

Two Texts to think with about place, heritage and belonging: Livy and Cicero

<p>Livy's Speech of Camillus: <u>Against moving Rome to Veii</u></p> <p>Author: Livy Date Written: end 1st century BC Date of Events: 387 BC</p> <p>Themes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What will be missed of the city? • What is the meaning / role of physical Rome? • Can Rome still be Rome somewhere else? • Is any place transferable? or is it a site-specific work – which only makes sense in its locality? • Place is rendered as neither fixed nor replicable <p><u>Ancient Setting:</u> Following the siege and Sack of Rome by the Gauls in 387 BC, the Romans return to their destroyed city.</p> <p>They need to make a decision: Do they stay and rebuild? Or Do they move to the nearby town of Veii – which now belongs to them?</p> <p>Camillus – who was living in exile in Ardea returned to help win Rome back from the Gauls. The aim of his speech is to convince the Romans to stay and rebuild Rome and not move to Veii.</p> <p><u>Wider Questions</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is meaning attached to buildings and landscape? • Which elements of the physical environment are made 	<p><u>Livy <i>Ab Urbe Condita - From the Founding of the City</i> Book 5.50 - 55</u></p> <p>Translation and text based on J. Bayet and G. Baillet 1954, <i>Belles Lettres</i>, and B.O. Foster 1924, <i>Loeb</i> editions. <u>Underlined sections</u> are the most relevant.</p> <p>[49]: Line 7 - 8 The dictator (Camillus), having recovered his country from her enemies, returned in triumph to the city; and between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers, was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City. His country, which he had saved in war, he then indubitably saved a second time, now that peace was won, by preventing the migration to Veii: though the tribunes were more zealous for the plan than ever, now that the City lay in ashes, and the plebs were of themselves more inclined to favour it. This was the reason of his not resigning the dictatorship after his triumph, for the senate besought him not to desert the state in its hour of uncertainty.</p> <p>[50] : Lines 1-3 His first act in line with his scrupulous attention to religious obligations, was to lay before the senate those matters relating to the immortal gods, and to obtain the passage of a decree that all shrines... •••</p> <p>It was not until after those measures which concerned the gods, and lay within the competence of the senate, had been enacted that, heeding the importunity of the tribunes, who were urging the plebs unceasingly to quit the ruins and emigrate to a city ready to their hand at Veii, Camillus went up into the assembly, attended by the entire senate and discoursed as follows:</p> <p>[51] Lines 1- 2 “So painful to me, Quirites, are controversies with the tribunes of the plebs, that my most bitter exile knew no other solace but this, all the time that I lived at Ardea, that I was far away from these contentions. And they are likewise the cause that though you had a thousand times recalled me by resolution of the senate and the people’s vote, I intended never to return. Nor have I now been induced to do so by any change in my desires but by the alteration in your fortunes. <u>For the issue was whether my country was to remain in her seat, not whether I was to be in my country at any cost. Even now I would gladly remain quiet and hold my peace, were not this too the battle for my country; whom to fail while life endures is in other men disgraceful, but in Camillus impious.</u></p> <p>3-5 <u>For why did we seek to win her back, why rescue her, when besieged, from the hands of the enemy, if now that she is recovered, we desert her? And although, while the Gauls were victorious and in possession of the entire City, the Capitol nevertheless and the Citadel were held by the gods and men of Rome, and now that the Romans are victorious and the City recovered, are the Citadel and Capitol to be deserted? Shall our prosperity make Rome more desolate than our adversity has done?</u> Indeed, if we had no religious rites established with the founding of the City and by tradition handed down, yet so manifest has at this time the divine purpose been in the affairs of the Romans, that I for one should suppose it no longer possible for men to neglect the worship of the gods. For consider these past few years in order, with their successes and</p>
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<p>meaningful?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what ways is this attached to belonging and identity? • Which parts of the community have less investment in the physical environment? • How do locations of private and public memory differ for the purpose of preservation? • How do stories get overwritten: attached or detached from places and structures? • How are differences between <i>patria</i> (homeland) and <i>urbs</i> (city) negotiated – is it about stories? • Can stories be preserved without built heritage? • How relevant is Yi-Fu Tuan’s remark in <i>Man and Nature</i>: “Myths and legends are created to give credence to the idea that a place - otherwise unremarkable - is the centre of the world.” • How does the built environment interact with the fluid (relational – Massey, Ingold) meaning of place: as a point of meeting, the location of intersections and interrelations of influences and movements? • Does the fluid meaning of place refer to the fluidity of its custodians and audience of the built environment? • Space is not separate from time. Places are not points or areas on maps, but integrations of space and time; as spatio-temporal events. (Massey) • Is there a danger of sites 	<p>reverses; you will find that all things turned out well when we obeyed the gods, and ill when we spurned them.</p> <p>6-7 First of all the war with Veii. How many years we fought, and with what painful exertion! And the end came not, until, admonished by the gods, we drew the water off from the Alban Lake. What I beseech you, of this unparalleled disaster that lately overwhelmed our City? Did it come before we disregarded the voice from heaven announcing the approach of the Gauls? before the law of nations was violated by our envoys? before we, that ought to have punished their fault, had passed it by, with the same indifference towards the gods?</p> <p>8-10 And so it was that, defeated, captured, ransomed, we received such punishment at the hands of gods and men that we were a warning to the whole world. Adversity then turned our thoughts upon religion. <u>We fled for refuge to the Capitol and its gods, to the seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; of our holy things, some, in the ruin of our fortunes, we concealed in the earth, others we removed to neighbouring cities out of sight of our enemies; in the worship of the gods, albeit forsaken of gods and men, yet were we unceasing.</u> Therefore they have restored to us our country again, and victory, and our ancient renown in war that we had forfeited; and against our enemies, who, blinded with greed, broke treaty and troth in the weighing of the gold, have they turned dismay and rout and slaughter.</p> <p>[52] Lines 1-2 “ As you consider these momentous effects upon the affairs of men, of serving or neglecting the gods, do you begin Quirites, to perceive how though yet scarce clear of the wreckage of our former guilt and calamity, we are headed towards a grievous sin? <u>We have a City founded with due observance of auspice and augury; no site in it is not permeated by religion and the gods; for our annual sacrifices, for our annual sacrifices, their places are no less fixed than are their days.</u></p> <p>3-4 <u>Are you, Quirites, going to desert all these gods both of state and family? How far does your action come up to that of the noble youth C. Fabius in the recent siege, which the enemy beheld with no less astonishment and admiration than yourselves, when he descended from the Citadel through the missiles of the Gauls and offered the annual sacrifice of the Fabian clan on the Quirinal Hill? What? Would you suffer no interruption, even in war, of family rites, but desert the public rites and the gods of Rome in time of peace? Would you have the pontiffs and the flamens less careful of the ceremonies of the state religion than a private citizen has been of the anniversary of his clan?</u></p> <p>5-7 <u>Perhaps someone may say that we shall either do these things at Veii, or thence dispatch our priests to Rome to do them;</u> but of these courses neither can be followed without violation of the sacred rites. For not to enumerate all the kinds of rites and all the gods, is it possible at the feast of Jupiter that the couch should be spread elsewhere than in the Capitol? Why need I speak of Vesta’s eternal fires, and the image which is preserved as a pledge of empire in her temple? or of your sacred shields, O Mars Gradivus and Quirinus our Father?</p>
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becoming non-place (Augé)?

Historical Points to Keep in Mind

At the time Livy writes the book 2000 years ago – in Italy:

- There are no regional maps to scale. No way of mapping a community on a 2-dimensional plane.
- There are no physical state borders or passports.
- There are no nation states which have territorial integrity.
- Roman citizenship extends to communities beyond Rome – so Rome is not the home community for all those who have Roman citizenship. Hence Citizenship and territory do not overlap.
- Heritage: A building can still be 'the same' building even if it has been completely rebuilt with new materials and in a new style.

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All these would you leave behind on unconsecrated ground – things coeval with the City, and some more ancient than the City's origin?

8-10

See, too, how great the difference between us and our ancestors. They handed to us certain rites to be solemnized on the Alban Mount and in Lavinium. But if we scrupled to transfer sacred rites from hostile cities to ourselves in Rome, can we shift them without sin from Rome to Veii, city of our enemies? Call to mind, I pray you, how often sacrifices are renewed because some point of antique ritual has been, through carelessness or accident, omitted. What was it, a while ago, after the portent of the Alban Lake, that brought relief to the commonwealth – then in the throes of war with Veii – if not, a renewal of the sacred rites and auspices? But, more than that, like men mindful of their old religious fervour, we have both brought in foreign deities to Rome and established new ones. Queen Juno was lately conveyed from Veii and enshrined on the Aventine, and how notable was that day, for the zeal of the matrons and the throng!

11-12

We ordered a temple to be built for Aius Locutius because of the voice from heaven clearly heard in the Nova Via. We have added to our annual festivals the Capitoline Games, and on the authority of the senate we have established a new college for this purpose. Was there any of these things we needed to have undertaken, if we meant to retire from the city of Rome along with the Gauls; if we remained not voluntarily in the Capitol, through so many months of siege, but constrained by fear of the enemy.

13-14

We talk of sacred rites and temples pray, what about the priests? Do you not realise what sacrilege will be committed? The Vestals surely have but that one abode, from which nothing ever caused them to remove but the capture of the city. The Flamen Dialis may not lie for a single night outside the city without sin. Will you make these priests Veientine instead of Roman? Shall thy Virgins forsake thee, Vesta, and the Flamen, as he dwells abroad, bring night after night, such guilt upon himself and the republic?

15-17

What about the other matters nearly all of which we transact, after taking auspices, within the pomerium? To what oblivion and neglect do we consign them? The curiate comitia which deals with the business of war, the centuriate comitia, where you elect the consuls and military tribunes– where can these be held, with due observance of the auspices, save in the customary places? Shall we transfer them to Veii? Or shall the people, for the sake of the comitia assemble with enormous inconvenience in their City, forsaken of god and man?

[53] Lines 1-2

But you will say 'while it is obvious that everything will be polluted beyond all possibility of purification, yet the situation itself compels us to leave a City devastated by fire, and all in ruins, and migrate to Veii where everything is untouched, nor vex the poverty-stricken plebs with building here.' But that this is rather a pretext than a true reason is, I think apparent to you, Quirites, without my saying so; for you remember how, before the coming of the Gauls, when our roofed (buildings) public and private were unharmed and our City

Tuan, Y.-F. (1971) *Man and Nature*.
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stood uninjured that this same proposal was urged of migrating to Veii.

3-4

And consider, tribunes, how wide is the difference between my view and yours. You believe that even if the emigration was inadvisable then, it is inescapable now; I, on the contrary—and do not be surprised till you understand my meaning—am convinced that even if it was right to consider going while Rome still stood, to abandon her ruins now would be grievously wrong. For then our victory would have been a reason for migrating to a captured city— a reason glorious to ourselves and our posterity; but now such a removal is for us a wretched and humiliating course, and a glory to the Gauls.

5

For we shall be thought not to have left our country as victors, but to have lost it as men vanquished. It will be thought that the rout on the Allia, the capture of the City, the blockade of the Capitol, have compelled us to forsake our family gods, and sentence ourselves to banishment and exile from that place which we were powerless to defend. Have Gauls then been able to destroy Rome; and must Romans appear unable to restore her?

6-7

What more remains except for them to come again with fresh forces--we all know that their numbers surpass belief--and should wish to dwell in this City which they have captured and you have abandoned, but that you should suffer them? What if not the Gauls but your ancient foes the Volsci and Aequi should migrate to Rome? Would you wish them to be Romans and you Veientes? Or would you rather that this were a desert of your own than the city of your enemies? For my part I do not see what could be more abominable. Are you ready to stomach these outrages, these infamies, because it irks you to build?

8 - 9

If in all the City no house could be put up better or bigger than is the famous hut of our Founder would it not be better to live in huts, as shepherds and rustics do, amongst our sacred monuments and our household gods, than go forth as one into exile? Our ancestors, refugees and herdsmen, at a time when there was nothing in this place/region but forests and marshes, built quickly a new City; and are we loath, though Capitol and Citadel are untouched and the temples of the gods are standing, to rebuild what has been destroyed by fire? And what each would have done for himself if his house had been burned, shall we refuse to do together after this common conflagration?

[54] Lines 1-2

Well now, suppose that either through crime or chance a fire should break out in Veii, and that the wind should spread the flames, as may easily happen, until they consume a great part of the city; are we to quit it, and seek out Fidenae or Gabii, or any other city you please, and migrate there? Has the soil of our patria and this land which we call our mother so slight a hold on us? Is our love of patria confined to buildings and rafters?

3

And in truth I will confess to you— though I like not to recall the wrong you did me—that as often, during my absence, as I thought of my country, all these objects came into my mind: the hills and the fields and the Tiber and the

region/landscape familiar to my eyes, and this sky beneath which I had been born and reared. And I wish these things may rather move you with affection, Quirites, to make you abide in your own seat, than afterwards, when you have left it, torment you with vain regrets.

4

Not without cause did gods and men select this place for establishing our City—with its healthful hills; its convenient river, by which crops may be floated down from the midland regions and foreign commodities brought up; its sea, near enough for use, yet not exposing us, by too great propinquity, to peril from foreign fleets, a situation at the center of Italy— a spot/position, in short of a nature uniquely adapted for the expansion of a city.

5

This is proved by the very greatness of so new a city. It is now Quirites in its 365th year. Amongst all these ancient nations you have for so long a time been waging wars; and all this while— to say nothing of single cities—neither the Volsci joined with the Aequi, and all their powerful towns, nor all Etruria, with its enormous strength on land and water, and its hold/occupancy of the entire breadth of Italy from sea to sea, has been a match for you in war.

6-7

Since this is so, what a plague is the reason why you that have experienced these things should experiment with others? Granting that your valour may go elsewhere, yet surely the fortune of this place could not be taken along! Here is the Capitol, where men were told, when of old they discovered there a human head, that in that place should be the head/capital of the world and supreme power/imperium; here, when the Capitol was being cleared with augural rites, Juventas and Terminus, to the vast joy of your fathers, refused to be removed; here are Vesta's fires, here the shields that were sent down from heaven, here are all the gods propitious, if you remain.”

[55] Line 1

The speech of Camillus is said to have moved them, particularly where he touched upon religion; but the doubtful issue was resolved by a word that was let fall in the nick of time. It was while the senate, a little later, was deliberating about these matters in the Curia Hostilia; some cohorts returning from guard-duty were marching through the Forum, and as they came to the Comitium a centurion cried out, “Standard-bearers, fix your standard; it will be best for us to remain here.”

2-5

Hearing this sentence the senators came out from the Curia and shouted their acceptance of the omen, and the commons gathering round them signified approval. The bill was then rejected, and people began in random fashion to rebuild the City. The state supplied tiles, and granted everybody the right to quarry stone and to hew timber where he liked, after giving security for the completion of the structures within that year. In their haste, men were careless about making straight the streets, and paying no attention to their own and others' rights, built on the vacant spaces. This is the reason that the ancient sewers, which were at first conducted through the public ways, at present frequently run under private dwellings, and the plan/appearance of the City resembles one that has been occupied (by settlers) rather than planned.

Cicero's Philosophical Dialogue between Marcus and Atticus

Author: Cicero

Date Written: end 1st century BC

Setting and Overview

Cicero's birthplace of Arpinum some 100 km South-West of Rome.

The conversation takes place between himself and his good friend Atticus, who although Roman-born, lived primarily in Athens.

As the two are walking to the island on the river Fibrenus past the home and landscape of Cicero's childhood, Atticus asks him whether he has one *patria* or two, in Arpinum and Rome.

The answer is not clear cut, as Cicero does not want to choose between places that are both dear to him.

He concludes by referring to Rome as his adoptive *patria*, that holds Arpinum the other *patria* within it.

He specifies that the former is *patria* by law (*iuris*) and the latter by location (*loci*), presumably of birth.

Themes

- Cicero creates a fictional dialogue in which he explores the links between place, citizenship, and belonging as part of a wider discussion on natural law.
- He tries to articulate the meaning of places and memories attached to them – personal and

Cicero's Treatise on Laws - *de Legibus*: Book 2.1–4

Dialogue between two friends Marcus and Atticus

Paragraph 1

Atticus

—Do you feel inclined, since we have had walking enough for the present, and have arrived at a new period of our discussion, to vary our situation. If you do, let us pass over to the island which is surrounded by the Fibrenus, for such, I believe, is the name of the other river, and sit down while we prosecute the remainder of our discourse?

Marcus

—I like your proposal. That is the very spot I generally select when I want a place for undisturbed meditation, or uninterrupted reading or writing

Paragraph 2

Atticus

—In truth, now I am come to this delicious retreat, I cannot see too much of it. Would you believe, that the pleasure I find here makes me almost despise the magnificent villas, the marble pavements, and the sculptured palaces? Who would not smile at the artificial canals which our great folks call their Niles and Euripi, after he had seen these beautiful streams? Just as you referred all things to Nature in our recent conversation on Justice and Law, you seek to preserve her domination, even in those things which are constructed to recreate and amuse the mind. I was therefore most agreeably surprised, since your letters and your verses had led me to expect nothing better in this neighbourhood than hills and rocks, to find it so delightfully ornamented by all the decorations of art. My present wonder is, how, when you retire from Rome, you condescend to rusticate in any other spot.

Paragraph 3

Marcus

—I acknowledge that when I can escape for a few days, especially in this delectable season, I usually come here, on account of the beauty of the scenery, and the salubrity of the air; but these vacations occur not very often. There is one reason, however, why I am so fond of this Arpinum, which does not apply to you.

Atticus

—Prithee, what reason is that?

Marcus

—Because, to confess the truth, it is my native place, and my brother's, for here indeed, descended from a very ancient race, we first saw the day. Here was our altar, here our ancestry, and here still remains many vestiges of our family. Besides, this villa which you behold in its present form, was originally constructed under my father's superintendence; for having very infirm health, he spent the later years of his life here, engaged in literary pursuits. At the time of my birth, my grandfather also lived here, and resided according to the olden custom, in that little villa, like another Curius on his Sabine farm. There is, therefore, an indiscrible sympathy which attaches me to the spot; it pervades my soul and sense with a peculiar fascination, whenever I reside here. Even the wisest Ulysses was not wholly exempt from a similar weakness, for Homer

public.

- He increases the significance of his own private home by connecting it to well known communal stories and myths of home.
- He questions the meaning of monuments over the stories of known people and events that cluster there.
- Home is not used to mean simply or exclusively the place where one is born, nor is there a direct relationship to the citizenship that one holds.
- Memories and attachment to birthplace (Arpinum) are framed differently to Rome (adoptive home). The built heritage only appears in the first one.

tells us that he renounced immortality, that he might once more re-visit his beloved Ithaca.

Paragraph 4

Atticus

—I would not condemn a sentiment which appears so rational; I myself have caught the same infection, and I feel that my love for this house and neighbourhood increases, when I remember that you were born here. I cannot tell you how this affection arises, but certainly we cannot behold, without emotion, the spots where we find traces of those who possess our esteem or admiration. For my own part, if any thing attaches me to Athens, it is not so much the accumulation of a multitude of invaluable antiques, as the remembrance of great men, whom I represent to myself as living, reposing there, and discoursing there. Even their very tombs attract my deepest attention. I therefore leave you to imagine how warm is the affection you have imparted to me for your native country.

Marcus

—That being the case, I am very glad that I have brought you here, and shown you my cradle.

Paragraph 5

Atticus

—And I am still more pleased at having seen it. But what were you going to say just now, when you called this Arpinum the true country of yourself and your brother Quintus? Have you more than one country, or any other than that Roman Commonwealth in which we have a similar interest? In that sense, the true country of the philosophic Cato would not have been Rome, but Tusculum.

Marcus

—In reply to your question, I should say, that Cato, and municipal citizens like him, have two countries, one, that of their birth, and the other, that of their choice. Cato being born at Tusculum, was elected a citizen of Rome, so that a Tusculan by extraction, and a Roman by election, he had, besides his native country, a rightful one. So among your Athenians, before Theseus urged them to quit their rural territories, and assembled them at Athens, those that were natives of Sunium, were reckoned as Sunians and Athenians at the same time. In the same way, we may justly entitle as our country, both the place from where we originated, and that to which we have been associated. It is necessary, however, that we should attach ourselves by a preference of affection to the latter, which, under the name of the Commonwealth, is the common country of us all. For this country it is, that we ought to sacrifice our lives; it is to her that we ought to devote ourselves without reserve; and it is for her that we ought to risk and hazard all our riches and our hopes. Yet this universal patriotism does not prohibit us from preserving a very tender affection for the native soil that was the cradle of our infancy and our youth.

Therefore I will never disown Arpinum as my country, at the same time acknowledging that Rome will always secure my preference, and that Arpinum can only deserve the second place in my heart.

Ancient students in Athens a city of Monuments and Stories

Author: Cicero

Date Written: end 1st century BC

Setting

Cicero, Piso and their friends make their way through Athens pointing out places that move them, evoking stories, both real and mythical.

Themes – as above.

Cicero *On the Ends of Good & Evil - de Finibus bonorum et malorum:*

Book 5

Paragraph 2

Piso remarked 'Should I, he said, 'attribute to instinct or to some kind of illusion the fact that when we see those places in which we are told notable men spent much of their time, we are more powerfully affected than when we hear of the exploits of the men themselves or read something written? This is just what is happening to me now; for I am reminded of Plato who, we are told, was the first to make a practice of holding discussions here. Those gardens of his near by do not merely put me in mind of him; they seem to set the man himself before my very eyes. Speusippus was here; so was Xenocrates; so was his pupil, Polemo, and that very seat which we may view was his.

'Then again, when I looked at our Senate-house (I mean the old building of Hostilius, not this new one; when it was enlarged, it diminished in my estimation), I used to think of Scipio, Cato, Laelius and in particular of my own grandfather.

Such is the power of places to evoke associations; so it is with good reason that they are used as a basis for memory training.

Paragraph 3

'Perfectly true Piso' rejoined Quintus. I myself on the way here just now noticed yonder village of Colonus, and it brought to my imagination Sophocles who resided there, and who is as you know my great admiration and delight. Indeed my memory took me further back; for I had a vision of Oedipus, advancing towards this very spot and asking in those most tender verses, 'What place is this?' a mere fancy no doubt, yet still it affected me strongly.

Cicero *Academica Posteriora 9 (1.3)*

“‘You are right, Varro’, I replied. ‘For in our own city we were like foreigners wandering and drifting but your books brought us home, so that we might recognize who and where we were...’”