a formal crawl as Demosthenes calls for Aeschines's indictment to be read. Then, in passage 56, he claims – falsely (recall his "promise" in passage 17) – that he will follow the order of the indictment, "without any intentional omission." With these three words, the many digressions to follow are excused.

Demosthenes treats the first charge in passage 57 by claiming the jury (Argument C) will examine his “public acts” to make their decision about misrepresenting himself – and then he skips to the second charge in passage 58. The reason becomes apparent when Demosthenes claims that Ctesiphon’s omission of a responsibility to be audited before getting the crown (the second charge) is a technicality, and that the real issue is his public actions. Furthermore, if the jury thinks he is straying from the indictment (which he is), it is Aeschines’s fault (Argument B) and he is justified in his defense (Argument A)! Any treatment of the third charge is passed over – narration of Demosthenes’s successes simply begins in passage 60 (Argument D).⁴⁵

Demosthenes begins with how Philip bred a great many traitors and accomplices (passages 60-61, Argument D). but Aeschines is the one implied, thus Argument B) and that Philip was a growing evil – then, Demosthenes presents the question that will supposedly govern his presentation – what should have Athens have done (Argument C), and was that what Demosthenes advised them to do (Argument A)?

A lengthy rhetorical questioning of Aeschines follows (Argument B) about what the Athenians (Argument C) should have done differently about Philip, continuing through passages 63-69. Philip’s atrocities are mentioned (Argument D), not in any order. The highlight is passage 68, where Demosthenes plays to Athenian pride (Argument C) by being controlled by Philip, followed by a no-choice argument in passage 69 – “No one will make that assertion” with the implication Aeschines would. The remaining attack on Aeschines (Argument B) bears this out in passages 69-70. Demosthenes then transitions to himself as the “some man of Grecian race” who needed to step forward (Argument A) – and, finally, dramatically, in passage 72, proclaims, “I saw a man enslaving all mankind, and I stood in his way.”



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This is another “climax,” and again, Demosthenes slows down to have a decree read, in this case concerning the breaking of the Peace of Philocrates in 338 BCE by Philip, and then a related letter. Both are an argument from silence – neither mentions him, Demosthenes asserts, so he is not to blame for the war’s outbreak (Argument A).⁴⁶ His advice, which Athens followed (Argument C) in passage 80, was profitable. However, it is not long before Aeschines’s treachery (Argument B) returns for its scheduled drubbing in passages 81-82. The attack on Aeschines ends with a telling point in passage 83 – that Aeschines did not oppose Demosthenes’s earlier crown – and he has the decree read for effect (Argument D) before then drilling home its existence hard (Arguments A and B) in passages 85-86.



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After a brief account of Philip’s advance on Thrace, Demosthenes asks more loaded questions in passages 88-89 that neatly establish himself (Argument A) as the necessary precursor to Athens’s response (Argument C). Demosthenes thought much of this argument as he slows down again to have two decrees read that establish how well received the Athenian response was

in Chersonese and Byzantium; he boasts that no other man has gotten Athens herself crowned in passage 94 (Argument A and C). Aeschines is absent during its praises – but he returns promptly in passage 95 (Argument B).

An extended historical lesson follows from the Peloponnesian war. Demosthenes notes – to Aeschines (Argument B) – that Athens has in the past gone to the defense of Greeks without reward, at great risk, for noble reasons (Arguments C & D). This colors the questions that Demosthenes asks himself in passage 101 about whether he should have betrayed Athenian honor in not moving to assist other Greek cities threatened by Philip (Arguments A and C).

Demosthenes's improvement and apparently skillful maintenance of the Athenian navy (Argument D) follow in passage 102 – as well as his claim that he was offered an enormous bribe by the wealthy to drop his reform, which he refused (Argument A), leading to his indictment, of which he was acquitted (the relevant documents are read). Passage 109 then marks yet another “climax,” encompassing all four arguments in a parallel statement: “You will find that I maintained the same character both in domestic and in Hellenic policy. At home I never preferred the gratitude of the rich to the claims of the poor; in foreign affairs I never coveted the gifts and the friendship of Philip rather than the common interests of all Greece.”

The occurrences of A-D claim variants in this third section are nearly even, and are particularly good for showing that Demosthenes holds no allegiance to any conventional order, including his own supposedly governing narrative, and certainly not the order of the legal points. The large number of variants also show that any one claim is unimportant; the speech's structure is ironclad enough to survive the deletion of any given passage. Demosthenes also tends to pause and seemingly regroup his thoughts after a “climax,” lingering on it for a time to maximize its effects on the jury. The underlying skeleton of revolving claim arrangement allows these muscular stylistic techniques.



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The “Knives” Technique as Conductive Argument

Another way to describe Demosthenes's arrangement in these passages from the speech is as an example of “conductive” argument. Wellman's 1971 term has meandered in definition,⁴⁷ so I use Zenker's from 2011: “...the conductive structure is filled out by an accumulation of individually non-decisive reasons.”⁴⁸ In this understanding, unlike its better-known counterparts of induction and deduction (and to a lesser degree, abduction), a conductive argument does not make its case based on any one piece of evidence, but rests its proof upon many different and relatively minor claims, any one

of which could be removed, replaced, or rearranged without sinking the overall case. This is a common argumentative scheme in modern judicial settings, where a competent lawyer tries to present a wide array of compelling evidence from multiple reinforced angles rather than focusing only on one or two strong pieces and gambling the result on their reception. Gambling is an excellent alternative metaphor here, as conductive argument is effectively hedging one's bets. The "knives" arrangement, then, implicitly suggests that Demosthenes expected many of his arguments to fail, but this was acceptable, as he only needed one to resound with each juror, and it did not have to be the same one each time. Also, as he spoke last, he did not need to worry about rebuttals.

Conduction also explains how the arguments in the "knives" arrangement interact with each other; they are far from separate, distinct entities by necessity

because they are too weak individually to carry the case. Imagine a court case where a defense lawyer calls a witness to testify to the good character of the defendant – and then calls nine more that offer different anecdotes and stories but drive home the same basic claim that the defendant is a good person. This is the bandwagon fallacy, but it is powerful– especially if the prosecutor cannot counter with ten witnesses of his or her own and thus balance the scales. Additionally, whether all ten witnesses are of equal quality is of very little importance to the overall rhetorical effect; several or most could be entirely spurious or dishonest. It is the weight of the number of claims overall that is not to be dismissed, and where Demosthenes combined that weight with stylistic skill, Donald Trump does not.



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Context and Analysis of President Donald Trump's October 10, 2019 Rally Speech in Minneapolis⁴⁹

The trial against Ctesiphon in which Demosthenes gave a defense of his own political career is not a direct analogy to the impeachment inquiry of Donald Trump as of the rally speech on October 10, 2019, but the rhetorical situation is similar in that the



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of

speaker's political viability has been formally and seriously attacked, and the arrangement of arguments is also parallel. In September 2019, a whistleblower in the U.S. intelligence community filed a complaint alleging that President Trump, during a phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky on July 25, 2019, attempted to arrange a quid pro quo (this for that) with Ukraine where Zelensky would order an investigation of Hunter Biden, the son of Trump's likely-at-the-time 2020 presidential opponent, Joe Biden, in return for nearly \$400 million dollars in military aid that Trump had previously approved, but had suspended on July 18. Previous investigations of the Trump presidency had already generated considerable interest in the Democratic-controlled House Representatives in impeachment, but the whistleblower's allegations seemingly catalyzed the announcement of a formal im-

peachment inquiry on September 24 by Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi. The White House released a summary of the phone call on September 25, leading to increasing clashes between the media, Democratic leaders, and the White House over the legality of the alleged "this for that."⁵⁰ Trump's October 10, 2019 rally in Minneapolis served as an occasion where he could, if he wished, deliver a broadside to the growing impeachment inquiry that would be followed by major news networks.

The Minneapolis rally, held at the Target Center, was the 12th of Trump's official 2020 campaign for re-election, dating back to February 11, 2019, and came after at least 40 similar events during the 2018 midterm elections, approximately 18 in the months after his 2016 election, and over 300 during the 2016 presidential campaign.⁵¹

While past presidents have held numerous political rallies during their terms to gain support for legislation, Trump has funded his rallies with his re-election campaign, which he filed on the day of his inauguration, January 20, 2017, rather than through the White House, allowing his campaign to screen the attendees and thus recreate the supportive audiences of his 2016 rallies and build a voter database.⁵² Trump asserts in his opening remarks that the crowd numbers over 20,000, which is larger than a typical Trump rally, but seems accurate.

Rhetoricians studying Trump's rhetoric after his 2016 election have enjoyed a target-rich environment, focusing, for example, on his *ethos* and faulty reasoning during his campaign,⁵³ Burkean analysis of his "frame transforming" rhetoric,⁵⁴ the consequences for his foreign policy stances,⁵⁵ supporter perception of his authenticity coupled

with his clear demagoguery,⁵⁶ how Trump represents an anti-deliberative, conspiracy-driven "post-presumption" and "post-truth" brand of argumentation,⁵⁷ and how apparent "gaffes" by Trump during his campaign served as affective activation of potential supporters.⁵⁸ There are other reasons to study this particular rally, including its unusual depiction of receiving war dead at Dover Air Force base (1:32:45-1:40:34) or his bombastic delivery and body language. However, here I am concerned with how while Trump's plain style in the rally is almost the direct opposite of Demosthenes's high-middle mixture, and his chosen opposition is a vague array of "radical leftists" rather than the single Aeschines, the argumentative arrangement of the two speeches is surprisingly close. Trump's use of the teleprompter is haphazard, leaving most of the speech "off script," which he often boasts of as an asset, which may reveal he is not as populist as his prompts make him.⁵⁹ However, even as he speaks semi-extemporaneously, Trump had spoken at hundreds of such rallies and knew what the crowds responded to best, rendering highly suggestive his reliance on the same "knives in the air" arrangement as Demosthenes.



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I will treat only the first fifteen minutes of the rally, for as with Demosthenes, one part is representative of the whole. Trump's speech begins (14:42-18:18) after Vice President Pence's introduction, with several themes that carry forward – Minnesotan support and patriotism for his campaign in 2020 (linked to himself with the plural “we”), America's “number one” economy compared to China's, and a declaration that if “our opponent” had won the election, China would be “number one.” Already, an alternate version of Demosthenes's four main claims are present: “Trump is good” is Argument A; “Trump's opponents are bad,” is Argument B; “Americans (presumably that support Trump) are good (and are often melded to point #1),” is Argument C; and again, “The narrative will support A-C,” is Argument D. The next two minutes of the speech demonstrates how Trump revisits all four claims in a similar recurring fashion as Demosthenes, but in his own styles:

And I have to say, there are a lot of very beautiful red T-shirts in the audience. That was a record sale. They did very well. And I'll tell you what: cops love Trump, Trump loves cops. Our bold pursuit of this pro-American agenda has enraged, and you know what's happened, it's enraged the failed ruling class in Washington. Not easy to get them out, but we're doing it slowly, but surely. These corrupt politicians and the radical leftists got rich bleeding America dry. And they knew that my election would finally end their pillaging and looting of our country. And that's what they were doing. And that's what they continue to try and do. That is why, from day one, the wretched Washington swamp has been trying to nullify the results of a truly great and democratic election, the election of 2016. They're trying. They're not getting very far. They want to erase your vote like it never existed. They want to erase your voice. And they want to erase your future. But they will fail, because in America, the people rule again. Do you remember that, just 19 minutes after I raised my hand and took the oath of office, The Washington

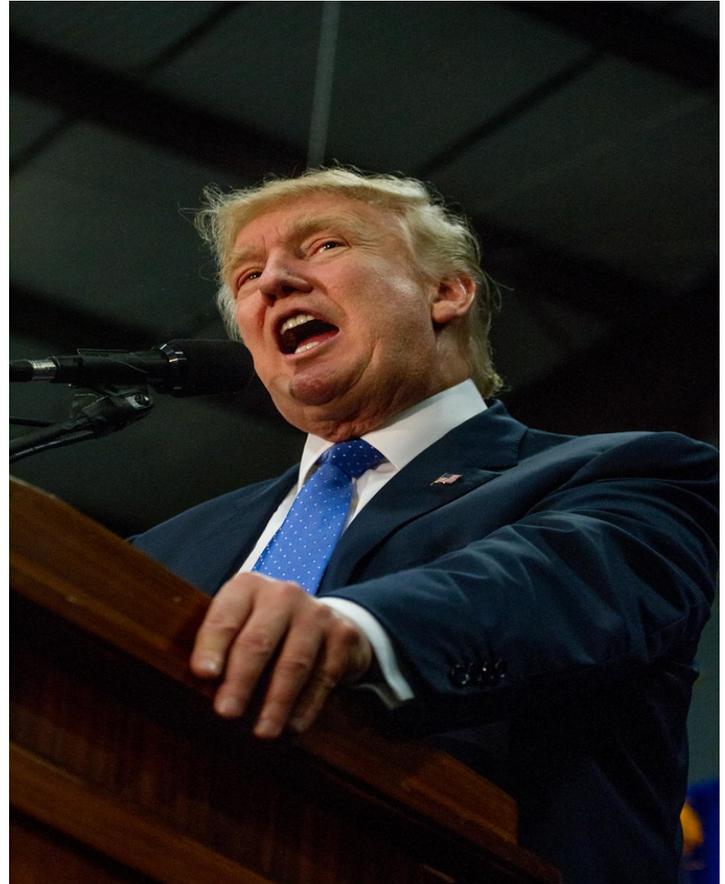


Photo credit: “Donald Drumpf Rally 10/21/16” by Michael Candelori Photography is licensed under CC BY 2.0

Post, a terrible newspaper that doesn't know how to write the truth, published a story, and in this case, they might've gotten it pretty correct, they said, "The Campaign To Impeach President Trump Has Begun." That was the headline. Little



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did we know they weren't playing games. Think of that. That was 19 minutes after the oath of office (18.18-20.09).

All four claims are present, filtered through a plain style and typically short sentences.

This approach also allows him to merge or separate Arguments A and C at will. Trump often shifts smoothly between praise of his own actions and melding himself with his supporters by using "we," much like he can point out specific Argument B offenders like the Washington Post,

but also packages the newspaper into an ominous "them." The different combinations of nominatives and pronouns is dizzying: himself vs. "the terrible newspaper," "our bold pursuit of this pro-American agenda" vs. "the failed ruling class," "they" vs. "my election," and even the ultimate in specific vagueness, "we" vs. "they." This is framed throughout with a self-serving account of the 2016 election – Argument D – that serves as a skeleton from which Arguments A-C hang. Demosthenes's tendency to keep himself more separate from the Athenians than Trump does from his supporters stems from how Demosthenes's political career was in its twilight, much like Athens itself. Trump is actively trying to maintain his power over a superpower, and it is more useful and less risky for him to merge Arguments A and C directly. The tangent with police officers, "cops love Trump, Trump loves cops," is perhaps the clearest manifestation of this habitual quest for identification using a "low" style.

The next five minutes of the rally are variants of the same pattern. After some mockery of Peter Strzok and Lisa Page from 20:52-21:31, Trump resumes juggling the four claims. From 21:50-25:51, he decries "do-nothing Democrat con artists and scammers" and "crooked polls" (Argument B) as opposed to his

election and accomplishments (Argument A), before commenting on past press coverage as unfair and false (Argument D), with an intensity that one might think Argument C has been forgotten. But it dutifully reappears at 25:51, when a litany of conservatives is named. They all praise Trump, allowing yet another return to Argument A. The cycle restarts; Trump is not nearly as skilled with it, but the four-claim structure is there.

The final third of the first fifteen minutes is eerily to Demosthenes's fierce attacks on Aeschines, distorted through a funhouse mirror. Trump broaches the topic of the phone call with the Ukrainian president by describing it as "perfect," maintaining his lack of fault (Argument A), swerves right to link his continued presidency to preserving the Second Amendment (Argument C), and then tacks back to the phone call to depict first Adam Schiff as "crooked" and then both him and Nancy Pelosi as "sick" and her as "shifty shift" (Argument B), all through a vaguely chronological account, including a mock reenactment of the phone call, of the days prior to Pelosi's announcement of the impeachment inquiry (Argument D). An extended screed against "do nothing democratic extremists" (Argument B) is then contrasted with appeals to "our democracy" and "us" (Argument C, with A), until a commotion in the stands prompts Trump to praise the police again, "Look, I love law enforcement. I love the cops. I love the police, all of it" (Argument A).



Photo credit: "Adam Schiff" by Gage Skidmore is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0

Is Trump a Postmodern Demosthenes - Or the Other Way Around?

If Trump is employing the same argumentative arrangement as Demosthenes, should we consider Trump a postmodern master of rhetorical arrangement? Or rather, is Demosthenes the Attic Trump? I suggest there is a useful relationship to be defined here, but a more nuanced one, based on the respective genres, occasions, and styles employed.

First, the difficulty varies. Trump was at a friendly, hand-picked rally of 20,000 cheering supporters wanting to see him defend himself actively against an active impeachment inquiry that could strip him of the presidency and expose him to lawsuits afterward. Central to this defense was his self-portrayal as victim, attacked from all sides by multiple enemies, but remaining defiant and aligned with the people, rendering criticism of him also criticism of them. Demosthenes, likewise, moved to link himself to the Athenians through the concepts of virtue and tradition, to the extent



Photo credit: Screen shot of speech at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PX9re03QnUA>

that for the jury to disapprove of him was to disapprove of themselves. But Demosthenes faced a randomly-chosen jury of hundreds, voting in secret, having just heard his longtime political foe list his faults for three hours. He had the far harder rhetorical task.

Second, while Demosthenes's style and depth of thought is far more polished and sophisticated, he does share with Trump a vicious, egotistical streak that allows free reign for Argument A, the first claim of the cycle, to serve as the generative wellspring for the others. Demosthenes's caustic attacks on Aeschines, attacking his parentage,

occupation, sexuality, competence, and integrity, even excused by their regular occurrence in speeches of the time, are collectively by modern standards far worse than anything Trump has ever said publicly, and most Trump supporters would acknowledge he freely mocks anyone he dislikes. Rather than say Trump is the modern Demosthenes, I would suggest he is a throwback to the more agonistic rhetorical modes of Attic rhetoric, but more amateurish. For another analogy, both are playing "hardball," but Trump is playing an exhibition game without umpires where if he throws a wild pitch, he will still be cheered, and Demosthenes is pitching in the bottom of the ninth in the World Series.

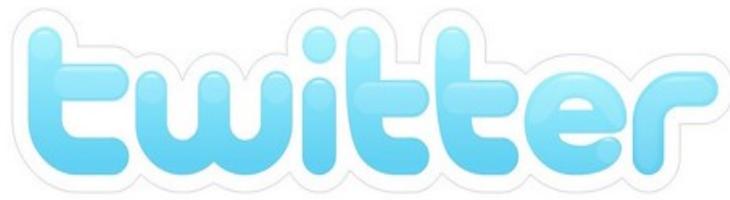
Third, both speeches have a fractal quality that seems inherent to the “knives” structure. Cut out a large section of either speech out, and most of its force remains. Trump has made all his essential points in the first fifteen minutes, and in the second fifteen minutes as well. Likewise, all the elements of a great speech are present in *On the Crown* before the halfway mark. Even if just the much later passage 208 (favored by Walker as the climax) is taken out of the speech, the speech is still epic; like a bridge built of many stones that share the total weight, its structure is strong enough to survive the deletion of any passage. Like Trump, Demosthenes has arranged not one climax, but many. Imagine an Athenian juror or Trump rally participant who misses part of the speech, dozes off during the middle, or leaves early. Any short section of either speech functions as a self-contained restatement of the four main claims.



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Finally, there is the issue of novelty. Aeschines’s speech, which preceded Demosthenes’s, has also been neglected in the realm of arrangement, probably because he lost so badly. However, the two trial speeches treat the same major points, and the length is almost identical.⁶⁰ Aeschines begins with his clear strength – the two minor legal technicalities (passages 16-48) before the third, “upon which I lay the greatest stress: the pretext upon which he claims that the crown is deserved” (passage 49). This strategy is logically sound – but it is also dull compared to Demosthenes’s choices. Aeschines does not really attack Demosthenes until passage 5; Demosthenes savages Aeschines repeatedly before his *prooemion* ends, and never leaves Argument B unused long. Aeschines has only two arguments – 1) Demosthenes is bad, and 2) the facts bear this out. Aristotle would have approved, and even a younger Demosthenes, given the structure of the aforementioned *Against Meidias*.⁶¹ The rest of Aeschines’s speech is thus predictable and lacks the complex self-reinforcement of *On The Crown*. Aeschines mentions himself rarely, makes appeals to Athenian virtue inconsistently,⁶² and assaults Ctesiphon more than his real target, Demosthenes.⁶³ His speech is neither novel nor entertaining, and beside it, *On the Crown* is lightning in a bottle.

Likewise, Trump has rested his relatively nascent political career on demolishing past ideas of how political discourse is to be conducted, particularly through his aggressive



For Activism And Struggle

Photo credit: "Twitter For Activism" by Mohammad A. Hamama, A reflected version! is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0

use of his Twitter account to deliver daily jabs at a myriad range of more conventional figures – Hillary Clinton, Congressional representatives, various newspapers, journalists, foreign leaders, and celebrities. His ability as a veteran self-promoter to discard norms and survive gaffes that would sink any other politician creates a

multiplying novelty that further fuels and sustains his rhetoric and policies. To draw the “knives” analogy out further, Trump is not nearly as good as sharpening or catching his knives as Demosthenes was, but he doesn’t need to be. He only needs to astound and entertain. Unlike Demosthenes, restrained to formal, fixed rhetorical occasions like the 330 BCE trial, Trump has no effective limit on his use, number, or quantity of “knives.” Even limiting him to the rally speech only, his shorter sentence structure allows him to make about twice as many claims per minute, given that the two speeches are roughly similar in text length (accounting for when Demosthenes has a scribe read documents) and Trump speaks for only an hour and a half compared to Demosthenes’s three. Thus, the difference between Trump’s use of the “knives” arrangement and Demosthenes’s employment of the same is that Trump has doubled down on the number of variant claims to maintain his sense of novelty, where Demosthenes, comparatively, makes more of each of his variants due to his more advanced style.

Conclusions

My goal has been to show how the previously underexplored argumentative arrangement of *On the Crown* functions, and, through Trump's rally speech, to demonstrate also that it is not unique. A close, slow-motion view of the arrangement of arguments in the speeches allows this, much like a juggler's skill can be better appreciated if videotaped and played back at leisure. An understanding of Attic and American style and politics is very important for understanding how the speeches function on a point-by-point basis, but the repeating, hypnotic, and amplified structure is what enables those styles to do their respective political labor.

If Demosthenes had 200-500 jury members listening,⁶⁴ plus any number of public attendees, there were at least as many different and highly personal interpretations of the speech afterward. Every time he could return to self-praise, condemnation of Aeschines, or binding his fate to the jurors, all through biased narration, the more chances he had to sway his audience. A "long" speech to our ears, the customary three hours, would not annoy anyone in the Athenian jury if the clepsydra⁶⁵ flowed; Demosthenes took advantage of the generous period to steadily repeat his claims with variants, increasing his chances of gaining an eventual vote.



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The reality of the tumultuous Athenian political situation regarding Macedon during the past careers of Demosthenes, Aeschines, and their contemporaries is of course far more complex than either man will admit. The question of policy regarding Philip is mostly moot. One could blame Athens's defeat at Philip's hands on the Social War alone, which led to economic ruin and military weakness without singling out any one citizen-politician. By the time Demosthenes began political speechmaking, it was too late to stop Philip's military juggernaut of hardened veterans with superior weaponry.⁶⁶ The trial is, rather, personal – the two men despised each other and openly sought each other's ruin. Whether Demosthenes won the jury because he was right about Athens, or because his arguments held up under scrutiny, or because he secured the audience with his unorthodox arrangement and style, I will leave to the reader. However, the elaborate method of argumentation is, to me, suspicious, and warranted only if he had little confidence in his legal claims. As such, Demosthenes's heroic persona in league with a

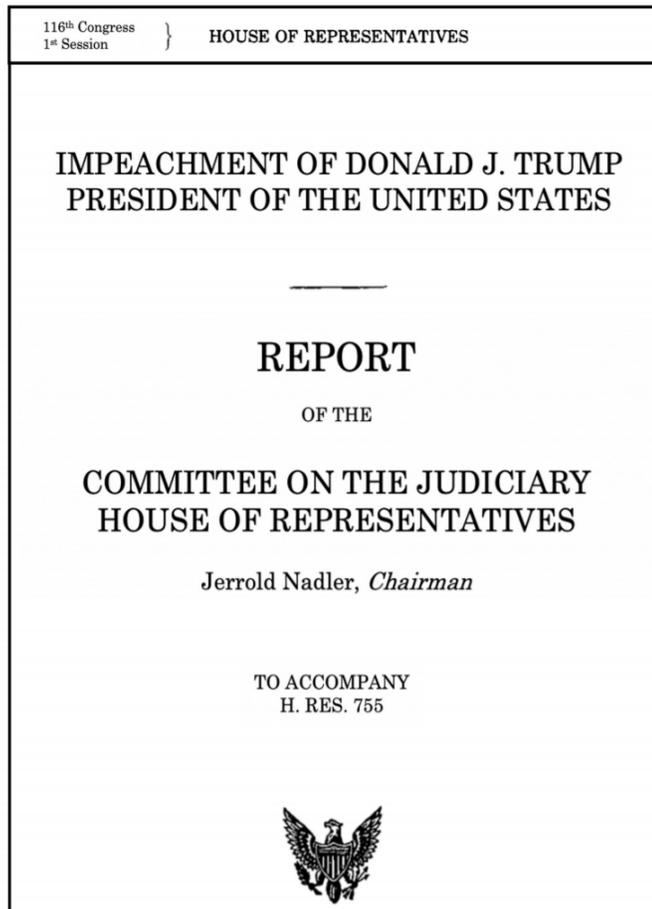
heroic Athens is perhaps only partially true, a mirage behind juggling knives, with every flashy throw distracting the jury from paying attention to the legal case. Athenian juries could disregard the law, of course, and Demosthenes counted on this.

Trump's use of the same "knives" structure places his own political stance under similar suspicion. It is reasonable for a politician speak in self-defense and to cast doubt on the positions of opponents. However, looking at the rally speech through the lens of *On The Crown's* shift from the legal to the patriotic, Trump's avalanche of patriotic identification seems excessive and unnecessary to the legal occasion if the impeachment inquiry had no basis and his opponents were all meritless scum; the President doth protest too much. That said, responding to political slights with extreme agonism is a common tactic. Still, I hesitate, for after seeing *On the Crown's* "knives" arrangement through the counterpart of Trump's rally, Demosthenes's defense of Athenian virtue does not shine as brightly.

I close by suggesting that the "knives in the air" arrangement is particularly well

suited to making the lesser argument seem the greater through its ability to recycle the same few claims as a kind of "begging the question" fallacy generator. As such, detected examples of this arrangement call for caution, lest the audience or critics forget that beyond the dazzling display may be, as in the climax to *The Wizard of Oz*, just a man behind a curtain. President Trump is hardly the only user of this technique – the "Gish Gallop" debating technique favored by the apologist William Lane Craig comes to mind as an even blunter contemporary version⁶⁷ – but Trump is the most visible and relevant example.

Placing a speech by the greatest orator of the classical age against the worst orator of the postmodern age is something of a risky endeavor for pedagogy. Even after weighing a healthy skepticism of Demosthenes's claims and viewing him as a demagogue, the two men do not belong on the same playing field.



But they are playing the same basic game, and as this analysis shows, they are using the same basic argumentative equipment when they play that game. Such comparisons, separated by millennium, can show students of rhetoric how much of the technique of rhetoric is universal, regardless of language, culture, and specific context. More importantly, however, than just universality, is rhetoric's consistent power over how humans form and maintain their identity with the consent of their audiences. Demosthenes and Trump use the "knives" technique to recast their political selves against the persona in which their opponents have clothed them – in both cases, a self-serving, corrupt pawn of a foreign power, whether Macedon or Russia. Awareness of how this argumentative arrangement functions is always worth teaching, as it speaks directly to rhetoric's essential functions of claim manipulation and identity formation.



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End Notes

- ¹ Ian Worthington, *Demosthenes of Athens and the Fall of Classical Greece* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).
- ² James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2016).
- ³ Richard Enos. "Demosthenes' Style: Lexis in *On the Crown*." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives*, cited in n.1 above, 174-203 (p. 174).
- ⁴ Jeffrey Walker, "On the Deinos Logos of *On the Crown*." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives*, cited in n.1 above, pp. 148-173 (p. 155). Also, Werner Jaeger, *Demosthenes: The Origin and Growth of His Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938), 194-195. For a dissent, see E.M. Harris, *The Rule of Law in Democratic Athens* (Oxford, 2013), 225-33.
- ⁵ The context of when the trial took place is described in Edwin Carawan, "How the 'Crown Case' Came To Trial And Why." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 59 (2019): 109-133.
- ⁶ Donovan Ochs, "Demosthenes' Use of Argument." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On The Crown: A Critical Case Study of a Masterpiece of Ancient Oratory* (Davis, Hermagoras Press, 1983), 157-174 (p. 170).
- ⁷ Charles D. Adams, *Demosthenes and His Influence* (New York: Cooper Square, 1963), 99.
- ⁸ Cicero. *Brutus, Orator*, trans. G.L. Hendrickson and H.M. Hubbell, ed. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939).
- ⁹ Dionysus of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*, Perseus Digital Library, www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/. June 10, 2019. 1.2-3.
- ¹⁰ Demetrius, *On Style*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1902), 15.9.
- ¹¹ Plutarch. *Lives, Volume VII*. Trans. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919, 11.
- ¹² Craig A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and His Ancient Commentators* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002), 26-50.
- ¹³ Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, trans. George Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 1414a-1414b.
- ¹⁴ See also D. Mirhady, "Aristotle and Anaximenes on Arrangement." *Rhetorica* 29 (2011): 293-404, for the possible origin of this material.
- ¹⁵ To Aristotle, Demosthenes may have seemed a dangerous demagogue working openly against the metic Aristotle's belief in Panhellenic unity. If so, there was little reason to use *On the Crown* in the Lyceum for illustration as it was deceitful and anathema to the reasonable and productive civic discourse envisioned in his treatise. The speech's lack of formal structure sealed the deal. Of course, to Demosthenes, Aristotle would have been another traitorous Macedonian spy due to his relationship with Philip and Alexander.
- ¹⁶ Andrew Dyck. "The Function and Persuasive Power of Demosthenes' Portrait of Aeschines in the Speech 'On The Crown.'" *Greece & Rome* 32.1 (1985): 42-48 (p. 43).
- ¹⁷ L. Bredif, *Demosthenes: With Extracts from his Orations, and a Critical Discussion of the Trial On the Crown*, trans. M.J. MacMahon (Chicago, S.C. Griggs, 1891), 412-464. There are also the philosophical-political critics, such as Michael S. Kochin. "Time and Judgment in Demosthenes' De Corona," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 35.1 (2002): 77-87.
- ¹⁸ Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, ed. W.W. Goodwin (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1901): 308-316.
- ¹⁹ Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, ed. Harvey Yunis (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 174.
- ²⁰ Lionel Pearson, *The Art of Demosthenes* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), 199.
- ²¹ Iris Samotta, *Demosthenes* (Tubingen: Verlag, 2010), 103-122.
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- ²³ Douglas MacDowell, *Demosthenes the Orator* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009). 186.
- ²⁴ Francis Donnelly. "A Structural Analysis of the Speech On The Crown." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On The Crown: A Critical Case Study of a Masterpiece of Ancient Oratory*, cited in n.6 above, 105-113.
- ²⁵ Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, ed. W.W. Goodwin, cited in n. 16, 311-313.
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- ²⁷ Brad Cook. "Swift Boating in Antiquity: Rhetorical Framing of the Good Citizen in Fourth-Century Athens," *Rhetorica* 30.3 (2012): 219-252 (p. 243).
- ²⁸ Andrew Dyck. "The Function and Persuasive Power of Demosthenes' Portrait of Aeschines in the Speech 'On The Crown'" cited in n.14 above, 43.

- ²⁹ Jeffrey Walker, "On the Deinos Logos of On the Crown." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives*, cited in n.1 above, 157.
- ³⁰ Jeffrey Walker, "On the Deinos Logos of On the Crown." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives*, cited in n.1 above, 158.
- ³¹ Cecil W. Wooten. "The Nature of Form in Demosthenes' De Corona." *The Classical World* 72.6 (1979): 321-327 (p. 325).
- ³² See also Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, ed. W.W. Goodwin, cited in n. 16, ix.
- ³³ Jeffrey Walker, "On the Deinos Logos of On the Crown." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives*, cited in n.1 above, 148.
- ³⁴ Richard Enos. "Demosthenes' Style: Lexis in *On the Crown*." In James J. Murphy, ed., *Demosthenes' On the Crown: Rhetorical Perspectives*, cited in n.1 above, 197.
- ³⁵ Werner Jaeger, *Demosthenes: The Origin and Growth of His Policy*, cited n.5 above, 195.
- ³⁶ For Demosthenes playing up his masculinity during the speech, see James Fredal. *Rhetorical Action in Ancient Athens: Persuasive Artistry from Solon to Demosthenes* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2006), 181.
- ³⁷ Not until the second speech against Philip does Demosthenes play with interrupting his narrative on purpose.
- ³⁸ I cannot admit a philological treatment of Argument D, but the argument of Arjan A. Nijk. "A Pragmatic Account of the Use of the Historic Present In De Corona," *Mnemosyne* 66.3 (2013): 365-398, on how the narration's variant usage of Historic Present (HP) is rhetorically significant, is worth considering in parallel. Another avenue would be whether the parallels to Hypereides form a germinal structure for Demosthenes's speech. See S.C. Todd. "Hypereides 'Against Diondas,' Demosthenes 'On the Crown,' and the Rhetoric of Political Failure." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 52 (2009): 161-174 (p. 161).
- ³⁹ George Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963), 232.
- ⁴⁰ For example, Demosthenes sprinkles the fourth stasis maneuver of translation throughout his speech (well before formal stasis was developed by Hermagoras and others) 72 times. See Francis Donnelly. "The Argument Used Seventy-Two Times in the Crown Speech of Demosthenes," *Classical Weekly*, 28.20 (1935): 153-56 (p. 153).
- ⁴¹ John Buckler. "Demosthenes and Aeschines." In Ian Worthington, ed., *Demosthenes: Statesman and Orator* (London, Routledge, 2000): 114-158 (p. 152).
- ⁴² Andrew Dyck. "The Function and Persuasive Power of Demosthenes' Portrait of Aeschines in the Speech 'On The Crown'" cited in n.14 above, 46.
- ⁴³ I have followed Yunis's Greek edition throughout and deferred to its translation, cited in n.17 above, with consultation to Perseus, derived from Goodwin's Greek edition, cited in n. 23 above, given this is an article about argumentative arrangement and not translation.
- ⁴⁴ The playful distinction between hireling (μισθωτόν) and friend (φίλος) is dependent on a line from Aeschines's earlier speech; Demosthenes likely improvised much of 51-52, sensing weakness. Such a tactic ran a risk, but even a tepid response could be spun; it seems to have worked – Demosthenes has "convicted" Aeschines of bribery before his own legal defense has really started. See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, ed. Harvey Yunis, cited in n. 17 above, 140. That the speech can admit and facilitate this maneuver speaks again to its fluid arrangement.
- ⁴⁵ Demosthenes does return to the indictment's legal points much later in passages 110-125. But that discussion will not matter with the maneuvers of passages 57-59; his defense of the first charge holds the spotlight.
- ⁴⁶ Demosthenes did everything he could to start a war between 346 and 338 BCE – but it is to his advantage here to portray Philip as the warmonger and Aeschines as his puppet.
- ⁴⁷ Kevin Possin. "Conductive Arguments: Why is This Still a Thing?" *Informal Logic* 34.4 (2016): 563-593 (p. 563).
- ⁴⁸ Frank Zenker. "An Attempt at Unifying Natural Language Argument Structures." In Blair, J. Anthony and Ralph Johnson, Eds., *Conductive Argument: An Overlooked Type of Defeasible Reasoning* (College Publications, 2011), 74-85 (p. 74).
- ⁴⁹ Rev. "Donald Trump Minnesota Rally Speech Transcript: Minneapolis, MN Rally October 10, 2019." December 1, 2019. <https://www.rev.com/blog/donald-trump-minnesota-rally-speech-transcript-minneapolis-mn-rally-october-10-2019>.

⁵⁰ Factcheck.org. “The Whistleblower Complaint Timeline.” December 1, 2019. <https://www.factcheck.org/2019/09/the-whistleblower-complaint-timeline/>.

⁵¹ FactBase, “Donald Trump’s Public Schedule.” December 1, 2019. <https://factba.se/topic/calendar>. Also, Wikipedia. “List of post-election Donald Trump rallies.” December 1, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_post-election_Donald_Trump_rallies. Wikipedia. “List of Rallies For The 2016 Donald Trump Presidential Campaign.” December 1, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_rallies_for_the_2016_Donald_Trump_presidential_campaign.

⁵² CNN. “Trump Rallies: Campaign Funded, For A Reason.” December 1, 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2017/03/15/politics/donald-trump-campaign-rallies/index.html>.

⁵³ Eric Sentell. “The Art of Polarizing Ethos: An Analysis of Donald Trump’s Campaign Rhetoric.” *Relevant Rhetoric* 8 (2017): 1-20.

⁵⁴ Edward Appel. “Burlesque, Tragedy, and a (Potentially) ‘Yuuuge’ ‘Breaking of a Frame’: Donald Trump’s Rhetoric as “Early Warning”?” *Communication Quarterly* 66.2 (2018): 157-175.

⁵⁵ Jason Edwards. “Make America Great Again: Donald Trump and Redefining the U.S. Role in the World.” *Communication Quarterly* 66.2 (2018): 176-195.

⁵⁶ Kirsten Theye and Steven Melling. “Total Losers and Bad Hombres: The Political Incorrectness and Perceived Authenticity of Donald J. Trump.” *Southern Communication Journal* 83.5 (2018): 322-337. Trump also meets the definition offered by Patricia Roberts-Miller. *Rhetoric and Demagoguery* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2019), 1-32.

⁵⁷ Ryan Neville-Shepard. “Post-Presumption Argumentation and the Post-Truth World: On the Conspiracy Rhetoric of Donald Trump.” *Argumentation And Advocacy* 55.3 (2019): 175-193.

⁵⁸ Richard Rowland. “The Populist and Nationalist Roots of Trump’s Rhetoric.” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 22.3 (2019): 343-388.

⁵⁹ Guardian. March 6, 2019. “The Teleprompter Test: Why Trump’s Populism Is Not His Own.” December 1, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2019/mar/07/the-teleprompter-test-why-trumps-populism-is-often-scripted>.

⁶⁰ Aeschines, *Speeches*, trans. C. D. Adams (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919).

⁶¹ *Against Meidias* has two central claims: Meidias’s poor character vs. that of Demosthenes’s noble one. They mirror the Argument A-B structure between himself and Aeschines sixteen years later. See Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, Perseus Digital Library. December 1, 2019. www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/. Ober has clearly laid out how this opposition functions (old man vs. younger man, selfish vs. selfless, rich vs. modest means, power-broker vs. ordinary citizen, etc) in all its different forms. See Josiah Ober. *The Athenian Revolution: Essays On Ancient Greek Democracy And Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996), 96-97, but the speech is otherwise structured conventionally.

⁶² Doing so would have been difficult as it would have required acknowledging defeat at Chaeronea was noble. See Brad Cook. “Swift Boating in Antiquity: Rhetorical Framing of the Good Citizen in Fourth-Century Athens,” cited in n.25 above, 233.

⁶³ Aeschines’s only telling attack in the latter part of his speech is the charge of cowardice (starting in earnest at passage 148), which Cook notes is not only unsubstantiated, but a powerful smear that Demosthenes uses much of his *prooemion* and the first part of his speech to counteract. This suggests the charge was older than Aeschines’s speech and Demosthenes had ample time to think about how to contradict it. See Brad Cook. “Swift Boating in Antiquity: Rhetorical Framing of the Good Citizen in Fourth-Century Athens,” cited in n.25 above, 243.

⁶⁴ Josiah Ober. *The Athenian Revolution: Essays On Ancient Greek Democracy And Political Theory*, cited in n. 47 above, 23.

⁶⁵ A clepsydra was a water-clock used for regulating speeches in the courts.

⁶⁶ Ian Worthington, *Demosthenes of Athens and the Fall of Classical Greece*, cited in n.2 above, 66-70.

⁶⁷ A recent debate with this technique is in William Craig. “Is There Evidence For God?” Debate with Kevin Scharp, The Veritas Forum, Ohio State University, USA - February 2016. June 10, 2019. <https://www.reasonablefaith.org/media/debates/is-there-evidence-for-god/>.