Ronald T. Ridley

Marcus Furius Camillus, fatalis dux

A DOCUMENTARY STUDY

Studien zur Alten Geschichte

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For Jerzy Linderski, giant among scholars and
wonderful friend,
and to the memory of my first teacher in Roman History,
Max Cary (1881–1958).

'Are great men as a rule ever more than myths,
whether living or dead?' (Ferdinand Gregorovius)

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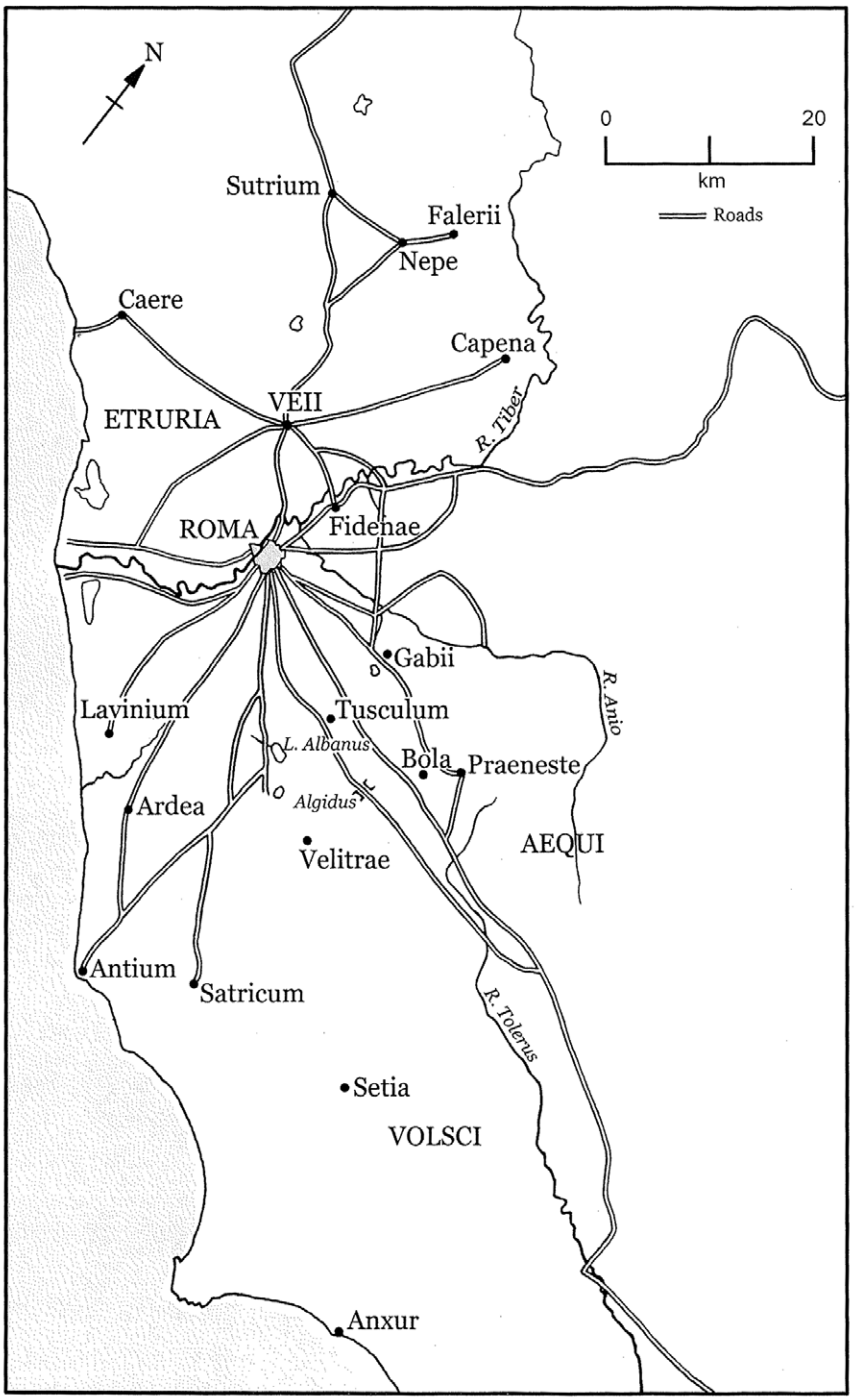
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Foreword and Thanks

Every reader of Livy, or anyone interested in the fascinating early history of Rome (the monarchy and the Republic to c. 300 BC), will be conversant with the towering figure of Camillus, the first individual, it may be argued, in that history, unless some would nominate the sixth king, Servius Tullius. Camillus is found dominant in every field, military, political, and religious, yet a deep shadow is cast over him by the much-trumpeted problems with our sources. Most modern historians have very deep reservations about what can be recovered historically, whether, indeed, he is not a completely fictitious figure. These meditations have been in progress since the Renaissance!

The range of literary sources is daunting, covering all manner of genres. Therein lies the fascination – and also the challenge – since most of the scholars who have assessed Camillus have been basically philologists, not historians. The methods of these two specializations are totally different. I remember as a student of Classics that historical method was never mentioned. We have, in addition, some archaeological evidence. This involves a third entirely separate discipline.

I admit to a fascination with the lives of Romans, although this does not turn out to be a biography! The first (2000) was Carlo Fea (1753–1836), who, although born in Pigna in Liguria, spent almost all his life in Rome; the second (2015) Prince Sigismondo Chigi (1736–1793) – no one could be more Roman than he; the third (2017) Francesco de Ficoroni (1662–1747), born in Labico in Lazio, but, like Fea, coming to Rome at an early age. Now I step back to Roman Republican history, which was my earliest study and the subject of my life's teaching and central research. If anyone were to ask me what is the prime duty of a biographer, I would answer unhesitatingly: to do justice to the subject. One's clear duty is the same whether the subject is a contemporary or a remote figure.[1]

This book represents a variation on the central themes of my last several biographies. The *Prince of antiquarians Francesco de Ficoroni* (2017) was a protest against ignorance and sloth: the appalling neglect of such an outstanding figure of the eighteenth century, apart from the little stated, which was mostly wrong. *Akhenaten, a historian's view* (2019) was a protest against fanatical prejudice, the increasingly extreme indulgence of modern antipathy towards this great figure of three and a half millennia ago, a gross presumption and intrusion. Now with Camillus my aim is to see what can be uncovered which withstands historical scrutiny concerning this figure, nearly two and a half millennia ago, a personality so twisted about for so many purposes, and so frequently enveloped in even more obscurity – even mythology – by modern discussions. In the case of Camillus, as the following chapters will demonstrate, the word

1 And biography is not autobiography, contrary to the belief of so many modern biographers.

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'biography' can hardly be applied to what remains of the sources after the analysis of them. Rather than resulting in a 'biography', the following chapters are, in reality, an exercise in historical method, none the less engaging for all that.

To avoid any confusion arising from the dedication, which might imply that I was a student sometime at the University of London. I am referring, on the contrary, to my first studies of Roman History at a very famous Australian secondary school. When the young teacher (not much older than ourselves, having very recently graduated from university and teachers' college) began to dictate notes to us directly from a very basic American textbook (Caldwell's *Ancient Times*) – there was no discussion of historical questions or problems, no consideration of the primary sources – I realized that this was a road to disaster. I was bold enough to ask him at the end of the first class if there was a modern history of Rome more important than others. He named Cary's history. I rushed to town to buy a copy, from Angus and Robertson in Castlereigh Street. It was the second edition (1954), and cost £ 1.13, when a good weekly wage for an adult was £ 20.[2] On returning home, I instantly sat down to begin to make my own summary from page one to page 783, which took many months. This invaluable exercise was to determine the path of the rest of my life.

It should also be noted that Greeks are Greeks and not Romans, and will be referred to herein as such. Since the Renaissance, when all the main Greek sources were translated into Latin (the lingua franca), Greeks have been romanized. It is time to give them back their true identity. This process was begun, in fact, by our fundamental reference work, Pauly-Wissowa in 1890 – this is, therefore, no modern fad.

The epigraph brings to our attention the profound observation of a true historian, somewhat different to the facile fantasies of recent investigators of the subject of this book.

Two technical notes: The abbreviations of ancient work titles generally follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. To make the text more readable and homogeneous, all quotations from non-English literature are translated.

My thanks, first and foremost, after the lost years all around the world (2020–2021), are to the staff of the University's Baillieu Library, who, during the 'lockdown' posted out to readers needed books. This was an extraordinary service, which allowed research to proceed as far as our own resources provided. The library's interlibrary loans office has also been an unfailing support in my research for the last half century. Above and beyond all that, however, our historical discipline is blessed by a most generous endowment from the late Associate-Professor Kathleen Fitzpatrick (the Pitt Bequest) which allows us to order any volume we lack which can be found in print. Half the bibliography in this book derives from that generosity. My deepest gratitude goes

2 In modern terms, $ 3.30 out of $ 40, about 8 % (the equivalent of thirty-three loaves of bread at the time)!

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to Dr Richard Serle, the Pitt Officer, who has tirelessly ordered under that bequest any volume which I have recommended. We must have the best Camillus collection in the world!

Using every resource at my disposal here in Australia, I was able to gain access by my calculation to about 90 % of the bibliography which I needed. The other 10 %, it transpired, was almost totally to be found in the library of the British School at Rome, where I have been privileged to study on my every research trip from 1971. The famous librarian Valerie Scott retired in 2021; this marks the end of an era. She and her colleagues have always done everything possible to help me. In recognition of the part played by the School in my scholarly life, Thérèse and I have established an annual postgraduate travelling scholarship at the BSR.

The University of Cincinnati sent me on interlibrary loan across the world their copy of a very rare book, Vernole's *Il mito di Camillo*. International collegiality is one of the joys and privileges of an academic life.

Professor Thomas Späth with great generosity gave me two copies of *L'invention des grands hommes de la Republique romaine*, edited by him, one for my personal library, the other for our University library.

Professor Uwe Walter provided the link with Verlag Antike such as most authors only dream of. He has offered constant and generous support in general and in particular. And, of course, thanks to the Editorial Committee which accepted the work for publication. In this connection, warmest thanks are due also to my friends Frederik Vervaet and Sven Günther, who recommended me to Professor Walter. And I must offer long overdue gratitude to my student, now colleague and friend, Dr Christopher Dart, for his supreme skills, always at my service to solve those endless problems with technology.

I confess also a more universal debt. Not the usual listing of endless conferences where the same material has been presented over and over again, eliciting additions and corrections from the audience, but rather to the scholars of all ages whom I have consulted on these matters and who have so often saved me from the most basic errors and omissions, and also crucially suggested new problems to investigate, and old ones to reconsider!

A special debt of gratitude is owed to Dr Claudia Sagona, cartographer extraordinaire, who created for us the essential maps.

My final and most serious thanks go, as always, to Thérèse, not in the usual, canonical form, thanking a spouse for forbearance during a long period of devotion to a subject necessitating neglect of family, but for her great historical understanding and linguistic skills, which I have so often consulted, and her unparalleled acuity as a critical reader.

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1. Sources and Method

Our first task is to set forth the (surprising) wealth of sources which have come down to us on this leading personality of the first half of the fourth century BC. It is extraordinary how long interest was shown in this man. Our main task, however, will be to analyse these sources of so many different dates, genres and purposes, as a first step in our journey to see if there is any evidence which suggests to us that Camillus was a real person, and if so, what can now be said about him, nearly two and a half millennia after his time. That may seem, at first glance, to be an impossible task, but we must remember that we have historical records from Egypt and Mesopotamia going back another two and a half millennia. This is not the universe of the narrow specialist in the Graeco-Roman world, but it is the world of the historian.

1.1 Sources

1.1.1 Contemporaneous sources

We begin with 'contemporaneous' sources – which some will be surprised to hear ever existed. They, in fact, no longer exist, but are referred to by both Greek and Roman sources, so they were still available in their time, and they record them for us, so we can still use them.

There were two **inscriptions** relating to very important events:

1) The dedication at Delphi after the fall of Veii (396). Camillus had vowed a tithe of the booty from Veii to be presented in the form of a gold *krater*. The ship conveying it to Greece was captured by Liparean pirates, but rescued by Timasitheos and finally lodged in the treasury of the Massiliots at Delphi. The krater had survived that grave peril, but was then to fall foul of another. During the Sacred War over control of Delphi (356–347), the Phokian general Onomachos melted the krater down in 353 (DS 14.93.3–5, Livy 5.28.-5, Plut. *Cam*. 7–8, App. *Ital.* 8). The bronze base obviously remained, and on that was the inscription. It presumably stated that this was a thank-offering of the Romans for Apollo's help in the capture of Veii. It may even have mentioned Camillus' name (see next).

2) After the recovery of Rome after the Gallic sack (390) Camillus dedicated three gold bowls to Jupiter on the Capitol. The inscription(s) included his name (Livy 6.4.1–3). If only we knew the full text of the inscription! These bowls survived until the famous and disastrous fire of 83 BC. There is only one problem with this reference. Livy's source specified that the bowls were placed in the *cella* of Jupiter (the central one in the Capitoline temple), 'at the feet of Juno'. This is impossible; for Juno had her own *cella* next to that of Jupiter. The temple was destroyed more than twenty

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years before Livy's birth, so he had never seen the bowls, and he misunderstood his source.[1] That clearly does not, however, invalidate the reference.[2]

There was also a **statue** of Camillus. This is referred to only in passing by none other than Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.23). He describes it as being on the Rostra (the speakers' platform) in the Roman Forum, and remarks that Camillus was not wearing a tunic. It was by implication still there in Pliny's time. He goes on to mention a statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus (cos. 306. 288), by the temple of the Castors, which he specifies as equestrian, and the statues of the three ambassadors murdered at Fidenae in 438. Pliny's note accords closely with that of his contemporary Asconius (3–88), the commentator on Cicero's speeches, who also places Camillus' statue on the Rostra, and also tells us that it was old-fashioned: Camillus is wearing a toga but no tunic underneath (*Scaur*. 29 C). Pliny the Younger in his *Panegyric* of the emperor Trajan (100) gives us an intimation of the inscription, still to be seen. Such statues were set up to celebrate 'outstanding services to the state' (*egregia in rem publicam merita*), and Camillus' statue was for his 'driving the conquering foe from the walls of Rome' (*hostem victorem moenibus depuler[it]*) (*Pan*. 15.6), that is, the expulsion of the Gauls in 390.[3] Camillus' statue in the Forum survived therefore until at least the second century.[4] Camillus was, of course, of equestrian status, and is made much of as a general fighting on horseback by Livy, but Pliny's implication is that his was not an equestrian statue. We would give much to have that likeness, assuming that it was genuine.

Markus Sehlmeyer has published a study of Rome's honorary statues. He is very restrained. He judges it 'too risky' to place much weight on what Pliny and Asconius write, because the tradition on Camillus has been so falsified. This is to confuse two totally different things: a piece of sculpture and the annalistic tradition. He also wishes to associate the statue with the *elogium*, from near the Basilica Aemilia in the Forum. The *elogium* he judges to be Augustan in style (compare that of Valerius Maximus[5] from the same place). In sum, the statue was not contemporaneous; such a commemoration was not to be expected until the legends about Camillus took a 'fixed form', at the *end of the fourth century*. He suggests, in fact, that the end of the fourth century was the date of the earliest honorary statues, as the Conflict of the Orders drew to a close and a new nobility was formed. Camillus'

1 Wilhelm Soltau 1897, 127–128 sought a source for Livy at least before the burning of the temple: Claudius Quadrigarius or Aelius Tubero?

2 For a sound defence, see Oakley 1997–2005, 1.222–223.

3 Münzer 1910, 347 noted the antique style and that Pliny the Younger gives the gist of the inscription. It must have contained Camillus's name. Jocelyn Toynbee 1988 admitted that no Roman historical portraits survive to modern times from any time before the Hannibalic (Second Punic) War: Marcellus and Scipio Africanus.

4 Schwegler 1858, 1.22 gave an impressive list of these statues, but cautioned that not all bore inscriptions and that we do not know their dates.

5 Degrassi no.60.

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grandson (cos. 338) certainly had an equestrian statue in the forum, but it is hardly possible, contra Sehlmeyer, that a man as learned as Pliny the Elder could confuse grandfather and grandson.[6]

1.1.2 Ballads (*carmina*)

The earliest narrative of the deeds of Camillus was without doubt oral: the famous *carmina.* This identification of the earliest sources for Roman history as oral has had a long and contested history. That is paradoxical, since it is universally accepted that Greek history began in this way, and such oral sources are accepted for many other societies. The originator of the 'ballad theory', as the supporters of such oral sources call their views, was claimed by Barthold Georg Niebuhr to be himself – only then he had to admit shamefacedly that he had been anticipated more than a century earlier by Jacob Perizonius.[7] Thomas Babington Macaulay in his *Lays of ancient Rome*, 1842, inspired by Niebuhr, composed his own versions. They did not, as it happens, include any exploits of Camillus. Macaulay's own examples were Horatius and the bridge, the battle of lake Regillus, Verginia, and Pyrrhos, but he also mentioned in his introduction the obvious case of the Fabii at the Cremera. More recently the author of the classic history of the Roman republic, Gaetano De Sanctis, argued in favour of the existence of the ballads, as has Peter Wiseman.[8] De Sanctis recognized that in 390 (see chapter Five), all the legends of 'popular poetry' were present: the Vestals, the aged senators, Fabius Dorsuo's sacrifice, and the 'liberation'.[9]

Contrary to the many sceptics, there has never been any doubt that such Roman sources existed; for, although no examples survive, they are attested by many sources ranging from the second century BC (Cato Censorius) through Varro, Quintilian and Tacitus, to the fourth century (Servius and Charisius). Were all these people

6 Sehlmeyer 1999, 51–52. Stefan Weinstock 1971, 40 stated that it was not likely that a statue was set up to him during his lifetime. Adele Cavallaro 1984, 636 thought Pliny guilty of confusion. Marianne Coudry 2001, 51 accepted a statue in the 'heart of the civic space', which could be late fourth-early third centuries. Uwe Walter 2004, 399 overcomes this by accepting that the Augustan inscription (see below) comes from such a statue, but that it was set up in the Augustan period. He suggests that had Camillus had a statue during the Republic, one would expect Cicero to have mentioned it (*Off.* 1.61) – but there seems no evidence for that.

7 Niebuhr 1827–1828/1854, 1.254; Perizonius 1685, 203–206, who offered virtually no Roman examples! On the neglected genius Perizonius, Ridley 1991; on the ballad theory, 247–254.

8 De Sanctis 1907/1979, 22–25; Wiseman 1998, 1–16, who unfortunately then confused *carmina* with *fabulae*, and still attributes the 'ballad theory' to Niebuhr!

9 De Sanctis 1907/1960, 161–162.

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fantasists?[10] Ethel Steuart provided some strikingly reassuring comparisons: evidence for ballads celebrating Coriolanus (floruit c. 490) (Dionysios 8.62.3) and Atilius Regulus (cos. 267) (Festus 158L): one earlier, one later than Camillus.[11]

Niebuhr indeed assigned a ballad to Camillus:

> 'Thus far we have the simple narrative of the [Veientine] war, as it was given by the Annals. Their account of the capture of the city has been entirely supplanted by a poetical story, belonging to the lay or legend, whatever one may choose to call it, of Camillus; an epic narrative, the features of which are irreconcilable with history, and which extends from this period down to the last victory over the Gauls by the Alban mount [396–367], forming a whole still preserved, at least in substance, under a biographical form in Plutarch.'[12]

De Sanctis also detected a ballad connected with the siege of Veii.[13] There is, indeed, a poem on Camillus in the *Anthologia Latina*.[14] Three of his victories are mentioned (over the Gauls, Falerii, and Veii), clearly not in historical order, but that is precisely the kind of thing that may become muddled in oral sources if there is nothing like metre or rhyme to hold it in place.

According to some, the earliest author to mention Camillus is, reassuringly, a Greek from long before the beginnings of the Roman annalistic tradition (see Fabius, below): the famous **Aristotle** (384–322). In a fragment – the work is unknown – (frag. 610 Rose, *FGH* 840, frag. 23), quoted for us by Plutarch (*Cam*.22.4): the saviour of Rome in 390 was a certain Lucius. This obviously is *not* Camillus![15]

1.1.3 Annals of the pontiffs and the annalists

The earliest historical record in Rome, in the sense that we would recognize it, was the *annales maximi*, a chronicle kept annually by the *pontifex maximus* or chief priest. It is generally accepted that these religious records included the eclipse of 400 (Cic. *rep*.1.25), during Camillus' lifetime.[16] Nothing of them survives in the original form, but they are presumed to form the basis of the chronological framework on which

10 For an example, see below: Valerius Maximus.
11 Steuart 1921.
12 Niebuhr 1827–1828/1854, 2.475.
13 De Sanctis 1907/1960, 143.
14 *Anthologia Latina*, ed. Shackleton-Bailey, Stuttgart 1982; *Carmina in codicibus scripta*, ed. A. Riese, Stuttgart 1879, no. 834 (from a 'recent' Vatican codex).
15 See below, chapter 5.
16 Mazzarino 1961–1965/1994, 2.251 plausibly suggested that the reference to a Lucius as saviour of Rome in 390 was found by Aristotle in these annals.

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the history the Republic still relies: the *fasti* (or calendar) of the eponymous magistrates (usually the two consuls). This survives as the skeleton of the annalists, and is preserved in the lists known by the modern name of the *Fasti Capitolini* (because they are preserved in the Capitoline Museum – and a very impressive monument they are). They are Augustan in date (see below). There is one element in the biography of Camillus which manifestly goes back to the *annales maximi*: the circumstances and date of his death (see chapter Seven).

The earliest annalist was **Fabius Pictor** (floruit 216), who wrote in Greek. We would give anything to have his annals, of which we have only some thirty-two 'fragments' (none mentions Camillus).[17] It is no wonder, then, that very great scholars have tried desperately to restore to us some idea of his account. It was a very widely accepted nineteenth century German theory that his work underlay that of the Greek historian two centuries later, Diodoros of Sicily.[18] Had that been the case, we would have been able, in truth, to reconstruct little of Fabius' annals (see Diodoros below). This theory has now, however, been totally abandoned. We do, however, know that Fabius was a principal source of Polybios in the second century – because he tells us (1.14.1–3, 1.58.2–7, 3.8). Polybios therefore provides a far more fruitful insight into Fabius.

Frank Walbank in his classic commentary on Polybios stated that in 1.18–35, 'the source of most of this is probably Fabius Pictor', and that Pictor 'is likely to have been used for the account of Gallic wars in book 2'.[19] Then Santo Mazzarino suggested that there was a historical debate between the Fabians and the Claudians, the former represented, of course, by Pictor. To mitigate the crime of the Fabian envoys to Clusium, there was the synchronism of the day of the Allia and of the Cremera, as well as the exploit of Fabius Dorsuo.[20] More recently, Marta Sordi has added the *devotio* of the old senators led by a Fabius pontifex. She has also argued that Pictor underlies parts of the Camillan narrative, particularly the details of the dedication of the gold krater at Delphi after the capture of Veii. This is because Pictor himself was an envoy to Delphi in 216 (Livy 23.11.1–6); he is therefore the logical source for the later fate of the dedication there. She adds to this the strange episode of the Alban lake, with the delegation to Delphi and the Veientine seer.[21] It is notorious that the

17 It is striking how few of the preserved fragments of the whole Republican annalistic tradition relate to the early fourth century and the figure who now makes such an impression on us, principally through the pages of Livy, the culmination of that tradition. Those fragments can now be found in fine modern editions: by Hans Beck and Uwe Walter, 2 vols, Stuttgart 2001–2004; Martine Chassignet, 3 vols, Paris 2003–2004; and Timothy Cornell 2013: an embarrassment of riches!

18 Mommsen 1871, 1878 ('Fabius und Diodor'), for example. And see below, on Diodoros himself.

19 Walbank 1957–1979, 1.184, 27.

20 Mazzarino 1961–1965/1994, 2.246–250.

21 Sordi 1984, 83; 1993, 151, 157.

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Fabii had a strong interest in matters Etruscan, illustrated by the events of 478, the traditional annihilation of the clan by the Veientines at the Cremera.[22]

As well as historians in prose, both Greek and Latin, Roman history was also written in verse, by Quintus **Ennius** (239–169). Of the eighteen books of his *Annals* we have more than 600 lines.[23] Several of them refer to the Gallic nocturnal attack on the Capitol (*Ann*. 227–228 Skutsch, Goldberg and Manuwald).[24] This, it must be remembered, is assigned to Book 7, dealing with the Punic wars, so is probably a flashback from the Gallic clashes of 225. Despite the absence in the surviving fragments of any reference to Camillus (an argument from silence, obviously here of especially little value), Otto Hirschfeld suggested that Ennius laid down the 'lasting traits', although they were subjected to much later embellishment. His main evidence for this seems to be that much was modelled on Ennius' friend and patron, Scipio Africanus.[25] Wilhelm Soltau agreed.[26] Otto Skutsch declared, however, that Hirschfeld's theory 'is attractive but far from proven.' On the other hand, Ennius' reference to '*ferro non auro*' as the way to wage war during the conflict with Pyrrhos (*Ann.*185), he argued, could well mean that he knew of the use of this phrase by Camillus in 390 (the same words were a key for Livy 5.49.3).[27] We can only repeat Skutsch's words: 'attractive but far from proven'. More recently Uwe Walter has added fresh argument: Ennius as a poet was more likely in need of a hero.[28]

By the 230s, drama on national topics was flourishing in Rome, the authors of which were people like Naevius. As long ago as 1881, the great specialist in the history of Roman drama, Otto Ribbeck, drew our attention to the fact that Livy had indicated (5.21.9) that the subject for one of these *fabulae praetextatae* (Roman costume dramas) was provided by the fall of Veii.[29] Not that such a play had been written, but that this story was, indeed, suitable for the stage. Ribbeck took Livy at his word: after all, if Ennius could write *The capture of Ambracia*! Attractive elements included the part played by the *fatalis dux*, Pythian Apollo, and Juno of Veii, with the bursting out of the tunnel into her temple, Camillus' ironic calling down on his own head any divine displeasure, and the chorus of young men dressed in white, who

22 Uwe Walter is sceptical about the idea that Fabius wrote much on Camillus, since his Annals were notoriously very full on the earliest history of Rome, then summary until nearer his own times (Dionysios 1.6.2). Is it conceivable, however, that a Fabius would omit reference, for example, to Veii? Camillus would be hard to overlook, but he may have been 'played down'.

23 This is another case where we would give a much to have this source entire.

24 See below, chapter Five.

25 Hirschfeld 1895, 138. On this comparison, see below, 217–218.

26 Soltau 1909, 116, 117, 161.

27 Skutsch 1985, 306, 350. Walter 2004, 387 made much of this argument for Ennius as the earliest source for Camillus.

28 Walter 2004, 387–390, 404.

29 Ribbeck 1881.

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conducted Juno's *evocatio*. This would have been as fine as Ennius' Annals! Alfred Schöne in 1893 supported Ribbeck, devoting most attention to Veii, and stressing Livy's words: it was 'more fit to be displayed on the stage' (*ad ostentationem scaenae… aptiora*: 5.21.9). As a further *fabula* he added the earlier Veientine story, the three hundred Fabii, declared by Dionysios (9.22.3) 'to resemble myths and fictions of the stage'.[30] Wilhelm Soltau, in his study of the beginnings of Roman historiography (1909), provided lists of 'attested *praetextae*'. They included the capture of Veii, the surrender of Falerii, Rome freed from the Gauls, the Nonae Caprotinae, and the fall of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. He ascribed most of them to Ennius.[31] More specifically Soltau suggested that there was clear evidence of Ennius in Livy 5.40.1: the dramatic contrast between the young men going up to the Capitol and the old men remaining behind, and the reference to Rome's power for 360 years (he compares Ennius, *Annals* 154, Skutsch, Goldberg and Manuwald: but that is simply the gap between Ennius and the foundation of Rome!).[32]

The last of the trio of great Greek historians, **Polybios** (200–118) offers more material, although he does not mention Camillus. Polybios is our earliest surviving source on the Gallic sack (2.18.2–3, 2.22.4–5). For his use of Fabius Pictor, see above.

Claudius Quadrigarius (floruit 80s), one of the 'late' annalists, did pay attention to two leading figures of the Gallic sack: Cominius (frag. 4) and Manlius Capitolinus (frags. 7–8, and 9?).'By his day, the tradition concerning the Gallic capture of Rome as found in Livy was largely, if not entirely, well established', was Gary Forsythe's just observation.[33]

When we come to **M. Tullius Cicero** (106–43), the man with a finger in every pie, the situation changes completely. A prime interest for Cicero was, of course, the fact that he also had been exiled.[34] His earliest reference is an extraordinary one: that Camillus had been condemned by the *comitia centuriata*, but was recalled (*Dom*. 86, delivered in the college of pontiffs, 57); this was remembered also in 54: the conqueror of Veii had been exiled (*Rep*. 1.6).[35] Camillus is otherwise most frequently included by Cicero in certain classes: one of ten families who stabilized the state (*Sest*. 143), one of three families of superhuman virtue (*Cael*. 39, both speeches delivered in court in 56); and one of nine triumphators (*Pis*. 58, delivered in the senate in 55). It is notable that Cicero in two of these cases makes wider comparisons with Camillus than any other writer: no doubt he thought that in public speeches, the

30 Schöne 1893.

31 Soltau 1909, 263–264, building on the lists of Schőne; for the list of these five, 121.

32 Soltau 1909, 117.

33 Forsythe 2005, 255.

34 In fact, all Ciceronian references postdate his exile, suggesting that this is what sparked Cicero's interest in Camillus: Walter 2004, 397; Gaertner 2008, 48.

35 On this, see chapter 4.

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more examples one gave, the more convincing one's case was![36] As late as 45, there was a torturous reference to the Gallic sack (*Tusc*. 1.90).[37] And Ammianus Marcellinus (21.16.13), in the fourth century, quotes from a letter of Cicero to Cornelius Nepos on happiness: Camillus in exile was happier than Manlius Capitolinus[38] would have been even if he had obtained complete power (*regnum)*. These manifold references suffice to prove that Camillus was well known to any educated Roman at the end of the Republic. More importantly, he was part of a 'canon' of famous exemplars in various noble connections. It is therefore appropriate to quote the great Ciceronian scholar, Roland Austin. This is 'the regular "saints' gallery" of Roman rhetoric; their names must have worn thin with time, yet we must remember the Roman passion for exempla, "precedents" which made " history" an essential part of rhetoric'.[39] Jan Gaertner added another striking text: the prayer which Cicero says that he uttered as he departed into exile in 58 (*post reditum ad Quirites*, 1), which directly recalls that of Camillus as he left Rome in 391.[40] Gaertner summed up: 'For Cicero, Camillus is not just a man of exemplary *virtus* … and a statesman …, but his life and deeds, particularly his devotion to the Roman state and the Roman people's ingratitude, are seen by Cicero as a precedent for his own life.'[41]

1.1.4 The Augustan Age

Of Augustan historians, we come first to **Diodoros of Sicily** (Sikulos), who published his *Bibliotheke istorike* (Historical Library) c. 30 BC,[42] about the time that Livy was

36 In the *Sest*. with the Bruti, Ahalae, Decii, Curii, Fabricii, Maximi, Scipiones, Lentuli, Aemilii and 'countless others'; in *Cael*, with the Fabricii and Curii; in *Pis*. with Curius, Fabricius, Calatinus, Scipio, Marcellus, Maximus, Paulus, and Marius. There are, on the other hand, such catalogues where Cicero omits Camillus (*Off*. 1.61, *Tusc*. 1.110); also in the catalogue of orators (*Brut*. 53–62): noted by Walter 2004, 397. Walter also offers some most interesting observations on the limits on a public orator in making such references in order to have them accepted as historical (such as references to 'the annals of the Roman people and old monuments').

37 See Rimbaud 1953, a remarkable index to Cicero's historical references: for Camillus, 28.

38 Converted by Gaertner 2008, 46 into 'the tribune Manlius'!

39 Austin (ed), Cicero, *pro Caelio*, Oxford 1952, 103.

40 Gaertner 2008, 47.

41 Gaertner 2008, 45. He suggested intriguingly (47) that Cicero directly imitated Camillus in the prayer he supposedly uttered as he went into exile (*post reditum ad Quirites* 1), but then went too far, comparing Camillus' recall by the survivors of the Allia with Cicero's by the whole of Italy (!), and the destruction wrought by the Gauls with the political upheavals in Rome in the 50s! Certainly demonstrated, however, is the vital interest in Camillus in the late Republic.

42 Diodoros' dates have been much argued over. What does he tell us? That the work took him thirty years (1.4.1), but was now *finished, although unpublished* (1.4.6). The clearest

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beginning to write his history. This was the man, as we noted above, who was favoured by German scholars in the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth for his supposed reliance on Fabius Pictor, and was therefore a source which allows us to recapture the earliest historical traditions. After two centuries of fantasy (specially the nineteenth, but it is still alive and well), it is time to face the truth about Diodoros.

The claim to the status of earliest and therefore most reliable source derived from the conciseness of Diodoros' account: it was assumed that Fabius, being the earliest annalist, would have been 'unembellished' in this way. This view founders on the very nature of Diodoros' history. He is primarily an historian of Sicily, but also of the Greek mainland. Roman affairs appear only very briefly and very fitfully at the end of each year. During Camillus' career, for example, from 403–365, in twenty-five out of thirty-eight years Diodoros provides nothing more than an *attempt* (which failed) at naming the chief magistrates! Alongside that, his chronology, which has often been thought to be a correction to Varronian dating, being by Athenian archons, is *wildly erratic*. He omits Varronian years 423–429, then repeats 394–390! The first matter may simply be carelessness, the second indicates chronological manipulation. Despite this, Diodoros was constantly referred to by De Sanctis as 'our best source'.[43] That has now completely changed: a disturbing caution against 'fashions' in scholarship. It was Alfred Klotz in 1937, who argued that Diodoros' sources were Sullan.[44] Cornell recognized that Diodoros' references to early Roman history were scarce and the selection was idiosyncratic.[45] As Kenneth Sacks emphasized, Roman affairs appear 'virtually as an afterthought', and constitute a mere 3 % of books 1–22. Unlike many Greek writers, Diodoros is 'unenthusiastic' about Rome, and his sources are 'undeterminable'[46] He does, however, evince some interest in the two most important Camillus stories, the fall of Veii and the Gallic sack, although, in fact, he completely omits him in the latter!

Pompeius Trogus, a Gaul in the age of Augustus, wrote *Philippic Histories* (of Hellenistic Greece), which survive only in the summaries by Justin. He has both the

allusions to a *terminus post quem* are references to Caesar's divinization in 42 (1.4.7, 4.19.2, 5.21.2), but he also mentions that the Lagids (Ptolemies) have ruled in Egypt for 276 years, so c. 56 (1.44.4). He further states that the work extended to Caesar's wars in Gaul and even the invasion of Britain (1.4.7) – to 54 – but then calculates from the end of the Trojan War to the end of his history as 1138 years (1.5.1), so to 46!

43 De Sanctis 1907/1960, 41, 53, 184. Even Münzer 1910, 324 called Diodoros' account 'the plainest and oldest', although it was derived from more than one source, and still in 1930 declared that Diodoros 'for earliest Roman history often preserved the earliest accessable tradition' (*RE* 2A.1771). In 1929 Fritz Schachermeyer, 289 still claimed that Diodoros' main source was 'near Fabius' [sic], if not Fabius himself. Gaertner 2008, 29–30 linked Polybios and Diodoros as an 'older layer' of the tradition.

44 Klotz 1937.

45 Cornell 1995, 319.

46 Sacks 1990, 118–120.

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Aitolians (in the 230s) and Mithradates of Pontos (in 88) jeer at the Romans because they had to buy off the Gauls (28.2.4, 38.4.8). No reference, however, to Camillus, the saviour of Roman pride.

The culmination of the Republican historical tradition is represented by **Titus Livius** of Patavium (Padova) (59–17 AD), the most influential source we have in forming the Camillan tradition.[47] For Livy, Camillus is the dominant figure of books 5–6, on which he was working in the 20s BC. In this position, he is 'saviour of the old Rome and founder of the new'.[48] The keys to Livy's depiction of the man, apart from his military brilliance (for example, 6.8: the sight of him inspires his men and terrifies the enemy), include his sense of collegiality,[49] his stern discipline (5.19.4), his respect for the gods (5.21.1–3),[50] justice and honour (*iustitia, fides:* 5.27.11: the Falerian schoolmaster), his bravery (5.45.1), respect for the constitution and concern for legality (5.46, 6.26.2), scrupulous attention to religion (5.50.1: restoration of temples in 390), immoveable championing of stability (opposition to the move to Veii, 5.51–55), sagacity (*consilium*: 6.23, 27.1), foresight (*prudentia*: 6.24.9), moderation (6.25.6, 27.1) as well as his patrician pride, and his hatred of political dissension, in which, at the end of his life, he makes a tumultuous switch.[51] He is without peer (5.44.1), but also the reluctant leader (6.6.8, 6.2.7).[52] He was *fatalis dux* (5.19.2), *princeps* (6.1.4, 7.1.9), *summus civis* (6.38.3), and second Romulus (5.49.7), excelling all other leaders in offices and virtues (6.11.3). He is for Livy, as Joseph Hellougarc'h put it, 'an ideal model of a princeps', or in Stephen Oakley's words, he is 'in many respects his ideal Roman,' and receives the only obituary in books 6–10.[53] Livy, indeed, can be shown to protect Camillus from criticism. He notably softens the words of Camillus' prayer as he departs into exile in 391 (5.32.9). A most significant omission is his determining the outcome of Manlius' trial in 384 (compare Plutarch *Cam*. 36.7).[54] Livy is forced, in fact, to admit flaws: his meanness (*malignitas*) over the booty at Veii (5.22.1), and his actions at his triumph in the same year were inappropriate for a citizen, not to mention a human being (5.23.5).

Münzer describes his narrative as one of 'high art and charm', which therefore eschews criticism of Camillus.[55] Michael Grant also was highly impressed:

47 'One is tempted to believe that Camillus owes most of his celebrity to Livy': Hubaux 1958, 109.

48 Egan 2012, 25.

49 Spotted by Oakley 1997, 454. Not to mention his great generosity in the treatment of erring colleagues, most notably Furius in 381 (5.23–24)

50 Note, however, the two bizarre and portentous prayers: 5.21.14–15 (396) and 5.32.9 (391).

51 Hellegouarc'h 1970, 118 stressed, however, that his own qualities required the assistance of fortune: 5.19.8, 5,26.10, 5.37.1–2, 5.43.6,8, 5.49.1,5, 6.2.10, 6.3.4, 6.8.5, 6.27.1.

52 Hellegouarc'h 1970, 122.

53 Hedllougarc'h 1970, 121; Oakley 1997, 377.

54 Klotz 1941, 306.

55 Münzer 1910, 324. On critical elements, see below.

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