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SIGLE ȘI ABREVIERI / SIGLE E ABBREVIAZIONI*

ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , II, <i>Prinzipat</i> , Berlin-New York
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Turnhout.
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> , Turnhout.
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i> .
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .
DELL	<i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots</i> , par Alfred Ernout et Alfred Meillet, tirage de la 4 ^e édition, Paris, 1959.
EDR	<i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php).
GCS	<i>Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller</i> , Berlin.
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford, 1968.
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> , Paris.
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , Paris.
PLRE I	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , I, A. D. 260-395, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, Cambridge, 2006
PSB	<i>Părinți și scriitori bisericești</i> , București
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Lyon.
SCIV (SCIVA)	<i>Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)</i> , București.
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> .

* Cu excepția celor din *L'Année Philologique* și *L'Année Épigraphique* / Escluse quelle segnalate da *L'Année Philologique* e *L'Année Épigraphique*.

HERODOTUS' ARTEMISIA AND VIRGIL'S CAMILLA

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Keywords: *Herodotus, Virgil, Artemisia, Camilla.*

Abstract: *Close study of the parallels between Herodotus' Artemisia and Virgil's Camilla reveals a number of striking intertextual connections between the characters, and a corresponding intricately fashioned web of Virgilian borrowings from Herodotus. Virgil's use of Herodotus as a significant source for his epic is shown to reflect both the poet's concern with the problem of Roman ethnicity, and the historical reality of Cleopatra's threat to the Augustan regime.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Herodot, Vergiliu, Artemisia, Camilla.*

Rezumat: *Studiul atent al paralelelor dintre Artemisia lui Herodot și Camilla lui Vergiliu dezvăluie o serie de conexiuni intertextuale izbitoare între personaje și o rețea corespunzătoare, complicată, de împrumuturi virgiliene de la Herodot. Folosirea de către Vergiliu a lui Herodot ca sursă semnificativă pentru epopeea sa reflectă atât preocuparea poetului față de problema etnicității romane, cât și realitatea istorică a amenințării Cleopatrei la adresa regimului augustan.*

One of the more memorable personages to figure in Herodotus' account of the naval battle at Salamis is the Halicarnassian queen Artemisia I.¹ Introduced in the catalogue of Xerxes' forces at *Histories* 7.99,² she is accorded both a memorable vignette in the naval fight at Salamis (8.87-8), and appearances in framing admonitory scenes where she counsels the Persian king both before and after the

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¹ For an introduction to this character see E. Constantinides, *Amazons and Other Female Warriors*, *CO*, 59/1, 1981, 3-6; R. V. Munson, *Artemisia in Herodotus*, *ClAnt*, 7/1, 1988, 91-106; P. Loman, *No Woman No War: Women's Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare*, *G&R*, 51/1, 2004, 34-54.

² For commentary on passages from the last third of the *Histories*, R. W. Macan, *Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, London, Macmillan, 1908, remains a valuable trove of information.

engagement (8.68 and 8.101-3).³ Herodotus accords particular respect and attention to Artemisia, indeed to a degree that Plutarch found culpable.⁴ Certainly those interested in the strategy and tactics of Salamis would welcome more information about the progress of the battle and less about the escape of Artemisia; Herodotus, for his part, may have been interested in offering special homage to a likely distant relative, a queen who was of paternal Halicarnassian descent, while maternally Cretan.⁵

We shall consider closely the possible influence of Herodotus' Artemisia on the depiction of the Volscian warrior queen Camilla in Books 7 and 11 of Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁶ While the scholarly tradition has acknowledged parallels between the two characters at least in a general sense, there has been no comprehensive study that has explored the extent and implications of any putative Virgilian evocation of Herodotus' queen.⁷ Our investigation will seek to demonstrate that Virgil made deliberate use of Herodotus' Artemisia as part of a complex web of intertextual allusions that serve to highlight various aspects of his epic narrative, not least the engagement of the *Aeneid* both with the problem of Roman ethnicity, and the reception of the Augustan naval victory at Actium over Cleopatra in his poem.⁸

Several points of affinity between Artemisia and Camilla may be enumerated. First and foremost concerns the matter of catalogues. Herodotus presents the array of the Persian allies arrayed at Salamis,

³ A. M. Bowie, *Herodotus: Histories Book VIII*, Cambridge, 2007.

⁴ *De malignitate Herodoti* 43.

⁵ On this see the excellent survey of K. Deligiorgis, *The Herodotean "Amazonic" Artemisia, Iris: Journal of the Classical Association of Victoria*, New Series, 15, 2015, 49-57.

⁶ Little study has been made of any intertextual relationship between Herodotus and Virgil (there are no entries on Herodotus, for example, in either the Italian or the English Virgil encyclopedias, undeservedly so).

⁷ B. W. Boyd, *Virgil's Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Euphrasis* (Aeneid 7.803-17), *AJPh*, 113/2, 1992, 213-234, offers a fine introduction here, building on the work of E. Courtney, *Virgil's Military Catalogues and their Antecedents*, *Vergilius*, 34, 1988, 3-8 (who wonders if Virgil borrowed from some other Artemisian catalogue appearance, in an intermediate source). Foundational to the study of Virgilian catalogues is W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975.

⁸ On the topic more generally of the Roman reception of Persia, note M. Serena, *Achaemenid Persia: Images and Memory at Rome (205 BCE - 115 CE)*, Dissertation Reading, 2019.

and Virgil has a parade of Italian forces in league with Turnus. In the wake of these catalogues, in both authors the opposing side is depicted as having to search for allies of their own. The royal women Artemisia and Camilla appear as the final, climactic figures in their respective catalogues. Herodotus offers an interesting, brief portrait that emphasizes the sense of wonder that Artemisia inspires in him, alongside basic information about her identity, and salient details about her motivations:⁹

τῶν μὲν νῦν ἄλλων οὐ παραμένηται ταξίαρχων ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. [2] οὐνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησέων τε καὶ Κῶων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. [3] καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται (7.99).¹⁰

Artemisia was not compelled to fight; she came to war on account of youthful vigor and manliness (*νεηνίεω ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης*). She was noted for being the king's superlative counselor. And she fights for Xerxes, though her contingents are Dorian in origin – thus constituting one of many examples in Herodotus of ethnic Greeks fighting on opposing sides, a point to which we shall return.

⁹ For the wonder that Artemisia elicits see D. E. McCoskey, *The Great Escape: Reading Artemisia in Herodotus' Histories* and 300: Rise of an Empire, in A. Surtees and J. Dyer (eds.), *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*, Edinburgh, 2020, 211-212, and I. de Jong, *Herodotus en het wonder van Salamis*, *Lampas*, 55.2, 2022, 103-118.

¹⁰ Passages from Herodotus are cited from N. G. Wilson, *Herodoti Historiae Libri V-IX*, Oxford, 2015.

Virgil's introduction of Camilla also underscores the amazement and wonder that the heroine engendered, this time for the audience of those who saw her enter Latinus' capital:¹¹

*illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis, ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoraalem praefixa cusptide myrtum.*¹²

Royal Camilla is an object of awe as she makes her way in procession. She has a Lycian quiver, from the region of Asia Minor that bordered Artemisia's Caria.¹³ The catalogue closes on a dramatic note of anticipation, with audience expectation that the female warrior will figure significantly in the battles to come.¹⁴

In both Herodotus and Virgil, catalogues of heroes occur in the respective seventh books of the author's works. Thus when we are introduced to Camilla, we recall Artemisia by the structural parallel of her appearance as another queen in the final position in an assembly of armed contingents, and perhaps by virtue of the Lycian quiver this Volscian maiden wields, an accoutrement that evokes diverse associations, not least the Asian provenance of her comparand Artemisia.¹⁵

¹¹ For a start on the bibliography for this colorful and challenging character, note A. Bruzzone, *Dia Camilla: Un personaggio virgiliano al di là dei limiti*, *Annali di Studi Umanistici*, 7, 2019, 45-68; cf. the same author's *Oltre i confini: Il destino della Camilla di Virgilio*, in C. Pepe and E. Porciani (eds.), *Sconfinamenti di genere: donne coraggiose che vivono nei testi e nelle immagini*, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 2021, 59-66.

¹² Quotes from the *Aeneid* are taken from G. B. Conte, *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum)*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter 2019 (*editio altera*).

¹³ For Artemisia's ethnicity, see especially S. E. Harrell, *Marvelous Andraea: Politics, Geography, and Ethnicity in Herodotus' Histories*, in R. M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds.), *Andraea: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003, 80-88.

¹⁴ For the *Aeneid* 7 passages note *ad loc.* the commentaries of C. J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII*, Oxford, 1977, and N. M. Horsfall, *Virgil: Aeneid 7*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000.

¹⁵ On Virgil's Lycia see G. Bonamente in F. Della Corte (ed.), *Enciclopedia virgiliana III*, Roma, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1996, 212-213, and D. A. Secci, *Lycia and the Lycians*, in R. F. Thomas and J. T. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Vir-*

Another Book 7 catalogue brings with it another female fighter, including a nod to Asia Minor and the general, neighboring environs associated with her intertextual comparand.

Both authors present the exploits of their respective final, female battle participants in the penultimate books of their works: Book 8 of the *Histories*, and Book 11 of the *Aeneid*.¹⁶ Further, the name of Herodotus' queen recalls the goddess Artemis; Virgil's Camilla is a devotee of the goddess Diana.¹⁷ Both Artemisia and Camilla are leaders of their respective contingents. Both queens counsel the leaders of their respective alliances: Artemisia in colloquy with Xerxes before and after Salamis, and Camilla both before the cavalry battle and at its close, as she gives her dying instructions for Turnus.

In contrast, significant differences between the women in question may be noted. Artemisia is a widow with a young son; Camilla is a virgin whose father Metabus had consecrated her to Diana.¹⁸ Artemisia survives Salamis; Camilla dies during the battle before the walls of Laurentum. Salamis was a naval conflict; the unnamed engagement outside Latinus' capital in which Camilla participates is an equestrian combat, with no literal connection to the sea.

Here, however, an interesting instance of affinity between the two seemingly disparate encounters may be adduced. Salamis was a decisive sea operation in the war between the Greeks and the Persians.¹⁹ There are no naval engagements in the narrative of the *Aeneid*,

gil Encyclopedia, Volume II, Malden, Massachusetts, Wiley-Blackwell, 2014, 768. Virgil offers Camilla's Lycian quiver as something of a confirming emblem of her reminiscence of Artemisia.

¹⁶ There are several commentaries on the *Camilla* from *Aeneid* 11; cf. especially K. W. Gransden, *Virgil: Aeneid XI*, Cambridge, 1991; M. Alessio, *Studies in Vergil: Aeneid Eleven, An Allegorical Approach*, Québec City, Montfort & Villeroy, 1993; N. M. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003; L. M. Fratantuono, *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid XI*, Bruxelles, Editions Latomus, 2009; I. Gildenhard and J. Henderson, *Virgil, Aeneid 11 (Pallas and Camilla)...*, Cambridge, Open Book Publishers, 2018; S. McGill, *Virgil: Aeneid Book XI*, Cambridge, 2020.

¹⁷ On Camilla's youthful consecration to Diana, note G. Capdeville, *La jeunesse de Camille*, *MEFRA*, 104.1, 1992, 303-338.

¹⁸ For Metabus and his complicated history see T. Duke, *Metabus of Privernum*, *Vergilius*, 23, 1977, 34-38.

¹⁹ The bibliography on the battle is daunting; for a sound introduction note N. G. L. Hammond, *The Battle of Salamis*, *JHS*, 76, 1956, 32-54, and B. S. Strauss, *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter that Saved Greece – and Western Civilization*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2004. The many problems posed by

but certain elements of the cavalry battle in Book 11 recall the decisive encounter of the fleets of Octavian, Antony, and Cleopatra at Actium.²⁰ Actium is depicted on the shield of Aeneas that is presented by Venus to the Trojan hero (8.608 ff.). Vulcan's magical art is able to tell the story of the future history of Rome (images whose import is mysterious and obscure for Aeneas)²¹, in a fine instance of the poet relating past events in the future tense, as it were (just as he does in the revelation of the *Heldenschau* in the underworld). The shield offers a canvas on which the poet may offer illustration of that which cannot otherwise easily be inserted into the course of the epic narrative.²² Cleopatra is depicted on Aeneas' shield first as summoning her hosts to battle as the conflict rages, unaware of the serpentine end that awaits her (8.696-7 *regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro, / necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*), and secondly in flight back to the Nile (707 ff.).²³

The equestrian battle in *Aeneid* 11 offers the interesting parallel to Actium of another warrior queen, with Camilla standing in for Cleopatra. At Actium, the naval units on Octavian's side that faced Cleopatra were those of Lucius Arruntius.²⁴ In Virgil, Camilla's killer is Arruns, who is compared to a wolf in the aftermath of his killing of

the ancient testimonia of the battle (not least the problem of when the battle occurred) do not impinge on the arguments presented in this study.

²⁰ There are several monographs devoted to the Actian campaign, cf. *The Battle of Actium 31 B.C.*, Barnsley, Pen & Sword Books, Ltd., 2016; B. S. Strauss, *The War That Made the Roman Empire: Antony, Cleopatra, and Octavian at Actium*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2022. On the history of the period A. Goldsworthy, *Antony and Cleopatra*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011, offers a superlative account.

²¹ Cf. 8.730, where Aeneas is depicted both in a state of wonder (a recurrence of that popular *topos*), and ignorance (*ignarus*) about the pictures he cannot understand, even as he rejoices in them.

²² For commentary on the shield and its complex images, cf. *ad loc.* K. W. Gransden, *Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, Cambridge, 1976; L. M. Fratantuono and R. A. Smith, *Virgil, Aeneid 8: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2018.

²³ The Cleopatra of the Virgilian shield thus in some ways embodies both the mysterious woman of Herodotus 8.84 who encourages the Greeks, and Artemisia in flight.

²⁴ On the fascinating career of this wily survivor (from proscription to Augustan admiral to historian), see R. S. Rogers, *Lucius Arruntius, CPh*, 26/1, 1931, 31-45.

his prey (11.809-15).²⁵ Here semantics and onomastics allow a contemporary Roman audience of Virgil's epic to appreciate a recollection of Actium, with the wolf Arruns defeating Camilla on land, just as Lucius Arruntius had successfully driven off Cleopatra at sea. It is one of the more intriguing allegorical images of the epic.

Here we may note, too, that Virgil metaphorically associates his cavalry engagement even from the start with the movement of the sea, in the simile by which he describes the commencement of combat:

*qualis ubi alterno procurrrens gurgite pontus
nunc ruit ad terram scopulosque superiicit unda
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam,
nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens
saxa fugit litusque vado labente reliquit (11.624-8)*

Thus from the inception of the battle narrative, Virgil offers extended marine imagery, which takes on greater significance if we think of Arruntius facing Cleopatra at Actium in the narrative of Arruns and Camilla. While such similes may be merely conventional, poetic ornament for the narrative, this particular comparison is pointed if one recalls the decisive naval battle in which Cleopatra was defeated.

An additional detail of possible relevance may be appended here. We cannot be sure that Virgil knew of the tradition whereby Artemisia met her eventual death as a suicide at Leucas, a casualty of unrequited love.²⁶ If he did, we have another element of connection between Artemisia at Salamis and Cleopatra at Actium: Cleopatra survived Leucas/Actium, but she died as a suicide at Alexandria; Artemisia survived Salamis, but she perished as a suicide at Leucas.

²⁵ Is the death of Arruns in Virgil invested with a bit of dark humor, in reminiscence of Arruntius' near death in 43 B.C.? In any case, Virgil neatly recalls Lucius Arruntius by brilliant semantic play with the wolf image, and he alludes both to victory (as at Actium) and defeat (as Arruntius came close to suffering during the proscriptions).

²⁶ Photius, *Myrobiblion* 190, with reference to a work by Ptolemaeus Chennus. We cannot be sure of the origin of this lore. For text and commentary see R. Guiland (ed.), *Photius: Bibliothèque Tome III Codices 186-222*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1960.

We have noted that Artemisia's name recalls that of the goddess Artemis.²⁷ There is an additional, explicit allusion to Artemis in connection to Herodotus' narrative of Salamis. At 8.77, the historian recalls an oracle that mentions the goddess in connection with the ruin of Persia. The victory at Salamis would be won under the patronage of Artemis, as it were; Artemis Munychia would oversee the victory of the Greeks, with her full moon shining over the scene of triumph.²⁸ Indeed, there were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the coast of Attica.²⁹ Artemisia is fighting on the wrong side, but the woman named after Artemis will, fittingly enough, survive the battle that was won under the goddess' auspices.³⁰

What of Artemisia and Camilla giving advice to the leaders of their alliances? We have observed that at her introduction at 7.99, Herodotus asserts that Artemisia was considered to be the greatest of the king's counselors. Artemisia's wise suggestion is to avoid engaging the Greeks in a naval battle.³¹ Camilla's admonitions to Turnus offer a reversal of Artemisia's to Xerxes. Before the equestrian engagement, her principal thought is to be assigned to take charge of the cavalry feint operation, while Turnus manages the ambush plan to counter Aeneas' infantry (11.498 ff.). On the verge of death, her concerns likewise are not for retreat or passivity, but for action (11.820 ff.).³² The advice of both women is sound.

²⁷ Indeed, even the last reference to her in the *Histories* offers an allusive comment about Ephesus, a site long associated with the goddess.

²⁸ See further here G. P. Viscardi, *Artemis Munychia: Mythical-Ritual Aspects and Functions of the Piraeus Goddess*, *DHA*, 362/2, 2010, 31-60; C. Papadopoulou, *Transforming the Surroundings and Its Impact on Cult Rituals: The Case Study of Artemis Mounichia in the Fifth Century*, in C. Moser and C. Feldman, (eds.), *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion*, 2014, 111-127. Pausanias mentions the Mounichia shrine (1.1.4).

²⁹ Cf. Pausanias 1.36.1.

³⁰ Some aspects of Herodotus' references to Artemis have been mentioned in connection to the possibility of the historian's use of Aeschylus as a source for his account of Salamis; see further here V. Parker, *Herodotus' Use of Aeschylus' Persae as a Source for the Battle of Salamis*, *SO*, 82/1, 2007, 2-29.

³¹ On the *topos* see the classic study of R. Lattimore, *The Wise Adviser in Herodotus*, *CPh*, 34/1, 1939, 24-35, and T. C. Lockwood, *Artemisia of Halicarnassus: Herodotus' Excellent Counsel*, *CW*, 116/2, 2023, 147-172.

³² A. Carstairs-McCarthy, *Does Aeneas Violate the Truce in Aeneid 11?*, *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, 65/2, 2015), 704-13, provides a good analysis of the complicated battle narrative and strategic implications of the military situa-

Herodotus' Artemisia is credited with one noteworthy exploit at Salamis. In one sense it defies expectation. Rather than being depicted as vanquishing Greek naval forces, Artemisia is portrayed in flight, indeed to the extent of ramming an allied vessel in order to expedite her escape from the rout of the Persian fleet (8.87-8). The flight of a queen from a naval battle evokes what for Virgil's audience was a memorable occurrence from recent and decisive history: the departure of Cleopatra from Actium. For all the differences between Salamis and Actium, the situation of the two queens was similar, with successful escape from a lost cause. In contrast, Virgil's Camilla enjoys a noteworthy, indeed brilliant *aristeia* before she is vanquished. Herodotus' Artemisia is depicted as succeeding in sinking only one vessel, an allied one that stands in the way of her flight.

The scene is harrowing, as an Attic ship pursues Artemisia, and her escape is blocked by the ship of the Calyndian king Damasiythmus. Herodotus offers something of a weighted alternative: perhaps the hapless captain was merely in the wrong place at the wrong time, or perhaps Artemisia and he had had a quarrel before the battle. Whatever her rationale, Artemisia rammed and sank his vessel, a dramatic action that served not only to clear room for her flight, but also to convince the pursuing Attic ship that hers was an allied craft, either Greek or a deserter to the Greek cause.³³ Artemisia's action inspires a noteworthy reaction from Xerxes, about how his women are men, and his men women.³⁴ The passage deserves to be quoted in full:

tion in Virgil's penultimate book. Regardless of whether the Trojans break the burial truce, the strategic consideration of the book hinges on the cavalry battle being a feint to cover the infantry operations. Everything is suspended in the wake of Turnus' reaction to the news of Camilla's death, when he abandons his ambush plan. Camilla's dying, final instructions for him (11.826 *succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbi*) may be connected both to her concern about the collapse of the cavalry front, and to the maintenance of the infantry ambush plan. What matters is that Aeneas not suffer the ambush attack, and Turnus' emotional reaction to Camilla's death is the expedient that ensures the Trojan hero's survival.

³³ On the double boon secured by the queen see V. Zali, *The Shape of Herodotean Rhetoric: A Study of the Speeches in Herodotus' Histories with Special Attention to Books 5-9*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2015, 162.

³⁴ Cf. the attestation of the same sentiment in Justin's epitome of Trogus (2.12).

τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξη. [2] λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεῦμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων ‘δέσποτα, ὄρᾳς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσσε;’ καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθῆως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάσαι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους: τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστάτο εἶναι πολεμίνην. [3] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα ‘οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασι μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.’ ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν. (8.88)

Xerxes had been watching the battle, hoping that his men would fight better knowing that the king was watching them. He sees Artemisia ram and sink a vessel, and his counselor claims that she destroyed an enemy vessel – an incorrect, though understandable assumption. Herodotus is clear: Artemisia was able to fool Xerxes in part because the Calyndian ship had no survivors to refute and indict the queen.

The Halicarnassian royal thus flees her Attic pursuer. We learn more about Artemisia’s would-be captor at 8.93. Ameinias of Pallene was one of the two greatest Greek captains at Salamis in Herodotus’ account; he chased Artemisia relentlessly in the hope of securing the ten thousand drachmas placed on her head.

In Herodotus, there is no question that Artemisia attacks one of her allies; the only mystery is the motivation of her action.³⁵ In Virgil, both Aeneas and Turnus have Etruscan allies. Camilla is stalked and slain by a worshipper of Apollo, the Etruscan Arruns, whose allegiance has been questioned. Is he one of Aeneas’ confederates, or does he attack one of his own partisans?³⁶ Virgil refrains (deliberately, one might think) from making the matter definitively clear. What the poet does make explicit is that Arruns has a deep disdain for Camilla. He refers to her as a *dira pestis* (11.792-3); unwilling to face

³⁵ Poinaenus 8.53.3 records that Artemisia would change the insignia of her ship to suit the particular circumstances in which she found herself. The effective stratagem invites consideration of the nature of ethnicity and allegiance, especially given that the queen was said to have been half Cretan and half Halicarnassian.

³⁶ L. M. Fratantuono, Tros Italusque: *Arruns in the Aeneid*, in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIII (Collection Latomus 301)*, Bruxelles, Éditions Latomus, 2006, 284-290.

her in open single combat, he stalks her at length before making his prayer to Apollo to guide his javelin cast.³⁷ He then quickly flees; even if he is not one of Camilla's allies, it seeks to escape at once – in this Virgil reverses Herodotus, where the queen is the one depicted as seeking refuge, not her stalker.

Virgil's Camilla inspires anger on account of the scenario she presents of a woman winning appreciable victories on the battlefield.³⁸ This same misogynistic reaction to female prowess in combat is mentioned in connection with Herodotus' Artemisia (8.93), where we learn of the aforementioned bounty on her head, and of resentment on account of her gender.

It is interesting to note at this juncture that Artemisia is technically not the only female figure to be mentioned by Herodotus in connection to Salamis. At 8.84 he records the story that at the commencement of the conflict, the Greek fleet saw a mysterious vision of a woman, who shouted commands and upbraided them for backing water and not engaging the Persian fleet. One might think here of Artemis most naturally, the patron deity of the Greek triumph.³⁹ A mysterious woman inspires the Greek fleet, while on the Persian side the most highlighted exploit will be a woman's dramatic flight: two women, one urging action and the other in vigorous, aggressive and confrontational retreat.

Herodotus is not our only extant source for evidence of Artemisia's life and exploits. She is referenced in Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 673-81),⁴⁰ where she is associated explicitly with Amazons who wage equestrian battles:

εἰ γὰρ ἐνδώσει τις ἡμῶν ταῖσδε κᾶν σμικρὰν λαβήν,

³⁷ His stalking would be easier were he shadowing one of his own allies.

³⁸ The Etruscan Tarchon is stirred up by Jupiter, and he proceeds to berate his men for allowing a woman to defeat them (11.729 ff.).

³⁹ J. D. Mikalson, *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars*, Charlotte, The University of North Carolina Press, 2003 is a good starting point for the study of the historian's description of supernatural phenomena. Herodotus' account thus offers the encouraging, mysterious female voice on the Greek side, and the warrior queen on the Persian whose name recalls the goddess associated with the Greek cause. We would argue that Virgil found in this depiction an ideal model for his reminiscence of Actium in *Aeneid* 11.

⁴⁰ For text and commentary see J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata*, Oxford, 1987.

οὐδὲν ἐλλείψουσιν αὐταὶ λυπαροῦς χειρουργίας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦς τεκτανοῦνται, κάπιχειρήσουσ' ἔτι
 ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πλεῖν ἐφ' ἡμάς ὥσπε, Ἀρτεμισία. 675
 ἦν δ' ἐφ' ἵπικὴν τράπωνται, διαγράφω τοὺς ἵπτεάς.
 ἵπικώτατον γάρ ἐστι χρῆμα κάποχον γυνή,
 κοῦκ ἂν ἀπολίσθοι τρέχοντος: τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,
 ἄς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. 680
 ἀλλὰ τούτων χρῆν ἀπασῶν ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον
 ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

(*Lysistrata* 673-81)

In other words, Aristophanes is a virtual intertextual intermediary between Herodotus and Virgil. The comic poet provides a connection between the Artemisia of naval battle fame, and the Amazons with their equestrian battles.⁴¹ It is a natural next step for Virgil to associate Camilla explicitly with the Amazons,⁴² and with Artemisia by various allusive and structural mechanisms. The reference to the Amazonian painting of Micon is recalled by Virgil in his detail about Penthesilea and her Amazons in the artwork of Dido's temple to Juno, a mural that anticipates the advent of Camilla and her Amazonian retinue of *Italides* in the cavalry battle.⁴³ In short, we move from Herodotus' Artemisia at Salamis to Aristophanes' evocation of Artemisia alongside Amazons in cavalry combat, to Virgil's synthesis of all of the above in Camilla, where the reminiscence of Artemisia takes on special resonance in light of the memory of Cleopatra at Actium.

We may summarize and expand our arguments and thesis. Virgil inherited a tradition of the Halicarnassian queen Artemisia, both from Herodotus and from whatever other extant sources he had at his disposal.⁴⁴ Artemisia was noteworthy for her counseling Xerxes not to engage the Greeks in naval combat at Salamis. Her advice was

⁴¹ K. Deligiorgis, *The Herodotean 'Amazonic' Artemisia*, *EClás*, 150, 2016, 35-50, explores thoroughly the Amazonian connections of the queen.

⁴² Cf. 11.648-9.

⁴³ Cf. 1.490-3 *ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis / Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet, / aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae, / bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo* and 11.659-63 *quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis / pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis, / seu circum Hippolyten seum se Martia curru / Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu / feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis*.

⁴⁴ For the study of the Virgilian employment of sources, N. M. Horsfall, *The Epic Distilled: Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*, Oxford, 2016 is reliably insightful.

disregarded, and the queen in the end was compelled to flee the scene of a lost engagement, notably by the expedient of destroying the vessel of one of her own allies. For Virgil, recent Roman history similarly offered a story of an eastern queen on the losing side in a naval battle, another female royal who was noteworthy for a successful flight from the chaotic scene of combat at sea.

Virgil's *Aeneid* in part celebrates the Augustan settlement of the Roman civil wars. The climactic victory that secured said settlement was that naval battle at Actium, which is depicted in Book 8 of the *Aeneid* as the central image on the shield of Aeneas (8.675-713). Book 8 of Virgil's epic was the perfect place to recall such a triumphant victory at sea, in recollection of the Greek victory over the Persians at Salamis in Book 8 of Herodotus.⁴⁵ In the respective, parallel Book 8 accounts from the two works, eastern forces are destroyed at sea. Salamis was won in the shadow of a temple of Artemis, while the victory at Actium was achieved under the patronage of a temple of Apollo, Artemis' divine twin. Virgil was able to employ Aeneas' divine shield as a mechanism for including events relevant to his contemporary political and historical reality, events that would not naturally figure in the narrative progress of his post-Trojan War *nostos* tale.

But later in Virgil's epic, certain features of the naval engagement at Actium are recalled in the very different context of the cavalry battle before the walls of Latinus' city. Here, in some regards Camilla recalls Cleopatra, and her lupine killer Arruns stands in for Octavian's commander Lucius Arruntius. Like Herodotus' Artemisia, Virgil's Camilla is noteworthy for the counsel she offers to her superior, both before and in the wake of the decisive military encounter. Cleopatra survived Actium, even if one could argue that her fate was more or less sealed on that fateful September day; Camilla is the principal casualty of the cavalry battle, though her slayer Arruns also meets his doom, and by divine intervention. Herodotus' Artemisia narrative is imbued with respectful admiration for the queen even in

⁴⁵ The battles have been studied as parallel engagements in various respects of strategy and outcome; cf. B. Strauss, *Salamis and Actium: Lessons from Two Decisive Ancient Battles in Greek Waters*, in E. M. Economou, N. C. Kyriazis, and A. Platias (eds.), *Democracy and Salamis: 2500 Years After the Battle That Saved Greece and the Western World*, Cham, Springer, 2022, 131-45.

defeat, and so too is Virgil's depiction of Camilla.⁴⁶ Virgil defies expectations, at least in some regards: yes, his "Lucius Arruntius" slays his "Cleopatra," but Arruns soon after is struck down by Opis, and Camilla is given honorable burial by a goddess associated closely (like her brother) with the Augustan regime.⁴⁷ Virgil's Camilla is not Cleopatra *in fine*, any more than the Aeneas who was uncomfortably reminiscent of Mark Antony while he lingered with Dido in Carthage is always cast in the allegorical role of the disgraced triumvir.⁴⁸ Camilla is complicated: she is reminiscent of Cleopatra in the context of being a woman in a scene of war, and yet she is also on the Italian side that will prove to be both resilient and triumphant.

When an epic character is modeled on a range of literary and historical antecedents, both the commonalties and the contrasts between the figures merit consideration. Intertextual reminiscence invites the question of the implications of the poet's evocation of other famous personages in the composition of his character. These implications have greater resonance in the case of figures like Camilla that likely are authorial inventions, characters who afford the poet greater range for creative expression.⁴⁹ The image presented by Herodotus' Artemisia encompasses questions of royalty, femininity, the soundness of advice to one's superiors, and loyalty to the diverse elements in a military alliance. Onomastically, she recalls the goddess Artemis. Virgil's Camilla narrative echoes these themes and problems, with Diana as a key divinity of the story. It was a natural source of inspiration for Virgil, given the connection of Diana and Apollo to the Augustan religious program, beyond the attraction of inserting the memory of a figure of cyclic epic in his reinvention of the war at Troy (a point to which we shall return below): Camilla is a multivalent literary construct.

⁴⁶ Note here V. Viparelli, *Camilla: A Queen Undeafated, Even in Death*, *Virgilius*, 54, 2008, 9-23.

⁴⁷ For a start to a vast topic, note especially J. F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, Oxford, 2009.

⁴⁸ On the problem (popular since antiquity) of exploring possible historical allegories in Virgil's epic, see D. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1927.

⁴⁹ The problem is explored at length by N. M. Horsfall, *Camilla, o i limiti dell'invenzione*, *Athenaeum*, 66, 1988, 31-51; cf. L. M. Fratantuono, *Virgil's Camilla*, *Athenaeum*, 95, 2007, 271-286.

Artemisia was on the losing side at Salamis; the goddess whose name she virtually shared presided over the success of the queen's opponents. In Virgil likewise we have a queen who is connected to the goddess: Camilla is associated with Diana, and her name evokes the image of the devotion of votaries to deities and divine service.⁵⁰ In Herodotus, the woman whose name recalls Artemis is on the losing side in a battle won in the shadow of the goddess' temple; one might say that there is a certain element of propriety in Artemisia's survival of a battle won under the patronage of Artemis. In Virgil, Diana's servant is slain in large part thanks to the divine assistance Diana's brother Apollo offers to his votary, the priest Arruns. As at Actium, so at the cavalry battlefield outside Latinus' city, victory would be achieved under Apollonian auspices.⁵¹

Apollo oversaw Cleopatra's defeat, and he assists Arruns in killing Camilla, though he ignores his suppliant's request to return home (11.794-8).⁵² If there is a glaring contrast between Herodotus' Artemisia and Virgil's Camilla, it is the survival of the one and the death of the other. In exploring the implications of this decisive difference between the two figures, we may glean some additional hint as to why Virgil engaged in Herodotean intertextuality in composing his *Camilla*. When the epic poet departs from or contrasts with his intertextual predecessor, he thereby draws particular attention to the point of distinction. In the case of Camilla, there is no room in the future Rome for a warrior queen, and so she must be vanquished. But the situation is more complicated, and here we may consider a number of interrelated points and problems.

First, we may note that a principal theme of Herodotus' history of the Persian Wars is the question of the power of Greek unity. Near the opening of the last book of the *Histories* (9.2), Mardonius is counseled by the Thebans that if the Greeks were to remain united,

⁵⁰ Cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 34, Macrobius 3.8.7, and Servius *auctus ad* 11.543, and see further L. Fratantuono, *Callimachean Camilla: An Unappreciated Literary Anagram in Virgil, LF*, CXLV/3-4, 2022, 100-118.

⁵¹ Phoebus is referenced by Virgil at the very end of Book 11 (913-5), in balance with dawn reference that opens the book.

⁵² Implicitly, the divine siblings are in agreement that Camilla's killer will die, devotion to Apollo notwithstanding. For an insightful study that associates Arruns with the epic's Trojan protagonist, see L. R. Kepple, *Arruns and the Death of Aeneas, AJPH*, 97.4, 1976, 344-360.

they could conquer the world – a sentiment that takes on particular resonance in light of the civil conflict of the Peloponnesian War. Artemisia's survival of Salamis was won by the expedient of a virtual act of civil war, in her attack on an allied vessel. Artemisia is half Hali-carnassian and half Cretan; she is pursued by an Athenian vessel, and she sinks a Carian, Calyndian one. The entire scene is fraught with the tensions of fractured relations in the Hellenic world.⁵³

In Virgil, there is no hint of Camilla slaying or attacking one of her own partisans, though the battlefield is complicated in terms of the diverse origins and allegiances of the various combatants. Given the future unity to be achieved at least ideally in the Augustan restoration, in an important sense the entirety of the war in Latium is overshadowed by the specter of civil war – Trojans and Ausonians (not to mention Etruscans) are destined to form one political entity. If there is any specific act of internecine violence in the cavalry battle, we have noted that it is on the part of Camilla's foe, the Etruscan Arruns. His people are most certainly divided in their loyalties, largely on account of the notorious king Mezentius and his expulsion from power.⁵⁴ If Arruns attacks one of his own allies, then Virgil has reversed Herodotus, with the queen this time being attacked by someone ostensibly on her own side. In the wake of Arruns' assault on Camilla, his principal concern is for flight (that is, exactly what Herodotus' Artemisia sought). Unlike Artemisia, Arruns does not succeed in his escape attempt.

In accord, one might think, with Artemisia's urgent wish to flee from the battle, in the wake of Salamis the queen offers Xerxes the commendation to return to Asia (8.101-3). In Virgil, the dying instructions of Camilla to Acca urge Turnus to maintain the struggle. In this regard, Virgil offers a definitive reversal of Herodotus' narrative, with his queen not envisioning a retreat from the battlefield, as it were. Strategically, one could analyze her logic as being at minimum

⁵³ For the intriguing thesis that Herodotus portrays Artemisia with Xerxes and in battle as if she were one of the Athenians she is ostensibly fighting, see N. Ackert, *Tyrannos, Rhētor, and Strategos: Herodotus' Athenian Artemisia*, *Berkeley Undergraduate Journal of Classics*, 5/2, 2017, n.p.

⁵⁴ Significantly, there is parallelism between Mezentius and Lausus on the one hand, and Metabus and Camilla on the other. On Virgil's Mezentius note in particular G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1979.

a concern for relieving the beleaguered and discomfited Latins, and possibly if not likely a reminder to Turnus that his ambush plan could still succeed (to the utter destruction of Aeneas and his infantry force), if the Rutulian does not surrender to emotional intemperance in the wake of the death of his favorite. Turnus does not follow her instructions, and Trojan Aeneas is saved, in accord, Virgil notes, with the savage will of Jupiter.⁵⁵

The cause of Turnus and Camilla (whose death lines, significantly, are identical, with Turnus' coming as the last verse of the epic),⁵⁶ is doomed in the sense that Aeneas will be victorious over his opponents. But their cause is victorious in that the future Roman polity that will emerge from a union of Trojan and Ausonian elements will not be Teucrian in *sermo* and *mores*.⁵⁷ The Italian element of Turnus and Camilla, in short, will predominate in the destined Roman commonwealth, with the Trojans contributing blood and naught else.⁵⁸ This emphasis of the climactic divine revelation of Virgil's epic is of a piece with the same sort of preoccupation in Herodotus' *Histories* with the essential, defining quality or qualities of Greek identity: language either above all, or at least in the first rank of particular characteristics.⁵⁹

Next, we may consider that the second half of Virgil's *Aeneid* offers a second *Iliad*, a reincarnation of Homer's martial epic in Latium.⁶⁰ Aeneas is viewed by Turnus as a second Paris, with Lavinia cast implicitly in the role of Helen. Herodotus opens his *Histories* with a reflection on the role of the abductions of women in the engendering of war between Europe and Asia, including Paris' absconding with Helen. Significantly, Herodotus' history closes with a reminiscence of the start of the Trojan War, with something of the quasi-divine vengeance of Protesilaus (the first Greek casualty of the conflict) over the Persian Artajctes, who had dared to desecrate his temple (9.116-20).⁶¹

⁵⁵ Cf. 11.901.

⁵⁶ 11.831 and 12.952.

⁵⁷ Cf. 12.791ff., especially 829 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. 12.835-6.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Histories* 8.144.

⁶⁰ K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: A Study in Epic Narrative*, Cambridge, 1984, is foundational here.

⁶¹ M. A. Flower and J. Marincola, *Herodotus: Histories Book IX*, Cambridge, 2002 offers essential commentary; cf. also W. Desmond, *Punishments and the Conclusion of Herodotus' Histories*, *GRBS*, 44.1, 2004, 19-40. More generally on the man-

The end of Herodotus invites the reader to cycle back in memory to the commencement of the war between the Greeks and Trojans, while the end of Virgil's epic offers a picture of the furious Aeneas as he kills Turnus, an act that invites comparison with Achilles' slaying of Hector in *Iliad* 22, even as it cycles back to the memory of Virgil's evocation of the wrath of Juno from the start of the *Aeneid* (that is, with Aeneas having in some sense at least inherited the goddess' fury).⁶²

Thus even apart from weighty considerations of Aeneas' wrath and the implications of the final scene of the poem, Herodotus' history of the struggle between Greece and Persia offered a natural model for influence on Virgil's account of the war in Latium between the Trojans and the Italians, with the Augustan epic offering yet another instance of a war occasioned by the question of the abduction (perceived or otherwise) of a girl.

Virgil's reimagined *Iliad* in *Aeneid* 7-12 does not rely only on Homer for its literary inspiration. Cyclic epic lore is also recalled, with Camilla evoking the memory of the Amazon queen Penthesilea from the *Aethiopsis*.⁶³ In the Trojan War Penthesilea fought on the losing side, namely for Priam; in Virgil, his quasi-Amazon is also on the losing side, namely Turnus' Italian coalition. The distinction is that in the *Aeneid*, the losing side will be victorious in the final disposition of affairs in Rome: the question of victor and vanquished is more complicated than in Homer. Apollo and Artemis sided with Troy in Homer; in Virgil, matters are more complex, not least because the deities were associated closely with the religious program of the Augustan regime. Rome had Trojan origins, but the line from the Troad to Latium in many regards was not straightly drawn, and Rome would not be a new Troy. This future Roman reality explains why Virgil's Camilla is depicted with such respect and admiration – she is one of the *Italides*, as Virgil notes (11.657).

ner in which Herodotus closes his work, note C. Weiser, *Two Didactic Strategies at the End of Herodotus' Histories* (9.108-122), *ClAnt*, 28.2, 2009, 359-385.

⁶² Our comments here touch on a vast and controversial area of Virgilian studies. K. C. King, *Foil and Fusion: Homer's Achilles in Vergil's Aeneid*, MD, 9, 1982, 31-57 offers a non-polemical starting point for investigation.

⁶³ See further here M. Davies, *The Aethiopsis: Neo-Neoanalysis Reanalyzed* (*Hellenic Studies Series* 71), Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 2016, with introduction to and commentary on the surviving fragments and testimonia.

Italian Camilla was dedicated to Diana. Artemis does not figure overmuch in Homer's *Iliad*,⁶⁴ while in Herodotus the goddess is associated with the decisive Greek victory at Salamis. This marks a shift of sorts from her Homeric depiction, where she is a divine partisan of Troy; in Herodotus she is implicitly on the Greek side.⁶⁵ The same question of the goddess' allegiance occurs in the *Aeneid*, where Diana is not depicted as a helper of the Trojans (in contrast to her Homeric role), but rather in association with Camilla, one of the most successful enemies of Troy. Diana and her sibling Apollo were patron deities of the Augustan regime; in *Aeneid* 11 they are at least in some regards at variance with each other on account of the question of Camilla and her fate.⁶⁶ Virgil's depiction of the war in central Italy comes with deliberate emphasis on its intermediary, transitional place in the movement from Troy to Rome. That movement comes amid violence and upheaval, and conflict both foreign and domestic. The horror of civil war is made especially vivid in the image of any possible conflict between siblings.

Camilla's side is destined to be the dominant partner in the future Rome, and yet, as we have briefly observed, in the Virgilian, Augustan context, the image of a queen in battle is uncomfortably reminiscent of Cleopatra, even beyond any gender prejudices that may have recoiled from the picture of women in war (especially for a Rome that had could remember Mark Antony's wife Fulvia as well as his Egyptian paramour). In *Aeneid* 4 Carthaginian Dido had uttered imprecations against Aeneas and the Trojans; while Camilla is very

⁶⁴ L. M. Fratantuono, *The Virgilian Metamorphosis of Homer's Artemis*, *Athenaeum*, CX/II, 2022, 429-43, surveys the Homeric appearances of the goddess and their reception in the *Aeneid*.

⁶⁵ The fact that Artemisia's name recalls Artemis is of particular significance given the goddess' association with the Greek victory. There is something of a parallel between how Herodotus' Artemisia is associated with victory even in defeat, as is Virgil's Camilla – one of the good reasons why the Augustan poet may have been inspired to employ the intertext. As for Herodotus, part of the seeming shift in Artemis' allegiances from Homer to the historian is on account of the fact that there was Greek migration and colonization in Asia Minor.

⁶⁶ It is significant that Diana does not seek to save Camilla; her interventions are connected to the honorable disposition of the girl's corpse, and to her instructions to the Thracian nymph Opis about seeking vengeance from whoever kills Camilla, *Tros Italusque* (11.592). Diana's comment is reflective of the ambivalence, ambiguity, and manipulation of questions of provenance discussed above.

different from Dido, she in some sense incarnates the sort of destruction of the Trojans that Dido had envisaged.⁶⁷ And Dido, too, is reminiscent of Cleopatra, not in battle as at Actium, but in the memory of the seductive queen at Alexandria with first Caesar and then Mark Antony. We have noted that Camilla recalls Amazonian lore, in particular the doomed Penthesilea of cyclic epic. There is no place for Amazons in the future Rome, any more than there is a place for an Egyptian queen at enmity with the center of Mediterranean empire. Artemisia can fight for Persia against Greece and survive a disastrous engagement; Camilla may be on the right side of history in her allegiance, but there is no place for an Amazonian warrior girl of blood-thirsty inclinations in Augustan Rome. Artemisia either disappears from the historical record, or died a suicide at Leucas; Virgil would craft a nobler ending for his heroine, as befitting her status as an Italian heroine.⁶⁸

Camilla, in short, has many faults, and her death is demanded by fate. But character flaws, questionable judgment, and battlefield demise do not erase the fact that her side proves superior in the final settlement secured by Jupiter and Juno, and that is enough to secure her the honor she is accorded, not least in the respectful, indeed divine honors she merits at her death – honors that are nothing less than harbingers of the place destined for Italy in the hierarchy that Jupiter and Juno will ratify in the epic's last book.

Virgil thus artfully performs a balancing act in *Aeneid* 11, with the doomed Camilla accorded more than a modicum of admiration and respect, as befitting a native Italian girl whose cause, one might say, will lose the battle and win the war. Camilla has many affinities with various figures from literature and history. But alongside such women as Penthesilea and even the early Roman heroine Cloelia,⁶⁹ Herodotus' Artemisia stands forth as a major antecedent for Virgil's

⁶⁷ Cf. 4.584 ff.

⁶⁸ Artemisia's suicide was associated with a failed love; while we cannot be sure if the tradition was extant in Virgil's time, we may recall that Cleopatra's end was embroiled in the disastrous consequences of her ill-fated union with Antony. Regardless, in the case of Camilla it is telling that together with Arcadian Pallas, she is among the few warriors in the epic to enjoy a noteworthy burial, in her case an otherworldly, divine tending to her corpse by Diana.

⁶⁹ For Cloelia see Livy 2.14.5 ff. and *Aeneid* 8.648 ff., and cf. Virgil's details about Camilla's crossing of the Amasenus at 11.547 ff.

Volscian warrior. History and lore connected Artemisia with war at sea, and with death at Leucas. She was thus an irresistible intertext for someone interested in alluding to the Augustan victory at Actium and the role of Cleopatra in that conflict. Artemisia called to mind the goddess Artemis, both by her name and by the locus of the Greek victory at Salamis. Sound in her advice to Xerxes both before and after battle, Artemisia would survive the Persian defeat at Salamis. Camilla is equally sound in her counsel to Turnus. Xerxes ignored Artemisia with respect to both sets of the queen's recommendations; Turnus listens to Camilla before battle, but makes the critical, fateful mistake of ignoring her second set of instructions. Artemisia's Virgilian literary comparand Camilla dies at dusk at the close of the Latin cavalry engagement; while warrior women have no future in Rome, Camilla's cause would endure, together with her memory. Artemisia was half Cretan and half Halicarnassian, a blend of Europe and Asia in one liminal figure. Camilla is Volscian, though she wields a Lycian quiver; she fights for Italy, even as she recalls Amazon allies of Asian Troy. By evoking Herodotus' Artemisia in the composition of his *Camilla*, Virgil thus deftly and economically painted a rich tapestry of relevant associations via one particularly effective intertext. Virgil's Camilla would be distinct from Artemisia not least by virtue of her death, an end that was both inevitable and altogether regrettable in view of the trajectory of history and Rome's destiny. And fittingly, like Herodotus with Artemisia, Virgil would present Camilla with an aura of wonder and enigma, a sense of awe and mystery that befits his heroic and tragic protomartyr of Italy, one of the most noteworthy figures in the *Aeneid* both in terms of the divine retribution exacted for her slaying, and the promise of a goddess to tend personally to her requiem.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ 11.593-4. Unlike Pallas, Camilla's body will not be despoiled or otherwise violated. The nymph Opis will secure vengeance for her death, and the goddess Diana will provide for a tomb.

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