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**The Image of Camillus in Livy' Book 5 and 6.  
Values, history, politics**

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*Summary*

The paper examines the presentation of M. Furius Camillus in Livy's book 5 and 6. Camillus is regarded in Roman tradition as the conqueror of Veii, saviour and second founder of Rome. So far, research (Mommsen, Cornell, etc.) has reproduced the lifeless figure of Camillus that is mainly based on the well-known and also above mentioned events from book 5. Most of the special literature omits to make a careful study of book 6, although it contains valuable data on Camillus. One of the aims of the paper was to tinge this simplified, seemingly ideal picture of Camillus by taking into consideration all the elements of the portrait made by Livy. The paper considers the historical context, with the help of which we can find the real historic core of Livy's presentation. The paper reveals the layers of Livy's presentation from inside, relying on so-called categories of values. According to the aims of Roman historiography, Livy always holds the past as a mirror to his contemporaries. This consideration formed the basis for most research on Camillus and also Livy in general, that is searching for the role of Augustus' politics in *ab urbe condita* or, in a narrower sense, in Camillus' presentation. The dissertation adds a new element, Caesar's influence to be considered for a more nuanced image of Camillus.

The paper successfully reveals that Livy deliberately treats book 5 and 6 as a unit and breaks the *pentad – decad* structure assigned to him. Book 5 concentrates mainly on foreign affairs while book 6 deals with domestic affairs. Nevertheless, their structure is symmetrical. The two books are framed by two speeches delivered by Appius Claudius Crassus, to which his opponents, the tribunes' speeches are paired. Appius' two highly effective speeches make use of the argumentative structures presented in Roman rhetorical literature. Camillus' figure was reason and means for this treatment.

The historian may presumably have had access to sources that bore authentic pieces of information about the first third of fourth century. The examination of Livy's text highlights an authentic historical core. It is Camillus who carries out the expansion in South Etruria and benefits from it. In book 5 and 6 Camillus opposes all the attempts trying to solve the problem of land distribution by sharing out the one-time territory of Veii. In Livy's presentation Camillus stands by those who oppose the Licinian proposals. He had held several positions one after the other in the decade before the introduction of the proposals. He persisted in preventing any division of Veii's land. The proposals dealing with the order of position-holding or questions on land were not in his interest, thus we can agree with Martin's remark that Camillus is a consistent representative of the patricians' and his own interests' and therefore he must have been one of the leaders of the group opposing the efforts of the people. This observation opposes the lifeless and idealised image that both ancient tradition and modern research support.

The observation is reinforced by the analysis of value categories. As a general Camillus can be characterised by *consilium, ratio, virtus, fortuna* and *felicitas*. *Moderatio* and *patientia* are his most important features in contrast to his fellow generals. Against the enemy he is a real representative of *fides Romana*. He embodies *pietas*, he is a *diligentissimus cultor*

*religionum*. Word statistics, nevertheless, arouse doubt in connection with this over-idealisation. Camillus is a man of *ira*, he both triggers it and serves as a target for it (e.g. Liv. 5.22.1; 5.26.8; 6.38.5-8). His anger and menaces are most characteristic of his behaviour in connection with booty or the plebs' efforts. Livy did his best to keep Camillus' flaws in the background and using the expression *princeps pace belloque* as if he had forgotten the flaws he tried to put Camillus in the line of those Roman historical figures, who did a lot for the survival of the Roman state both in war and peace.

Besides historical authenticity the source of Camillus' negative characteristics is Caesar's effect. Livy inserts Caesarian traits and references not noticed by research so far into the depiction of Camillus' actions. There are some motifs that are characteristic both of Caesar and Camillus but do not belong closely to the technical side of warfare. Both generals are charismatic leaders. Both Caesar and Camillus prove to be extremely brave. Camillus opposes the *tribuni plebis* several times, he rises to the tribunes' defence twice, true enough, acting in his own interests. Caesar also uses the protection of tribunician power as a pretext to start civil war. The common element is the slightly cynical stress they lay on the protection of tribunician power. Special literature (Hirschfeld, Weinstock, Tränkle) has examined the question of the carriage drawn by white horses most times. Presentation of Camillus evoked Caesar's figure in the mind of contemporaries either because the motif of the carriage drawn by white horses got inserted into the Camillus story in Caesar's age or Caesar used some already existing elements of the Camillus-legend for his own propaganda. Camillus' triumphal procession might have recalled not only the memory of Caesar, but also the triumphal processions of Octavianus-Augustus. Noticing the appearance of Caesarian elements in Octavianus' politics and the growing number of elements of Caesar's „cult” (the temple of Divus Iulius; putting the *clupeus virtutis* in the *Curia Iulia*; the temple of Mars Ultor, etc.) Livy tried to warn the *princeps* with hidden references. When Camillus transgresses certain limits, the same happens to him as to Iulius Caesar, who ignores the norms of the republic. Camillus is expelled, Caesar is murdered after the triumphal procession. Octavianus, whose actions recall numerous positive features of Camillus' (Burck, Martin), has to pay attention not to end like Camillus or, in fact, his adopter.