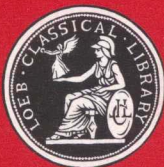


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CICERO
ORATIONS

PRO SESTIO
IN VATINIUM



Translated by
R. GARDNER

CICERO

PRO SESTIO
IN LATINUM

江苏工业学院图书馆

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

R. GARDNER

藏书章



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PREFACE

MANY years ago I accepted an invitation from the Editors of the Loeb Classical Library to revise and complete the five speeches of Cicero now comprised in two volumes, a work which had been left unfinished by their contributor, the late J. H. Freese, M.A., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master at Repton School and at St. Paul's School. His earlier contribution to the Loeb Library was a volume published in 1930 which contained Cicero's speeches *Pro P. Quinctio*, *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*, *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, and *De lege agraria*, i-iii.

I regret that the completion of this task has been gravely interrupted and delayed by the claims of administrative work and other duties. It is, however, possible that some advantage may have been gained by this delay. Within the last generation scholars have assiduously investigated the wealth of literary evidence that has made political and prosopographical studies of the late Roman Republic so profitable a field of inquiry. Their labours have thrown new light upon some aspects of the setting and the subject-matter of Cicero's speeches. To these recent re-
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searches and, no less, to those of earlier date, I have been under a constant obligation. The Bibliography which will be found on pp. 353-360 is, naturally, far from exhaustive ; it is no more than a list of such books and articles as have been found useful in the preparation of these volumes, and may indicate the amount of work which has been done in this field. My chief debt is to those annotated editions without whose aid I could have done nothing. Over seventy years have passed since two of them were published : J. S. Reid's edition of the *Pro Balbo* appeared in 1878, H. A. Holden's edition of the *Pro Sestio* in 1883. Two are more recent. In 1924 H. E. Butler and M. Cary published their edition of the *De provinciis consularibus*, and L. G. Pocock's edition of the *In Vatinius* is dated to 1926. The most recent commentary on the *Pro Caelio* is Professor R. G. Austin's revision (1952) of his earlier work (1933). For the guidance and help which I have received from this indispensable work I am obviously indebted and I am deeply grateful.

I have departed but rarely from the text used by the original translator, the Teubner edition (1904) by C. F. W. Müller, and then only to adopt suggestions by editors of the annotated editions. Müller's text has now been superseded by the Teubner edition of 1919 by A. Klotz and F. Schöll.

In any assessment of the qualities of the Ciceronian corpus these five speeches, taken as a whole, must be judged worthy of a high place. They not only vividly illustrate some of those literary qualities which

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link Cicero with Virgil as the most influential of the Romans, but they also illuminate many aspects of Cicero's amazing versatility as an orator. The *Pro Sestio* and the *In Vatinius*, with the *Pro Caelio* presenting some tantalizing glimpses of late Republican society, are a contemporary source of great value for the history of the short but crowded interlude between the bloodless revolution of 59 B.C. and the Conference of Luca. The *De provinciis consularibus* and the *Pro Balbo*, expressions of Cicero's loss of political independence, show how effectively the opposition to the coalition of Pompey, Caesar and Crassus had been paralysed, and almost point the way to the great laws of 55 B.C., the *lex Pompeia Licinia* and the *lex Trebonia*, which set up armed *principes* in control of the State.

The matter supplementary to the text and translation has been provided, possibly at the cost of treading paths already well worn, in an attempt to expound the historical setting of these speeches, to discuss some topics arising from their subject-matter, and to comment on those abundant references to earlier periods of Roman History which enhance the value of Cicero's work.

R. GARDNER

EMMANUEL COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE
6 January 1958

TABLE OF EVENTS IN ROMAN POLITICS FROM 60 B.C. TO 56 B.C.^a

^a Where chronology is precise, we are indebted, first and foremost, to Cicero's *Letters*, and, to a lesser degree, to the speeches delivered by him in 57 and 56 B.C. In general, the sequence of events in the years from 60 to 56 B.C. can be determined with fair accuracy, except where the sources are either silent or conflicting or variously interpreted. For a most helpful table of dates see R. G. Nisbet's edition of Cicero, *De domo sua*, pp. xxxv-xxxvii.

60 B.C.

Consuls : Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer and L. Afranius

Early
months.

Political deadlock arising from the Senate's refusal to ratify Pompey's settlement of the Near East and to allot lands to his veterans, and from Cato's opposition to a proposal to revise a tax-contract for the province of Asia.

P. Clodius, desirous of becoming tribune, plans to have himself declared a plebeian, a move successfully opposed by the consul Q. Metellus.

June.

Caesar returns from his propraetorship in Further Spain. He abandons his claim to a triumph and appears as a candidate for the consulship. The Senate assign the province of *silvae callesque* (forests and stock-routes) for the prospective consuls of 59.

July.

Caesar enters into negotiations with Pompey leading to the coalition known as "The First Triumvirate." Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus elected consuls for 59.

December.

Cicero, approached by Caesar's agent L. Cornelius Balbus, refuses to support Caesar's agrarian bill and so to enter into political partnership with him. Crassus enlisted by Caesar as a third partner in the Triumvirate.

TABLE OF EVENTS IN ROMAN POLITICS

59 B.C.

Consuls : C. Iulius Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus

Caesar's first agrarian bill is passed by unconstitutional and violent methods, the Senate having refused to discuss it. Caesar reveals his coalition with Pompey and Crassus, disregards tribunes' vetoes and drives from the Forum his colleague Bibulus and other opponents. Bibulus, having withdrawn to his house, gives notice that he is " watching the heavens " and publishes edicts against Caesar.

From
January to
the end of
April.

Cicero criticizes the illegalities of Caesar and his partners in his unsuccessful defence of C. Antonius (consul 63 and proconsul of Macedonia 62-60) when prosecuted by M. Caelius Rufus, probably for *maiestas*. On the same day P. Clodius is transferred to plebeian status by the *comitia curiata*, under the presidency of Caesar as consul and Pontifex Maximus, and with the approval of Pompey as an augur.

Death of Q. Metellus Celer, proconsul-designate of Transalpine Gaul, and husband of Clodia, sister of P. Clodius.

Confirmation, probably by a *lex Vatinia*, of Pompey's settlement of the Near East.

Revision, probably by a *lex Vatinia*, of the tax-contract for the province of Asia.

Recognition, by a decree of the Senate and a law, of Ptolemy Auletes as King of Egypt.

Promulgation of the *lex Iulia de agro Campano*.

Marriage of Pompey and Julia, daughter of Caesar.

Before
10 May.
May.

Passing of the *lex Iulia de agro Campano*.

A *lex Vatinia* gives Caesar the provinces of Cis-alpine Gaul and Illyricum.

May (or
June).

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- June (or July). A decree of the Senate gives Caesar the province of Transalpine Gaul.
- June and July. Unpopularity of the Triumvirate : demonstrations at public festivals, *e.g.* at the Ludi Apollinares (6-13 July) ; the *affaire* Vettius.
- July. L. Antistius, P. Clodius, Sex. Aelius Ligus, L. Ninnius Quadratus, among others, elected tribunes for 58.
Clodius begins openly to threaten Cicero.
- 25 July. Pompey publicly protests against the edicts of Bibulus.
- 18 October. L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius elected consuls for 58. Among the praetors elected are L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Flavius, C. Memmius.
- November. Acquittal of L. Flaccus (praetor 63 and propraeor of Asia 62) on a charge of *repetundae*, defended by Hortensius and Cicero.
- 10 December. P. Clodius enters tribunate.

58 B.C.

Consuls : L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius

- Early in the year. Attacks on Caesar by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Memmius, praetors, and by L. Antistius, tribune.
- 3 January. P. Clodius promulgates and soon passes laws *de censoria notione, de legibus Aelia et Fufia, frumentaria, de collegiis*.
- February. P. Clodius promulgates laws *de capite civis Romani, de provinciis, de Cypro*.

TABLE OF EVENTS IN ROMAN POLITICS

Cicero leaves Rome. Laws <i>de capite civis</i> and <i>de provinciis</i> passed.	About 20 March.
Cicero's house on the Palatine destroyed.	
Law <i>de Cypro</i> passed. Caesar leaves for Gaul.	March.
Clodius promulgates law <i>de exsilio Ciceronis</i> .	About 25 March.
Clodius promulgates law <i>de Catone</i> .	April.
Clodius promulgates law <i>de exsilio Ciceronis</i> in revised form.	3 April.
Laws <i>de exsilio Ciceronis</i> and <i>de Catone</i> passed.	24 April.
Cato leaves for Cyprus.	Soon afterwards.
Outbreak of feud between Pompey and Clodius, who contrives the release, from custody as a hostage, of an Armenian prince, Tigranes the younger.	April or May.
Pompey begins to urge the recall of Cicero. Clodius at feud with the consul Gabinius.	May.
Proposal for Cicero's recall made in the Senate by L. Ninnius Quadratus vetoed by Sex. Aelius Ligus.	1 June.
The College of Augurs having declared illegal Clodius' election as tribune, Clodius attacks Caesar's <i>acta</i> as consul.	? July (or later in the year).
P. Lentulus Spinther and Q. Metellus Nepos elected consuls for 57.	? late July.
Attempt by Clodius to intimidate, or to assassinate, Pompey, who withdraws from public life till the end of Clodius' tribunate.	11 August.
Sex. Aelius Ligus vetoes a bill for Cicero's recall promulgated by eight tribunes.	29 October.
The consuls leave for their provinces : Piso for Macedonia, Gabinius for Syria.	Before the end of the year.

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Before 10
December.

P. Sestius, tribune-elect, visits Caesar in Cisalpine Gaul to intercede for Cicero.

57 B.C.

Consuls : P. Lentulus Spinther and Q. Metellus Nepos. Praetorship of Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of P. Clodius. Among the tribunes are P. Sestius, T. Annius Milo, Sex. Atilius Serranus, Numerius Quintus Rufus, Q. Fabricius, T. Fadius.

1 January. Sex. Atilius Serranus obstructs a proposal for Cicero's recall made in the Senate by the consul P. Lentulus.

23 January. Q. Fabricius prevented from submitting a bill for Cicero's recall, a meeting of the Assembly being broken up by Clodius' *operae* and by gladiators supplied by his brother, Appius Claudius, *praetor urbanus*.

Later. P. Sestius attacked in the Temple of Castor and wounded by Clodius' *operae*.

Early in the year. Clodius begins a candidature for the aedileship.

February. Failure of a first attempt by T. Annius Milo to prosecute Clodius *de vi*.

From February to July. Milo and Sestius, with *operae* and gladiators, engage in faction fights against Clodius.

Between 1 June and end July. The Senate pass a series of decrees in favour of Cicero.

End July. The Senate pass by 416 votes to 1 a proposal of P. Lentulus Spinther for the recall of Cicero.

4 August. The *comitia centuriata* sanction Cicero's recall.

4 September. Cicero returns to Rome.

5 September. Cicero delivers speech *Post reditum in senatu*.

TABLE OF EVENTS IN ROMAN POLITICS

Cicero delivers speech <i>Post reditum ad Quirites</i> .	5 September (or later).
The Senate, on the proposal of Cicero, sponsor a consular law appointing Pompey corn-controller for five years with proconsular <i>imperium</i> and fifteen legates.	6 or 7 September.
Cicero delivers speech <i>De domo sua ad pontifices</i> . Clodius' consecration of the site of Cicero's house on the Palatine declared invalid.	29 September.
The Senate order compensation to Cicero for the destruction of his town and country houses.	2 October.
Cicero, by removing from the Capitol the tablets recording the <i>acta</i> of Clodius' tribunate, displeases Cato.	? October.
Cicero proposes <i>supplicatio</i> of fifteen days for Caesar's Gallic victories of 58 and 57.	? October.
Clodius attacks the houses of M. and Q. Cicero.	3 November.
Clodius attacks Cicero's escort in <i>via sacra</i> .	11 November.
Clodius driven from an assault on Milo's house.	12 November.
The Senate debate Clodius' recent acts of violence. Milo begins a second attempt to prosecute Clodius <i>de vi</i> and, to prevent his election as an aedile, gives notice of an intention "to watch the skies."	14 November.
Milo obstructs election of aediles by <i>obnuntiatio</i> .	20 November.
C. Cato and P. Rutilius Lupus enter tribunate.	10 December.
P. Rutilius Lupus raises in the Senate the question of the <i>ager Campanus</i> .	Mid-December.
Ptolemy Auletes, expelled from Alexandria (end 58 ?), arrives in Rome to intrigue for his restoration by Pompey.	? Summer.

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Later. Arrival in Rome of a large deputation from Alexandria, led by Dio, to protest against the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes.

Before end of the year. The Senate decree that P. Lentulus Spinther, pro-consul-elect of Cilicia, shall restore Ptolemy.

56 B.C.

*Consuls : Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and
L. Marcius Philippus*

Before 13 January. The statue of Juppiter on the Alban Mount struck by lightning. The keepers of the Sibylline Books, consulted as to expiation, announce an oracle forbidding the restoration of an Egyptian king "with a multitude." The Senate reconsider their decree commissioning P. Lentulus Spinther to restore Ptolemy and decide that Roman intervention in Egypt shall not be military.

13 and 15 January. Indecisive debates in the Senate on the proposed restoration of Ptolemy.

20 January. Clodius elected aedile.

Early in the year. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a candidate for the consulship of 55, announces that if elected he will as consul take steps to deprive Caesar of his provinces.

2 February. Clodius begins prosecution of Milo *de vi*, before the Assembly.

6 February. Adjournment of Milo's trial. Pompey speaks in support of him amid uproar from Clodius' *operae*. Clodius attacks Pompey as corn-controller and presses Crassus' claims to restore Ptolemy.

8 February. Pompey, attacked in the Senate by a tribune C. Cato, accuses Crassus of plotting his murder.

TABLE OF EVENTS IN ROMAN POLITICS

Trial of P. Sestius, defended by Cicero and others, when prosecuted by Cn. Neri^{us} *de ambitu* and by P. Tullius Albinovanus *de vi*. 10 February to 11 March.

Cicero successfully defends L. Calpurnius Bestia when prosecuted *de ambitu* by M. Caelius Rufus. 11 February.

Unanimous acquittal of Sestius. 11 March.

Acquittal of Sextus Clodius, prosecuted by Milo at Pompey's instance. End of March.

Cicero successfully defends P. Asicius, accused of murdering Dio, leader of the deputation of Alexandrians sent to protest against the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes. Before beginning of April.

Cicero successfully defends M. Caelius Rufus when prosecuted (3-4 April) by L. Sempronius Atratinus. 4 April.

The Senate vote a grant of 40,000,000 sesterces to Pompey as corn-controller, and approve Cicero's proposal for a debate *de agro Campano* at a full meeting on 15 May. 5 April.

Crassus at once leaves Rome and meets Caesar at Ravenna.

Cicero leaves Rome for a tour of his country houses, intending to return on 6 May. 8 April.

Pompey leaves Rome for a port of embarkation (Pisae or Labro) for corn-control business in Sardinia and Africa. 11 April.

Pompey reaches Pisae where he is joined by Caesar and Crassus. ? 16 April.

Conference of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus at Luca, after which Caesar returns to Gaul and Pompey sails to Sardinia where he plans, through Q. Cicero and

CICERO

L. Vibullius Rufus, to dissuade Cicero from making his motion *de agro Campano* before his own return.

6 May.

Date of Cicero's proposed return to Rome from a tour of his country houses.

Soon afterwards.

Cicero, informed of Pompey's representations, sends him the letter described as *παλινοδία* in *Epp. ad Att.* iv. 5. 1.

15 and 16 May.

Meetings of the Senate. No debate *de agro Campano*. The Senate refuse a *supplicatio* for Gabinus' victories in Syria.

? May (or September).

Cicero delivers in the Senate his speech *De haruspicum responsis*.

Late May or early June.

On Cicero's proposal, the Senate pass decrees authorizing pay for Caesar's four new legions and assigning him *decem legati*.

Late June or early July.

Cicero's speech in the Senate *De provinciis consularibus*.

July.

Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus, consul, refuses to accept the candidatures of Pompey and Crassus for the consulship of 55.

July to December.

C. Cato, tribune, in the employment of Pompey and Crassus, maintains his veto on the election of curule magistrates.

Late summer or autumn.

Cicero successfully defends L. Cornelius Balbus when prosecuted by an unknown Gaditane in respect of the citizenship conferred on him by Pompey under the *lex Gellia Cornelia* (72 B.C.).

Autumn.

M. Cato returns from Cyprus.

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