



## Cicero Philippics II

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### Summary of Other Parts of the Speech

For this analysis of the component parts of the speech, see ‘Introduction – Oratory’. As mentioned there, the **narratio** is omitted, and because Cicero is replying to Antony the order of the **confirmatio** and **confutatio** are reversed. Where the chapter number below is followed by a letter, ‘a’ designates the first paragraph, ‘b’ the second. Phrases underlined indicate the main topic of a particular section.

#### Exordium (1 - 2):

Over the last twenty years, every enemy of the Republic has declared war on me. Catiline and P. Clodius were responding to attack; Antony, who is unprovoked, seems more reckless than the first and madder than the second. Why is he doing this? Contempt? Because the Senate is a sympathetic audience? Because he fancies his chances in debate? Ultimately it must be because this is the best way for him to prove himself an enemy of his country.

#### Tractatio (3 – 114):

##### Confutatio (3 – 43):

(3) Antony has accused me of breaching our friendship by at some point appearing in court against one of his connections [Q. Fadius – a freedman by whose daughter Antony had sired children]. But I was representing a close friend of my own against a stranger. In any case, I think you brought the matter up to parade your family link to an ex-slave.

(4) Antony claims he gave up his candidacy for the augurship for my benefit. What impudence! I was sought out by the college of augurs, while you were bankrupt and only ever reached the position of augur thanks to your lover Curio [see §§ 44 – 5].

(5 – 7a) Antony pretends to have done me a great kindness – this can only be when he spared my life at Brundisium [where Cicero had landed after the defeat of Pompey, whom Cicero had supported, at Pharsalus in 48 BC; Cicero had thrown himself on Caesar’s mercy and Caesar had written a letter telling him to return to Italy. Cicero produced this letter to Antony, who although he had been ordered by Caesar to throw all Pompeians out of Italy, allowed Cicero passage.] This I have always acknowledged. But how could you have opposed the ordinance of Caesar himself? Why should I be grateful for keeping what you were not entitled to take? Am I ungrateful because I have spoken against you as an opponent of the Republic [in *Philippic I*]?

(7b – 10a) Antony read out a letter from me as evidence of my esteem [*ad Att.*, 14.13 b – in which Cicero agrees, with queasy unctuousness, to Antony’s request for the recall of Sextus Cloelius]. Apart from showing his lack of respect for civilised values and the privacy of the mails, he also establishes his own folly, as it is evidence of no more than that I once wrote to him, who is now an outlaw, as if he were a fellow-citizen and decent man. I, by contrast, will not read out Antony’s initial letter to me, as he asks me to do; why, in any case, did he need



to write if he was implementing Caesar's law? I suppose he wanted to give me some of the credit?

**[Divisio (10b):** I will speak first in my defence and then against Antony. Although I have been known throughout my career for the decorum with which I speak, do not be surprised if I respond to Antony in the manner which he has himself invited.]

(11 – 20) Antony reproaches me with my consulship [63 BC – notable for Cicero's suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy and the execution of those involved], as though I had acted in my own name and not that of the Senate. But nobody except you and P. Clodius has denounced my consulship; and the list of those it pleased is long and distinguished, including Pompey himself. Still alive are L. Cotta, who decreed a thanksgiving for what I did, and Antony's uncle, L. Caesar, who spoke in favour of the execution [for his part in the conspiracy] of his own brother-in-law, Antony's stepfather [P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura – mentioned again below]. Did you ever consult L. Caesar about anything to do with the Republic? No – you prefer parasites and pimps, the sort of people with whom you're celebrating a birthday party this very day instead of being here. And you, who ringed the temple of Concord with guards [on 19<sup>th</sup> September 44 BC] dare to accuse me of packing the Capitoline Hill [site of the temple of Concord] with armed slaves! Then in fact there was an abundance of volunteers from the ranks of the nobles to protect it. And when there was proof from the conspirators' accomplices, from their own handwriting and from their correspondence detailing their destructive ambitions, what leader could have refrained from protecting the common good? At the same time as you admit your stepfather was involved in the conspiracy, you complain that I did not hand over his body for burial. But since it was the Senate that punished them, this amounts to praising me for putting down the plot and criticising your audience for taking the necessary action. Just such a contradiction as your inveighing against my use of arms to protect the Republic when you are using them for its ruin. And lastly, in an ill-advised attempt at wit, you make gibes at my poetry [a quotation from Cicero's *Consulatus suus*, verses on his own consulate which were held up in antiquity as a triumph of conceit over literary quality – see style note. § 118 **Defendi... tuos**]. You have no appreciation of such matters; in all my writing I have laboured in the service of the Republic.

(21 – 22) Antony asserts that P. Clodius was killed [by T. Annius Milo in 52 BC] at my instigation. This is a strange charge from a man who himself nearly killed Clodius in a brawl [during the election campaigns of 53 BC]. Besides, there was a trial [at which Cicero spoke in Milo's defence] during which I was never implicated in the crime.

(23 – 24) According to Antony, it was I who, by rupturing the alliance between Pompey and Caesar, caused the outbreak of the Civil War. I admit that, at first [59 BC], I did my best to sever the relationship – but then Caesar destroyed the friendship between Pompey and me, and thereafter I could have had no effect even if I had wanted to. Even so, against Caesar's wishes I suggested to Pompey that Caesar should not have his command [in Gaul] extended, or be permitted to stand for office [as consul] in his absence. If this advice had been followed, the Republic would still be standing.

(25 – 36) A new charge that Antony makes is that I urged the assassination of Caesar. Yet I have never been listed among the perpetrators even though their names were made public



almost immediately, and with glory. They had no need of me to spur them on – their family histories, distant and recent, gave them motivation enough. The fact that Brutus raised the bloody dagger and, you claim, invoked the name ‘Cicero’ shows only that he viewed me, like himself, as a liberator. The fact that I was glad it was done is not to my discredit: all decent men rejoice at Caesar’s death; all would have participated, if they could. You, when you speak of Brutus, use the phrase, ‘with all respect’ – and it was through you that Brutus and Cassius received their provinces and other honours. Thus in your eyes they are not murderers, either – and I, in future, will not refuse to be associated with their deed; though, if I had had a hand in it, I would have removed not only the king but also his power. Do not therefore hold it against me that I desired Caesar’s death: you yourself hatched a plot against him [a concoction of Cicero’s, set in Gaul in 45 BC] and now are the main beneficiary of his demise: suddenly we see you free of debts, thanks largely to your raids on the public treasury [the temple of Ops – see § 93].

(37 – 40a) In Pompey’s camp, Antony maintains I was a source of gloom and despondency, or of bad jokes; but I, rightly as it turned out, foresaw the fall of the Republic and, unlike Pompey, was concerned more with security than present honour. We nevertheless were constant in our conversations and friendship, and in retreat [Cicero had not gone with Pompey as far as Pharsalus, for health reasons] Pompey respected my judgement.

(40b – 42a) From what Antony says, I received nothing from inheritances [evidence for Antony of Cicero’s being out of favour]. This is simply false. What I have received in inheritances, however, comes from friends. You, on the other hand, appear to inherit from complete strangers, or after the disappearance of other designated heirs, while you turn down your own father’s estate [this was encumbered with debts; Antony’s guardians – he was 11 or 12 at the time of his father’s death in c. 71 BC – chose not to accept it].

**[Transitio** (42b – 43) All this motley set of points Antony assembled in the villa of Metellus Scipio while drinking with his friends; he had also paid a fortune to a tutor of rhetoric (see §§ 84, 101) to argue in whatever way he wished against him, by way of practice. But, now I have replied sufficiently to what he has said about me, it is my turn to say something – far from everything – about him.]

**Confirmatio** (44 – 114)

**[44 – 50a, see book.]**

(50b): Now please listen to the damage he inflicted on the whole Republic [his tribunate].

(51 – 5a) [In 49 BC C. Curio brought a letter to the senate from Caesar in Gaul in which Caesar promised to give up his army and provinces if Pompey would relinquish the two Spanish provinces and his army with them. Antony, as tribunus plebis for the year, with his colleague Q. Cassius Longinus, forced the consul to read the letter to the senate, but there was no vote on its content. Instead Pompey’s father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, proposed the reply that Caesar be required to surrender his army or be considered an enemy of the state. The senate passed this motion overwhelmingly. Antony and Cassius used their tribunician veto and fled Rome the same night.] When the senate, in 49 BC, wished to shore up the Republic and, as far as possible, respect Caesar’s interests, you, Antony, blocked it from doing so – it had no option but to pass the *senatus consultum ultimum* [a decree of emergency



powers, in effect martial law, which would have allowed the senate to act against Antony and Cassius]. If you had not fled to Caesar's forces, you would not have escaped retribution. Caesar then was able to march on Rome under the pretext that he was defending the trampled rights of Antony as tribune. The senior magistrates quitted Italy and war followed, the blame for which must be laid at your, Antony's, door.

(55b – 58) Antony's restoration of rights in 49 BC to certain condemned men during Caesar's absence from Italy did not include his own uncle [C. Antonius Hybrida; Antony's law, however, recalled those convicted of electoral corruption, whereas C. Antonius had been found guilty of *maiestas*, or misgovernment]. On the other hand he did pardon L. Denticulus, a gambling friend, probably in repayment of his gaming losses. Then, on a tour of Italy, he travelled in a carriage with his mistress, the actress Cytheris, and awarded himself lictors wearing laurel crowns [absurd pomp to which he was not entitled].

(59 – 63) Antony, as one of Caesar's right-hand men [at Pharsalus, the battle at which Pompey was defeated, he commanded the left flank], participated in the blood-letting of 48 BC. Then, at Brundisium, he did not harm Cicero [see §§ 5 – 7a above]. But you simply did not take what was not yours to steal. You met up with Cytheris and resumed your tour of Italy. Appointed *magister equitum* (master of the horse, deputy) without Caesar's knowledge [highly implausible], you appropriated M. Piso's house and enriched yourself with inheritances stolen from the legitimate heirs. [With the cessation of magisterial elections till 47 BC, the officials who would regularly have heard inheritance cases were not available, so Antony may well have been stepping into the breach.] Most disgusting of all, this master of the horse, the day after a wedding feast, before a gathering of the Roman people, filled his lap and the platform with his vomit.

(64 – 70) When Caesar, in 47 BC, returned from Alexandria to Rome, he put Pompey's confiscated property up for auction – Antony, the sole bidder, acquired Pompey's entire estate, and with it the opprobrium of the community. He set about squandering the lot, with the voracity of a Charybdis [the whirlpool of *Odyssey* xii.104-6, which sucks in and then throws up again] or the ocean itself. Haunted in Pompey's house by the owner's ghost, you were driven out of your wits there. Poor house, which had known the virtuous private life of Pompey! And now he claims virtue himself because he divorced Cytheris. He refers to himself as 'both consul and Antony' [Antony was consul with Caesar in 44 BC], unaware that he draws attention by this to his shamelessness.

(71 – 74) Then it came to paying for the purchase of Pompey's estate. Caesar, returned from his African campaign in 46 BC, pressed Antony for what he owed; Antony at first refused on the grounds that what he had gained was his rightful share of the booty. Caesar sent soldiers to demand cash. Antony attempted to re-auction what was left – but was prevented by the heirs to one of the estates illegitimately obtained by Antony. Antony, in despair, is said to have sent the assassin who was detected in Caesar's house. [This is all we hear of this incident – and, if it happened at all, Antony is hardly likely to have had any connection with it, given what happened next.] Caesar left the following day for Spain, having granted Antony an extension.

(75 – 78a) In the campaign against Pompey's sons in Spain [Gnaeus and Sextus Pompeius had taken command of the remaining Pompeian forces there], you took no part – you set off



[probably early in 45 BC] but say you could not reach the country safely. Dolabella [P. Cornelius Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, a notorious dissolute and opponent of Antony], by contrast, fought in all three of Caesar's major battles against his fellow-citizens [Pharsalus, Thapsus, Munda], even though, unlike you, he had not become the owner of Pompey's property – and it was for this, in part, that Pompey's sons were fighting. Instead you stopped at Narbo, in Gaul, and campaigned for the consulship. You returned to Rome and, disguised as a messenger, to your wife [Fulvia, whom Cicero studiously does not mention by name]; you delivered a letter saying Antony had given up his mistress, then revealed yourself. But the real reason for your return was to halt foreclosure on the guarantors of your debts.

**[78b - 92, see book.]**

(93 – 96) Where are the 700 million sesterces listed in the account books of the temple of Ops? And how did you suddenly clear debts of 40 million sesterces, incurring interest on the Ides of March, before the next interest payment on the Kalends of April? [These funds, in large measure confiscations from Pompey's followers, had been stowed away by Caesar to defray the expenses of his forthcoming Parthian war. This particular charge seems to have been displaced from elsewhere in the text.] Large numbers of privileges were purchased through your agents, with your full knowledge – for instance by Massilia [modern Marseilles; this had refused to open its gates to Caesar on his march to Spain in 49 BC, had been besieged by him and stripped of territory; after Caesar's death, it recouped its losses]. The most remarkable decree, however, was the one restoring to King Deiotarus his territory in Galatia. [King Deiotarus; a tetrarch of Galatia, had appropriated the entire territory, murdering his own daughter and son-in-law in the process. He had offered help to Cicero during the latter's governorship of Cilicia (in 51 BC) and supported Pompey during his campaign against Mithridates of Pontus. As a result he was rewarded with an extension of his territory and the title 'King'. He sided with Pompey during the Civil War, then asked for and was granted a pardon by Caesar after Pharsalus (48 BC), but Caesar removed some of his domains (including part of Galatia and Armenia). Caesar stayed with Deiotarus in 47 BC. The latter later (45 BC) was accused of trying to poison his guest. Cicero delivered his defence of Deiotarus in Caesar's own house (*pro Rege Deiotaro*). Caesar had still not delivered a verdict when he died.] How strange that Caesar should have taken things away from him in life and given them back in death. King Deiotarus's ambassadors had signed a promissory note worth 10 million sesterces in the quarters of Fulvia [Antony's wife]. When the king heard of Caesar's death, however, he took matters into his own hands and seized his lost territory himself, before he had to pay the sum borrowed. No lawyer could enforce the contract.

(97 – 99) Money has piled up at Antony's house through the sale of signatures [purported to be Caesar's]. Such was the blindness of his greed that the Cretans were remitted tribute, as if by will of Caesar, 'after the governorship of the proconsul M. Brutus' – though Brutus had not been allotted the governorship until after Caesar's death. Exiles who Caesar had wanted to recall were lumped together with those you wanted to recall – so many that few are left abroad. Your inconsistency is nowhere more apparent than in the treatment of your exiled uncle, C. Antonius [see summary of 55b – 58 above], whom you delayed recalling, to whom you then promised the censorship and membership of the agrarian board only to disappoint him, and whose daughter, Antonia, you spurned for another woman [Fulvia] and divorced on



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a trumped-up charge of adultery with Dolabella [a notorious womaniser – Cicero was his father-in-law].

[100 - 114, see book.]

### **Conclusio (115 – 119)**

[see book.]