

Ciceros erste *Philippische Rede*: §§ 1–18

I. Allgemeine Informationen zur Rede

- Beginn von Ciceros Kampf für die *res publica libera* (⇒ *genus deliberativum*)
- am 02. September 44 v. Chr. im Tempel der Concordia gehalten
(Senatsvorsitz: Suffektkonsul *Dolabella*; Abwesenheit Antonius')
- „Antwort“ auf die von Antonius am 01. September 44 v. Chr. gehaltene Rede:
(Beschluss, jedem Fest-/Feiertag einen Ehrentag für Caesar anzuhängen;
Interpretation der Abwesenheit Ciceros bei der Senatsitzung am Vortag durch Antonius als feindliche Geste bzw. Bruch der *amicitia*)

II. Struktur der Rede

- **Exordium** nicht existent
- **Narratio** (§§ 1–10): Ereignisse vom 15. März (Ermordung Caesars) bis zum 01. September (Ciceros Rückkehr nach Rom)
 - Mitte März: Senatssitzung auf dem Kapitol: ἀμνηστία (Straferlass) für Caesar-Mörder, Ratifikation der *acta Caesaris* (Nachlassverordnung)
⇒ Kompromiss; Leichenfeier für Caesar
 - Anfang April: Abschaffung der Diktatur durch Antonius;
Fortgang Ciceros aus Rom (→ vgl. Darstellung in Cic. Phil. 1,1)
 - Juni und Juli: Sinneswandel des Antonius (am 01.06.):
„neue Gesetzgebung“ des Antonius (s. unten)
(Verwaltung der Provinzen: Antonius → Gallia Cisalpina statt Macedonien, Cassius → Creta, Brutus → Cyrene; Truppensammlungen des Antonius);
Ciceros Aufbruch nach Griechenland (über Syrakus) wegen polit. Einflusslosigkeit
 - August: Festsitzen Ciceros bei Freunden aufgrund ungünstiger Wetterlage;
Kritik des L. Calpurnius Piso an Antonius (s. unten); Nachrichten an Cicero über die angebliche Einigungsbereitschaft des Antonius ⇒ Umkehr Ciceros
- **Digressio** (§§ 11–13): Reaktion Ciceros auf Antonius' Drohung, dessen Haus wegen seiner Abwesenheit im Senat am 01.11. niederreißen zu lassen
(Bekräftigung der *amicitia* zwischen Cicero und Antonius;
Nennung von Gründen für die Abwesenheit: Erschöpfung, Übellaunigkeit;
Ironie auf die übertriebenen Drohungen & Anschuldigungen des Antonius (s. Ende von Cic. Phil. 1,11);
Missbilligung des zusätzlichen Ehrentages für Caesar)
- **Propositio** (§§ 14–16): Stilisierung des L. Calpurnius Piso wegen seiner öffentlichen Kritik an Antonius' Gewaltherrschaft zum Vorbild für die übrigen aus Furcht oder anderen Gründen schweigenden Konsuln und Senatoren
- **Probatio** (§§ 16–26): „neue Gesetzgebung“ des Antonius unter angeblicher Berufung dessen auf Caesars Absichten nach Meinung Ciceros im Widerspruch zu den bereits ratifizierten *acta Caesaris* (→ ausführlicher in der 3. Sitzung)

} positive
Bewertung
von Antonius'
Handeln durch
Cicero

Zur vertieften Lektüre & Interpretation der vorzubereitenden Textstellen

1 Ante quam de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium et profectionis et reversionis meae.

Ego cum sperarem aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria. nec vero usquam discedebam nec a re publica deiciebam oculos ex eo die quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, ieci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui.

11 Quoniam utriusque consili causam, patres conscripti, probatam vobis esse confido, prius quam de re publica dicere incipio, pauca querar de hesterna M. Antoni iniuria: cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli.

Quid tandem erat causae cur die hesterno in senatum tam acerbe cogerer? solusne aberam, an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis, an ea res agebatur ut etiam aegrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas aut de Pyrrhi pace agebatur, ad quam causam etiam Appium illum et caecum et senem delatum esse memoriae proditum est. **12** de supplica-

14 Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere. potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. atque utinam, patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non quo profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus re publica inveniretur. qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem, homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos. L. Pisonem ducem optimae sententiae non secutos. idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus? non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis sed ne voltu quidem adsensus est. **15** quae, malum, est ista voluntaria servitus? fuerit quaedam necessaria; (nunc non est ita). neque ego hoc ab omnibus eis desidero qui sententiam consulari loco dicunt. alia causa est eorum quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum quorum vocem requiro. quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo Romano venire non metu, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati suae. qua re primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui non quid efficere posset in re publica cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse deberet. deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, benigne me tamen, ut fecistis adhuc, audiatis.

1 9 renouavi V Cus. bnsy: reuocavi et 10 discordiis usa erat] discordauerat c: -cors erat n: -cordiis erat tv

Gell. 11 18 confido] -do etiam V¹ 18-19 quaerar hs (= hic supple) de hesterna in senatum V¹, medd. omissis 19 die hesterno in senatum Halm ex vestigiis cod. V: in senatum (-u s) hesterno (ext- bt) die D 22 minus codd.] num magis?³ 23 deferre V

verum D 30 pisonis bntv consulari³ Ven²s² 14 21 vero V Cus.: 15 1 anne quondam? lacunam, quam ita supplevi,¹ ante agnoverat Kayser nec D 4 populo Romano venire] pervenire V¹ metu] modo metus V 6 et habeo et ago D (v. Fe.) 1. pisoni D 6 quid quisquam Reid 8 rationem Gomperz (vide quae scripsi ad Fam. 3.13.1 auctoritate, oratione, sententia) 9 adhuc fecistis¹ V

III. Rezeption: William Shakespeares *Julius Caesar*

Nach Caesars Ermordung durch Cassius, Brutus et c. kommt auch Markus Antonius in die Kurie und bittet, fingierend mit den Verschwörern zu sympathisieren, darum, die Gründe für die Ermordung zu erfahren sowie als enger Freund und Vertrauter Caesars – nach alter Tradition – auf dem Forum eine Leichenrede auf ihn halten zu dürfen. Wider Cassius' Einwände willigt Brutus ein und bietet Antonius an, nach seiner eigenen Rede, in der er vor dem Römischen Volk Rechenschaft für den Mord an Caesar ablegen will („There is tears for his love; joy for his // fortune; honour for his valour; and death for his // ambition.“), auf der Rostra sprechen zu dürfen.

ANTONY

Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Caesar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you Caesar was ambitious:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Caesar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest--
For Brutus is an honourable man;
So are they all, all honourable men--
Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
He hath brought many captives home to Rome
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill:
Did this in Caesar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept:
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff:
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse: was this ambition?
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honourable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without cause:
What cause withholds you then, to mourn for him?
O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason. Bear with me;
My heart is in the coffin there with Caesar,
And I must pause till it come back to me.

First Citizen

Methinks there is much reason in his sayings.

Second Citizen

If thou consider rightly of the matter,
Caesar has had great wrong.

Third Citizen

Has he, masters?
I fear there will a worse come in his place.

Fourth Citizen

Mark'd ye his words? He would not take the crown;
Therefore 'tis certain he was not ambitious.

First Citizen

If it be found so, some will dear abide it.

Second Citizen

Poor soul! his eyes are red as fire with weeping.

Third Citizen

There's not a nobler man in Rome than Antony.

Fourth Citizen

Now mark him, he begins again to speak.

ANTONY

But yesterday the word of Caesar might
Have stood against the world; now lies he there.
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters, if I were disposed to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Brutus wrong, and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honourable men:
I will not do them wrong; I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself and you,
Than I will wrong such honourable men.
But here's a parchment with the seal of Caesar;
I found it in his closet, 'tis his will:
Let but the commons hear this testament--
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read--
And they would go and kiss dead Caesar's wounds
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.

Fourth Citizen

We'll hear the will: read it, Mark Antony.

All

The will, the will! we will hear Caesar's will.

ANTONY

Have patience, gentle friends, I must not read it;
It is not meet you know how Caesar loved you.
You are not wood, you are not stones, but men;
And, being men, bearing the will of Caesar,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad:
'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs;
For, if you should, O, what would come of it!

Fourth Citizen

Read the will; we'll hear it, Antony;
You shall read us the will, Caesar's will.

ANTONY

Will you be patient? will you stay awhile?
I have o'ershot myself to tell you of it:

I fear I wrong the honourable men
Whose daggers have stabb'd Caesar; I do fear it.

Fourth Citizen

They were traitors: honourable men!

All

The will! the testament!

Second Citizen

They were villains, murderers: the will! read the will.

ANTONY

You will compel me, then, to read the will?
Then make a ring about the corpse of Caesar,
And let me show you him that made the will.
Shall I descend? and will you give me leave?

Several Citizens

Come down.

Second Citizen

Descend.

Third Citizen

You shall have leave.

ANTONY comes down

Fourth Citizen

A ring; stand round.

First Citizen

Stand from the hearse, stand from the body.

Second Citizen

Room for Antony, most noble Antony.

ANTONY

Nay, press not so upon me; stand far off.

Several Citizens

Stand back; room; bear back.

ANTONY

If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle: I remember
The first time ever Caesar put it on;
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,
That day he overcame the Nervii:
Look, in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:
See what a rent the envious Casca made:
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Caesar follow'd it,
As rushing out of doors, to be resolved
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no;
For Brutus, as you know, was Caesar's angel:
Judge, O you gods, how dearly Caesar loved him!
This was the most unkindest cut of all;
For when the noble Caesar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart;
And, in his mantle muffling up his face,
Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell.
O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,
Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us.
O, now you weep; and, I perceive, you feel

The dint of pity: these are gracious drops.
Kind souls, what, weep you when you but behold
Our Caesar's vesture wounded? Look you here,
Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.

First Citizen

O piteous spectacle!

Second Citizen

O noble Caesar!

Third Citizen

O woful day!

Fourth Citizen

O traitors, villains!

First Citizen

O most bloody sight!

Second Citizen

We will be revenged.

All

Revenge! About! Seek! Burn! Fire! Kill! Slay!
Let not a traitor live!

ANTONY

Stay, countrymen.

First Citizen

Peace there! hear the noble Antony.

Second Citizen

We'll hear him, we'll follow him, we'll die with him.

ANTONY

Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
To such a sudden flood of mutiny.
They that have done this deed are honourable:
What private griefs they have, alas, I know not,
That made them do it: they are wise and
honourable,
And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.
I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts:
I am no orator, as Brutus is;
But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man,
That love my friend; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him:
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
I tell you that which you yourselves do know;
Show you sweet Caesar's wounds, poor poor dumb
mouths,
And bid them speak for me: but were I Brutus,
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits and put a tongue
In every wound of Caesar that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

All

We'll mutiny.

First Citizen

We'll burn the house of Brutus.

Third Citizen

Away, then! come, seek the conspirators.

ANTONY

Yet hear me, countrymen; yet hear me speak.

All

Peace, ho! Hear Antony. Most noble Antony!

ANTONY

Why, friends, you go to do you know not what:
Wherein hath Caesar thus deserved your loves?
Alas, you know not: I must tell you then:
You have forgot the will I told you of.

All

Most true. The will! Let's stay and hear the will.

ANTONY

Here is the will, and under Caesar's seal.
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.

Second Citizen

Most noble Caesar! We'll revenge his death.

Third Citizen

O royal Caesar!

ANTONY

Hear me with patience.

All

Peace, ho!

ANTONY

Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours and new-planted orchards,
On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever, common pleasures,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
Here was a Caesar! when comes such another?

First Citizen

Never, never. Come, away, away!
We'll burn his body in the holy place,
And with the brands fire the traitors' houses.
Take up the body.

Second Citizen

Go fetch fire.

Third Citizen

Pluck down benches.

Fourth Citizen

Pluck down forms, windows, any thing.

Exeunt Citizens with the body

Arbeitsaufträge

- (i) Eruieren Sie, welcher rhetorischer Mittel sich Marcus Antonius bei seiner Demagogie bedient.
- (ii) Diskutieren Sie etwaige Einsatzoptionen von Shakespeares *Julius Caesar* im gymnasialen Lateinunterricht.

Textquelle: http://shakespeare.mit.edu/julius_caesar/julius_caesar.3.2.html (letzter Zugriff am 18.04.2016)

Lektüreempfehlung: Stroh, Wilfried: Marc Anton ironisch? Zu Form und Erfindung seiner Leichenrede in Shakespeares *Julius Caesar* (III,2), in: Karl. A. E. Enenkel, Jan L. de Jong, Jeanine de Landtsheer (Hgg.), *Recreating ancient history. Episodes from Greek and Roman past in the arts and literature of the Early Modern Period*, Brill 2002: 253–267.

→ auch online verfügbar: <http://stroh.userweb.mwn.de/schriften/marcanton.pdf> (letzter Zugriff am 18.04.2016)