

## Speak Your Mind: The Symbolism of Seeing, Knowing, and Speaking in *Catilinam I*

Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*,

*Omnis homines qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus summa ope niti decet ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius [esse] videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere, et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere; nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.*

All humans who strive to surpass other animals must push themselves with their best effort so that they do not go through life in oblivion like cattle, which nature has determined to be hunched over and obedient to their stomach. But all of our power has been situated in the mind and body; we use the mind for command and the body for servitude; the one is shared with the gods, the other is shared with beasts. Therefore, it seems to me more appropriate to seek glory by the works of intellect than the works of strength, and since the very life that we enjoy is brief, to make our memory as great as possible; for the glory of riches and fame is loose and fragile, but excellence is regarded as bright and eternal.

### SEEING

Active Uses	1. non vides? <sup>1</sup> 21. quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. 26. quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis!	1. Does Catiline see? intended answer: no 21. "could have seen" but clearly Catiline did not see the knights and people 26. Catiline will be so happy when he will see not even one good man
Passive Uses	14. ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut extitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. 15 ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! 18. "Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum." 19. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicavit? 23. ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. 27. "ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur?"	14. so that such a crime does not seem to have happened unpunished here 15. assassination attempts seemed inescapable, but Cicero escaped them 18. no plot against the state seems to be able to happen without Catiline 19. how far from prison does one seem who judges himself worthy of custody? 23. [Catiline should join the wicked men] so that he does not seem cast out by Cicero but invited to go to his men 27. "[do you let Catiline leave, Cicero,] so he seems not cast out but let in?"

Active Uses	2. Consul videt.	2. Cicero sees everything happening
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<sup>1</sup> Latin text from the latest Teubner edition: T. Maslowski. 2003. *M. Tullius Cicero: Fasc. 17 Orationes in L. Catilinam Quattuor*. München und Leipzig: K. G. Saur Verlag GmbH. Glosses are based on my own translations.

	<p>8. Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod &lt;non&gt; ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.</p> <p>8. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam qui tecum una fuerunt.</p> <p>9. Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo et quos ferro trucidari oportebat eos nondum voce volnero!</p> <p>11. quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam.</p> <p>17. et si me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem</p> <p>22. tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis,</p>	<p>8. There's nothing Catiline does which Cicero does not see.</p> <p>8. Cicero sees fellow conspirators there in the senate</p> <p>9. Cicero sees and interrogates fellow conspirators</p> <p>11. Cicero was seeing his own ruin as detrimental to the <i>res publica</i></p> <p>17. if Cicero would have seen the citizens suspect him as they do Catiline (implying Catiline doesn't see)</p> <p>22. Cicero sees that Catiline has set his mind on exile now</p>
Passive Uses	<p>4. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri</p> <p>16. non ut odio permotus esse videar</p>	<p>4. Cicero does not want to seem negligent of his duties</p> <p>16. so that Cicero does not seem moved by hatred</p>

Table 3: <i>video</i> & Other Individuals		
Senators	2. Nos autem fortes viri satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.	2. We brave men seem to do enough for the <i>res publica</i> if we avoid Catiline's rage and weapons
Opimius	4. Decrevit quondam senatus uti L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit;	4. Cicero's noble Roman <i>exemplum</i> was decreed to see to it that the <i>res publica</i> take no harm.
Senators	30. Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminet non videant aut ea quae vident dissimulent.	30. Some senators do not see these imminent things or, seeing them, don't recognize them
Anyone	30. Nunc intellego, si iste quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum qui non fateatur.	30. If Catiline goes to the camp, no one would be so foolish as to not see it as a conspiracy.
Romans	31. Hic si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae.	31. If Catiline were taken away, we will perhaps seem relieved from concern and fear for a short time.
Feverish Men	31. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflctantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.	31. Like feverish men seem relieved at first when they drink cold water.
Senators	32. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem ut Catilinae profectio omnia patefacta, inlustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.	32. Cicero promises the senators that they will see everything revealed, illuminated, crushed, and punished when Catiline leaves

KNOWING

Table 4: <i>cogito, intellego, puto, agnosco, comperio, scio, and sentio</i> & Catiline		
Active Uses	1. Patere tua consilia non sentis, constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vides?	1. Does Catiline not perceive? [intended answer: no]

	<p>6. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, specularunt atque custodient.</p> <p>8. cum tu te Praeneste Kal. ipsis Nov. occupatum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam?</p> <p>8. Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas quod &lt;non&gt; ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.</p> <p>8. iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae.</p> <p>14. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum quas omnis impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties:</p> <p>15. cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat te prid. Kal. Ian. Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo, manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse, sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum sed fortunam populi Romani obtitisse?</p> <p>16. tamen ea carere diutius non potes. quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.</p> <p>16. Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas?</p> <p>17. tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas quorum mentis sensusque volneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare?</p> <p>17. Nunc te patria quae communis est parens omnium nostrum odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare:</p> <p>19. A quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum, demigrasti quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti.</p> <p>20. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut intellegas quid hi de te sentiant.</p> <p>22. te ut ulla res frangat, tu ut umquam te corrigas, tu ut ullam fugam meditere, tu ut ullum exilium cogites?</p> <p>26. Habes ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties.</p> <p>32. sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque quid de re publica sentiat.</p>	<p>6. Catiline did not detect the eyes and ears observing him</p> <p>8. Was Catiline aware that Praeneste was garrisoned on Cicero's orders? [Cicero suggests not since he supposedly attempted an attack anyway.]</p> <p>8. There is nothing Catiline thinks about which Cicero does not detect.</p> <p>8. Now (and only now) will Catiline know how fiercely Cicero defends the Republic.</p> <p>14. Catiline will detect his ruin on the coming Ides.</p> <p>15. [Does Catiline have any pleasure] while he knows that no one does not know about his assassination attempt?</p> <p>16. Catiline thinks his dagger must be buried in a consul's body.</p> <p>16. What does Catiline think about the fact that the former consuls left his side when he arrived?</p> <p>17. Does Catiline, knowing that the hatred against him is justified, avoid others' presence? [Answer: no, leaving the question of whether he does know]</p> <p>17. Catiline thinks about nothing but the destruction of his fatherland.</p> <p>19. Catiline must have thought Metellus, his crony (<i>sodalis</i>), was a good man. [Cicero's point is that he in fact is not a good man so Catiline thought wrong or simply lied for convenience.]</p> <p>20. Cicero will ensure that Catiline knows how the Senate feels about him.</p> <p>22. Would Catiline ever consider any exile?</p> <p>26. Catiline will soon realize that his endurance for hunger, cold, and lacking necessities has destroyed him.</p> <p>32. Let it be inscribed on each man's forehead how Catiline feels about the Republic.</p>
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<b>Table 5: <i>intellego, puto, scio, comperio, nescio, and sentio</i> &amp; Cicero</b>		
Active Uses	<p>8. Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod &lt;non&gt; ego non modo audiam sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.</p> <p>16. Tamen ea carere diutius non potes. quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.</p>	<p>8. There is nothing Catiline does which Cicero does not detect.</p> <p>16. Cicero does not know by what rites Catiline thinks his dagger must be buried in the body of a consul.</p>

	<p>17. Servi me hercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem:</p> <p>24. Quamquam quid ego te invitam, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati, a quo sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem, a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam?</p> <p>27. Tunc eum quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem coniurationis, evocantem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe sed immissus in urbem esse videatur?</p> <p>29. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem.</p> <p>30. Nunc intellego, si iste quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum qui non fateatur.</p> <p>30. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse.</p> <p>31. Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempore erupit.</p>	<p>17. Cicero would think about abandoning his house if his slaves feared him as the citizens fear Catiline.</p> <p>24. Cicero already knows (<i>sciam</i> x3) what Catiline has been doing to prepare his conquest.</p> <p>27. Does Cicero intend to let Catiline leave whom he learned is an enemy and realizes is the source of wickedness?</p> <p>29. Cicero has always thought that doing an unpopular act out of virtue is honor and not unpopularity.</p> <p>30. Cicero knows that if Catiline joins Manlius, no one will not see that the conspiracy is happening.</p> <p>30. Cicero knows that killing Catiline will not permanently end the conspiracy.</p> <p>31. Idiomatic use meaning something like “by chance.”</p>
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<b>Table 6: <i>cogito, nescio, and sentio</i> &amp; Other Individuals</b>		
Conspirators	9. Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero...qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent.	9. There are men present who think about the destruction of the state!
Anyone	15. cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat te pridie Kal. Ian. Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo, manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse, sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse?	15. No one does not know about Catiline’s assassination attempt.
Senators	20. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam, ut intellegas, quid hi de te sentiant.	20. Cicero will ensure that Catiline knows how the Senate feels about him.
Patriots	29. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum qui hoc idem sentiunt mentibus pauca respondebo.	29. Cicero will answer those men who feel the same was as the Republic.
Senators	30. qui spem Catilinae mollibus sentiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt.	30. [There are senators] who embolden Catiline with their timid opinions and disbelief in the conspiracy.

**SPEAKING**

<b>Table 7: dico &amp; Catiline</b>		
Active Uses	<p>7. Num infitiari potes te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu discessu ceterorum nostra tamen qui remansissemus, caede te contentum esse dicebas?</p> <p>9. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina, distribuisti partes Italiae, statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem.</p> <p>20. “ad senatum”; id enim postulas et, si hic ordo placere sibi decreverit te ire in exilium, optemperatum te esse dicis.</p> <p>23. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exilium:</p>	<p>7. Catiline cannot deny that Cicero’s guards and precautions stopped his plans and that he used to say that he was content with the slaughter of those left behind in the city.</p> <p>9. Catiline stationed and designated men for their roles in the conspiracy, but said that he needed a little more time since Cicero was yet alive.</p> <p>20. “To the senate” Catiline demands, and if they order him into exile, he says he will obey.</p> <p>23. If Catiline wants to cause unpopularity for Cicero, his enemy, as he calls him, he should go straight into exile.</p>

<b>Table 8: dico, loquor, and iubeo &amp; Cicero</b>		
Active Uses	<p>3. nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.</p> <p>5. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat.</p> <p>7. Meministine me a.d. XII Kal. Nov. dicere in senatu fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset a.d. VI Kal. Nov., C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae?</p> <p>7. Dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optumatum contulisse in a.d. V Kal. Nov., tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt.</p> <p>8. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios--non agam obscure--in M. Laecae domum;</p> <p>10. domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi, exclusi eos quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.</p> <p>12. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus;</p> <p>13. Num dubitas id me imperante facere quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium? non iubeo sed, si me consulis, suadeo.</p> <p>16. Sic enim iam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur.</p>	<p>3. Cicero says that the consuls are lacking.</p> <p>5. If Cicero orders that Catiline be killed, someone may say he acted too cruelly.</p> <p>7. Cicero claims that he predicted Manlius’s and Catiline’s actions when he spoke on October 21.</p> <p>7. Cicero also said Catiline was going to make attempts on the lives of leading men, but luckily they fled in order to thwart his plans.</p> <p>8. Cicero tells how Catiline made an attempt on his life.</p> <p>10. Cicero fortified his home and kept out those whom he had already foretold to many would come at that time.</p> <p>12. If Cicero will order that Catiline be killed, his band of conspirators will remain [implying immediate action from Cicero’s word alone].</p> <p>13. Surely Catiline does not hesitate to do what Cicero orders when he was going to do on his own. The consul orders the enemy to leave the city. If Catiline asks, Cicero does not order it, but advises it.</p> <p>16. Now Cicero will speak to be seen as moved not by justified hatred but by undeserved pity.</p>

	<p>19. Haec si tecum ita ut dixi patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit?</p> <p>21. At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo iure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset.</p> <p>22. Quamquam quid loquor?</p> <p>23. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium:</p> <p>27. Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecet, percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate.</p> <p>27. Nonne hunc in vincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis?</p> <p>32. Qua re secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis;</p>	<p>19. If the fatherland spoke as Cicero spoke, shouldn't it be done even if it cannot force it?</p> <p>21. If Cicero had said this (i.e. to leave the city in exile) to an honorable man, the senate would have attacked him [suggesting that Cicero knows the implications of his commands for both his addressee and himself].</p> <p>22. Cicero asks why he says this [since Catiline is supposedly resolved already].</p> <p>23. Cicero claims he has said it often enough, and that if Catiline wants to stir unpopularity for Cicero, he should go straight into exile.</p> <p>27. Now Cicero will speak against a seemingly justified complaint against him from the fatherland itself.</p> <p>27. The Republic asks Cicero whether he will order Catiline to imprisonment and death.</p> <p>32. Let the immoral men, as Cicero has said many times now, separate themselves from good men with the city wall.</p>
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**Table 9: dico, loquor, and revoco & Other Individuals**

Someone	5. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat.	5. If Cicero orders that Catiline be killed, someone may say he acted too cruelly.
Republic	18. Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur:	18. The Republic, although silent, speaks to Catiline.
Republic	19. Haec si tecum ita ut dixi patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit?	19. If the fatherland spoke as Cicero spoke, shouldn't it be done even if it cannot force it?
Senators	20. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicias?	20. Why is Catiline waiting for the senators to speak when he sees their will from their silence?
Virtues	22. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit.	22. Catiline is not the sort of guy whom shame may recall from foulness, whom fear may recall from danger, nor reason may recall from madness.
Republic	27. Etenim, si mecum patria quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica <sic> loquatur:	27. Even if the fatherland, all of Italy, the entire Republic would say:
Bad Men	30. quorum auctoritatem secuti multi non solum improbi verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent.	30. By disbelieving, some senators allow immoral and naïve men to say Cicero acts cruelly and tyrannically.

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