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## Mark Antony's Forefathers. Comments on the Role of the *gens Antonia* in the Final Period of the Roman Republic

The *gens Antonia* is one of the oldest Roman plebeian families<sup>1</sup>. The first known member of this clan – T. Antonius Merenda – was one of the decemviri formed in 451 BC to draft a code of laws (*decemviri consulari imperio legibus scribundis*)<sup>2</sup>. He also took part in a failed expedition to conquer Aequi, during which he was defeated near Algidus Mons<sup>3</sup>. His son, Q. Antonius Merenda, was appointed one of ten military tribunes with consular power (*tribuni militum consulari potestate*) in 422 BC, thus becoming the first non-patrician Roman in this office<sup>4</sup>. Beholding roles of such importance indicates how highly esteemed the *gens Antonia* was among plebeian families during the Conflict of the Orders.

In the following years, however, the *gens Antonia* apparently lost some of its importance, and ancient authors seldom record successes or failures of its members. And so, it is 334 BC, when the sources mention one of Antonia line for the first time. He is Marcus Antonius – *magister equitum* of dictator P. Cornelius Rufinus. Dictator's choice, however, was quickly challenged and both had to step down and relinquish their offices<sup>5</sup>. In 307 BC, Lucius, probably different member of the *gens Antonia*, was removed from the Senate due to his abuse of the right to divorce<sup>6</sup>. At the beginning of the second century, the *gens Antonia* appeared at the side of the house Aemilii consuls: Q. Antonius was an officer in the fleet of L. Aemilius Regillus in the war with Antiochus the Great in 190

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<sup>1</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus points (10, 58, 4), the oldest branch of the *gens Antonia* was patrician. This view has been challenged by some olden researchers (see Drumann, Groebe 1899, 58; but cf. Willems I, 1885, 54), and today it is completely discarded. See e.g. Smith 2006, 271, n. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. Hal. 10, 58, 4; 11, 23, 2; Liv. 3, 35, 11 (*cognomen* mentioned here); 3, 41; Klebs 1894, col. 2633; Broughton 1951, 46–47.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. 3, 41–42.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. 4, 42. See: Klebs 1894, col. 2633; Ziolkowski 2004, 117.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. 8, 17, 3–4. Klebs 1894, col. 2590.

<sup>6</sup> Val. Max. 2, 9, 2.

BC<sup>7</sup>, and Aulus Antonius, the only one of his clan wearing such a *praenomen*, was one of the envoys sent by the consul L. Aemilius Paulus to King Perseus after the battle of Pydna in 168 BC<sup>8</sup>. In 167 BC, M. Antonius was the first of his clan to be certified as a tribune of the Plebs. He was to oppose the proposal issued by the praetor Manius Iuventius Thalna on declaring war on the Rhodians<sup>9</sup>.

It was only during the decline of the Republic that the *gens Antonia* began to progressively gain importance. The members of this family were elected to higher offices in the country, they were also entrusted important commanding roles. This reflects their growing political position in the Republic. In this article I will try to present the role the *gens Antonia* played in the country during the first civil war and Sullan restoration. I will focus primarily on the activities of the grandfather and father of Mark Antony and other members of the *gens Antonia*, whose activities in this period were accounted by ancient authors.

To examine the role the *gens Antonia* played during the decline of the Republic is a difficult task for at least two reasons. Firstly, it should be emphasized that despite their old roots and growing importance, the *gens Antonia* never belonged to the group of elite families that executed actual power in the Republic. Even during the decline of the Republic, only two other Antonii, excluding Mark Antony (triumvir), reached the consulate office, and two others reached praetorship. Ancient authors report of only a few other minor Antonii. The second difficulty stems directly from the lacking source database. While sources on Mark Antony are many, when it comes to his ancestors, we may only find snippets of information. Furthermore, several facts on the *gens Antonia* are derived from Cicero, whose writings, while often biased in general, in the case of Antonii are extremely influenced. Cicero had a close relationship with Mark Antony's grandfather, Marcus Antonius Orator, and wrote of him with the deepest respect; at the same time, however, he was a fierce enemy of Mark Antony, and expressed his resentment against both him and his father rather often in his rich oeuvre; finally, he cooperated with Caius Antonius, Mark Antony's uncle, with whom he shared the consulate office in 63 BC, but whom he despised at the same time. Close ties of Arpinum-born consul with Antonia family made his works a treasure trove of information about the clan, but it has to be emphasized that Cicero's sources should be used with the utmost care<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Liv. 37, 32, 8. Klebs 1894, col. 2614; Broughton 1951, 358.

<sup>8</sup> Liv. 45, 4, 7. Klebs 1894, col. 2577.

<sup>9</sup> Polib. 30, 4, 6; Liv. 45, 21, 40. Klebs 1894, col. 2590; Niccolini 1934, 127–128.

<sup>10</sup> The opinion of Cicero on M. Antonius Orator as a speaker and erudite, see e.g.: Aleksandrowicz 1996, 48–49; Idem 2002, 70–72. Relations of Cicero and Antonius Hybrida are discussed by e.g.: Pianko 1973, 143–145; Lintott 2008, 133ff., 147, 168. His negative attitude

The *gens Antonia*'s position in the Republic began to grow with the appearance of Marcus Antonius Orator on the Roman political scene<sup>11</sup>. Almost nothing is known of his direct ancestors except for the fact that both his grandfather and father bore the same name – Marcus<sup>12</sup>. It provokes suspicion that perhaps Orator's direct ancestor was abovementioned tribune of the Plebs of 167 BC, but there is no way to prove this supposition. The first sourced information related to the political career of Antonius Orator concerns his quaestorship in 113 BC<sup>13</sup>. At the end of his office career, Antonius received *imperium* and probably as *quaestor pro praetore* went to Asia<sup>14</sup>. He was stopped on his way by information that he was accused of *incestum* by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, a special prosecutor for the trial of three Vestals, who were accused of breaking their vows of chastity. Valerius Maximus provides that, despite those accusations, Antonius did not have to go back to Rome because he was protected by *lex Memmia*, prohibiting to judge a person staying outside Rome *rei publicae causa*<sup>15</sup>. Antonius, however, returned to Rome and took part in the trial, where he obtained an acquittal, while the Vestals were convicted. He owed his exoneration partially to his extraordinary oratorical talents and partially to his faithful slave's silence, who never betrayed his master's confidence – even under torture<sup>16</sup>. Antonius' decision to return might have also been associated with his belief of having powerful allies in Rome, who would support his case. Despite some researchers' suspicions it is highly improbable that Marius' faction was in Orator's supporters' circles<sup>17</sup>, and Antonius certainly was not, at the time, a significant supporter of Marius. It is also hard to believe that Marius' *factio* would give any significant leverage at the Senate at the time. In all likelihood Antonius was supported by the Metelli, just as they were involved in the defense of the other participants of the scandal<sup>18</sup>.

Spectacular and quick victory in the famous trial has caused young Antonius large publicity and strengthened his position in the country. In the following years, his cooperation with Metellan faction is more and more clearly discern-

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towards Mark Antony in the writings of Cicero emphasizes repeatedly, especially in Philippics. See: Craig 1993, 147–155; Hall 2002, 273–304; Morstein-Marx 2004, 140–146. Cicero's literary creation are broadly characterized by Kumaniecki 1977, 180–418.

<sup>11</sup> Klebs 1894, col. 2590–2594; Drumann, Groebe 1899, 44–45; Sumner 1972, 93–94; Fantham 2004, 33–46.

<sup>12</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 680.

<sup>13</sup> Val. Max. 3, 7, 9; 6, 8, 1. Broughton 1951, 536–537.

<sup>14</sup> Brennan 2000, 399, 548, 872, n. 184.

<sup>15</sup> Val. Max. 3, 7, 9. Gruen 1968a, 59–63; Weinrib 1968, 37f.; Jońca 2009, 52.

<sup>16</sup> Val. Max. 6, 8, 1. Jońca 2009, 53f.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Carney 1962, 303–304.

<sup>18</sup> Gruen 1968b, 129.

able in the sources. This relationship is particularly noticeable, when reviewing Antonius' court cases, in which he successfully defended several politicians associated with the Metelli and effectively prosecuted their enemies. A good example might be his prosecution of Cn. Papirius Carbo, a consul of 113 BC, who was defeated in the battle near Noreia with the Cimbri and, probably in 112 BC, accused of high treason (*perduellio*)<sup>19</sup>. Carbo, without waiting for a certain conviction, committed suicide. Antonius himself was also frequently a target of attacks: in 98 or 97 BC, while applying for censorship, he was accused of abuse of power (*de ambitu*), by a man named Marcus Duronius. The attack was aimed at Metellan faction, although it is not certain, on whose behalf the former tribune of the Plebs acted. The prosecution, however, failed and consequently Antonius, as a censor, led to the deletion of Duronius from the list of senators<sup>20</sup>.

Owing to effective and brilliant court speeches, Antonius soon became one of the greatest and most famous orators of his time. Antonius' commitment on the Metelli side might have also contributed to his political success – in 102 (or 103)<sup>21</sup> BC he was the first (as far as we know) in his lineage to reach the praetorship<sup>22</sup>.

It seems it is Antonius' praetorship, and especially later obtained *imperium pro consule*, his governorship of Cilicia (or Asia), and the task of settling the matter of Cilician pirates that were clear turning points in his career. The campaign, waged both at sea and on land, ended – according to ancient authors – with a great success of Antonius<sup>23</sup>. It is true that the pirates were not completely destroyed, but Rome has marked its presence on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, thus showing its local allies that it is able to take effective action against pirates. Antonius' success was also appreciated in Rome – the Senate granted him a triumph for the victory – Orator celebrated it in 100 BC<sup>24</sup>.

In the same year, Antonius has joined the elections, as he wanted to enter consulate office in 99 BC. The task was difficult, because, as a result of the activities of L. Appuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia, riots took place

<sup>19</sup> Cic., *Fam.* 9, 21, 3; Apul., *Apol.* 66. Alexander 1990, 23–24.

<sup>20</sup> Cic., *de Orat.* 2, 257; 274; Val. Max. II, 9, 5. See Gruen 1966, 40f. Cf. Shackleton Bailey 1979, 163.

<sup>21</sup> Most researchers think that Antonius was a praetor of 102 BC. See e.g.: Broughton 1951, 568; Brennan 2000, 357, but cf. doubts of de Souza (2008, 131), who believes that Antonius was a praetor of 103 BC.

<sup>22</sup> Liv., *Per.* 68; Obseq. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Liv., *Per.* 68: *M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones persecutus est*; Obseq. 44: *piratae in Cilicia a Romanis deleti*. Cf. *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 2662, p. 936; Cic., *Orat.* 2, 2; *Brut.* 168. Ormerod 1924, 208f.; Sherwin-White 1976, 4–8. Cf. Geelhaar 2002, 116.

<sup>24</sup> Plut., *Pomp.* 24. Broughton 1946, 35–40; cf. Idem 1951, 576; Idem 1986, 19 – dates this event back to the period between 10th December and the end of 100 BC.

in Rome, and the then consul C. Marius had to take on measures to suppress the uprisings<sup>25</sup>. During the bloody events in Rome, Antonius and his army remained at the city's outskirts and waited for the opportunity to complete his triumph<sup>26</sup>. He did not participate in suppressing the riot, although it was clear he supported Marius' and Senate's actions<sup>27</sup>.

Antonius reached the consulship with the best result, a fact that clearly indicates how large his support among the affluent strata of society was. He was the first member of the *gens Antonia*, who managed to be elected to this office<sup>28</sup>. Information about Antonius' actions during his time in consulate, however, is scarce<sup>29</sup>. It is known that he fought down remains of Saturninus' allied groups. He especially opposed agrarian law issued by one of Saturninus' followers, tribune of the Plebs – Sextus Titius<sup>30</sup>.

The sources suggest Antonius' rapprochement to Marius' camp in the nineties. It is possible that the first contacts between the two occurred even before Antonius' departure to the East, since Marius' relative, M. Gratidius, who was killed during one of the skirmishes, was a part of Antonius' military staff<sup>31</sup>. In 92 BC, Antonius probably defended Marius Gratidianus' son, M. Marius Gratidianus, in a civil case<sup>32</sup>. Antonius' quaestor in Cilicia, C. Norbanus, was also one of the most active *populares*, whom Orator also defended in one of the trials<sup>33</sup>. The fact that Antonius was also a defender of Manius Aquilius, a trusted associate of Marius (on whose behalf Marius testified), gave evidence of Antonius and Marius' amiable relationship as well<sup>34</sup>.

Some researchers have suspected that it was thanks to his agreement with Marius that in 97 BC Antonius achieved another career success – together with

<sup>25</sup> Broughton 1951, 574–576 (the sources). See also: Van Ooteghem 1963, 232–253; Kildahl 1968, 128–131; Labitzke 2009, 162–174.

<sup>26</sup> He was thus nominated *in absentia* – according to Broughton (1946, 37, n. 11) there was no legal obstacles preventing such actions.

<sup>27</sup> Badian 1957, 333.

<sup>28</sup> Brunt 1982, 8.

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* P, 2, 680; *Fast. Cap.* (Degrassi) 55f., 128, 478f.; *I. de Délos* 4, 1, 1700; Plin., *NH* 8, 19; App., *B.C.* 1, 32, 142; Gell. 4, 6, 1–2; Apul., *Apol.* 17; Obseq. 46. See: Klebs 1894., col. 2591; Drumann, Groebe 1899, 44f.

<sup>30</sup> Cic., *Orat.* 2, 48; cf. 2, 265; 3, 10; *de leg. agr.* 2, 14, 31; Val. Max. 8, 1, 3; Obseq. 46. Niccolini 1934, 204–205.

<sup>31</sup> Cic., *Brut.* 168. Gruen 1968b, p. 192f.

<sup>32</sup> Cic., *Orat.* 1, 178; *Off.* 3, 67.

<sup>33</sup> Cic., *Orat.* 2, 89, 107, 124, 164, 167, 197–204; *Off.* 2, 49; *Part.* 104; Val. Max. 8, 5, 2; Apul., *Apol.* 66. Robb 2010, 153.

<sup>34</sup> Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5, 3; *Flac.* 98; *Orat.* 2, 124; 188; 194–196; *Off.* 2, 50; *Brut.* 222; Liv., *Per.* 70; Quint., *Inst.* 2, 15, 7; Apul., *Apol.* 66. More about cooperation of Marius and Antonius Orator see: Badian 1957, 331–336; Kallet-Marx 1990, 135f. Cf.: Gruen (1965, 67) and Brunt (1988, 376) who believe that there is no sufficient source bases to talk about cooperation of Marius and Antonius.

L. Valerius Flaccus he reached the censorship<sup>35</sup>. It was suggested that initially Marius wanted to acquire this position for himself, but he was afraid his candidacy would be blocked by enemies and agreed on supporting allied people. Antonius was a good candidate, since – although probably allied to Marius – he still maintained good relations with his opponents in the Senate, including, first and foremost, Metellan *factio*. On the censorship of Antonius almost no information have survived<sup>36</sup>. However, there are reasons to believe that censors, when drawing up *lustrum*, registered as citizens of Rome many of the Latin and Etruscan allies of Marius, what would place Antonius among supporters of the extension of civil rights to Italics<sup>37</sup>. Antonius' sentiments are confirmed in 90 BC, in one of the trials *ex lege Varia*, directed against those *quae iubebat quaeri quorum dolo malo socii ad arma ire coacti essent (whose intent enabled the allies to pick up their weapons on Rome)*<sup>38</sup>. It is possible that Orator was even convicted in this process and forced to withdraw from public life – as indicated by his absence in Rome (and Italy?) during the war of Rome with its allies<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Badian 1957, 333; Idem 1958, 212f.; Evans 1994, 128, n. 136.

<sup>36</sup> *Fast. Cap.* (Degrassi) 54f., 128, 478f.; Val. Max. 2, 9, 5; cf. Cic., *Orat.* 3, 10; Ascon., *In Scaur.* 18 and 22C.

<sup>37</sup> According to Gruen (1966, 40), there is no direct evidence of such sentiments on Antonius' part. However, according to Badian (1957, 333), voted in 95 BC (and therefore immediately after censorship of Antonius and Flaccus) the *lex Licinia Mucia*, which referred to criminal court judging aliens falsely identifying themselves as Roman citizens, can attest to the fact that censors of 97 year subscribed to the list of citizens in a number of allies. See also Konrad 2006, 177. Cf. Gabba 1952, 362f.

<sup>38</sup> Val. Max. 8, 6, 4. Kołodko 2012, 208. On accusation of Antonius see: Cic., *Brut.* 304; *Tusc.* 2, 57 and Alexander 1990, 108. On *lex Varia* and *ex lege Varia* trials see: Gruen 1965, 59–73; Seager 1967, 37–43; Badian 1969, 447–449; Kołodko 2012, 207–219.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Gruen (1965, 68) and Seager (1967, 43), who believe that Antonius was acquitted in the process; state that his presence in Rome in 87 BC attests to their belief. Cicero clearly indicates, however, that Antonius was absent in Rome in 90 BC (*Brut.* 304: *Erat Hortensius in bello primo anno miles, altero tribunus militum, legatus Sulpicius; aberat etiam M. Antonius*), and despite what Gruen writes, there is no indication in Cicero's work's context that Antonius took part in the war with the allies at the time. Gruen is also not able to convincingly explain why Appian, who included in his work a list of legates fighting in the social war, omitted Antonius' name (see App., *B.C.* 1, 40, 179f.). To depreciate sources of an Alexandrian historian due to an incomplete list of legates seems to be unconvincing at best, as it seems doubtful that Appian would simply discard the name of the former consul and censor among the detailed enumeration of the legates. Furthermore, it should be noted that there is no mention of Antonius' name in any of the sources concerning *Bellum Marsicum*. The silence of the ancient authors on Antonius' part in the war with allies is, in my opinion, an indication that he probably never took part in it. Badian voices similar doubts, and additionally suspects Cicero of conscious exclusion of a shameful fact that Antonius was found guilty and sentenced in the trial of *ex lege Varia*. The penalty of exile for Antonius is, however, according to this researcher *unlikely*, and the reason for his absence in Rome (stressed by Cicero) is, he believes, impossible to establish. See Badian 1969, 457. At the same time, the researcher withdrew from its earlier views on Antonius Orator's engagement in the war with the allies (cf. Badian 1957, 341).

Until the early eighties Antonius' name disappears from the sources. There is, however, no doubt that his connections with Marius – as in the case of several other prominent members of the Senate, who have supported him – clearly loosened up<sup>40</sup>. It is not known how he acted during Sulla's attack on Rome. We do not know whether he supported Sulla – it can be inferred from the presence of Antonius' younger son, Caius, alongside the future dictator. Caius Antonius, the future consul of 63 BC, was at the time in Greece, where he remained until after Sulla's return to Italy in 83 BC<sup>41</sup>. But whether C. Antonius left Italy with Sulla in 88 BC, or whether he fled later in fear of Marian persecution cannot be resolved. After Sulla's departure to the East, M. Antonius Orator remained in Rome, and along with the majority of senators supported consul Octavius. In the course of military action against Cinna and Marius, along with two Catus, Orator received a task from the Senate to reach out to Metellus, who at the time was staying near Rome, and summon him to help against aggressors<sup>42</sup>. There are also preserved accounts of Orator urging both sides to lay down their arms<sup>43</sup>. Antonius' activity demonstrates how important his role in the ranks of the Senate was. He represented the peace option, seeking consensus and bloodless solution to the conflict.

After Cinna and Marius' conquest of Rome in 87 BC, Antonius became a victim of a bloodbath arranged by the victors<sup>44</sup>. Orator's death was very vividly described by the authors of antiquity – according to Plutarch the order to kill Orator was given by Marius himself, while the one who carried out the execution was a military tribune P. Annius, who was said to later deliver the speaker's head into the hands of his chief<sup>45</sup>. Motives to kill Antonius, however, are puzzling. Perhaps his death was an act of Marius' personal revenge on a former ally, perhaps a punishment for active work against him. It also cannot be ruled out that Antonius' death was demanded by Marius' allies, for example, Cn. Papirius Carbo, who held an important position in Marian faction<sup>46</sup>, and whose father – as already mentioned – Antonius successfully accused of being responsible for the defeat at the battle with the Cimbri.

<sup>40</sup> Badian 1958, 231.

<sup>41</sup> Broughton 1952, 61f. and 93.

<sup>42</sup> Gran. Lic. 35, 19. Bennett 1923, 16.

<sup>43</sup> *Commenta Bernensia* 2, 121. Keaveney 2005, 53.

<sup>44</sup> Broughton 1952, 46 (the sources). See also: Carney 1970, 65–68; Seager 1994, 178; Lovano 2002, 48f.

<sup>45</sup> Plut., *Mar.* 44, 1–4. See also: Cic., *Phil.* I, 34; *Orat.* 3, 10; *Tusc.* 5, 55; *Scaur.* 2, 2 with Ascon. p. 39Sq; *Flor.* 2, 9, 14; *Val. Max.* 8, 9, 2; 9, 2, 2; *App., B.C.* 1, 72, 333–335; *Vell.* 2, 22, 3; *Luc.* 2, 121–124.

<sup>46</sup> Konrad 1994, 78.

Marcus Antonius Orator reached the highest of Roman offices – the consulate, censorship, and celebrated a triumph – as well as undoubtedly strengthened political position of his own clan. He never abandoned familial connections, although there is little preserved information in the sources on this subject. We do not even know, who the wife of the speaker was. It is certain, however, that the first wife of Antonius' eldest son, Marcus Antonius (Creticus), was Numitoria<sup>47</sup>, a woman from a Latin city of Fregellae, a daughter of a local traitor Numitorius, who in 125 BC surrendered his city to the Romans<sup>48</sup>. One can only guess that this marriage was contracted before Antonius Orator became a consul, and perhaps even before his praetorship. It is difficult to believe that Numitoria was a good match for a son of a man of consular or praetorian rank. Antonius Creticus' second wife was Iulia, the daughter of Lucius Iulius Caesar, consul of 90 BC, a woman of strong character and good reputation<sup>49</sup>. It is not certain when the relationship of Antonius and Iulia began. Badian suspects it must have occurred in the second half of the nineties<sup>50</sup>, but the marriage could as well be contracted in the mid-eighties – the first son of Marcus and Iulia, Marcus (triumvir) was born probably on 14 January 83 BC<sup>51</sup>. Alliance with the patrician *gens Iulia* was an important step elevating the prestige of the *gens Antonia* on the political scene<sup>52</sup>.

Antonia, abducted by Cilician pirates and exempted after paying ransom, is frequently quoted among the ancestors of M. Antony (triumvir). Plutarch, while describing this story, wrote she was a *daughter of Antonius, a man who had celebrated a triumph*<sup>53</sup>. She is, therefore, generally identified as a daughter of M. Antonius Orator, who was the only of triumvir's ancestors to receive this honor, and as such – Mark Antony's aunt<sup>54</sup>. Recently, however, researchers – using, among others, Cicero's excerpt from the speech *de lege Manilia*<sup>55</sup> – convincingly prove that said Antonia should be identified with the daughter of M. Antonius Creticus and his second wife, Iulia. Therefore,

<sup>47</sup> Cic., *Phil.* 3, 17. Münzer 1937, col. 1406.

<sup>48</sup> Münzer 1937, col. 1405; Brunt 1988, 97.

<sup>49</sup> Plut., *Ant.* 2, 3–4. Huzar 1985, 98.

<sup>50</sup> Badian 1957, 342.

<sup>51</sup> Drumman, Groebe (1899, 46), Weigall (1931, 35) and Southern (2001, 9) are in favour of 83 BC. Lindsay (1936, 1), reports that Mark Antony was born on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 82 or 81 BC; Huzar (1978, 22) is more inclined to date his birth in either 83 or 82 BC.

<sup>52</sup> The *gens Iulia* had deep, patrician roots and while until the 1<sup>st</sup> century it remained in the shadow of other large, aristocratic families, the clan began to gain importance at that time. See: Syme 1939, 25; Goldsworthy 2006, 31ff.; Badian 2009, 11–22.

<sup>53</sup> Plut., *Pomp.* 24, 6 (trans. B. Perrin).

<sup>54</sup> Souza de 2008, 130; Brennan 2000, 434; Geelhaar 2002, 114.

<sup>55</sup> Cic., *Leg. Man.* 33.

she might have been M. Antony's younger sister<sup>56</sup> and possibly the wife of P. Vatinius<sup>57</sup>.

After Antonius Orator's death, the *gens Antonia*, deprived of their leader, weakened. His sons were too young to start a political career, and although it cannot be ruled out that Marcus remained in Rome<sup>58</sup>, there is a strong suggestion that he, too, left Italia and took part in the war against Mithridates VI Eupator at Sulla's side, to return later with the future dictator and fight in the Civil War<sup>59</sup>. In any case, not all of Antonia lineage were persecuted by the Cinnans. A member of the *gens Antonia* secondary line, Q. Antonius Balbus<sup>60</sup>, reached the praetorship (probably in 83 BC or earlier)<sup>61</sup>. Acquiring such a high office attests to the fact that Antonius Balbus had not only sat in the Senate, but also played an important role in the Cinnan camp. As propraetor, he received in 82 BC the governorship of Sardinia province<sup>62</sup>. Sending him to Sardinia, at a time when Sulla was already in Italy and marched on Rome, may indicate that – like Q. Sertorius – he did not agree with the way Marius the Younger and Carbon waged war, and might be a supporter of reaching a compromise with Sulla<sup>63</sup>. At the end of 82 BC, Antonius was dislodged from Sardinia by the legate of Sulla, L. Marcus Philippus, and killed<sup>64</sup>.

Another, similar to *populares*, member of the *gens Antonia* was Marcus (or Manius) Antonius, also of a secondary line of the *gens Antonia* (perhaps related to Balbus). In the early seventies, he supported Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and after the defeat of the revolt, he joined along with Marcus Perperna an anti-Sullan rebellion of Sertorius in Spain. Abovementioned Antonius took later an active part in the assassination of Sertorius<sup>65</sup>. Since the pretext feast, during which Sertorius was killed, was organized to celebrate alleged great victory over the Sullans<sup>66</sup>, Antonius' participation may suggest that he held a military function at the former praetor Perperna's side, he was – perhaps – one of his legates.

<sup>56</sup> D'Arms 2003, 36, n. 15; Tansey 2010, 656–658.

<sup>57</sup> Schol. Bob. 149St. See also Drumann, Groebe 1899, 390.

<sup>58</sup> Badian 1962, 52.

<sup>59</sup> Evidenced by the high position of M. Antonius Creticus in the seventies in the Sullan camp. Arguments for the fact that the older of the Orator's sons also left Italia with Sulla, see Keaveney 1984, 126f.

<sup>60</sup> Klebs 1894, col. 2615. Spann suggests that he was Antonius Orator's kin (maybe his nephew, and *cognomen* might have been used ironically). See Spann 1987, 174.

<sup>61</sup> Liv., *Per.* 86. Broughton 1986, 20; Lovano 2002, 93. Cf. Val. Max. 7, 6, 4. Crawford 1974, 79, 379; Brennan 2000, 748, 912, n. 298.

<sup>62</sup> Jashemski 1950, 120; Broughton 1952, 67; Idem 1986, 20.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Ładoń 2011, 42.

<sup>64</sup> Liv., *Per.* 86. Badian 1964, 100, n. 79; Brennan 2000, 481; Lovano 2002, p. 93.

<sup>65</sup> Diod. 37, 22a; Sall., *Hist.* 3, 83M; Liv., *Per.* 96; Plut., *Sert.* 26. See Spann 1987, 171. Cf. Konrad 1987, 522, n. 11.

<sup>66</sup> Plut., *Sert.* 26, 3. Ładoń 2004, 75.

After Sulla's victory, in the years of Sullan restoration on Roman political scene, Antonius Orator's sons, Marcus and Caius, began to play an increasingly important role. Virtually nothing is known of Marcus' (*the son of a famous father and the father of a famous son*<sup>67</sup>) career until his praetorship in 74 BC and receiving the *imperium infinitum*, almost certainly *pro consule*, with a directive to combat piracy in the Mediterranean<sup>68</sup>. In the first year of work, he focused on securing the communication route to Spain, where Marian renegade, Q. Sertorius, led heavy war against the Sullans<sup>69</sup>. He succeeded, which resulted in extending his tenure in the coming years. In 73 BC, activities of Marcus Antonius focused on Sicily<sup>70</sup>, and in 72 BC turned against pirate bases on the island of Crete. There, he suffered a defeat and, soon after, died without returning to Rome<sup>71</sup>.

Thanks to the inscription discovered in Gytheum<sup>72</sup>, six names of Antonius' commissioners, who accompanied him in action on the Mediterranean Sea, are known. They were: Q. Ancharius, P. Autronius, Fulvius, C. Gallius, C. Iulius (Caesar?) and L. Marcilius. Attempts to identify them were made, and almost certainly C. Iulius, whose name appears on inscriptions, is the future dictator<sup>73</sup>. It is believed that his service under the leadership of Antonius Creticus could have a significant impact on his future relations with Mark Antony (triumvir), for Caesar had respect for the commanders, under whom he served<sup>74</sup>. Ancharius is perhaps the tribune of the Plebs of 59 BC and triumvirs' opponent<sup>75</sup>. Autronius and probably Fulvius are Catilina's supporters<sup>76</sup>. Of other legates – nothing is known. The names of identified legates indicate what political circles supported the *gens Antonia*, but, of course, Caesar's presence in the *propraetor* camp is especially noteworthy.

But let us return to the triumvir's father. Marcus Antonius went down in history as Creticus, and modern scholars generally believe that this *cognomen*

<sup>67</sup> Linderski 1990, 157.

<sup>68</sup> Broughton 1952, 101f., 108 n.2, 111, 117; Ormerod 1924, 224ff.; Maroti 1971, 259–272; Brennan 2000, 406–407.

<sup>69</sup> On M. Antonius' activity on Iberian and Ligurian coasts see Sall., *Hist.* III, 5–6M. On the Sertorian war: Greenidge, Clay 1986, 228–267 (the sources); Schulten 1926, 57–137; Garcia Morá 1991; Ladoń 2011, 53–123.

<sup>70</sup> Cic., *Div. in Caec.* 55; 2 *Verr.* 3, 213–216. Souza de 2008, 175f.

<sup>71</sup> Broughton 1952, 123.

<sup>72</sup> *SIG<sup>2</sup>* 748. See Santangelo 2009, 361–366.

<sup>73</sup> Broughton 1948, 64. Cf. Osgood, 2010, p. 328, n. 32.

<sup>74</sup> Broughton 1948, 63–67.

<sup>75</sup> Broughton 1948, 66; Niccolini 1934, 279–285; Rogosz 2004, 348.

<sup>76</sup> Broughton 1948, 66.

was ironic, mocking and was aimed at emphasizing his failure<sup>77</sup>. Recently, however, a closer examination of the sources allows the conclusion that Antonius' mission on Crete was not wholly unsuccessful – on the contrary, he has achieved some successes that justify his nickname. His *cognomen* was either an initiative of his soldiers, or *familiares*, who wanted to honor Antonius after his death. The nickname was never approved by the Senate, as it could only be done by granting Antonius a triumph, and because of his untimely death, this case probably never became the subject of the Senate's meeting<sup>78</sup>.

Another of Marcus Antonius Orator's sons, Caius, as already mentioned, was in Greece at the side of Sulla during the first war with Mithridates. He has been accused of abuse of power, for which the representatives of Greek cities prosecuted him before a court in Rome in 76 BC. The prosecution was supported by young C. Iulius Caesar, who admittedly won the case but never managed to harm Caius in any way, as he went under the protection of tribunes of the Plebs<sup>79</sup>. Causes of tribunes' support of Antonius' cause could be rather diverse – maybe people close to the *gens Antonia* were among their ranks, but bribery also cannot be excluded. However, it seems that the main reason for the release of C. Antonius was due to the high position that the *gens Antonia* obtained in Sullan faction during Sullan restoration, and large influence of its members. What proves this supposition is selection of M. Antonius (Creticus) as a praetor in subsequent years and giving him an important commanding role. More interesting is the question of Caesar's prosecution of C. Antonius, especially since two years later he appeared – as already mentioned – in M. Antonius Creticus' camp during the war with the pirates. Broughton suggests that the attack was apparently quickly forgotten and forgiven, especially that C. Antonius escaped punishment<sup>80</sup>. It is also possible that Caesar's participation in the trial, in which the Greeks apparently had little chance of getting any compensation, was not a personal attack on Antonius but rather – often practiced by young Romans – a way of gaining experience in the courts.

Importance of the *gens Antonia* in the country diminished again at the end of the seventies. What caused such tendencies was, on the one hand, death of M. Antonius Creticus, on the other – the Senate purges, which in 70 BC were arranged by

<sup>77</sup> Linderski 1990, 157. See also Idem 2007, 632–633.

<sup>78</sup> Linderski 1990, p. 157–164.

<sup>79</sup> Cic., *Tog. Cand.* fr. 2; Q. Cic., *Comm. Pet.* 8; Asc. 84, 87C; Quint., *Inst.* 12.6.1, 12.7.3, 4; Plut., *Caes.* 4.1; Juv. 8.105. Rogosz 1992, 29–31; Kondratieff 2009, 352, n. 140.

<sup>80</sup> Broughton 1948, 66.

censors Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius Publicola<sup>81</sup>. As a result, sixty-four senators were deleted from the Senate list, among them C. Antonius and P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, who after Antonius Creticus' death married Iulia, thus becoming Mark Antony's stepfather<sup>82</sup>. Some researchers believe that the purge of the Senate was initiated by *populares* cooperating with Cn. Pompeius, and the main goal was to eliminate a large part of Sulla's supporters in the Senate<sup>83</sup>.

The role of the *gens Antonia* in the sixties is perceptible only through the activity of C. Antonius Hybrida. Apparently, he gave up Sullan ranks and allied himself with *populares*, who at the time were restoring their position in the country. It seems evident by his election for tribune of the Plebs in the year 68 BC<sup>84</sup>. In subsequent years, C. Antonius, in cooperation with *populares*, succeeded even further by achieving praetorship in 66 BC<sup>85</sup> (that probably resulted in the restoration of C. Antonius in the Roman Senate<sup>86</sup>), and then in 63 BC – consulate<sup>87</sup>. In 65 BC, Antonius Hybrida gave up *ex praetura* of the province, he was entitled to and travelled East to serve Pompeius as a legate<sup>88</sup>, probably lured by the promise of wealth. He was famous for extravagance, which, on the one hand, guaranteed a lot of publicity and support among the people of Rome, but, on the other, got him into debt<sup>89</sup>. It was probably one of the reasons why Antonius established contacts with L. Sergius Catilina<sup>90</sup>. Not without significance is also a fact that already mentioned Mark Antony's (triumvir) stepfather – P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura<sup>91</sup> – was among the conspirators of Catilina's circle. However, while Lentulus supported Catilina to the end, a sentiment for which he paid with his

<sup>81</sup> Cic., *Cluent.* 117–134; Sall., *Hist.* 4, 52M; Liv., *Per.* 98; Ascon. 84 C; Plut., *Cic.* 17, 1; Cass. Dio 37, 30, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Plut., *Ant.* 2. Lindsay 1936, 16f.

<sup>83</sup> Rogosz 1992, 107; Ładoń 2010, 130.

<sup>84</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 589. Antonius' tribunate is dated with some difficulty. Ross Taylor (1941, 121, n. 32), Broughton (1952, 141, n. 8) and Syme (1963, 55–60) date it to 68 BC. Niccolini (1934, 247–250) to 70 BC, Rotondi (1962, 368) to 71 BC and Mattingly (1997, 68–78) to 72 BC.

<sup>85</sup> Cic., *Tog. Cand.* fr. 5, in Ascon. 85C and fr. 26 in Ascon. 92–93C; Cic., *Mur.* 40; Q. Cic., *Comm. Pet.* 8; Val. Max. 2, 4, 5; Plin., *NH* 33, 53. See also Brennan 2000, 450.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cic.* 17. It can not be ruled out that Antonius Hybrida returned to the Senate earlier, as early as 68 BC, after reaching the tribune of the Plebs rank.

<sup>87</sup> Broughton 2000, 165f. (the sources).

<sup>88</sup> Q. Cic., *Comm. Pet.* 8. See: Broughton 1952, 160 and 161, n. 4; Brennan 2000, 400.

<sup>89</sup> Shatzman 1975, 295.

<sup>90</sup> Plut., *Cic.* 12, 3. On Antonius and Catilina's cooperation see Linderski 1966, 122f.

<sup>91</sup> Perhaps it is at that time, when the marriage between the daughter of C. Antonius, Antonia, and M. Antony (triumvir) was decided in order to strengthen their ties. See: Plut., *Ant.* 9. Both of them were indeed cousins, but even the marriage between close relatives were not uncommon in the Late Republic. Such dating of the marriage is approved by, for instance, Southern (2001, 18). Most researchers, however, date Antony and Antonia's marriage to subsequent years, e.g. Huzar 1978, 25.

life, Antonius at Cicero's prompting<sup>92</sup> loosened his ties with conspiracy. After the joint victory in the consular elections of 63 BC, the great orator, realizing Antonius' commitment to Catilina's side, bribed another consul with the promise of wavering on his behalf the governorship of the rich province of Macedonia, which he had obtained during the draw even before he took consul office<sup>93</sup>. Due to that fact Antonius, during his tenure as a consul, never crossed Cicero's during his fight against the conspiracy, and even sent an army against the rebel to Etruria, though – under the pretext of being ill – never took part in the decisive battle of Pistoria, as he delegated the command of the army to one of his legates, M. Petreius<sup>94</sup>.

After his tenure as a consul, under an agreement with Cicero, C. Antonius took governorship in Macedonia. He was then covered with infamy, shamelessly plundering the province, for which, after his return to Rome, he was tried and – despite Cicero's defense – exiled to Kefallinia Island<sup>95</sup>. It is known that he was in Rome at the beginning of 44 BC<sup>96</sup>, which attests to the fact that he was eventually recalled from exile, though no details on this issue are known. It cannot be ruled out that a decision to summon C. Antonius was made by Caesar on M. Antony's behalf<sup>97</sup>.

The basis for assessing the role played by the *gens Antonia* in the already declining Republic, should be the scale of actions members of the family took in various aspects of state activity. The assessment should not be affected by the fact that only five Antonii of this period are known to scholars – Antony's (triumvir) ancestors, including his father and grandfather. They were part of the most elite groups of the government of that time. Two of these Antonii (Orator and Hybrida) were elected to the highest office in the country (and Orator, succeeded in obtaining even more honorable censorship), two other (Creticus and Balbus) were praetors. Undoubtedly, everyone acted in a broader political configuration, had their supporters, influenced decisions taken by the Senate and actively participated in political life.

While analyzing actions taken by *gens Antonia*, it may be concluded that they were supporters of the *optimates*, although Antonius Orator had more moder-

<sup>92</sup> Cicero cooperated with Antonius Hybrida as early as 66 BC, during praetorian election. See: Cic., *Tog. Cand.* fr. 5, in Ascon. 85C and fr. 26 in Ascon. 92–93C; Q. Cic., *Comm. Pet.* 8.

<sup>93</sup> Cic., *Pis.* 5; *Fam.* 5, 5 and cf. 5, 2, 3; Sall., *Cat.* 26, 4; Plut., *Cic.* 12, 4; Cass. Dio 37, 33, 4. Smith 1966, 98; Pianko 1973, 143; Kumaniecki 1989, 169.

<sup>94</sup> Sall., *Cat.* 57–61; Liv., *Per.* 103; Val. Max. 2, 8, 7; Plut., *Cic.* 22, 5; Flor. 2, 12, 11–12; Cass. Dio 37, 39–40; Eutrop. 6, 15. Sumner 1963, 215–219.

<sup>95</sup> Broughton 1952, 175f., 180, 184; Idem 1986, 18. About the trial of C. Antonius see: Gruen 1973, 301–310; Lintott 2008, 168.

<sup>96</sup> Cic., *Phil.* 2, 99.

<sup>97</sup> Epstein 1987, 122.

ate views and even an episodic rapprochement with *populares*. Nevertheless, at the outbreak of the First Civil War, Orator supported Sulla, and his sons – Antonius Creticus and Antonius Hybrida – after dictator’s death, have both occupied important positions in the Sullan faction. In the sixties, the *gens Antonia* distanced themselves from Sulla’s supporters and approached L. Sergius Catilina’s faction, who planned a coup. C. Antonius Hybrida was least favoring the conspiracy, and one of its participants, sentenced to death in the process of Catilina’s supporters, was P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, M. Antony’s (triumvir) stepfather.

The *gens Antonia* played an important role during the final years of the Republic also in the military. Four out of five known Antonii received a significant commanding role in the army, the Orator and Creticus fought, among others, the pirates, Balbus managed Sardinia, and Hybrida, Macedonia. Nothing is known about the activities of M. Antonius participating in the Sertorian rebellion, although it is very probable that he served a military function at the time. Of all of Antony’s (triumvir) ancestors most appreciated were Orator’s military achievements, who was granted a triumph for his military success.

T. Antonius Merenda (Xvir. 451)

Q. Antonius Marenda (tr. mil. cons. pot. 422)

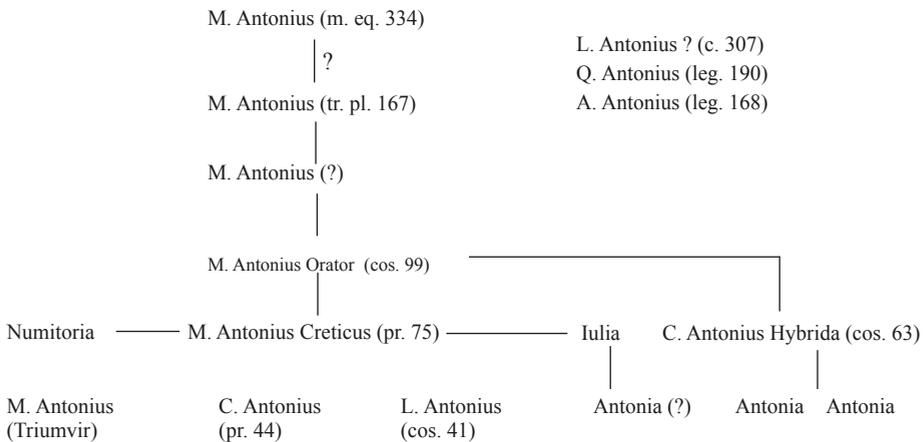


Fig. 1.

Family tree of the *gens Antonia*

## Streszczenie

### Przodkowie Marka Antoniusza. Uwagi o roli *gens Antonia* w schyłkowym okresie Republiki

Podstawą oceny roli, jaką *gens Antonia* odegrała w Rzymie w okresie schyłkowej Republiki była dla autora artykułu skala działań podejmowanych przez poszczególnych członków owego rodu w różnych aspektach działalności publicznej. Na ocenę nie wpłynął fakt, że w omawianym okresie znanych jest jedynie pięciu Antoniuszów – przodków Antoniusza Triumwira, w tym jego ojciec i dziadek. Stanowili oni bowiem w większości elitę ówczesnej władzy. Dwóch z owych Antoniuszów (Orator i Hybryda) osiągnęli najwyższy urząd w państwie (w tym Orator pełnił jeszcze zaszczytną cenzurę), dwóch kolejnych (Kretyk i Balbus) osiągnęli preturę. Wszyscy działali w szerszej konfiguracji politycznej, mieli swoich popleczników, wpływali na decyzje podejmowane przez senat i aktywnie uczestniczyli w życiu politycznym.

Analizując działania podejmowane przez Antoniuszów, autor artykułu wysnuł wniosek, że byli oni zwolennikami optymatów, choć w przypadku Antoniusza Oratora można mówić bardziej o poglądach umiarkowanych, a nawet okresowym zbliżeniu z popularami. W momencie wybuchu pierwszej wojny domowej Orator poparł jednak Sullę, synowie Oratora – Antoniusz Kretyk i Antoniusz Hybryda – po śmierci dyktatora zajmowali zaś istotną pozycję w obozie sullańczyków. W latach sześćdziesiątych Antoniusze oddalili się jednak od sullańczyków i zbliżyli do L. Sergiusza Katyliny planującego zamach stanu. G. Antoniusz Hybryda co najmniej sprzyjał spiskowcom, a uczestnikiem spisku, skazanym na śmierć w procesie katylinarczyków był P. Korneliusz Lentulus Sura, ojczym M. Antoniusza (Triumwira).

Ważną rolę w okresie schyłkowej Republiki odegrali członkowie *gens Antonia* także w działalności wojskowej. Czterej spośród pięciu znanych Antoniuszów otrzymało ważne dowództwo, przy czym Orator i Kretyk walczyli między innymi z piratami, Balbus zarządzał Sycylią, Hybryda zaś Macedonią. Nic nie wiadomo o działalności M. Antoniusza uczestniczącego w rebelii sertoriańskiej, choć jest bardzo prawdopodobne, że i on pełnił jakąś funkcję wojskową. Spośród wszystkich przodków Antoniusza Triumwira najbardziej zostały docenione sukcesy wojskowe Oratora, który celebrował za nie triumf.

