

A Fierce Horsewoman in a World of Men:
A Study of Virgil's Camilla in Aeneid VII-XII

BY

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Anybody can give up, it's the easiest thing in the world to do, but to hold it together when everyone around you would understand if you fell apart, that's true strength.

-Anonymous

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Eileen

In memory of Gumaro

Preface

My study of the Classics has been going on for as long as my equestrian experience, so it made sense that when arriving at the capstone of my college career I would find a way to combine these passions into an innovative and interesting thesis. My interest in Camilla came from two courses that I took with Professor Relihan in the Classics department that focused on the study of classical epic poetry (“Tales of Troy”) and another one looking at the *Aeneid* (“Epics and Heroes”). However, these courses looked at broader senses of what constitutes a hero, and how the plot flows in an epic poem, rather than finding one character and focusing in on that person.

The character Camilla became a frequent discussion topic in the Epics and Heroes class, and I began to see how my background in horsemanship gave me deeper insight into the Latin that my classmates who were not familiar with horses lacked. This began to stand out in my mind as a way to combine my experience with horses to those with Classics. I decided to shape my thesis around this insight and write a study of Camilla as a hero on horseback that could be understood by those with a strong horsemanship background or a strong Classical background.

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Introduction

The study of Camilla in Virgil's *Aeneid* allows for scholars to explore a variety of themes, especially those surrounding her background. Virgil creates the opportunity to explore the relationship between foreigners and natives, Italians and Trojans, and the broader question of how women fit in a male-centered world. For the purpose of this thesis, I will explore the ways in which Camilla stands out as a female warrior, and I will use my experience with horsemanship to describe how conspicuous Camilla is in regards to her emotional connection to horses. Virgil writes in the late 1st century BCE and is commissioned by Emperor Augustus, thus adding a decidedly pro-Roman bias to his writing. As the author of works such as the *Georgics*, the *Eclogues*, and, most important to this thesis, the *Aeneid*, Virgil uses rhetoric to highlight strong warriors and warns against the dangers of arrogance in a warrior.

Virgil's *Aeneid* begins with the end of the Trojan War, as Aeneas leads the surviving Trojans out of the crumbling city and sets off to found the Roman race. Throughout his struggles to accomplish this feat, different distractions sidetrack Aeneas, the most notable one being his love affair with Dido. In the second half of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas meets King Latinus, who betroths his daughter, Lavinia, to Aeneas after he receives a prophecy instructing him to. This enrages Turnus, since he was already promised Lavinia and the Latin kingdom. His anger is so great that Turnus gathers his men to face off against Aeneas and his supporters. Turnus' second in command is an impressive warrior named Camilla, whose

combination of noteworthy background and exceptional fighting skills cause her to stand out in the field of battle. Together, Turnus and Camilla face off against the Trojan warriors until Camilla is ambushed and killed. However, her death stands out in the mind of the reader as a significant scene in the *Aeneid*. Try making Vergil the subject of the sentence: “However Vergil concludes the poem with the defeat of Turnus at the hands of Aeneas, and in so doing draws attention back to Camilla by using the exact same line for her death (11.xxx) and for the death of Turnus: *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* (11.952: “Life flutters off on a groan, under protest, down among shadows” Ahl, 293, 327).

The focus of this thesis will be on the character of Camilla and her experience with horsemanship during her fighting scenes. What makes Camilla stand out is not merely her fighting skills, however. It is the intricate background that Virgil weaves for her. She is a woman, but she fights like a man. She is a mortal, yet she has gifts that make her appear supernatural. She is fierce and ruthless in her slaying of men on Aeneas’ side, yet the audience feels sympathetic toward her in her demise. When the *Aeneid* is completed, the reader does not think of Aeneas, the hero and namesake of this work, but of Camilla and how impressive she was in her life and how remarkable she was in her death.

Camilla’s liminality makes her stand out in the *Aeneid* for the many ways she seems out of place in the male-centered world of Rome. As a skilled equestrian, Camilla shows that men do not monopolize the world of horsemanship. Although Camilla is a strong warrior, Virgil denies her the ability to become a hero by breaking the emotional connection between Camilla and her

horse, and replacing it with a need for material goods. Camilla's link to foreigners makes it necessary for her to be killed before the founding of Rome can begin.

My interest in Camilla has been inspired and strengthened by a wide variety of research from many 20th-century scholars. By looking at the roads taken by others, I have been able to synthesize and connect their research in ways that have not happened before, thus creating a unique perspective based on my own expertise in the equestrian world and in the study of Classics. The scholarship that I have described falls into three categories: those who study Virgil's writing, those who study ancient views of horsemanship, and those who study Camilla in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Scholars of Virgil

The scholarship surrounding the works of Virgil is understandably detailed and expansive. For this reason, my study of Virgil has been limited to articles and research pertaining to *ekphrasis*, battle scenes, and an exploration into the nature of Camilla's character. The other obvious group of scholarship that comes from the study of Virgil is through translations and commentaries on his works. These in-depth studies revolve around word choice, themes, and offer insights in the significance and meaning of words or phrases.

Virgil in Translation

The majority of English translations in this thesis are those of Frederick Ahl's *The Aeneid*. This translation is extremely useful for a number of reasons, the

most important being the commentary that Ahl provides that details his reasons for translating the Latin in certain ways or the importance of different connections Virgil draws. Ahl's translation is also one of few *Aeneid* translations that attempt to preserve the dactylic hexameter verse that Virgil employs in his writing, thus allowing readers of this English translation to engage with the ancient source.

Another author is Williams, who wrote a commentary and separate literary work about Books VII-XII. This translation is useful because it focuses on the second half of the *Aeneid*, thus giving Williams more space to give in-depth commentary and focus on this important work. In a similar fashion, Knapp's translation of selections from Books VII-XII provides a focus on the scenes of the *Aeneid* that includes Camilla. The final *Aeneid* translation that I have consulted in research is Mackail's version. Written in 1930, this translation is the oldest of the ones consulted, but it also provides a different perspective in its word choice that allows for interesting comparisons between it and more contemporary sources (such as Ahl or Knapp) that led to a closer reading of Book XI and Camilla's fighting techniques.

Outside of the commentaries that translators included in their works, I have also researched ancient and modern sources that made their entire focus on teasing out the nuance of Virgil's writing in a multitude of complex notes. One of the fourth century commentators, Servius wrote Latin explanations and clarifications concerning many works. For the purpose of this thesis, Servius' thoughts were consulted in the reading of Virgil's Book XI. More contemporary

than Servius, Page's 1904 commentary provides numerous insights that enhanced the Camilla scenes and Virgil's writing in general. When these commentaries are coupled with the commentaries of the translators mentioned above, scholars of Virgil gain a wealth of knowledge about the significance of Virgil's writings and insights that are not as obvious when a reader merely looks at the lines of the *Aeneid*.

Virgil in Scholarly Works

Virgil's writings are often the interest of many scholars, since the depth and breadth of his works allows for authors to evaluate many different aspects of Virgil, from broad theme and literacy techniques to character analyses. While most of the articles will be detailed in the section based on scholarship about Camilla below, there are a few authors who address broader topics that are better suited to writing about Virgilian works in general. Horsfall writes an article titled *Non Viribus Aequis* to explore some of the problems he notices in Virgil's battle scenes, and the significance of these issues. Looking at the aftermath of a significant battle that Camilla stars in, Kepple discusses the role of Arruns, Camilla's killer, in the *Aeneid* and the symbolism that Camilla's death could have for Aeneas if there were a thirteenth book written. Going in a direction that is not directly connected to Camilla or her fighting techniques, Putnam studies the role of ekphrasis in the *Aeneid* and the important role that this literary technique has in the broad realm of epic writing.

Scholars of Horsemanship

Moving away from the focus on Virgil and the *Aeneid*, I looked into researching a baseline of what ancient writers experienced in regards to horsemanship, since this was one of the key themes that surrounds Camilla as she fights in battle in Book XI. These fall into two broader categories of training techniques, and general horse knowledge concerning health and wellbeing.

Training Manuals

The earliest known method of horse training comes from a Hittite horse trainer named Kikkuli, who trained horses for endurance and overall strength. As part of her doctoral thesis, Dr. Ann Nyland employed a translator for the text and then recreated the training method with actual horses. In the end, Nyland was shocked that some of the culling techniques were real indicators of potential weaknesses in horses that would make them unsuitable for the Hittite needs. She also discovered that many of the techniques were actually effective means of training and conditioning horses for endurance racing.

Another training method that I researched was Xenophon's *Peri Hippikes*, which details everything from raising a foal to buying an older horse and training them to be the best that they can be. Xenophon's work was translated by several authors, such as Dakyns, who wrote in 1891, a time when horses were still the primary form of transportation¹. Also from the time of automobile-less travel is Morgan's translation in 1893. The more recent 20th century translation I

¹ Shuckburgh also reviewed Dakyns' work, which added even more meaning to the translation.

consulted is Chambry's 1958 work, which gives slightly different explanations in the commentary about word choice or the meaning of Xenophon's insights.

Horsemanship

Apart from training manuals, there are also many works detailing general horse knowledge at this time. One of the most noticeable comes from Virgil's *Georgics*, since he uses a portion of Book III to discuss the life of a horse as a way of describing how an honorable man should live. Virgil begins with a foal and talks about compassionate methods of working with him until he grows into a fierce stallion who lusts for battle. Wilkinson writes both a translation of this section that is consulted as well as a critical survey of the *Georgics* that looks into the intricacies of this work and elaborates on the themes that arise within it.

Adams provides the most elaborate source on veterinary terminology in his *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire*. In this source, Adams takes treatises from Pelagonius, Vegetius, and Chiron, and uses them as a means of describing many important points about horse care through different levels of society. This proved interesting because the audience of each author brought different levels of detail and suggestions of treatment for different equines.

Also helpful in this study of horses is Kelekna's *The Horse in Human History*, which gives details about where horses came from and how their role changed as time went on. This text was also interesting because it discussed how technology evolved to suit the new needs of horses in these civilizations. Dixon's *The Roman Cavalry* provided similar insights in technology available to the

Roman cavalry members. Apart from these sources, Hyland's *Equus: the Horse in the Roman World* also provided useful information about how horses were viewed in the Roman times.

Scholars of Camilla

While it is important to understand the importance of Virgil's works and the prevalence of horses during Virgil's time, the main focus of this thesis concerns Camilla and her role as an outstanding heroine in the *Aeneid*. There is a great amount of scholarship that addresses Camilla as a character, the most useful to this thesis being Becker's "Ambiguity and the Female Warrior: Vergil's Camilla". This article explores the paradox of Camilla being a female warrior with predominately masculine traits, which is a key part of my analysis of how Camilla is an awe-inspiring and unique character. Boyd's study of "Virgil's Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis" is another interesting article concerning Camilla's role in the epic, a topic that Putnam looks into in broader strokes, as mentioned in the Virgil section above.

Apart from the articles directly describing Camilla, I also have research concerning the background of Camilla, the subject of Chapter I of this thesis. This background spans from historic ancient tribes, to stories from sources that are less credible. Ansary's *Destiny Disrupted: A History of the World through Islamic Eyes*, gives great detail concerning the Parthian connections that Camilla has, as well as details about the Persians. In a similar way, Kulikowski also writes about Rome's struggles against fighting tribes. Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* also gives more information about the history of early Rome.

Camilla also had famous horsewomen as predecessors to her character. The most notable of these come from the Amazons Penthesilea and Hippolyta. While Hippolyta gains fame in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, a tragedy about the son of Theseus and Hippolyta, Penthesilea gains importance in the *Posthomerica*, an epic written by Quintus of Smyrna and now widely accessible through the excellent modern translation of Alan James. Apart from this appearance, Penthesilea also appears in the *Iliad* as a fierce Amazonian warrior. Another woman I researched was Hippsecretea, an aid to Mithridates VI, the subject Mayor's biography, *The Poison King*. By looking at the mythological and actual fierce female warriors from ancient times, I gained a better perspective of what could come to mind when reading about Camilla.

The Author's Perspective

I conducted my research to explore the nature of Camilla's character and focus on her skills on horseback, a topic that I am very passionate about as an equestrian. I am writing this thesis in such a way that readers who are not familiar with the *Aeneid*, Classics, or horsemanship can appreciate my analysis. Since this approach forces me to prepare audiences of different backgrounds and level of expertise, I crafted Chapter I to create a foundation about Camilla for those who did not pay attention to her previously or did not notice the all the intricate backgrounds that Virgil lays for her. For those who are not familiar with horses and horsemanship, I wrote Chapter II to provide the ancient views of horses so that this knowledge could be in the mind of the reader as I transitioned into Chapter III—the analysis of Camilla in *Aeneid XI*. My hope is that my passion

for horses and the Classics will shine through this work and showcase everything I have learned while at Wheaton College, as well as make the readers of this thesis excited about such an amazing character as Camilla. While Virgil places her on horseback for most of her fighting scenes, he cannot focus solely on her horsemanship because he must use the lines he allotted to her to make her stand out as a truly unique and impressive female warrior in a world of men.

Chapter I: On Camilla's Background

Camilla's presentation as a warrior in her *aristeia* comes at 11.648-724 (Appendix C). Virgil gives her a back-story to set the context for this (Appendix A and B) and closes it with a death scene (Appendix C). In order to fully understand Camilla's *aristeia* (*Aen.* 11. 648-724), it is important to delve into the complex background that Virgil creates for his main battle heroine. While it is impossible to fully define what Virgil was thinking when creating Camilla, I will discuss many references that make her stand out as a character in the *Aeneid*. These references range from mythical and supernatural connections, to the different tribes who were historic opponents of Rome. The significant background that Virgil weaves for Camilla demonstrates that not only is Camilla a very important character, but also that Virgil has put a great deal of time and effort into making the scenes with Camilla meaningful and very detailed².

Camilla, a character created by Virgil and is never seen outside of this text, first appears in the *Aeneid* at the very end of the catalogue of heroes in Book Seven, and then resurfaces in Book Eleven to lead the Volscian people against Aeneas' attack on King Latinus' castle. While she is described by words such as *virgo* (11.664: "maiden"), *venatrix* (11.780: "huntress"), and *dia Camilla* (11.657: "godlike Camilla"), Virgil also uses descriptions that directly connect Camilla to specific mythical people. By calling her *Amazon* (11.648) and describing her

² Note that Camilla was a creation of Virgil and only occurs in the *Aeneid*.

carrying the *arma Dianae* (11.652: “arms of Diana”), readers of Virgil immediately connect Camilla to the great tribe of the Amazons and the goddess of young women, chastity, and the hunt—Diana.

Apart from these direct references, Virgil also draws connections between Camilla and tribes such as the Volscians by making her the leader and the Rutulians by having her fight on Turnus’ side of the battle. He also includes references to the Scythians due to their close ties with the legendary Amazons and to the Parthians after Camilla performs a “Parthian Shot”³ as part of Virgil’s battle scene. This chapter allows for me to explore the intricate background that Virgil creates from both mythological and actual tribes, both contemporary and historical, with the result that readers of this thesis will be prepared to understand the importance of Camilla in Virgil’s battle scene in Book Eleven.

Camilla and her Mythological Connections

The first instance of Camilla in the *Aeneid* appears in the catalogue of heroes in Book VII, when Virgil places her as the final hero in the list of warriors and uses descriptions of her awe-inspiring talents to close out the entirety of Book VII. This catalogue occurs as the first step in the battle of Turnus against Aeneas as Virgil evokes the help of the Muses of Helicon to list the important warriors from the Italian side. After listing many great warriors and giving a brief

³ *Spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu* (11. 654) (“firing her flying shafts from behind her” Ahl, 287). This Parthian battle tactic will be discussed in more detail in the tribal section on the Parthian tribe below.

description about what makes each man noteworthy on the Italian side, Virgil

turns his attention to Camilla:

*Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisque Minervae
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos.
Illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laeisset aristas,
vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis
ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.
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 pastorem praefixa cuspide myrtum. (7.803-817)*

“One further leader arrives: From the Volscian people, Camilla,
Leading a cavalry column. Her squads bloom bright in their
bronze-plate.

She is a woman of war who has never accustomed her female
Hands to Minerva’s spindle and baskets. She’s hardened for
battle’s

Hardness, this virgin, her swift feet could outrun the winds in a
foot race,

She could fly over the top of the highest stalks in a grainfield,
Leaving the tender ears of the crop unharmed by her crossing.
She could pass over the breadth of the sea, over waves, over
sea-swell

High up, speeding through air, never touching her feet to the
surface.

All the young people pour out of the field, out of homes, in
amazement,

As do their mothers, in crowds, just to watch from afar as she
passes.

Oh, how they gape, how they’re stunned that a kingly splendour
of purple

Mantles such delicate shoulders, that gold clasps thread through
her well-groomed

Tresses, that she’s bearing weapons herself, both a Lycian
quiver

And, though it’s capped with a spearhead, a shepherd’s staff
made of myrtle.” (Ahl, 184)

Apart from having the longest description, the lines about Camilla displays an image of impressive power and awestruck followers. As beautiful as she is fierce, Camilla stands tall with her weapons and changes the traditional view of a shepherd by attaching a spearhead to her staff, changing her from a peaceful watcher of sheep into a vehement slayer of men.

In addition to these weapons, Camilla has traits that give her superhuman abilities that allow her to run so swiftly that she can leave the tips of cornstalks untouched, can beat the wind in race, and can race across the water and not get her feet wet (*Aen.* 7.807-811). These skills stand out in the epic because they show that Camilla is very different from the other characters, for she is a mortal who has godlike abilities. The placement of this description is also significant, because she comes at the end of a long catalogue of heroes from the Latin side of battle. While it would be expected that Turnus, the antagonist of the epic, would take the most significant final placement of the catalogue, it is actually Camilla who gets this special honor. If this was not enough of a shock for those reading the *Aeneid*, it would be even more surprising that this Turnus-trumping character is a woman, since that would be totally unexpected in an epic battle scene where the emphasis is on being a manly hero rather than a feminine heroine.

There is another group of women that has this same exotic mix of masculinity and femininity that spring up throughout Roman and Greek mythology—the Amazon tribe. This group is interesting in regards to Camilla because it is one of the few tribes Virgil explicitly connects her to by calling her an Amazon when she was in the heart of battle against Aeneas' men: *At medias inter caedes exultat Amazon, / unum exserta*

latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla (*Aen.* 11.648-649: “Yet, where the slaughter is thickest, the Amazon prances, exposing/One of her flanks for the fight and equipped with a quiver: Camilla”, Ahl 287).. While this group of women warriors is brought up in the *Aeneid*, they are also seen throughout myth and oral traditions for hundreds of years. Known in the *Iliad* as the ἀντιάνειροι, “women matching men”, the Amazons were a mythical nation of female warriors made famous for their combination of masculinity and femininity. The name “amazon” on ancient etymology claims means “without breast”, signifying how the Amazons would remove their right breast (“μαζόν”) so that they could fight more effectively with their spears and bows and arrows. The Amazons challenged the reputation of heroes such as Achilles, Bellerophon, Hercules, and Theseus not only because of their excellence in battle, but also because of their gender⁴.

One of the main ways the Amazons begin to gain significance is from their appearance in many pieces of art. The first image of an Amazon in Archaic Greece is believed to come from a clay votary shield found in Tiryns (c. 700BC). Frequently in art they are represented on horseback as fighting and conquering either in groups or alone. The choice weapons for these depictions were bows and arrows or swords. The Amazons took on a particular significance after the Persian Wars as an example of how the Athenians addressed the Persian dangers.⁵

⁴ Even in Ancient Greece it was considered embarrassing to be bested by a woman.

⁵ As seen by the west metope on the Parthenon (447/440 BC), the shield of Athena Parthenos (447-438BC), mural by Micon in the Theseum and in the Stoa Poikile in Athens (c. 460 BC).

The Amazons were significantly prominent in artwork and mythology as strong female warriors. It seems that the interest in the Amazons is not only due to their superior fighting skills, but more because of the paradox that a strong, masculine warrior is in fact a woman. Fantham suggests that the Amazons are for women what centaurs are for representing men⁶, because the half-beast nature of a centaur allowed for violence and sexuality to overtake the rational side of men. In this same way, Amazons have an animalistic side of aggression, violence, and blood lust that often replaces the traditional role a woman was expected to fill in the Greek world.

The Amazons were mostly depicted as unfeminine and combative toward men. Hellanicus, a fifth-century BCE Greek historian, described the Amazons as “a golden-shielded, silver-axed, male-infant-killing host”⁷. Philostratus, a second century Greek sophist, also claims that they fed their daughters horse’s milk⁸ to prevent the enlargement of breasts (*Heroikos* 330). This nourishment style is in direct defiance to what a “traditional” mother would do when raising her children, since mothers would be expected to nurse their own children. Other aspects, such as their multiple sexual partners and lack of a place to call home, make the Amazons stand out as antithetical to Greek feminine ideals.

The two most well known women connected to the Amazons in Antiquity were sisters named Penthesilea and Hippolyta. I will reference the most detailed interaction of these women, which occurs in the work of a fourth century CE Greek author

⁶ Hercules stopped the centaurs from raping the Lapith women. Fantham, 131.

⁷ Fantham, 131.

⁸ Virgil describes Camilla as being raised on mare’s milk (*Aen.* 7.571-572).

named Quintus of Smyrna. Quintus wrote his *Posthomerica* about the period between the final moments of Homer's *Iliad* up to the end of the Trojan War. Penthesilea is a key character in Book One of this work, since she appears as a warring Amazon who is thirsty for battle. Quintus of Smyrna claims that she comes to Troy to validate the excellent battle skills of the Amazons, as well as to appease the gods after accidentally killing her sister, Hippolyta, during a hunt⁹. Penthesilea first tries to face Telamonian Ajax, who laughs at her and feels that she is unfit to fight him since she is not a man. Telamonian Ajax then calls Achilles, who arrives and kills her in just a few blows, but falls in love after removing her helmet and wishes that he could have been her husband, rather than her killer¹⁰. Penthesilea's fierceness in battle is something that Camilla is easily related to, and both women face ridicule from men for being a woman in battle.¹¹ While Penthesilea falls short in her fighting against Achilles, Camilla takes down many fierce warriors before being killed by Arruns as he hides in some bushes.

Apart from the myth about Penthesilea killing Hippolyta, there are two other significant myths about the death of Hippolyta, the queen of the Amazon tribe. The first occurs as part of the telling of the ninth labor of Hercules, which was to go after the girdle of Hippolyta. Since she was considered the queen of the Amazons, it would be a huge honor to take something so valuable. Hippolyta was willing to give the girdle to Hercules, but Hera, always the troublemaker, spread rumors throughout the Amazons that Hercules was going to kidnap their leader. Thus the Amazons charge

⁹ James, 1.

¹⁰ James, 1-20.

¹¹ Camilla is ridiculed by the Son of Aunus, a scene which is addressed in Chapter III.

toward Hercules' ship, causing him to panic and kill Hippolyta so that he can get away from the angry Amazons quickly (Apollodorus *Library* 2.5.9). The third version of Hippolyta's life and death is connected to Theseus. While traveling with Hercules to obtain Hippolyta's girdle, Theseus abducts Hippolyta and makes her his wife. He then brings the pregnant Hippolyta back to Athens with him, starting the Amazonomachy¹², a battle between the Amazons and Athens. After giving birth to her son, Hippolytus¹³, Hippolyta returns to the Amazons, but soon returns when she hears of Theseus' marriage to Phaedra. As she charges into the wedding ceremony with her Amazonian warriors, a great fight begins, and unfortunately Hippolyta is one of the casualties.

Apart from their fierceness in battle, it appears that strong horsemanship is linked to masculinity. In the Trojan Games scene in Book Five, Ascanius and other youths perform complex maneuvers in a group, demonstrating the elegance and power that strong horsemanship provides. These drills would be similar to those that Xenophon describes in Chapter II, and would be impressive to bystanders watching. While Camilla also demonstrates a bond with her horse, it is one based on trust and survival, rather than practiced movements. When Camilla turns and gallops in her fighting, she is demonstrating how she and her horse are united in the fight, while

¹² Depicted in the metopes of the Parthenon on the west side.

¹³ Hippolytus, "unleasher of horses", also meets a terrible demise after his stepmother, Phaedra, gets her advances rejected by him. Phaedra tells Theseus that Hippolytus raped her, so Theseus asks Poseidon, god of the sea symbolized by horses, to curse Hippolytus. As Hippolytus rides along the beach, Poseidon has a sea monster frighten Hippolytus' horses, who then run away and drag Hippolytus until he dies. (Euripides, *Hipp.* 45).

Ascanius will have practiced his movements with his horse many times in order to create unison and awe-inspiring maneuvers.¹⁴

Overall, seeing a reference to the Amazons is meant to evoke images of defiance, aggression, and masculinity. An Amazon-like character would also be a fierce warrior and skilled on horseback. The exotic factor of the Amazons would also make their opponents nervous, since their lifestyle was so foreign to that of people like the Greeks. Thus, when comparing Camilla to an Amazon it would be a compliment to her battle skills, but would still demonstrate that Camilla is certainly not an average character. Virgil takes many lines to draw connections between Camilla and the Amazons, and also highlights Camilla's special gifts that make her stand out in battle as a way to escalate her importance in scenes and gives her character a rich background.

Tribes Associated with Camilla

Apart from the mythical connections to the Amazons and the bond with Diana since infancy, Camilla also has connections to many tribes surrounding Rome before Virgil's time. The key tribes that Virgil connects Camilla to are the Volscians, Rutulians, Parthians, and Scythians. While some alliances are more significant than others, all demonstrate Camilla's strong fighting skills and her abilities on horseback. The combination of all of these traits lead readers of Virgil

¹⁴ A detailed description of horsemanship and riding styles is in Chapter II, while the discussion for the bond between horse and rider is further described in Chapters II and III. The theme of masculinity and horsemanship is not limited to scenes involving riders on horseback. Turnus is described as a stallion running freely in 11.492-97.

to inherently develop feelings of Camilla representing the lands of ancient “foreigners” to Rome and representing the untamed Italian countryside as she continually shows up in the *Aeneid*.

The Italic Tribes

The first group that Virgil targets with his description of Camilla is the Volscian people, since Virgil makes Camilla their leader. While the Volscian people were well known from the first century BCE, records dating back to the third and fourth centuries BCE also show that they were still significant from these early times. Famous stories of the feats of Romans exist, such as those of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus or Gaius Marcius Coriolanus. Livy claims that Tarquinius overtook the Volscian town of Suessa Pometia in the sixth century BCE and used the spoils to create the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*Ab Urbe Condita* 1.53), while Coriolanus earned his cognomen by conquering the Volscian town of Corioli in 493 BCE, a feat that is described in Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus*. Apart from these stories of struggles, accounts of Rome and the Volscians working together at times also exist. Livy writes about a time during the battle between the Romans and the Clusian¹⁵ army in 508 BCE that the Roman Senate arranged the purchase of grain from the Volscians to feed some of the lower classes of Rome (*Ab Urbe Condita* 2.10). By making Camilla a fierce warrior on the Latin’s and Turnus’ side of battle, Virgil preserves the unique

¹⁵ An ancient Etruscan city located in northern central Italy on the west side of the Apennines. (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.25).

nature of the Volscians being both an aid and detriment to Roman progress and how she can be fiercely respected but also conquered by those who are founding the city of Rome.

Apart from the Volscians, the other key group of opponents of Aeneas and his Trojans are the Rutulian (Latin) people. The Rutulians were based slightly southeast of Rome around the main city of Ardea. Livy writes that in the sixth century BCE, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus also went after the Rutulians in the hope getting spoils from the wealthy city. After beginning the siege of Ardea, it appears that the Roman monarchy was overthrown by revolution, and a new leader emerged for the Roman side—Lucius Junius Brutus. After this change in leadership, Livy writes that it is unclear as to what became of the assault on the Rutulians (*Ab Urbe Condita* 1.57). The Rutulians were mainly significant in the *Aeneid* because of the connection to Turnus, since in the epic he is a young prince who is promised the daughter of Latinus, king of the Latins. After Lavinia is given to Aeneas instead, Turnus becomes enraged and gathers other tribes, including Camilla and the Volscians, to fight on his side of the battle.

The Near-Eastern Tribes

Aside from the obvious *Aeneid* connections to the Volscians and Rutulians in Italy, Virgil also adds in Book Eleven more subtle references to foreign tribes such as the Parthians and the Scythians. Both of these peoples have strong connections to Camilla's through her skills on horseback and her fighting techniques. Although the Parthians were mostly known during Virgil's time for

their excellence in war, there is the concept of the Parthian Shot. This involves horsemen pretending to flee from their attackers while shooting arrows backwards over their shoulders. This was thought to be a successful means of attack because the enemy would not be so concerned about protecting themselves while they were in pursuit of the Parthians, thus allowing skilled archers the ability to take advantage of the situation. The Scythians are archaeologically linked to the Amazon tribe, since armed Scythian women were discovered in some burial mounds, and the Parthian connection comes more from the specific nature of the Parthian Shot, since it appears that it was a maneuver performed only by the Parthians. The Parthians were also considered extremely worrisome to the Romans, since they were one of the few groups able to compete militarily with the Romans in battle. Although these tribes are unique and known for different skills, they would unite in the mind of Virgil's audience as people existing outside of the *orbis Romanus*, thus adding to the feeling that Camilla is an opponent and a character who should not be supported in the *Aeneid*.

The Parthian tribes were a large group of nomadic hunters and traders based in modern day Iran who were later called Persian after the Parthians were overtaken by the Persian Empire. The Greeks, strong supporters of trade, often referred to the Parthian capital as Hecatompylos, "the hundred gated", due to the numerous trade routes coming together at that city¹⁶.

¹⁶ Ansary, 12.

Aside from having a thriving trade industry, the Parthians were skilled warriors and often fought against the Romans. In 53 BCE, the Parthians beat the Romans in the battle of Carrhae and killed Crassus, the co-ruler of Rome alongside Caesar and Pompey¹⁷. Only a few decades later, the Parthians also went after Mark Antony and used Antony's defeat to mark the Euphrates River as the new border between the two empires¹⁸. The Parthians developed excellent battle strategies and were reliant on their skills throughout many wars. While many fortresses and strongholds were supported during these times, there are not as many mentions of horses being involved, except for the light-armed cavalry performing the Parthian Shots and cataphracts, horses and horsemen clad in full battle armor. It appears that horses were be useful for transporting troops, supplies, and important officials from site to site, but they were not as revered and important as they were to the lives of the final key tribe for this section, the Scythians.

The Scythian people were a nomadic group who lived in modern-day southern Russia, the Ukraine, and central Asia. Scythian tribes were much wider spread than the Parthians, since the different nomadic groups which fall under the title of "Scythian" had connections to other widely spread tribes such as the Goths¹⁹. The Scythians are a very difficult race to define, since they are a grouping of many different nomadic tribes spread from Mongolia to the Carpathian Alps, but the major emphasis are the tribes in eastern Europe in the second quarter of

¹⁷ Ansary, 13.

¹⁸ Ansary, 13.

¹⁹ Kulikowski, Michael (2007). *Rome's Gothic Wars from the Third Century to Alaric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 15

the 2nd century BC, where finds from the Sabatinova culture show warriors on horseback.

The Scythians not only relate to Camilla's fighting style, but they also have a strong connection to the Amazons, since many of the Amazon burial grounds were next to the tumuli and kurgans that the Scythian leaders were placed in. Horses were so important to the Scythians that there are instances of horses being buried in kurgans alongside human bodies. A significant amount of grave goods has been preserved as well, which show amphoras of wine, jewelry, and equipment such as harnesses for horses²⁰. The burial of horses is significant. As most tumuli are created for only the elite, showing that either their owners were very attached to their horses and wanted them to join them in the afterlife, or the Scythians thought very highly of these animals, since there is no mention of any other animal being included in these tombs²¹.

Camilla is a character that would conjure up images of Cleopatra, another Near-Eastern woman who stirred up trouble for the Romans during Augustus' time. Since Virgil was writing under Augustus' patronage, it would make sense that Camilla, an impressive female warrior with connections to the East would be

²⁰ Pauly volume 13, "Scythae"

²¹ Horse breeding north of the Black Sea in Pontos becomes quite significant and nomadism improved by four-wheeled carts appears in the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age. Different harnesses, discs, pendants, and buckles can link the Scythians to a north-south migration pattern and demonstrate how influence could spread through such wide-ranging travelling.

a problem for the success of Aeneas, and must be killed off before Rome can be founded and achieve glory²².

Summary

Not only does Camilla stand out due to her amazing fighting skills, but also because of the level of detail Virgil adds to her as a character. Instead of just making yet another male warrior who assists Turnus in battle, Virgil decides to design Camilla as a woman, directly tied to Diana, to the Amazons, to the Volscians, to the Rutulians, to the Parthians, and to the Scythians. Camilla appears to be unstoppable in battle, facing off with some of the best warriors and bringing them to their death; even from a young age she has supernatural abilities. She is a melting pot of different cultures and characteristics, and draws the attention of the reader because of her gender, nationality, and connection to so many famous cultures. The level of detail that Virgil puts into Camilla will stand out more as I closely analyze the Camilla episode (*Aen.* 11. 646-724) in Chapter III, because the intricate background that Virgil uses when discussing Camilla is missing when he discusses horses and horsemanship, an area rich in information, as the next chapter will demonstrate.

²² Stepping out of this non-fiction realm, Virgil creates Dido, the queen of Carthage who comes from the East and complicates Aeneas' mission to found Rome. While her death is self-inflicted, it was still necessary for her to die in order for the fulfillment of Rome's foundation to continue.

Chapter II: **On Horses and Horsemanship**

Stepping away from the complex background of Virgil's Camilla, I will now shift my focus to the other key aspect of this thesis: horses. Horses were extremely important to those living in Greece and Italy during the Classical Era, since they were useful for farming, transporting their owners, going into battle, and for entertaining large groups of people attending chariot races or parades. Because of the vast number of uses horses had during this time, many different ancient authors address the most important points regarding horses.

I will be dividing this chapter into two main sections—the veterinary view of the horse, and the training and selection of a great horse. By separating the sources into these two groups, I will be able to contrast physiological knowledge and training and selection. At the end of this chapter, the reader will have a stronger grasp of not only what the ancient writers deemed important when writing about horses, but also a stronger sense of horses and horsemanship in general. By reading this chapter in light of the previous chapter discussing Camilla, the reader will be thoroughly prepared to look into an in-depth analysis of Virgil's scene of Camilla on horseback (*Aen.* 11. 646-724).

Veterinarian Views on Horses

Dr. J.N. Adams wrote *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* as the eleventh volume of John Scarborough's *Studies in Ancient*

Medicine series. Apart from being a professor of Latin in the University of Manchester, Adams has published many books on Latin linguistics and often looks into sub- and non-literary varieties of Latin. Originally planning to write a monograph on the text and language of Pelagonius' *Ars Veterinaria*, Adams adjusted his work so that he could place the language of Pelagonius into a wider veterinary context by comparing his writings to those of Vegetius' *Mulomedicina*, Columella, Varro, and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. Adams analyzes all of the veterinary texts from a philological standpoint, homing in on the precision of each author and the significance of the words used to describe different parts of the horse and views on animal care. While this is fascinating, I am not as interested in exploring the significance of these authors in that regard, so I will be using Adams' text primarily as a resource to broadly explore the works of Vegetius, Chiron, and Pelagonius: what did Romans really know about the nature of the horse?

When looking at the works of these different fourth century CE veterinarians, the audiences of the authors must be considered. The author Chiron uses very general terms to discuss how to care for animals and must have a correspondingly general audience. For authors such as Vegetius and Pelagonius have audiences from a higher social class. Vegetius and Pelagonius, surprisingly deploy rhetoric to supplement their own views. Both writers bring in authors such as Varro, Columella and Apsyrtus²³ to add more credence to their writing. The most significant points that stand out in a discussion of Chiron, Pelagonius,

²³ A Greek veterinary writer.

and Vegetius arise from identifying their audiences, the author's background in horsemanship, and *how* each author gained this knowledge.

Adams begins his book with non-specialist treatment of animals in the first section, and then carefully explains what his main authors were writing about as well as their audience. Adams then looks at the "Pelagonian" and the "non-Pelagonian" elements in the *Ars Veterinaria* that are all credited to Pelagonius.²⁴ Scholars hoped to update Pelagonius' text by incorporating a newly discovered manuscript into more detailed descriptions of treatment plans and techniques. Adams then delves into all three treatises of the authors, looking at diseases and anatomical terms and comparing descriptions of horses, donkeys, and mules from each of the writers. To conclude his book, Adams analyzes the language of Pelagonius by looking at syntax, word order, morphology, and vocabulary to draw general conclusions about his writing. An epilogue is added as a summation of Pelagonius, the *ueterinarii* in general, and technical terminology.

Adams traces back the sources that Chiron, Pelagonius, and Vegetius use, stressing the importance of Varro and Columella. Adams also introduces the general classification of "equine" into his work to reflect not only horses, but also donkeys and mules. A donkey typically enjoys the lowest status of animal, since he survives on little food and can be neglected by his master.²⁵ Adams cites Varro's explanation of the main uses of donkeys:

²⁴ The reason for this classification of what was written by Pelagonius is that there are two manuscripts of this treatise, so some vagueness is expected.

²⁵ Columella 7.1.2: *tum imprudentis custodis negligentiam fortissime sustinet*. ("Then, it survives most bravely the neglect of a careless guardian", translation by author).

Quorum greges non sane fiunt, nisi <ex> eis qui onera portant, ideo quo plerique diducuntur ad molas aut ad agri culturam, ubi quid uehendum est, aut etiam ad arandum, ubi leuis est terra, ut in Campania. Greges fiunt fere mercatorum, ut eorum qui e Brundisino aut Apulia asellis dossuariis comportant ad mare oleum aut uinum itemque frumentum aut quid aliut. (Rust. 2.6.5)

“But there really are no herds of these animals except of those that carry loads, for the reason that they are sent to the mills, or to the fields for hauling, or even for plowing where the land is lighter, as it is in Campania. The herds are usually formed by the traders, as those who collect oil or wine or grain or other products from Brundisium or Apulia in donkey saddlebags for sea trade.”
(trans. by me)

Donkeys served a key role in the lives of merchants, since they could transport goods, draw a plow, and also be used to ride back home²⁶, since they were used to bear weight. Donkeys were typically used by market gardeners, tenants, and those operating small-scale farms because a donkey would not be as expensive as other animals²⁷. While donkeys were extremely useful on farms, they appear to not be glamorous enough for some writers to include them in their veterinary treatises in any specific way, although general cures for equine²⁸ injuries could be applied to them.

Adams’ discussion of mules functions as a transition into horses. The most interesting observation that is made is based on the variation between the use of *mulus* and *mula* to describe mules and their different roles in society. It appears that *mulus* was used exclusively with *clitellarius* or *clitellae*, which indicates parts

²⁶ Riding donkeys are contrasted with baggage donkeys in P. *Grenf.* 2.14b.5-6: “ὄνους βαδιστάς πέντε ... καί τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα ὄνους {τοὺς σ}κ{ε}υοφόρους”. While some donkeys were for riding, others were accustomed to bearing loads.

²⁷ Cato shows donkeys on somewhat larger farms (11.1) and discusses the need for donkeys or mules for all wagons and millwork (62).

²⁸ Here I am referring to “equine” as explained by Adams, which includes mules, donkeys, and horses.

of a packsaddle²⁹. The female mule is considered more suited for transport and carriage travel³⁰ since Columella believes that the female mules were more agile and would allow for faster transportation.

Mulomedicina Chironis

The earliest main work that Adams looks into is the *Mulomedina Chironis*, the longest and most detailed of the Latin veterinary treatises and which is believed to have been written in the fourth century CE. Its sheer length and level of detail make it more difficult to ascertain the attitude of the author (since it is extremely technical and Chiron does not share his opinions as readily as Pelagonius or Vegetius), and the Latinity of the work is considered “vulgar” by Vegetius himself in his treatise (1 prol. 3.), although it is difficult to make a judgment about language when this work survives only in two corrupt manuscripts. The author appears to be a practicing doctor, referring to himself as *medicus* and describing treatments by using the first person singular and plural endings (“I...”, “we...”), giving the sense that he has actually performed many of

²⁹ Adams notes that this occurs in Plaut. *Most.* 780, Cic. *Top.* 36, Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.47, Livy 10.40.8, Col. 2.21.3, Phaedr. *App.* 31.7. Further discussion in Adams (1993), 42.

³⁰ Female mules were regularly used to draw carriages of the wealthy in the Imperial period (cf. e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 87.8, Mart. 3.62.5f., 9.22.13, Suet. *Nero* 30.3, *H.A., Ver.* 5.4). Varro tells a story in *Rust.* 3.17.7 that it would be easier to take Hortensius from his carriage mules than it would be to take a mullet from his pond (*celerius uoluntate Hortensi ex equili educeres redarias, ut tibi haberes, mulas, quam e piscine barbatum mullum*, “Hortensius would faster agree to have you take one of his carriage mules out of his stable than one of his bearded mules from the fish pond”, translation by author). Although Hortensius valued his fish more than the mule, he would still have to think highly of the mules (which are feminine) for this to mean anything significant.

these treatments, rather than other writers who merely explain the theory behind caring for animals. Chiron appears to be much more even-handed with his description of equine animals, using the word *iumentum* to represent all equines except for oxen, since those are contrasted: *unde iumenta aut boues deprehenduntur et moriuntur* (125) (“from whence the working animals and the oxen are caught and die”, trans. by me). When Vegetius and Pelagonius choose to remain general with their descriptions, Chiron boldly explains his point of view in specifics. When he wants to discuss horses, he uses the word *equus*; when he wants to describe the dust bothering a chariot horse’s feet, he explains it in a clear manner: *de curricularibus equis [quis] et de pulueris uexatione omnibus subiugalibus* (504) (“for the annoyance of the dust was bothering the chariot horses and bothering all those yoked together”, translation by author). Although this entire passage was not written for only racehorses, it is understood that Chiron had them in mind for this example and wanted his audience to also think of them as he uses vivid descriptions to explain his point.

In Chiron’s *Mulomedicina*, the majority of the references do not concern an *equus*, but more the *iumentum*. This means that when Chiron mentions a horse it is a very specific and important concept. At the same time, the lack of horse references indicates that Chiron’s target audience is most likely the one that Vegetius and Pelagonius deem not important enough to care about—the poorer animal owners. It makes sense that Chiron would provide such a detailed and “vulgar” work for them, since these people would need to know how to take care of their animals themselves and would want to have it laid out clearly for them,

rather than a lofty and complicated discussion that a higher class audience might expect. Chiron's readers need to know how to deal with bowel movements and infected sores, topics that might not sit well with wealthier horse owners who have grooms to deal with the unsavory parts of being a horse owner. The fact that Chiron focuses on the *iumentum* as his key description of the animals involved shows that he wants to be able to help those who own mules or donkeys look after their animals and not feel that they are not important just because they don't have a fancy and praiseworthy horse.

Pelagonius' Ars Veterinaria

Later into the fourth century, Pelagonius focuses on an upper-class audience who would not need to have a manual for treating their horses, because they would most likely have slaves to do the most menial tasks of healing injured horses. One of the additional ways scholars learn of Pelagonius' background is from the epistles he wrote that shed light on his views of horses. Unlike Chiron's style of titling each section of his treatise with the ailment and then detailing how to alleviate the problem, Pelagonius adopts a practice from Apsyrtus' writings³¹. Pelagonius, following the Apsyrtian models of writing an epistle opening in response to the letter, discussing the symptoms and defining the ailment, then giving recipes and instructions on treatment; other miscellaneous comments on either the ailment or treatment style follow. These epistles and comments allow

³¹ Though to be the chief veterinarian surgeon of Constantine, Apsyrtus was a respected author of veterinary texts. (Prioreschi, 122)

for Pelagonius' personality to shine through more than Chiron's personality does in his writing e.g. Epistle 163, written to Astyrius, provides evidence that Pelagonius was involved with racehorse owners. Apart from having a well-known interest in racehorses³², Astyrius was a private charioteer (*tibi aurigae priuato*); since he was not a slave he was excluded from being employed as a professional charioteer³³. Although Pelagonius writes excitedly about racehorses, he does not appear to be interested in breeding³⁴ or in military horses, although many of his remedies would be just as relevant to military horses as any other horses. The most common task for equine animals described by Pelagonius was for transportation and travel. Pelagonius emphasizes the danger of injury due to *pondus* ("weight") in either of these situations, since a heavy rider or a heavy load over a long period of time could severely injure the horse's back.

Pelagonius completely ignores donkeys in his writing, and it appears that his intended audience would be people with enough wealth to afford either horses or mules and the slaves to care for them³⁵. He makes a distinction between

³² *Tuus ille circa generositatem equorum curulium affectus* (163) ("You are that man who is affected around the noble chariots pulled by horses", translation by author)

³³ Just as Nero privately raced so that his activities as a charioteer would be hidden from the public, Pelagonius stresses the shame associated with an amateur with social standing who races in public. For Tacitus on Nero's track, see Tac. Ann. 14.14.2: *clausumque ualle Vaticana spatium, in quo equos reeret, haud promiscuo spectaculo*. "there was a closed off space in the Vatican valley in which he could work horses without becoming a spectacle", translation by author).

³⁴ Which contrasts with the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, which has book VIII focusing only on breeding.

³⁵ Pelagonius gives a cure for *pauperes domini* to use at 25, but this is the only time that it appears he is writing for a humble animal owner. Adams suggests that the word choice reflects Apuleius' *pauperculus hortulanus* in *Met.* 9.31, who only owned a single donkey.

saddled animals, a male mule used as a pack animal carrying a *sarcina*, and the female mule who is yoked (*iuncta*) and used for traction. With such diverse uses for mules and horses, it is clear that although Pelagonius was interested in chariot horses, his treatise was not written solely for them³⁶.

Vegetius' Mulomedicina

While Vegetius's *Mulomedicina* is also classified as a late fourth century work, Adams places it after Pelagonius' *Ars Veterinaria* because it references both Pelagonius and Chiron. Vegetius' audience is very similar to that of Pelagonius, in that they both write to people of the upper class and include the criteria for horses that they value. Vegetius, an owner and breeder of horses who was interested in *equi nobiles*, wrote his treatise with wealthy owners in mind. He also has a very specific idea of what one of these horses will behave like: *postremo circa equos, siue ad uehendos locupletes aptos siue in circi contentione uictores siue in proeliis ut ita dixerim probatissimos bellatores, acerrimum studium amoremque constat esse dominorum* (1 prol. 11) ("after going around horses, whether for deservingly carrying rich things or as winners in a fighting on a circular track, or in battles that I will call esteemed fighters, he agrees to have the same zealous love or hatred that his master holds", trans. by me). This mentality is very different from a writer such as Chiron, who is concerned about taking care of the animals regardless of the owner's social class. Vegetius continually stresses the

³⁶ Contrary to writers such as Hyland who believes that all he wrote about was chariot racing.

importance of the rich needing the best animals and the importance of being a diligent owner:

Praecipue seruorum impatientia, qui absentibus dominis ad cursum equos uehementer stimulant et non solum flagellis sed etiam calcaribus caedunt, dum aut inter suos uelocitatem cupiunt experiri aut cum alienis uehementi obstinatione contendunt...(13) quam rem diligens paterfamilias summa seueritate prohibebit, et iumenta sua idoneis et moderatis hominibus scientibusque tractare permittet. (1.56.12-13)

“Particularly the impatience of servants, who, in the absence of their master, violently overwork the horses making them run, beating them not only with whips but also with spurs, while some among themselves want to test speed while other contend with different men in violent stubbornness...(13) a diligent leader of the household will prohibit these practices with the greatest severity, and will give over his *iumenta* only to moderate men to handle with men who are mindful of the proper methods and moderation of labor” (trans. by me).

Vegetius demonstrates that his audience is wealthy when he discusses how slaves working as grooms could be overly harsh or could overwork the horse with whips or spurs. The idea that the owner could be absent from his farm also shows that the owner is wealthy enough to afford help to run his land and take care of his animals while he is off doing other tasks.

Apart from discussing the *equi nobiles*, Vegetius also classifies the primary uses of horses are for warfare, riding, and racing in the circus: *nam ut uiliora ministeria taceamus, equos tribus usibus uel maxime necessarios constat: proeliis circo sellis* (3.6.2). Adams notes that Vegetius does not specify what *uiliora ministeria* would involve, although Juv. 8.67 reflects that old or intractable horses

could be used in turning mills³⁷. Adams cites Varro as an additional example, since he goes into more depth on the function of horses:

Equi quod alii sunt ad rem militarem idonei, alii ad uecturam, alii ad admissuram, alii ad cursuram, non item sunt spectandi atque habeni....neque idem qui vectorios facere uult ad ephippium aut ad raedam, quod qui ad rem militarem, quod ut ibi ad castra habere uolunt acres, sic contra in uiis habere malunt placidos. (Rust. 2.7.15)

“Some horses are suitable for military service, some for the cart, some for breeding, some for racing, and others for the carriage...nor does he want the same thing who wishes a cart horse choose the same conformation as a horse intended for the saddle or carriage: for as the one desires fierceness for military service, the other prefers a gentle disposition for use on the road” (translation by author).

While Varro discusses warfare, breeding, racing, and transportation via carriage or riding, Vegetius only writes about horses under saddle (*sellis*). This could indicate that Vegetius does not believe that horses were used for such a lowly task as carriage hauling, but since he later appears to disregard pulling vehicles for any equines at 2.59.1³⁸, it appears that he is unaware of the widespread popularity of carriage transport instead of riding saddle horses.³⁹

To the extent that Pelagonius loved chariot horses, Vegetius is enamored with saddle horses, and devotes sections of his treatise to training a horse to walk

³⁷ Many other commentaries believe that it would be unusual to use horses in such a way since menial tasks were given to mules and donkeys in particular. However, Col. 2.20.4 claims that horses could be used for threshing.

³⁸ *Exceptis enim his, qui deputati sunt circo, reliquum equorum mulorum asinorumque genus sub sellis aut sagmis solo tergo prastat officium.* (for with these being left out, who are cut off from the track, the remaining group of horses, mules, and donkeys under saddles and packages take their duty alone on their back”, translation by author)

³⁹ Vegetius felt that it was more glorious and high-status to be seen riding a beautiful horse, rather than to be pulled in a chariot by a lesser animal, thus why he discounts how many people would enjoy riding in a carriage instead.

with short high steps, as well as different breeds and characteristics of an exceptional horse. While he allows for different Persian horses to be used for short or long distances, Pelagonius always emphasizes that the horse must be exceptional in quality. An interesting point in Vegetius' writing is his discussion of different sized horses. He describes a medium-sized horse of a respectable stature as *staturae honestae*, while a larger horse would be of the first-grade (*primae formae*). Since the height of the horse could be perceived as a measure of prestige, it would be an important consideration for wealthy buyers and breeders of quality horses, while a donkey owner would not care so much about height as much as how hard the horse could work. Since Vegetius writes a useful treatise to describe wealthy owners and horses used for riding, he is very limited with regard to veterinary practices, circus horses, and other animals such as mules or donkeys. It is this upper-class bias that makes it a difficult resource for any reader to use on its own; however, it does provide a perspective on what the owners would know about horsemanship compared to what the grooms would have to know to take care of the animals, which is more similar to the works of other authors.

Summary

Overall, these three veterinarian treatises as discussed by Adams provide a sweeping view of the different Roman experiences working with horses and other equines in the fourth century CE. From Chiron's *Mulomedicina Chironis* giving first-hand advice on how to care for any equine, to Pelagonius and

Vegetius' thoughts on chariot racing and saddle horses, the whole spectrum of social classes and experiences with horses is explored. While Vegetius and Pelagonius feel the need to cite Columella and Varro to validate their writing, Chiron uses his own knowledge and experience to support his views. It is also noteworthy that Chiron's treatise could apply to any social class (though later writers such as Vegetius feel that the word choice is slightly too "vulgar" at times) and help anybody interested in saving their equine. It will become clear in the next section just how important it is for anybody involved with equines to actually care about the wellbeing of the animal and the connection between horse and human, instead of focusing solely on what services it can provide.

Training and Selecting an Appropriate Horse

While the authors in the veterinary section of this chapter looked toward the care of different types of horses (e.g. chariot horses, racehorses or saddle horses), I will now shift to authors who have very strong views on what a great horse looks like and how a responsible horse owner should train and take care of his horse. Just as in the previous section, I will be emphasizing each author's intended audience, since this changes the focus of the writing and often sheds light on why these texts are written. While the sources in this section will span over 1,000 years, there is a common factor among them all—a strong focus on caring about the emotional well-being of a horse during training and in general. This delicate connection between horse and human is so prevalent in modern times that it is astonishing to read about it from these Classical writers. In the

Aeneid, Camilla uses her abilities on horseback in the same way that she uses many different weapons in battle—both give her the opportunity to enhance her fighting techniques. While it is useful to have multiple swords, being on horseback gives a warrior a huge tactical advantage, since Camilla is able to not only pursue opponents in the woods and over rough terrain, but she is able to flee effectively as well. There is also the obvious factor that a warrior on horseback stands out from the foot soldiers as a “head above the rest” and would appear intimidating to those fighting on foot.

Many ancient authors who write about horses feel that they must provide a specific description of what their ideal horse looks like and how it behaves. From these descriptions, the authors then extrapolate on ways to train and work with exceptional animals. The lens of each author also shapes the method of writing. When Virgil discusses horses in *Georgics* III, he is using the life of a horse to give details of the life of a good man. This ranges from the signs of greatness as a foal all the way up to dealing with an aged stallion who can no longer fight in battle. At the other end of the literary spectrum, a Hittite horse trainer named Kikkuli creates a manual on how to train Arabian horses to be successful endurance horses as well as warhorses, since this nomadic tribe would need their horses for travel to the battle as well as for their most successful method of fighting. Xenophon, a former Greek general, writes his *Peri Hippikes* (“On Horsemanship”) as an in-depth manual on how to select and train an outstanding horse by looking at twelve different aspects. By looking at Kikkuli’s method of horse training, the *Peri Hippikes*, and *Georgics* III, we are able to get a better sense

of how people would look at horses and what care is given to these animals. By learning about the different training and care methods, one gains an appreciation for the treatment of horses in the Classical Era, this enhances one's perception of Camilla's horsemanship moving onto the analysis of Camilla's fighting scenes. While horses and horse care were part of everyday life for Romans, it is no longer the case that many people in the 21st century work around horses, thus I am using ancient authors as a means of orienting the readers of this thesis into the time and effort of working around horses.

The Hittite Horse Training Method

The earliest text on horsemanship and horse training comes from a Hittite training manual referred to as the Kikkuli Text, which can be dated to 1345 BCE. The Hittites were an empire based in northern Anatolia since the 18th century BCE, and the first major city was called Hattusa. As the Hittites became a powerful empire and reached their height in the 14th century BCE, their horses surpassed all others in the world. Since these horses were expected to march for weeks and then gallop all day in battle, it was important for the Hittites to find a training method to prepare their horses for such a stressful lifestyle. This method is explained by Kikkuli, a trainer from Mitanni, an area that encompasses northern Syria up to southeast Anatolia and is famous for its horse training skills.

In an attempt to connect these 14th century BCE training techniques to modern society's training styles, Dr. Ann Nyland explored Kikkuli's training style to ascertain if it was actually a successful method by testing it in a modern

experiment. As part of her doctoral studies in 1990, Dr. Nyland translated into English what she calls “The Kikkuli Text”⁴⁰, four clay tablets written in Hittite that were found in Hattusa. In June 1991, she began an experiment in replicating of its seven-month exercise program with ten Arabian horses. Not only was that breed used by the Hittites, but Nyland is an Arabian breeder and longtime endurance competitor.

The Kikkuli Method begins primarily by leading the horse at the trot, canter, and gallop without a rider. Since the cardiovascular system of a horse develops faster than the skeletal system, a horse can gain stamina by being led at these gaits before the added physical and psychological stress of a rider or driver is added. Apart from starting the horses slowly, this method focuses on interval training so that the horse is never brought to the point of fatigue, when injuries most often occur and horses lose their enthusiasm for work. In order to combat this physical and mental fatigue, the horse experiences the same workout for set periods of consecutive days. One of the early exercises is for a horse to be led at the trot for 7.5 miles; this is repeated for ten days in a row. As the intensity of the workout increases, the number of consecutive days decreases. So, when the horse is doing 26.25 miles⁴¹ at the trot daily, the exercise is only repeated for five consecutive days. This allows for the horse to feel energized and strong while still remaining excited about exercise, rather than sulky and resentful. After the

⁴⁰ It is not clear if this text had a specific name. Nyland refers to it in her book as “The Kikkuli Text” or “The Kikkuli Method”.

⁴¹ Since it would be difficult for a person to keep up with a trotting horse for this distance, Kikkuli recommended having the horse trot alongside a chariot for the distance. Dr. Nyland replicated this by using a car, since she did not have a chariot at her disposal.

trotting stamina is well established, the canter is introduced, first in short sessions; soon all the workouts are performed at the canter. At this time the horse is also given frequent rest days as well as several shorter workouts on the same day. The resting times are also important, because they will help the horse's recovery time decrease and also maintain his interest in the training sessions.

Early on in the training there is a four-day period for culling, in which several tests are performed to see if the horse's abilities are worth all the time and resources being put into it. If not, the horse is sold to people⁴² who only use their horses in battle. The Hittite's needs are very specific, for their horses need to have enough stamina to help their riders succeed both in transporting them to the front lines and also in fighting in the battle.

The Kikkuli Method is concerned with the psychological well-being of the horse, since it is important to have a horse who is motivated to go out and work each day. Thus, repeated exercises allow for the horse's mind to become more confident while the slowly stepped-up intensity allows for physical rewards to continue. Since each horse is unique, it is important to recognize signs of stress and distress in a horse, because that could mean they need a day to recuperate during this intensive training. These insights anticipate Virgil's thoughts on overcoming fear and maintaining a horse's ambition, because if a trainer takes the time to ensure that the horse is confident, comfortable, and well prepared for his duty, the horse will be successful and, more importantly, a reliable teammate

⁴² Dr. Nyland suggests the Mycenaeans as an example of one group with needs different to those of the Hittites. However, it is unclear if this is her own personal conjecture or translated from Kikkuli.

in war, since he will trust his rider and also have all the training necessary to be part of the renowned Hittite cavalry.

Peri Hippikes

Shifting from the Hittite cavalry to the Greek cavalry, Xenophon, a former general, wrote his *Peri Hippikes* (“On Horsemanship”) in the fourth century BCE as an in-depth manual on how to successfully select and train an exceptional horse. Based on a treatise written by Simon⁴³, Xenophon’s manual breaks into twelve sections, each dealing with a different important point about working with horses. The first six sections focus on the horse’s physical characteristics, while the second looks toward the training. A common trend throughout this work is Xenophon’s emphasis on the spirit and emotion of the horses he chooses to work with, as well as finding ways to train so that the spirit and enthusiasm of the horse continue to be part of his performance.

Xenophon begins his advice by looking at purchasing a foal, and focuses on conformational points that are common in outstanding horses at a young age. The emphasis is placed on solid hooves and a strong body that is designed for optimum performance with regard to physical endurance and signs of alertness. Other parts of the conformation focus on a horse that would be comfortable for a

⁴³ The Athenian Simon survives only in one small fragment (translated by Morgan on pg 108-110), as well as in a few quotations in Pollux. Xenophon claims that he will use Simon to add authority to his own writings, while also adding important parts that Simon omitted.

rider, specifically the double spine⁴⁴ and the slight dip in the horse's sides directly behind the shoulder that would provide a stable place for a rider's leg. The reference to solid hooves and strong body, as well as to alertness anticipate Virgil's description of the ideal horse, and especially the benefit of a double spine, a recommendation specifically made in the *Georgics*. However, Xenophon adds in the practical aspect of comfort for the rider. While Kikkuli is too busy training horses to have great endurance, Xenophon uses his experience as a cavalry officer to point out that some horses are more comfortable than others, and that it is important for both horse and rider to complement each other.

After selecting a foal, Xenophon describes the best method to break a colt to ride undersaddle, emphasizing the importance of a trainer who is gentle and affectionate to horses and a groom who will make the colt more comfortable if he is nervous about the sight and sound of crowds. This is very important, because it brings in the compassionate side of working with horses. Trainers and grooms must appreciate the emotional side of the foal if they want to have a horse who is not fearful of people. By making the horse appreciate humans from a young age, trainers can shape the horse so that he feels connected to the people he works with and will begin to trust his human caretakers. This will be especially

⁴⁴ *Duplex agitur per lumbos spina G. 3.87. <ράχις γε μὴν> ἡ διπλῆ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ ἐγκαθῆσθαι μαλακωτέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡδίων. Peri Hippikes 1.11. ("The double back is both softer to sit on than the single and more pleasing to the eye") The spine of a horse can appear to be "double" due to the shape of the vertebrae. A well muscled back and hindquarters would create a ridge down the center of the horse's back, thus providing two "spines" for the rider to sit on (as opposed to a "single" spine that might look more like the peak of a house than a flat seat).*

important later in life when the horse gets broken to ride undersaddle and needs to believe in his rider in stressful battle situations.

Xenophon also warns about the pitfalls a potential buyer could face when buying an already broken and partially trained horse, focusing mainly on the age of the horse, which is determined by the presence of milk teeth (lost by age five). The age of five is a significant time, since it is around this time that the body of a horse is developed enough to handle the stress of a rider's weight on his back. Kikkuli begins his endurance training before this time, but does so by leading his horses next to a chariot, so that the horse can still work on his stamina without carrying a rider around. It is assumed that Xenophon's concern about buying a horse younger than five who is already broken to ride is because the horse could have skeletal problems later in life after having his developing bones stressed by the weight of his rider.

After age, the demeanor of the horse is important; Xenophon describes the way the horse takes the bit, allows the rider to mount, and how the horse behaves in a crowd. The buyer should ride the horse in a few simple tests such as riding in a circle in both directions to test the hardness of the mouth⁴⁵ and seeing if the horse can quickly halt and turn after being urged into a full gallop. If the horse is intended for war, the buyer should attempt different challenges a warhorse could face, including leaping over ditches or walls, and galloping up and down steep

⁴⁵ "Hardness" refers to how willing the horse is to accept the hands of the rider. Ideally a horse will have a soft, giving mouth that is willing to be guided by the rider. A horse with a hard mouth will fight the rider by clamping down on the bit and locking his jaw so that the rider can not use the bit as a steering and braking aid, thus losing much control of the horse.

banks. Great care should be taken to gauge the endurance of the horse's spirit and the overall soundness of his body. Although some horses are not trained well enough to pass all of these tests during the first trial, the attitude of the horse is more important than the skills he possesses, and an overly nervous horse should be avoided, since he would not be useful in battle and could leave his rider in danger if he spooked and flung his rider to the ground in enemy territory. It is important to have a horse who is willing to work with his rider and who trusts his rider enough to go into new or stressful situations (such as a crowd or jumping some obstacles), because it shows both that the horse is enthusiastic enough to go into potentially dangerous places and also that the horse is willing to listen to his rider. This combination of enthusiasm and compliance is exactly what a potential owner would like to see in a horse both during Xenophon's time and in modern times.

Once a horse owner finds a horse that fulfills all of these qualities, he needs to provide the appropriate accommodations for the horse. Great care is given to a description of proper footing that will create strong and durable feet. The outermost part of the hoof is called the wall, and it is analogous to human fingernails. When a horse's hooves spend a great deal of time in a wet environment (e.g. in a muddy field or a stall that is not regularly cleaned), the walls get weak and can crumble apart, exposing the extremely sensitive soft tissues, bones, and tendons to bacteria and trauma which could make a horse go permanently lame. Conversely, the same dangerous risk of exposure comes from spending too much time in an overly dry environment (such as sand), since it

removes all moisture from the hoof and causes it to crack. Xenophon goes into great detail about how to create an environment that has a balance of both wet and dry elements, as well as how to avoid unhealthy hoof conditions. While a lame horse would be disastrous in battle, it is also important to keep the hooves healthy for the mental health of the horse, since any soreness will cause the horse to lose confidence and not want to work or participate. After spending so much time finding a horse who has the right attitude and willingness to work for his owner, it would be a shame for the horse to lose his spirit and ambition because a poorly kept stable made him too footsore to want to make an effort.

Another way to help the horse's body stay healthy and keep his spirits up is by having a groom who is competent in horse care. Xenophon describes safe ways to lead and approach the horse, as well as cleaning instructions. The mane and tail should be kept clean so that the horse is able to grow a healthy enough tail to brush away irksome objects and a healthy enough mane so that the rider has something to grip. Water should be used sparingly on hooves and legs during washing to maintain the toughness and integrity of the horn.. After physical appearance, Xenophon writes about the role of the groom and how a groom should prepare the horse for his rider. Xenophon describes how to correctly put the bit in the horse's mouth and other valuable skills a good groom should possess. Grooms should know how to give a leg up in the Persian fashion to help an older or ill rider mount; further, nobody should approach a horse in anger, even if the horse is alarmed, since angry blows will only intensify the fear of the animal instead of encouraging the horse to stop being afraid. As he has in his

other sections, Xenophon stresses that the emotional health of the horse is just as important as the physical well being of the animal.

Xenophon's manual is not only concerned with the treatment of the horse, but also how the rider works together with his mount. He emphasizes the smoothness of movement and the softness of the rider's hand so that the horse's mouth is not harmed, showing yet again how much Xenophon cares for the feelings of the horse, not just the comfort of the rider. Xenophon returns to exercises that a rider can perform with the horse to prepare him for battle, stressing how careful a rider must be while performing sharp turns so that the chance of falling is minimized.

Recognizing that not all training goes smoothly, Xenophon focuses on what to do if the horse does not know how to jump over obstacles or race over hills. This section is distinctive because it emphasizes patience from the rider and an encouraging training technique that will support the emotional needs of the horse, especially when working with an overly-spirited or sluggish horse. Xenophon stresses the quietness and soothing nature of a rider as a way to calm and teach the horse how to perform commands successfully.

After working with different temperaments of horses, Xenophon discusses how to train a showy horse that will bring both joy and terror to those who see him prancing about. The main training aid in this case is the joy of the horse and encouraging the animal to move and act in a way that he enjoys, so that work sessions are something that he delights in, rather than resents. After this successful training, Xenophon describes how to adapt a horse's performance to

one that is suitable for parades and processions. Xenophon claims that after delighting in the spotlight, a horse can be trained to prance by using a whip to tap the hocks and gaskins to create impulsion in the horse's hind end. Xenophon stresses how important it is that the horse enjoy his work because when a horse blindly follows commands it exhibits forced gestures rather than graceful movements, the same way that a ballet dancer's movements would be different if each movement were enforced by a whip.

After successfully working with a horse, Xenophon gives advice on how to protect both horse and rider in battle. A significant portion of this section details the corselet worn by the rider, since that will be the main form of protection. Xenophon suggests a Boeotian helmet⁴⁶ that will protect the rider's head without hindering vision. It is important for the rider to still be effective on the horse while well protected, because one of Xenophon's greatest fears is a rider abandoned in enemy territory or injured by an intimidating foe. The hands of the rider are another concern, since that is the most important way for a rider to control his horse. The best form of weapon for rider would be a saber, since a straight sword could not slash downward with as much force; or two wooden darts, since they are less flexible and awkward to carry into battle than a traditional javelin. Rigid darts are essential to use from horseback because the wobbling nature of a traditional javelin would be extremely difficult to aim, carry, and throw from horseback.

⁴⁶ A bowl-like helmet that only protects the top of the head, rather than the more protected helmets that cover the face and limit some of the sightlines.

The horse's body must also be protected from harm, and Xenophon recommends a frontlet, breastplate, and thigh-pieces, as well as a blanket or cover to protect the exceptionally vulnerable belly of the horse. The legs of the horse can also be covered by the same leather that sandals are made of so that the delicate bones and tendons are protected as the horse gallops through fields and into battle.

Xenophon's *Peri Hippikes* is a very informative manual on horses, and provides something that is lost even on some contemporary horsemen: compassion. Whenever he refers to working with horses, Xenophon stresses the importance of being calm and considerate, because the most effective way to train an animal is not through fear. It is for this reason that so many people in the horse world value Xenophon's writings, and why *Peri Hippikes*, the oldest surviving manual about the care of horses, retains its value in the modern world.

Georgics III

While Kikkuli and Xenophon both write to trainers and owners about how to train and work with horses, Virgil writes for a different audience. As his second major work after the *Eclogues*, Virgil writes the *Georgics* to focus on agriculturally themed poetry, but over the four books that encompass this work, a stronger theme of morality is thinly veiled by metaphorical references to animals. The third book of Virgil's *Georgics* concentrates on animal husbandry, selection and breeding, and the care of horses, sheep, goats, and cattle. Virgil uses the care and selection of all these animals to demonstrate what it means to be an honorable

man and uses a horse as a metaphor for aristocratic values. The most interesting aspect of *Georgics III* is how easy it is to discuss horses and men. This is a common problem for those who are involved with horses; they are viewed not only as an animal, but as a close friend or pet. Horses have personalities and thoughts that their owners, trainers, and riders take into account each time that they are exercised or worked with, and Virgil strives to capture the benefit of having a willing and ambitious partner in the lifestyle of training and racing. Virgil relates the experience of horses to the experience of men and goes through the lifetime of a horse, highlighting different important stages as they happen. While Virgil's insights on horses and horsemanship are not always accepted in modern times, it is clear that he is using the life of a horse to demonstrate the way that a respectable man should prepare for a lifetime of successful racing or winning at war.

Virgil begins by describing what an ideal horse should look like and how it should behave. He first discusses how a foal who is destined for greatness will behave:

*Continuo pecoris generosi pullus in arvis
altius ingreditur et mollia crura reponit;
primus et ire viam et fluvios temptare minaces
audet et ignoto sese committere ponti
nec vanos horret strepitus. Illi ardua cervix
argutumque caput, brevis alvus obesaque terga,
luxuriatque toris animosum pectus. (Georg. 3.75-81)*

"a young foal pacing the paddock
Lifts his feet higher, lowers them lissomly.
He leads the way in braving fearsome rivers
Or risking his safety on an untried bridge,
Nor shies at empty noise. His neck is high,
His head is clean-cut, his barrel short, his back

Well-fleshed; his gallant chest ripples with muscle.” (*Georgics* 3.75-81 Wilkinson translation)

These lines demonstrate some truths about horses, yet it is also riddled with contestable points. While a foal will bravely run around the paddock that he and his mother are spending time in and will perform fairly acrobatic twists and leaps, he would never be the first to cross a river or a bridge. Foals are more skittish about loud, unexpected noises than adult horses are, and when faced with a fearful situation, the foal will return to his mother and see what action she takes before reacting himself. Most horse behavior occurs this way: the reactions of a few dictate what the group will do; thus, when one horse is spooked and runs away, the others blindly follow. As for the physical description, Virgil describes many factors that would make a horse well suited for pulling a chariot or going into war. A well-shaped head allows for optimal breathing and sightlines, as well as gives credit to the breeder of the horse and the horse’s sire⁴⁷. The barrel of the horse (*alvus*) is equivalent to a human torso, and when the *brevis alvus* (“short back”) is combined with an *ardua cervix* (“strong neck”), an ideal chariot-pulling racehorse is created (*G.* 3.79-80). The shortness of the body allows for quicker,

⁴⁷ A handsome horse is the equivalent to having a flashy car in today’s world; it represents precision of craftsmanship, attention to detail, and is the first step to creating an animal that will be exceptional. From a breeder’s perspective, a physically handsome horse is the product of careful breeding, but the final decision on whether the horse is successful is not going to be discovered until the horse matures and is trained, because until that point it is unclear whether his sire and dam’s talents have been passed down to the foal. Virgil uses this as a comparison to young boys who are the children of great warriors, because it takes more than a handsome face and strong martial bloodlines to create an impressive fighter.

tighter turns, while the height of the neck creates room for a broader, muscled chest and freed-up shoulders, all of which aid in pulling a chariot at faster speeds.

While Virgil makes many important points about horses, one 20th century commentator suggests that, “Virgil was writing a poem with larger meanings. The horse had a significance for men which the ass could hardly claim.”⁴⁸ Throughout Book III, Virgil refers to horses more often in human terms than horse ones. This indicates that Virgil is not merely writing about raising a horse that will one day excel in battle, but also how to raise a man to be a great warrior. In the same terms that create value for foals, young boys must also proudly hold their heads high and have strong, well-muscled bodies that go along with their handsome faces. Even at a young age, prospective warriors should not be afraid of the unknown, but instead go bravely into new territories or overcome both mental and physical obstacles, such as insecurities or fears that make them feel unsafe, in order to discover new challenges and tests of bravery.

As he transitions from discussing a young horse to discussing a young warrior, Virgil writes that once full grown,

*Tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere
stare loco nescit, micat auribus et tremit artus
collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.
Densa iuba, et dextro iactata recumbit in armo;
at duplex agitur per lumbos spina, cavatque
tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu.
(Georg. 3.82-88)*

“the thoroughbred, again,
At any distant sound of arms is restive,
Ears pricking, limbs a-quiver; loudly snorting
His nostrils churn the pent-up fire within.

⁴⁸ Wilkinson. 1969. 92.

His mane is thick, and falls on his right shoulder
When tossed. A double ridge runs down his back.
His hoof digs into the ground, its solid horn
Making a heavy thud.” (*G.* 3.83-88, Wilkinson 102)

Now that the foal has become a mature horse, he has also been trained in appropriate ways to fight in war. Although small foals fear the unknown or frightful aspects of life, mature horses can be trained to either remain calm in this type of situation or to bravely face it head on and charge into danger.⁴⁹ The conformational references to the thickness of the mane and solidness of the horn⁵⁰ are mainly to demonstrate the impressive breeding and perfection of these animals. The thick mane suggests maturation into adulthood, since young foals typically have a fuzzy mohawk in place of the longer and thicker mane which even today is expected to lie on the right side of the horse’s neck. The primary benefit of a thick mane in battle is that the rider has a built-in handhold if he were to lose his balance after sustaining a solid hit, or if the horse started rearing up or turning away suddenly. The solidness of the horse’s feet is important because that will help him be less footsore. This is especially important when considering how difficult it would be for a lame horse to travel long distances between battles or perform in battle itself. A horse that cannot run evenly would create a bad pairing for a chariot race, since he would throw off the

⁴⁹ In modern times, horses have been trained to work in cities as transportation for police officers, and are taught not only to remain calm when sudden sights or noises happen (e.g. a fire truck passing by at a high speed with sirens and lights flashing, or a gun going off), but others are taught to charge through burning debris or through the rushing water of a fire hose because that is what their rider commands them to do at that moment.

⁵⁰ “Horn” refers to the composition of the hoof, which can be solid and hard in a healthy hoof, or soft and crumbly (for some sick horses) in less desirable horses.

other horse's rhythm and slow down the whole team. In a war scenario, a lame mount would be catastrophic, because the horse would not be able to turn and gallop very well, and could put his rider in a very dangerous situation if he could no longer walk and fell or abandoned his rider in enemy territory.

The description of the grown horse is also related to the growing of an adventurous boy who is now ready for battle as soon as he hears the sound of conflict. He listens carefully to determine from which direction he hears the clashing of arms and his desire to join in the fight is so great that his entire body trembles with excitement as the wartime rage swells inside of him. The man is fully grown and has a full head of flowing hair⁵¹, and his body is strong enough to face battle without suffering any pains or discomforts from the physical rigors. Just as this horse is supposed to be valued, this type of man should also be highly praised, because he is fighting for his city and is considered the best of the best.

After glorifying the horse for many lines, Virgil changes his focus to old horses as their lives come to a close. As stallions age, their speed slows and their passion ebbs away until the animal is no longer useful in battles or racing. Virgil emphasizes that although this is disappointing, a horse should not be pitied for his old age, but instead valued for how successful he was in his glory days, and that it is important to look for characteristics similar to this great older horse as a trainer looks toward the younger horses again. While 3.75-81 focused on physical requirements, in this area Virgil stresses the most important mental aspect of a

⁵¹ A theme especially prevalent in Greek epic –*κάρη κομαώντες Ἄχαιοί* (“longhaired Greeks”). The *Georgics* states the *densa iuba* being tossed and falling on the right side of the neck. (*Georgics* 3.86)

great horse or man—ambition. Virgil is correct in describing that truly great horses will show pride when they are successful and sorrow or grief when they know that they have failed in a competition. In the same way, men must want to go into battle and fight, as well as have the ambition and willingness to learn. Racing and war are not topics to be taken lightly, and participants should want to win so badly that they are upset when they fail or do not reach their goals.

Overall, Virgil manages to successfully couple a lesson about morality and the requirements of a good horse to a brilliant description of how men should act and behave. While Virgil might have had different reasons for writing about horses and men via the same terminology and examples, he has demonstrated an important point that remains true even today—horses have personalities; they have fears, and need to be comforted just as small children do. While he might not be as accurate with his specific details about the conformation and behavior of horses, he does hit upon the significance of a horse's emotional state and how that directly connects to both horse and rider's ability to succeed in war.

Summary

There are many differences throughout the works of Virgil, Kikkuli, and Xenophon. Apart from each having his own view on what makes a horse suitable for riding, they also have a completely different reason for why they are writing their section. Virgil writes about horses so that he can describe the ideal man from his youth up until old age. Although this is supposed to be about a man, Virgil uses the life of a warhorse to describe it, and also includes detailed

descriptions of horses. Kikkuli writes about training endurance horses and only has his method written down so that other trainers can duplicate his results. Xenophon wanted to make a detailed treatise on horses by looking at all the different aspects of taking care of a horse and working with these animals. Similarly to Chiron's *Mulomedicina Chironis*, Xenophon's text stands out because it can be used by people from different social classes, from those wealthy enough to have slaves to care for their animals to those who take care of their own animals, since horses require the same high standard of care regardless of their owner's circumstances. Pelagonius and Vegetius write for an audience similar to Virgil's, in that they expect their readers to have workers to deal with the less desirable side of animal owning so that they have time to discuss wealthier activities such as watching chariot racing or raising an impressive warhorse (or nurturing an honorable warrior).

Virgil, Kikkuli, and Xenophon are united by the theme of focusing on the emotion of horses, emphasizing the understanding of horses and the showing of compassion. For Virgil it is the importance of finding ambition in a horse, whereas for Kikkuli it is more about knowing how far to press the horse until training becomes too stressful. For Xenophon, the most important part of training is to preserve the joy of the horse so that he is willing to continually perform. He also encourages horsemen to never approach a horse in anger, but instead to try to find ways to overcome the emotional obstacles of the horse through caring, patience, and understanding. No matter what equine emotion an author discusses, each author emphasizes the emotional bond between horse and rider

that guarantees success. Their attention to this detail also demonstrates how much men cared about their horses during the Classical Era.

Horses are extremely important to being a successful warrior in battle. By establishing a bond with one's horse, a fighter has an advantage to best his or her opponent by using this special connection. Horses provide an intimidation factor due to their large size and the height that the rider is off the ground; a horseless fighter would feel real terror when hearing the thundering hoof beats of Camilla approaching him. A reader can understand these topics by becoming educated about the background and history of this information. Therefore, by learning about the different veterinary and training techniques that were known in the Classical Era, readers of this thesis are able to think more critically about Camilla as a horsewoman in battle, and follow my analysis of her fighting scenes throughout Book XI in the *Aeneid*.

Chapter III: **Camilla and Horsemanship**

Now that I have detailed the intricate background Virgil creates for Camilla as well as a sense of what ancient authors wrote about concerning horses and horsemanship, it is time to combine these sections into a close analysis of Camilla's presence in the *Aeneid*, with a focus on her strength in battle and horsemanship skills (*Aen.* 11.648-724). This discussion will also hone in on occasions of Virgil denying most instances of horsemanship in order to create an awe-inspiring view of Camilla and to demonstrate the impact that this lack of attention has on modern translators. As I have shown in Chapter I, Camilla is an extremely intricate character, with connections to many mythological and actual tribes, including many with strong horsemanship backgrounds. Since Virgil himself uses horses in the *Georgics* (3.79-90), it is clear that he has at least some understanding of what horsemanship is and what he can use it to symbolize in battle. An analysis of ancient sources from well before and after Virgil's time in Chapter II strongly delineates other ancient perspectives on horses. Together, both Chapters I and II have prepared the reader to be well-versed in the importance of Camilla, as well as the foundation of horsemanship that the reader needs to fully understand the analysis of Camilla's battle scene in 11.648-724.

The Context of Book 11

Book Eleven of the *Aeneid* begins immediately after Turnus kills Pallas at the end of Book Ten. Aeneas sends 1,000 men to escort Pallas' body to his father,

Evander (*Aen.* 11.59-63), for his funeral. After the funeral arrangements are organized and some of the mourning subsides, a messenger arrives from the Latin side, requesting a twelve-day truce so that both sides can bury their dead. After this ceasefire, the Trojans begin marching toward King Latinus' city, forcing the Latin troops to quickly create a plan for defense. Turnus hears that Aeneas is dividing his army into two groups: a light cavalry rushing to attack the city, while Aeneas and the heavier-clad soldiers are taking a slower route through the mountains. Turnus and Camilla choose to lead different halves of the army, leaving Camilla to defend Latinus' city (11.505) while Turnus goes out and creates a trap for Aeneas in the mountains (11.516). Camilla is an excellent *venatrix* (11.780), demonstrating her strength and prowess in battle by besting most of the warriors from the Trojan side. It is not until she is distracted by the resplendent armor of Chloereus (11.792) that Camilla falls to Arruns' spear, using the exact same language that accompanies Turnus when he dies in Book Twelve: *Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* (*Aen.* 11.831, 12.952: "Life flutters off on a groan, under protest, down among the shadows" Ahl, 293, 327).

While Camilla's strengths shine through in Virgil's depiction of her fighting scenes, he also provided a detailed mythical back-story about her in Book Seven, which connects her closely to nature as well as supernatural events (*Aen.* 7.808-814)⁵². Camilla's infancy story begins when Metabus, the ruler of Privernum, was exiled by his subjects and took his infant daughter with him for company as he began this new part of his life. Metabus named his daughter "Camilla" in memory

⁵² As discussed in Chapter One in great detail.

of her mother's name, Casmilla. Ahl suggests that the name Camilla would also remind readers of Camillus, the hero who saved Rome from the Gauls in 390 BCE, as well as the word *camilla*, an attendant of Diana⁵³.

After being attacked by Volscian troops during his escape, Metabus ended up at the overflowing Amasenus River. His love for his daughter made him worry about losing her as he swam across the river so he decided that the best plan was to bind her to a wooden javelin and throw her to the opposite bank. Before taking this shot, Metabus prayed to Diana, dedicated Camilla to the goddess as a suppliant, and then arced her over the river. Metabus then swam across the Amasenus and lived the rest of his life as a shepherd in the mountains, raising his daughter in the wild. Camilla suckled from a wild mare for nourishment⁵⁴, and once she could walk she was given a javelin, bow and arrows, and a slingshot. Even though she was desired as a bride by many men, Camilla remained chaste and devoted to only Diana, which made her very special to the goddess⁵⁵. Once full grown, Camilla becomes known for her battle-hardened personality and magical gifts, such as running over the tips of cornstalks without harming any of them, or running over the waves of the sea without getting her feet wet (*Aen.* 7.808-814). No matter what description comes to light, Camilla is always armed

⁵³ Ahl, 396-397 for *Aen.* 7.803-804.

⁵⁴ The Amazons were also known for having their children nurse from wild mares. Another famous set of infants who suckled wild animals is Romulus and Remus, legendary brothers who were raised by a she-wolf and, in some traditions, were the founders of Rome.

⁵⁵ Ahl, 283-285 for *Aen.* 11.522-586

with Diana's weapons, a bow and arrow, as well as a javelin, which is reminiscent of her childhood story and her pastoral background⁵⁶.

Camilla stands out from all of Virgil's characters because she is the only one he depicts from her infancy, into her adulthood, and concludes with her death. This level of detail binds readers of the *Aeneid* to Camilla and makes her a sympathetic character, since the reader experiences everything alongside Camilla. This feeling of unity is especially prevalent in Camilla's death, since the reader feels connected to all of her supporters as they watch, horrified, as Arruns' spear hurtles toward an oblivious Camilla (11.799-801). While there are many moments when the reader may feel sympathy for Camilla, it is difficult at times to relate to her fury in battle, since, unlike other famous epic warriors such as Achilles or Aeneas, nothing but her lust for battle fuels her rage. While Aeneas and Achilles both only go on killing sprees out of grief, Camilla merely needs the challenge of facing off with other warriors to bring her to this same level of massacre.

To add to this impressive level of fighting that Camilla always exhibits, Virgil places her on horseback to give her a sense of prominence in both the mind of the reader and in visualizing how the battle line would look. This depiction of Camilla on horseback is clearly demonstrated when she dismounts with her troops to address Turnus about her desire to be the sole leader against the Trojans charging Latinus' fortress:

*Obvia cui Volscorum acie comitante Camilla
Occurrit portisque ab equo regina sub ipsis*

⁵⁶ Ahl 184. 7.803-817

*Desiluit, quam tota cohors imitata relictis
Ad terram defluxit equis. (Aen. 11.498-501)*

“But, heading Turnus off, Camilla charged up with her Volscian Troopers. The queen then leaped from her horse right in front of the main gate,
All her battalion followed her lead and dismounted with easy Grace, slipping down in one smooth wave from their horses...” (Ahl, 282)

This quote demonstrates not only Camilla’s clear appearance on horseback, but also that she is a respected leader of the Volscian warriors, because none of them wish to remain higher than her. When Camilla chooses to dismount, so do her soldiers. Virgil even chooses to describe Camilla as a *regina*, she is not merely a leader of troops, but a queen. Camilla’s wild upbringing and consistent appearance on horseback make it so that when the readers see the name Camilla they begin to think of a woman who is an exceptional fighter, loved by Diana, and very close to the natural world. It also brings to mind other famous warriors, such as Achilles, who would rage in battle, thus connecting Camilla to many heroes, including the leader of her opposition, Aeneas. Since Virgil goes to great length to give his readers extensive detail about Camilla’s life, it allows for a strong connection between the reader and character, thus making her unimpressive death all the more tragic. When a character has so many special talents, a notable back-story, and a strong bond with the reader, the audience wants this spectacular warrior to be taken down in a fair fight against an equal opponent. Unfortunately, Virgil creates it so that instead of this remarkable battle, Camilla will be taken down by a cowardly fighter who can not even face off with her directly to kill her, but instead must attack while she is distracted.

Camilla in Battle: 11.648-724

Virgil writes a complex background for Camilla that is designed to create awe and excitement. While he devotes hundreds of lines to Camilla's life and experiences in battle, Virgil does not include a detailed description of horses into his work. This implies that while horses are extremely useful in battle as a means of power and prominence, for Virgil they are still only another piece of Camilla's impressive arsenal. Since horses are not to be in the spotlight of Camilla's battle scene in the *Aeneid*, it has become the responsibility of modern translators of Virgil to incorporate horses into these scenes of warfare.

Camilla's exceptional fighting skills are clearly demonstrated in 11.648-724 of the *Aeneid*, when she savagely kills many mounted opponents from the Trojan side. Although 20th century translators understand that all fighters in this passage are on horseback, the Latin does very little to convey this image. Only a few mentions of reins or sitting on stallions give us a direct connection to horses in this scene. One of Camilla's methods of fighting is to shoot arrows backward toward her enemy as she retreats to an undefined battle line⁵⁷, a maneuver that is supposed to imitate the light cavalry of the Parthians performing a Parthian Shot, which involved attacking and then retreating while shooting arrows backward at their opponents.

⁵⁷ *Illa etiam in tergum, siquando pulsa recessit, / spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu.* (11.654-655: "If she's repelled and retreats, she draws out her bow, faces backwards, / Firing her flying shafts from behind her" Ahl, 287). This is a fighting tactic of the Parthian warriors, who would send their lightly armed cavalry ahead of the battle line and then fire shots backward as they returned back toward their own warriors.

Virgil often seems to forget the feasibility of Camilla's actions throughout the scene he has painted, because he adds so many characteristics to make Camilla as significant as possible. While describing Camilla as an Amazon rejoicing in the heat of the battle⁵⁸ he also describes her performing military actions such as Parthian shots, which could only happen in an open area⁵⁹. He also has Camilla's handmaidens, Larina, Tulla, and Tarpeia, nearby at all times, which would make it difficult to chase some opponents such as Orsilochus (11.695-700).

Another obstacle that often confuses readers is determining the actual location for this battle. Camilla appears to be in the woods when she taunts Ornytus: "*Silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?*" (11.687: "Did you think you were hunting game in the woods, you Etruscan?" Ahl, 288). If that is the case, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to maneuver two horses around the trees, stumps, roots, and brush that exists in the woods. It also unravels some of the other descriptions Virgil provides for this fight. As Liris falls, Pagasus is next to him quickly enough that he is also killed as Camilla swoops in to finish Liris off (11.671-674). For this to happen, Pagasus must ride right next to Liris on horseback, yet woodland riding does not lend itself to that level of proximity. Typically riders in the woods travel in single file, thus it would make more sense for Pagasus to appear after Camilla already killed Liris or to witness the actual

⁵⁸ *At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon* (11.648: "Yet, where the slaughter is thickest, the Amazons prances" Ahl, 87)

⁵⁹ Since a retreat backward without steering would be extremely difficult and dangerous to perform in an area that had trees in the area.

final blow, but Virgil probably combined their deaths so that Camilla could add them to her kill list and demonstrate her wartime skills without adding length.

The son of Aunus tricks Camilla into dismounting from her horse by claiming that Camilla is only successful with her horse, by claiming *fidis equo* (11.706: “you trust in a horse”), and that she should stand on even footing with him and fight on foot (11. 705-708). Camilla, greatly offended, dismounts and gives her horse to a companion so that she can fight as the son of Aunus wished. Yet the son of Aunus, a cheater, quickly wheels his horse around and gallops away in the hope of escaping Camilla’s rage (11.712-714). Even though she is on foot, Camilla easily catches up with and kills the son of Aunus (11.719-720). When considering that this conversation with the son of Aunus happens in the woods, it no longer appears unbelievable that Camilla could catch up to a galloping horse, especially since she was raised in the woods her entire life and was loved by the goddess of the woodland. Even in full retreat a horse would have to be careful galloping past trees, roots, and trenches that naturally occur in the wild. This means that he would not be able to go as fast as a horse on a flat field could go when he is running for his life. With this taken into consideration it becomes much more conceivable that Camilla could catch up and kill the son of Aunus with her mythical swiftness.

One way that translators include horses in their translation of this battle scene is by taking *pulsant* in *Quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis/pulsant* (11.659-660: “They’re so like the Thracian/Amazons splashing their way across Thermodon’s streams” Ahl, 287) to represent the hooves striking on the ice as the

Amazonian horses beat the frozen waters of Thermodon⁶⁰. It appears that Virgil does not think of horses very often while he was writing, since most of his language relates more to the rider than to the movement of the horse. This puts pressure on translators to impose some horsemanship on the translation because it adds more dynamic imagery to the passage instead of a list of people killed by Camilla. The first direct reference to a horse existing in these lines comes in reference to Liris as he and Pagasus are killed:

*Tum Lirim Pagasumque super; quorum alter habenas
suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit, alter
dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem,
praecipites pariterque ruunt. (11.671-674)*

“Then add Liris and Pagasus. Liris, bucked when his stallion Stumbled, was gathering his reins. And while *he* was slipping, the other
Came running up, hands stretched to assist, and thus holding no weapons.
Both she sent crashing down to their deaths...” (Ahl, 288).

This passage is special because it demonstrates the loss of connection between man and horse as Liris dies and has his reins slip through his fingers. Ahl notes that the verb could either be *suffuso* or *suffoso* and chooses to read *suffuso* since a horse which stumbles can be unhurt, while a rider would not attempt to ride a severely injured horse.⁶¹ Mackail chooses *suffosso* and creates the ablative absolute “with his horse stabbed under him” and notes that Servius reconciles the

⁶⁰ Page discusses how poets such as Virgil and Horace think that Thrace is a very cold area, even though the Thermodon enters the Euxine from the south. Page cites Henry’s alternative translation of *pulsant* as the echoing sound that horses make as they gallop along the banks of the river. (399)

⁶¹ Ahl, 432

difference in translation by claiming it is a metaphor for a toppling building ⁶². Knapp envisions the hind legs of the horse giving way and Liris struggling to maintain both his and the horse's balance by holding onto the reins more tightly⁶³. This reaction meshes well with Ahl's translation of a tripping horse, since a rider's first reaction when a horse is falling down is to use his or her hands to lift the horse's head upward and assist him in regaining balance. *Colligit* is noteworthy because *colligo* means to collect, thus the rider is gathering his reins in his hands⁶⁴ to assist his horse. It is interesting that the only piece of tack described is the horses' rein (*habenas*), since that is only a small part of the bridle and is one of few ways to connect the rider to the horse, as well as the main method of controlling the animal. The meaning of this connection becomes important when considering Mackail's translation, since he depicts Liris' reins slipping through his fingers, thus signifying his horse slowly dying and with it the special connection between horse and rider.

Virgil does not spend much time focusing on this special connection between horse and rider because he typically refers to horse and rider as separate⁶⁵. Camilla can leap down from her horse, Arruns can let his horse run on free rein, but no character explicitly relies on the horse as a partner in war. The horse must trust his rider when facing frightening obstacles such as a small

⁶² Mackail, 449.

⁶³ Knapp, 488.

⁶⁴ Also known as shortening the reins, "collecting the horse/reins" is still terminology used today.

⁶⁵ Words referring to horses and horseback riding occur very infrequently in the *Aeneid*, thus when a reference to a horse appears it is highlighting the many implied moments of equestrianism.

stream or impediments that must be jumped over either in flight or pursuit. The horse trusts his rider since he can not rely on the safety of his herd mentality and behave as all the horses around him are behaving—battles in Virgil’s writing are almost always a one-on-one encounter. In addition, the rider must trust the horse just as much because any doubts will be transferred to the horse. If the rider is afraid to command the horse to jump off a small ledge to a lower part of the forest, the horse might also lose confidence and refuse to jump down, either dismounting the rider or most certainly leaving him or her at a disadvantage regardless if he was the pursuer or the pursued. The teamwork and connection especially comes into play when galloping through the trees of the woodland, since both parts of the team must agree on how to deal with an obstacle they are facing. If the horse fails to recognize that the rider on his back is in control, he could go too close to the tree and knock his rider’s knee against the trunk or get the rider’s face slapped by low hanging branches. Also, the obvious worry that if the rider wishes to go to the right of a tree and does not effectively communicate that to the horse, he might choose the left side, leaving his rider at serious risk of injury and an almost guaranteed fall from the horse at great speed. Considering that this entire battle scene is focused on characters on horseback in the woods it is very notable that Virgil would minimize the presence of horses completely so that he can further glorify a warrior like Camilla, who is so awe-inspiring that she surpasses the bounds of logic in her deeds.

While parts of the Latin fit well with good horsemanship, many other parts are unbelievable or demonstrate a lack of horse knowledge. While maneuvering

her horse throughout the crowd of fighters, for example, Camilla uses a variety of weapons successfully against a different group of men. This adds some variety to the killing and paints a more vivid war scene, thus demonstrating the extraordinary character that characterizes the horsewoman, Camilla. The three basic natural aids for controlling a horse are the hands, seat⁶⁶, and legs. If Camilla's hands are occupied with weapons, the horse relies on her legs and seat to indicate which direction Camilla wishes to go. Since Camilla is twisting and turning in her saddle and leaning with every spear thrust and axe blow, her seat would not be consistent and her legs would not be an accurate method of steering to guide her horse close to her next victim. When the Parthian cavalry performs their backward arrow-shooting, they are travelling toward their own forces; therefore, it makes no difference if their steering is slightly off. It is only important that they kill as many on the opposing front line as they can while retreating. While it makes sense to include this reference while galloping through a more open area early in this scene, it is a mistake to reference it in close combat when precision and control of movement is key to success.

The most notable horseback-riding maneuver during this battle scene occurs when Orsilochus is pursuing Camilla and she gains the advantage in the situation by looping back around behind him:

*Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
Eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem. (Aen. 11.694-695)*

⁶⁶ For example, a cowboy cornering a cow will lean left or right in the saddle and the horse will hop in either direction so that the cow cannot escape. This movement is much more subtle than pulling the reins or kicking a horse, but it is important for balance and effective communication between the horse and rider.

“She, in Orsilochus’ case, ran away. Though he chased her in great big/Circles, she fooled him by making a tighter loop on the inside”
Ahl, 289)

Page describes Camilla’s trick as resembling the way that a skater performing a large curve can easily change it into a loop by tightening the turn⁶⁷. More specifically, Servius notes that in order to achieve the *gyro interiore*, Camilla must turn left in her course since this will make a shorter course back onto the path. A left turn makes sense because it would mean that Camilla’s left hand and body would be following the curve of the turn and steering the horse around, leaving her right shoulder and arm to be open for wielding a single handed weapon against Orsilochus. Virgil chooses to arm Camilla with a *validam...securim* (11.697: “a sturdy ax”) as her weapon of choice to show another example of how skilled she is in battle, but this two-headed ax is a weapon that Camilla could not heft without both hands.

Other weapons that Camilla is described as having a wide variety of weapons and protective equipment, including *hastilia* (11.651: “dart”), *bipennis* (11.652: “doubleheaded axe”), *arma Dianae* (11.653: “weapons of Diana”—a bow and arrow), *lunatis...peltis* (11.664: a crescent-moon shaped shield), *telo* (11.665 and 11. 690 (*telo...Camillae*: “javelin”), *hastae* (11.675: “spear”), *spicula* (11.677: “arrow”), *sparus* (11.683: “spear”), *cuspidis* (11.692: “spear”), and *validam....securim* (11.697: “sturdy axe”). Since it is close to impossible to carry this many javelins, spears, arrows, axes, and a moon-shaped shield while on horseback and still be able to move and participate in the fight without the aid of

⁶⁷ Page, 401

many bulky holders and extra baggage, Virgil uses this variety of weapons to show how unusually skilled Camilla is as a warrior. Not only can she fight successfully on a horse, but she can do so with almost every weapon imaginable. Virgil continually switches the weapons used so it does not appear that he viewed any of them as a reserve weapon, or considered the scenario that Camilla could have cast her spear and lost it in a body and then been forced to switch to an ax instead. This would make more sense, because then Camilla could have the two-handed weapons on her body when the need for survival was more important than the need for accurate steering, for one-handed weapons such as a spear or javelin allow Camilla to have one hand available for precise control. Camilla's incredible skills allow her to surpass this logical fighting method so that her ruthless bloodlust launches her into an attack against any opponent who gets in her way.

While many lines are devoted to a discussion of weapons and battle skills, there are very few lines that mention actual instances of horses. Although the son of Aunus turns his horse⁶⁸ and Liris loses his reins, there are not many other direct references to horses. The addition of horsemanship appears more from the translators than from the actual language that Virgil uses. Horses bring the scale of intimidation up a few levels, especially for those who are killed by Camilla, since only upper-class men could afford a horse to fight on and possess the skills necessary to face Camilla. This means that when Camilla attacks she is not killing

⁶⁸ *Conversisque fugax aufertur habenis /quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat* (11.713).("Lifted the reins, wheeled about, and took off at a runaway gallop/Spurring his horse to full four-legged speed with a raking of iron" Ahl 289).

some unimportant character whose name appears only once in the entire text, but is instead going after someone who deserves respect. The son of Aunus insinuates that horses can help even the playing field between men and women warriors, and accuses Camilla of trusting the strength of her horse to get her through this battle against all male fighters, saying: "*Quid tam egregium, si femina forti /fidis equo?*" (11. 705-6: "What so distinguishes you from the herd if you, being female,/ Need a stud racehorse for courage?" Ahl, 289). After this taunt, Camilla dismounts and proves that she is not reliant on, but superior to, the strength of a horse when she sprints after the cowardly son of Aunus and kills him after stopping his horse. Everything in the battle is about the riders; horses are only a way to make the riders more prominent on the field and add flair to the deaths, since not only does the rider die and sink to the ground, but the horse also suffers and usually dies, thus making a dramatic collapsing scene that is very similar to a tower collapsing in the case of Camilla⁶⁹.

In the same way that Virgil gives Camilla many weapons to use, he also includes horses as props for his glorious war scenes, since he only refers to them when describing how a rider is sitting, turning, or falling from a horse. Although the actual Latin is very limited in its references to horses, it is impressive that readers, translators, and commentators all read into the role of horses and make that the focus of this scene. Through the works of different commentators and translators, Vergil's limitations in horsemanship, or simply how he gets caught up in the drama of the scene and the references to the tribes that make up the

⁶⁹ As Servius says in his reference to 11.671.

background of Camilla, come to light when he describes impossible maneuvers of Camilla as both a rider and warrior. Virgil's unawareness is shown also through the lack of a clear setting that would be conducive to fighting on horseback, as well as the variety of weapons that he expects Camilla to use on complex maneuvers that she couldn't possibly use while mounted and controlling her horse. Nevertheless, this scene shows the power and prominence of horses and how they can be part of a memorable battle scene.

The Death of Camilla: 11.778-808

Throughout Camilla's death scene (11.778-808), Virgil only refers to Camilla once by her actual name (11.796). Other than that she is labeled as a *virgo* (11.778) ("maiden") or a *venatrix* (11.780) ("huntress"), or most colorfully from Arruns as a *haec dira...pestis* (11.792) ("this pestilient demon" Ahl, 292). The beginning of 11.778-808 shows Camilla's pride and lack of concern for her own well-being as she stalks her prey throughout the battle lines: *unum ex omni certamine pugnae/ Caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen* (11.780-781) ("She pursued blindly, recklessly all through the columns" Ahl, 292). Virgil portrays Camilla's motivation for this pursuit as greed and arrogance: "*femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore*" (11.782: "burning with a womanly lust for booty and spoils", trans. by me), emphasizing her femininity as the reason for her to blindly go into danger.

After describing Camilla's single-minded hunt for spoils, Virgil shifts his description to Arruns as he prays to Apollo.⁷⁰ After a long invocation, Arruns asks that his *telum* (11.783: "shaft") be the one to strike down Camilla, because he is not doing so for glory or prizes. He only desires to end her life and then return to his homeland still nameless (11.785-793). This is not the only time that Apollo helps a young man in battle; Ascanius kills Numanus after invoking Jupiter's help (9.624) while Apollo watched from the heavens. After the kill, Apollo approaches Ascanius to praise him and then assumes the shape of one of Ascanius' caretakers, Butes, in order to command him to stop fighting.⁷¹ In Arruns' case, Apollo grants that he may kill Camilla, but it will be at the expense of his own life, since the second part of his prayer purposefully gets lost in the winds as they approach Olympus so that it will not be granted: *Audiit et voti Phoebus succedere partem/ mente dedit, partem volucris dispersit in auras* (11.794-195) ("Phoebus heard all of the prayer and his will allowed one part accomplished/As for the other, he tossed it away on the fluttering breezes" Ahl,292).

It is noteworthy that the one time that Camilla's actual name is used is when Apollo delivers her death sentence: *Sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam/adnuit oranti* (11.796) ("That he lay low with a sudden death the distracted Camilla:/Yes, prayer granted." (Ahl, 292)), and this is also the only time that Camilla is called *turbatam* ("distracted"), rather than the confident, proud,

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that Arruns seeks the favor of Apollo, the twin brother of Diana, who has loved Camilla since she was quite young.

⁷¹ Apollo's vanishing into thin air as well as the rattling of Ascanius' quiver alerts the Dardanian leaders that it was Apollo speaking as Butes and thus motivated the leaders to remove Ascanius from danger. (9.638-663)

and capable warrior that she characterizes her the rest of the time. One other significant occasion when a woman is *turbatam* occurs when Juturna becomes upset as Juno reminds her that her brother's destined death approaches soon (12.146-160). This sense of anguish and mental confusion that surrounds imminent death is identical for both women, since neither one is aware of how death will come nor exactly when, thus creating a sense of anticipation that Camilla's fate will soon also be Turnus'. When Camilla fights in war, she is constantly putting herself at risk and knows that death could happen, yet her arrogance and self-absorption causes her to only think of herself and be concerned about only her own possible death. On the other hand, Juturna's love for her brother pains her deeply when she realizes that she will not be able to always protect him from harm; this causes her to become upset. Since *turbatam* is used in the two final books of the *Aeneid*, it is likely that it could connect Juturna to Camilla and contrast the love for one's own body and life as compared to the love of a family member, and allow the reader to decide which character deserves more pity while they are in this state.

After his partially doomed prayer to Apollo, Arruns whips a spear through the crowd of Volscians and strikes Camilla. Everyone watches the spear's approach in horror except for the target herself because she is still distracted by the prizes as well as her *incauta* belief that she is comparable to a goddess such as Diana: *Nihil ipsa nec aurae/ nec sonitus memor aut venientis ab aethere teli* (11.801-802: "She herself noticed neither the moving/Air nor the sound, had no sense of the weapon's descent from the heavens" Ahl, 292). After the spear is

lodged in her chest, all of her followers gather around their *dominam* (11.805), which is an intriguing word choice that gives the impression of handmaidens around their mistress, which further strengthens the comparison of Camilla and her trusted virgin followers to Diana and her nymphs. The nymph description as Camilla marches into her battle scene in 11.657-663 refers to when *dia Camilla* (“godlike Camilla”) is surrounded by her *lectae comites* (11.655: “chosen comrades”) who were the best handmaidens in times of both peace and war. These women are then compared to the Amazons, Hippolyta’s warriors, and even Penthesilea, daughter of the god Mars:

quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
 pulsant et *pictis bellantur Amazones armis*
seu circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis (11. 659-663)

“...Amazons splashing their way across Thermodon’s streams in their gaudy Armour, off to the wars, like Hippolyta’s troops. Or perhaps we’d imagine Penthesilea the daughter of Mars like this while returning Home in her chariot, her armies of women tumultuously howling Mighty halloos as they prance with the crescent-moon shield that they brandish” (Ahl, 287-288).

Camilla is included in an order of very famous Amazonian women, who were known not only for their excellence in battle, but also for the fact that they were strong women fighting against men. While there are moments that the Amazons appear decidedly foreign with their howling (“*ululante*”) and their *lunatis peltis* (“crescent-moon shield”), Camilla can relate to them by excelling in her fighting and by being a woman. This unity allows for a much deeper image of Camilla and a history of warfare behind her, rather than merely defining her as a

female warrior in the *Aeneid*. This ancestry adds respect and significant to her character that would be lost if Virgil didn't include descriptions like *Amazones* to his writing about Camilla.

Readers of war epics desire to have a fair fight in which the two great heroes face off and each man fights as fiercely as possible so that whoever dies may receive an honorable death. Unfortunately, Virgil does not allow for this to happen for Camilla in his epic, but instead chooses to have his heroes die on account of their own shortcomings or due to a coward. In this case, Camilla's prideful nature and belief that she is unstoppable cause her to overlook the possibility that somebody as unknown as Arruns could be the one who deals the final blow⁷². If she were not so determined to obtain Chloereus' specific set of impressive armor, then she could have protected herself from spears and the attempts of other men to kill her, just as she had done throughout the rest of the battle.

When focused, Camilla was a respected force on horseback, and even when deceived on foot she still got her man. The son of Aunus tricked Camilla into dismounting from her horse to fight hand to hand in the hope that this would buy him enough time so that he could escape, yet Camilla outruns the horse, brings it to a halt, and then kills the son of Aunus just as a falcon takes down a dove that has flown where it should not have flown (11.699-724). It is also subverts expectations for the reader to learn that someone who is such a marvel, and who

⁷² Horsfall dislikes Virgil's way of disposing minor characters such as Arruns, who was created a few lines before he kills Camilla and then is promptly killed off in an unremarkable way (53).

receives the place of honor at the end of the catalogue of Italian fighters in Book 7, can be murdered by a simple spear throw. For the woman who can run across oceans and the tops of cornfields without breaking the tips of the grain, it might be expected that there would be a massive plot with ambushes, chases, and finally a one-on-one standoff of the fiercest Trojan—perhaps even Aeneas himself—against Camilla, but instead the reader is left disappointed.

The character who does get this fierce standoff against Aeneas is Turnus, another character who is linked to Camilla throughout most of the second half of the epic. Apart from being their leaders on the Italian side and exceptional warriors, the reader holds each of them connected in mind as they die, since he uses the same line to describe each one after the final blow⁷³. Since the victims are connected, Kepple makes the argument that the killers might also be connected, and that as the *Aeneid* draws to a close, the reader could infer that the fate of Arruns is what awaits Aeneas. While linked together by diction, these deaths contrast each other in action and that a relatively anonymous character takes down Camilla, whereas it takes the hero of the entire epic, Aeneas, to kill off the main antagonist, Turnus. While this still creates a connection between pairs of extremely prominent characters and ones that are not as central to the epic, it could show how different these deaths are rather than how they parallel each other. Arruns must throw a spear from far away to kill Camilla when she least expects it, whereas Turnus and Aeneas face off and fight as equals, and Aeneas

⁷³ *Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* (11.831, 12.952)

prepares to spare Turnus until he catches sight of Pallas' belt and his rage overtakes his otherwise merciful nature.

While Turnus and Aeneas are connected by Virgil's plotline, Camilla and Turnus are linked in a different way, since they are both representations of the Italian countryside. While Turnus fights for the countryside and the divinities of the land, Camilla demonstrates how the innocence of pastoral life can be corrupted by war, since even the simple shepherd's staff can have a blade attached to the end and suddenly turn Camilla into a fierce warrior.

An honorable hero does not allow for material goods or the search for glory to cloud his or her view of the problem at hand. This is something that Aeneas, Camilla, Turnus, and Nisus and Euryalus struggle with, and it also results in the deaths of all but Aeneas. While men such as Euryalus or Turnus only want spoils because of the glory that accompanies them, Virgil makes a point to include that the reason Camilla lacks focus in the battle is due to the fact that she behaves as a woman rather than remaining in her masculine role as a warrior. It saddens some readers that a warrior as stunning as Camilla is killed by somebody who is undistinguished and a fleeting character in the epic, although it is somewhat fitting to kill a person who believes she is akin to a god by means of a completely commonplace person. In the end, Turnus and Camilla are meant to be connected to each other, and these connections are highlighted through their prideful and arrogant actions that ultimately led to their deaths.

Summary

Compared to many of the other characters that Virgil creates for his epic, Camilla's story has quite a long range, beginning with her mention in Book Seven and lasting until her death in Book Eleven. Throughout this time, the reader is able to see the entire life of Camilla, something that is unique to her character in the *Aeneid*, since no other person has stories of their infancy, adulthood, and death chronicled by Virgil. In addition to the timeline of her life making her stand out, Virgil adds so much significant background to her life to make her not only intriguing to readers and different than all other warriors, but also to use her to go between what is real and what is unreal. Thus, Camilla is able to be compared to the Amazons, be favored by Diana, and be described as possessing superhuman skills, yet she also has ties to actual Italian peoples and familiar concepts, such as fighting in war. It appears that Virgil does not feel the need to incorporate strong horsemanship into the creation of this impressive warrior, yet he places his characters on horseback to make them gain significance from the nameless foot soldiers who would also be part of the battle. As demonstrated in Chapters I and II, even though there is so much information available both before and after Virgil that horses were well known by the people of Virgil's era, he excludes horses almost completely from his battle scenes so that Camilla's talent shines alone, making her even more impressive to readers. Since his readers would know about horses, Virgil focuses his attention on making Camilla stand out as an exceptional warrior and a truly special character in the *Aeneid*.

It is clear that Virgil feels that Camilla is awe-inspiring and ought to be respected for everything that she represents, but when bringing in the idea of her horsemanship skills and her connection to these animals, Virgil denies much of the logic and descriptive language about horsemanship to instead add further examples of how fierce of a warrior and unique Camilla was in battle.

Conclusion

Virgil spends a great deal of time and effort to make Camilla stand out as an awe-inspiring female warrior in the *Aeneid*. Although Camilla is so distinctive on horseback, Virgil does not go into great detail about the role of horsemanship, instead choosing to use horses as another accessory in Camilla's military arsenal as she faces down warrior after warrior. Camilla's character shows the struggle between masculinity and femininity and the discomfort that surrounds a woman who takes part in an exclusively masculine, Roman world. Virgil crafts Camilla as a fierce warrior and gives her a warrior's death, but denies her the opportunity to become a heroine of the Roman people. Her place in battle becomes one of self-gratification, rather than one that benefits the people on her side of battle. In contrast, Turnus and Aeneas are both fighting so that they can create a better life for the Rutulians and Trojans, respectfully. Consequently, they not only receive the title of warrior, but also the title of hero.

While Camilla has many connections to great heroes, she also stands out due to her fighting style. While warriors such as Aeneas or Achilles have a trigger that launches them into a murderous rampage⁷⁴, Camilla's rampage is inspired only by her lust for battle and desire to win. Camilla also becomes conspicuous as a female character because of her femininity, since it is extremely rare to see a woman succeed—or even be present—in battle. Moreover, Camilla shows that

⁷⁴ For Aeneas it was the sight of Pallas' belt arrogantly worn by Turnus, while Achilles' anger was brought on by the death of Patroclus. This is a purposeful mirroring on Virgil's part so that he can include the major themes of the *Iliad* in his epic.

she is better than any male warrior she faces off against. Although Virgil's description of Camilla's horsemanship is not as precise as his detailed descriptions of Camilla's background and fighting skills, he uses the lines dedicated to his champion to showcase all of her skills, rather than a one-dimensional view of her horseback riding.

Although Camilla demonstrates in her struggle against the son of Aunus that she does not require a horse to succeed in battle (11.705-708), she is able to accomplish even more spectacular fighting techniques when on horses. Whether she is performing a Parthian shot from her horse (11.654-655) or chasing down Orsilochus (11.695-700), Camilla appears invincible in battle and always gets her man. Virgil uses horsemanship as an equalizer for Camilla to fight in this masculine world. While men such as Turnus and Aeneas have their important combats on foot, Camilla fights on horseback in order to create a glorious and memorable scene.

Camilla's connection with her horse⁷⁵ demonstrates a deep emotional connection to her mount rather than a reliance upon him. Analysis of equestrian and veterinary texts in Chapter II demonstrate that trust between horse and rider creates a bond which then allows this team to accomplish impressive maneuvers in battle. This close connection makes the horse much more than a mode of transportation, but an ally in battle.

⁷⁵ Ridiculed by the son of Aunus: *Quid tam egregium, si femina forti/fidis equo* (11.705-706: "What so distinguishes you from the herd if you, being female,/ Need a stud racehorse for courage?" Ahl, 289).

When Camilla's special bond with her horse breaks, so does her ability to be an invincible fighter. Rather than focusing on working with her horse, Camilla's emotional bond changes to a burning desire for material goods (*femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore* (11.792: "burning with a womanly lust for booty and spoils", my translation). The booty that Camilla desires is the Phrygian armor of Chloereus, a corselet colored red and purple, as well as his exceptional Lycian bow, a golden helmet, and an impressive cloak covered in needlework (11.770-777). This distraction is significant not only for the severing of her equine bond, but also because she is favoring what Vergil describes as her associations with the East her, rather than supporting what will soon become Roman territory. This Eastern link is prevalent through Camilla's connection to other Eastern women and tribes such as the Amazons, Parthians, and Scythians.⁷⁶ This connection to non-Roman tribes allows Virgil to emphasize the point that Camilla and those who are decidedly "not Roman" must be conquered. The only end for a warrior as conspicuous as Camilla is through an inglorious death.

Pride creates a theme of dishonorable deaths throughout *The Aeneid*. Book Nine includes the story of Nisus and Euryalus, who choose to raid the Latin camp one night and seize weapons and armor. Euryalus, wearing a stolen gleaming helmet, is spotted by the Volscians and captured. Nisus must watch from hiding as his close friend is executed for his crimes. Nisus, enraged, then charges into the Volscians camp and is also killed after taking some Volscians with him in the process (*Aen.* 9.373-445). Turnus' ostentatious wearing of the

⁷⁶ As discussed in Chapter I.

belt of slain Pallas also shows the consequences of pride later in Book Twelve. While Nisus and Euryalus, Turnus, and Camilla are connected by their excessive love of spoils, Turnus and Camilla are linked in more ways than merely this. By making the dying lines identical, Virgil forever binds each opponent of Aeneas. The experiences of Turnus, Nisus, and Euryalus are echoed in the reading of Camilla's actions in battle and demonstrate why her pride results in her not only losing her focus, but her life.

A strong warrior in the *Aeneid* is not ultimately defined by what weapons he or she carries or what skills on horseback he or she possesses. Rather, a strong fighter must be the whole package—strong back-story, exceptional skills, and connection to mythology. Camilla has all of these qualities: Virgil crafted her detailed birth-story, formulated her prominence in battle due to her special powers, and devised a tragic death for her.

Camilla's character causes readers of the Classics to rethink what it means to be considered a warrior in epic. While a traditional warrior is a male warrior with some connection to the divine, Camilla is a mortal woman whose only connection is that she was dedicated to Diana as an infant. Camilla also has a significant link both mythological and real tribes, which would have connections that resonate with readers of Virgil. The ability to learn of the significant events over Camilla's life allows for the reader to establish a close bond to Camilla and support her in battle, even if she is fighting in opposition to Aeneas' men. Camilla's liminal nature as a person who straddles the divide between what is actual and impossible allows her to represent many conflicts in the *Aeneid*,

including the struggle between masculinity and femininity. He also includes the use of horses as an equalizer in battle, the importance of supporting Roman connections, and the disastrous downfalls of pride. Throughout the second half of the *Aeneid*, Camilla stands out as a character who is not only exceptional due to her skills and background, but also as a fierce horsewoman thriving in a world of men.

*attonitis inhians animis, ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspidem myrtum*

815

“One further leader arrives: from the Volscian people, Camilla,
Leading a cavalry column. Her squads bloom bright in their bronze-plate.
She is a woman of war who has never assumed her female
Hands to Minerva’s spindle and baskets. She’s hardened for battle’s
Hardness, this virgin, her swift feet could outrun the winds in a foot race,
She could fly over the top of the highest stalks in a grainfield,
Leaving the tender ears of the crop unharmed by her crossing.
She could pass over the breadth of the sea, over waves, over sea-swell
High up, speeding through air, never touching her feet to the surface.
All the young people pour out of the fields, out of homes, in amazement,
As do their mothers, in crowds, just to watch from afar as she passes.
Oh, how they gape, how they’re stunned that a kingly splendour of purple
Mantles such delicate shoulders, that gold clasps thread through her well-groomed
Tresses, that she’s bearing weapons herself, both a Lycian quiver
And, though it’s capped with a spearhead, a shepherd’s staff made of myrtle” (184).

B. Camilla's Infancy Story (11.532-594)

*Velocem interea superis in sedibus Opim,
unam ex virginibus sociis sacraque caterva,
compellabat et has tristis Latonia voces
ore dabat: "Graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla, 535
O virgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis,
cara mihi ante alias." Neque enim novus iste Dianae
venit amor subitaque animum dulcedine movit.
Pulsus ob invidiam regno viresque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe, 540
infantem fugiens media inter proelia belli
sustulit exsilio comitem matrisque vocavit
nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam.
Ipse sinu prae se portans iuga longa petebat
solorum nemorum: tela undique saeva premebant 545
et circumfuso volitabant milite Volsci.
Ecce fugae medio summis Amasenus abundans
spumabat ripis: tantus se nubibus imber
ruperat. Ille, innare parans, infantis amore
tardatur caroque oneri timet. Omnia secum 550
versanti subito vix haec sententia sedit.
Telum immane manu valida quod forte gerebat
bellator, solidum nodis et robore cocto,
huic natam, libro et silvestri subere clausam,
implicat atque habilem mediae circumligat hastae; 555
"Alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia virgo,
ipse pater famulam voveo; tua prima per auras
tela tenens supplex hostem fugit. Accipe, testor,
diva tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris. 560
Dixit et adducto contortum hastile lacerto*

*immittit: sonuere undae, rapidum super amnem
 infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.*
At Metabus, magna propius iam urgente caterva,
dat sese fluvio atque hastam cum virgine victor 565
gramineo donum Triviae de caespite vellit.
*Non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes
 acceperere neque ipse manus feritate dedisset:
 pastorum et solis exegit montibus aevom.*
Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra 570
*armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
 nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris.*
*Utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
 institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto*
spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum. 575
*Pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
 tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.*
*Tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit
 et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena*
Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem. 580
*Multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
 optavere nurum: sola contenta Diana
 aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
 intemerata colit. "Vellem haud correpta fuisset
 militia tali, conata lacescere Teucros:"* 585
cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum.
*Verum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis,
 Abere, nympa, polo finisque invise Latinos,
 Tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.*
Haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam: 590
*hac quicumque sacrum violarit volnere corpus,
 Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas.*

*Post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam.”*

“Settled, meanwhile, far above, Laton’s daughter was speaking
Grimly to one of her sacred group of virgin attendants,
Opis, swift on her feet. And Diana was uttering these words:
“Off, my dear virgin, to cruel war goes Camilla, who’s bearing 535
Weapons about her, which, though they are ours, won’t save her.
No other
Woman is dearer to me; her love for Diana is no new
Force that’s come over her soul in a sudden upsurge of sweetness.
‘Thrown out because he was proud in his power—and his rule was detested—
Metabus, as he was leaving his ancient city, Privernum, 540
Took, as he fled from the midst of the war and its battles, his infant
Daughter to be his companion in exile. He named her Camilla,
After her mother Casmilla, with just a slight shift in the spelling.
Carrying her for himself in a fold of his robe, he was heading
Up the long ridges of lonely woods. Deadly weapons were raining 545
All round, swift-darting Volscian troops were now tightening their circle.
Then, blocking off his escape, was the Amasenus in full flood,
Foaming and topping its banks after drenching, torrential cloudbursts.
He was preparing to swim, but held back, through love of the infant,
Fearful for his dear burden. And then, as he stirred every option 550
Round in his thoughts, this one swirled up, then unsteadily, settled.
He was a man at war and, by chance, his masterful right hand
Wielded a javelin, massively oaken, knotted and smoke-cured.
To it he bound his offspring, enclosed in a pastoral, cork-bark
Cover, then strapped her in place at the shaft’s exact centre of balance 555
Gauging the arc of her flight in his great hand, he cried to the heavens:
O blessed virgin, Latona’s daughter, O Guardian of Woodlands,
I, who am this child’s father, now dedicate her to your service

Yours are her first weapons grasped as she flies from the foe. She's your suppliant!!
 Goddess, accept her, I beg, as she's cast to the treacherous breezes!" 560
 This said, he draws back his arm, put torque on his javelin, hurls it
 Off on its way. Waters bellow. Camilla flees over the river's
 Rage on a screeching spear: an ill omen for future fulfillment.
 Metabus, though, as the troop of his trackers starts pressing more closely,
 Leaps in the torrent, defeats it, then plucks out his shaft, with the virgin 565
 Vowed to the Goddess of Crossroads attached, from the turf of the meadow.
 'No city took him within its defenses, much less into household.
 Nor would this wild human creature have made any gesture to ask them.
 He led a shepherd's life in the lonely world of the mountains,
 Raising his daughter there, in the bush, amid overgrown ranges 570
 Suckling her at the dugs of a mare from a wild herd on untamed
 Beast's milk, inserting the teat at her tender lips, squeezing gently.
 Once this infant could stand on her feet, take her first steps, her father
 Armed her hands with a sharpened javelin, then from the tiny
 Young child's shoulders, suspended a bow and a quiver of arrows. 575
 No gold brooch for her hair, no long cape draping her body,
 All down her back, from the top of her head, hung the skin of a tigress.
 Her tender hands whirled spears, like a boy, not the sley of a girl's loom.
 Circling her head was a smooth strap hurling bullets of slingshot,
 Shooting a white swan down or perhaps some crane from the Strymon. 580
 Mothers in every Etruscan town so hopelessly wanted
 Her as a bride for their sons. But, contented with only Diana,
 She remained virgin and fostered eternal love for her weapons
 And for her chastity. Oh, how I wish she had not been seduced by
 This kind of military action, attempting to harass the Teucrians, 585
 She would be dear to me now and be one of my corps of companions.
 'Go then, my nymph, since *her* bitter fate now closes in quickly,
 Slip from the dome of the skies and visit the land of the Latins,
 Where there's a grim fight in progress. The omens portend a disaster.

Take these weapons and draw from the quiver an arrow of vengeance
Which will exact for me, from whatever Italian or Trojan
Violates her sacred body with wound, like payment in bloodshed.
Afterwards, I'll bear the piteous maiden's corpse and her armor
Undespoiled in a hollow cloud to her homeland for burial.''' (282-285)

590

C. Camilla in Battle (11.648-724)

*At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon,
unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset, 650
nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.
Illa etiam in tergum, siquando pulsa recessit,
spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu.
At circum lectae comites, Larinaque virgo 655
Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securem,
Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras:
quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis 660
seu circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.
Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera virgo,
deicis? Aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis? 665
Eunaeum Clitio primum patre, cuius apertum
adversi longa transverberat abiete pectus:
sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit atque cruentam
mandit humum moriensque suo se in volnere versat.
Tum Lirim Pagasumque super; quorum alter habenas 670
suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit, alter
dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem,
praecipites pariterque ruunt. His addit Amastrum
Hippotaden, sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta
Tereaque Harpalycumque et Demophoonta Chrominque; 675
quotque emissa manu contorsit spicula virgo,*

*tot Phrygii cecidere viri. Procul Ornytus armis
 ignotis et equo venator Iapyge fertur,
 cui pellis latos umeros erepta iuvenco
 pugnatori operit, caput ingens oris hiatus* 680
*et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis,
 agrestisque manus armat sparus; ipse catervis
 vertitur in mediis et toto vertice supra est.
 Hunc illa exceptum, neque enim labor agmine verso,
 traicit et super haec inimico pectore fatur:* 685
*“Silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
 Advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
 verba redarguerit. Nomen tamen haud leve patrum
 manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae.”
 Protinus Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima Teucrum* 690
*corpora, sed Buten aversum cuspide fixit
 loricae galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis
 lucent et laevo dependet parma lacerto,
 Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
 eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem,* 695
*tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim
 altior exurgens oranti et multa precanti
 congeminat: vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.
 Incidit huic subitoque aspectu territus haesit
 Appenninicolae bellator filius Auni,* 700
*haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.
 Isque ubi se nullo iam cursu evadere pugnae
 posse neque instantem reginam avertere cernit,
 consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu
 incipit haec: “Quid tam egregium, si femina forti* 705
*fidis equo? Dimitte fugam et te comminus aequo
 mecum crede solo pugnaeque adcinge pedestri:*

iam nosces, ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem.”
Dixit, at illa furens acrique adcensa dolore
tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis, 710
ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma.
At iuvenis, vicisse dolo ratus, avolat ipse,
haud mora, conversisque fugax aufertur habenis
quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat.
“Vane Ligus frustra que animis elate superbis, 715
nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis,
nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno,”
haec fatur virgo et pernicibus ignea plantis
transit equum cursu frenisque adversa prehensis
concreditur poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit: 720
quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
comprehensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.

“Yet, where the slaughter is thickest, the Amazon prances, exposing
 One of her flanks for the fight and equipped with a quiver: Camilla.
 Sometimes her hand scatters volley on volley of light, pliant javelins, 650
 Sometimes she grabs for a strong double axe, for her hand never tires.
 Arms from Diana, her golden bow, ring out on her shoulders.
 If she’s repelled and retreats, she draws out her bow, faces backwards,
 Firing her flying shafts from behind her. Her favoured companions
 Gather about her: the virgins Larina and Tulla, and also, 655
 Wielding an axe made of bronze, Tarpeia. Each girl is Italian,
 Chosen by godlike Camilla herself to enhance her own image,
 First-rate servants in peacetime and war. They’re so like the Thracian
 Amazons splashing their way across Thermodon’s streams in their gaudy

Armour, off to the wars, like Hippolyta's troops. Or perhaps we'd imagine 660
 Penthesilea the daughter of Mars like this while returning
 Home in her chariot, her armies of women tumultuously howling
 Mightily halloos as they prance with the crescent-moon shields that they brandish.
 Who was the first man you killed with your weapons, you fierce young woman?
 Who was the last? Bodies spilled to the ground and left dying: how many? 665
 Clytius' son, Eunaeus, was first. And she hurled a long pine-shaft
 Clear through the chest he exposed when he turned round to face her. Collapsing,
 Vomiting rivers of blood, he kept biting the ground he'd made gory,
 Writhing in spasms of death round the very wound that destroyed him.
 Then add Liris and Pagasus. Liris, bucked when his stallion 670
 Stumbled, was gathering his reins. And while *he* was slipping, the other
 Came running up, hands stretched to assist, and thus holding no weapons.
 Both she sent crashing down to their deaths. Then she adds on Amaster,
 Hippotas' son, then pursues and shoots, long-range, wither her javelins
 Tereus, also Harpalycus, also Demophoön, Chromis: 675
 Each shaft torqued and dispatched by this woman's hand brought a Phrygian
 Man to his death.

Far off, wearing unfamiliar equipment,
 Mounted upon an Apulian stallion, a hunter is riding.
 Ornytus cloaked the whole breadth of his ample shoulders with rawhide
 Stripped from a bullock (he liked a good fight). For his head, the enormous 680
 Gaping mouth and the jaws of a white-toothed wolf give protection.
 Arming his hands is a peasant's staff with a hooked point. In *his* troop
 He is the central figure and stands a whole head above others.
 She intercepts him—it's not very hard, for his column's retreating—
 Runs him through and then adds these words from a heart full of hatred: 685
 'Did you think you were out hunting game in the woods, you Etruscan?
 Your day of doom has arrived. It refutes, with the weapons of women,
 Everything you men say. But still, you will carry no trifling
 Name to your father's ghosts: you died by the spear of Camilla.'

Next fell Orsilochus, Butes as well, the two largest of Teucrian 690
 Fighters. But Butes *did* have his back turned when she drove her javelin
 In at that slim gleam of neck between corslet and helmet, his shield was
 Merely dangling down from his left arm. He was, in fact, seated.
 She, in Orsilochus' case, ran away. Though he chased her in great big
 Circles, she fooled him by making a tighter loop on the inside. 695
 Now the pursued was pursuer. He pleaded and begged as she rose up
 Higher and hacked through the arms of the man, through his bones with her mighty
 Axe-blade, again and again. Gashes flooded his whole face with hot brains.
 Terror immobilized Aunus' son when he saw her and met her
 Quite unexpectedly. This man, an Apenninican warrior, 700
 Lied with Liguria's best while fate let him practice deception.
 Once he perceived he could not make an exit in any direction
 Quickly enough to get out of a fight or avert the queen's onslaught,
 He made a shrewd approach with a well-planned ruse, and began thus:
 'What so distinguishes you from the herd if you, being female, 705
 Need a stud racehorse for courage? Away with escape! Trust resources
You have, and fight me on level turf, on foot, and at close-range.
 Hitch yourself up! You will soon know whom flatulent glory has hoodwinked.'
 She was enraged at his words and inflamed by the sharp pain they brought her.
 Handing her horse to a comrade, she faced him on foot with equipment 710
 Much like his: bare steel, plain shield, though this didn't scare her.
 Thinking his ruse had her beaten, the youth didn't falter. He simply
 Lifted the reins, wheeled about, and took off at a runaway gallop,
 Spurring his horse to full four-legged speed with a raking of iron.
 'You're the one fooled, you Ligurian! Runaway pride gets you nowhere! 715
 Your slick attempts at your folk's traditional arts have been wasted!
 Trickery won't bring *you* home safely to Aunus the Cheater!'
 These are the young girl's words. Like fire with the feet of a sprinter,
 She outraces his horse, grabs the reins, turns to face him, attacks him,
 Then penalizes her foeman in blood, casually, like a sacred 720

Predator soaring on wings from a cliff-top, extending his pinions,
Stalking a pretty dove, over her limits, unbridled, in veiling
Cloud; and he catches her, and guts her with curving
Talons. Her blood sputters; plumes wrenched out flutter down from the heavens”
(287-290).

D. The Death of Camilla (11.778-831)

*Hunc virgo, sive ut templis praefigeret arma
Troia, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro
venatrix, unum ex omni certamine pugnae* 780
*caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen
femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore,
telum ex insidiis cum tandem tempore capto
conciat et superos Arruns sic voce precatur:
“Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,* 785
*quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
pascitur et medium freti pietate per ignem
cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna,
da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis,
omnipotens. Non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum* 790
*virginis aut spolia ulla peto (mihi cetera laudem
facta ferent): haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis
pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes.”
Audiit et voti Phoebus succedere partem
mente dedit, partem volucris dispersit in auras:* 795
*sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam,
adnuat oranti; reducem ut patria alta videret,
non dedit, inque Notos vocem vertere procellae.
Ergo ut missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras,
convertere animos acris oculosque tulere* 800
*cuncti ad reginam Volsci. Nihil ipsa nec aerae
nec sonitus memor aut venientis ab aethere teli,
hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem.
Concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem* 805
suscipiunt. Fugit ante omnis exterritus Arruns,

*laetitia mixtoque metu, nec iam amplius hastae
 credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet.
 Ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
 continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos* 810
*occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco,
 conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
 subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit:
 haud secus ex oculis se turbidus abstulit Arruns
 contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis.* 815
*Illa manu moriens telum trahit, ossa sed inter
 ferreus ad costas alto stat vulnere mucro:
 labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
 lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.
 Tum sic exspirans Accam ex aequalibus unam* 820
*adloquitur fidam ante alias, quae sola Camillae,
 quicum partiri curas, atque haec ita fatur:
 “Hactenus, Acca soror, potui: nunc vulnus acerbum
 conficit, et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.
 Effuge et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer:* 825
*succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
 Iamque vale.” Simul his dictis linquebat habenas,
 ad terram non sponte fluens. Tum frigida toto
 paulatim exsolvit se corpore lentaque colla
 et captum leto posuit caput, arma relinquunt,* 830
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

“Did she want to display, at the gates of a temple,
 Some Trojan armour? Or wear it herself, perhaps, when she went hunting? 780
 She pursued blindly, recklessly all through the columns,
 Hot, but with feminine tastes, in her passion for booty and plunder.
 Arruns had finally captured his moment. Lurking in ambush,

He, at last, brought his javelin to life and he uttered this prayer:
 ‘Greatest of gods and guardian of holy Soracte, Apollo, 785
 We are your chief devotees and heap up, for rites in your honour,
 Bonfires of pine-wood. We walk, for we trust in our righteous devotion,
 Straight through the blaze, press the soles of our feet on the deep-layered embers’
 Father Almighty, permit this disgrace to be purged by my weapons.
 I wouldn’t strip off her gear, make a trophy out of a beaten 790
 Virgin. I don’t want spoils, for my further achievements will bring me
 Praise. So as long as this pestilent demon may fall when she’s beaten,
 Wounded by me, I’ll go back without fame to my ancestor’s city.’
 Phoebus heard all of the prayer and his will allowed one part accomplished.
 As for the other, he tossed it away on the fluttering breezes. 795
That he lay low with a sudden death the distracted Camilla:
Yes, prayer granted. That hills of his homeland should see him returning:
Not granted. Storms swirled these words away to the whims of the south winds.
 Now, as the javelin hurled by his hand screeched noise through the breezes,
 Volscians all shifted passions to thought of the queen and they focused 800
 Their keen eyes upon her. She herself noticed neither the moving
 Air nor the sound, had no sense of the weapon’s descent from the heavens,
 Nothing, until that javelin passed through the nipple she kept bare,
 Stuck where aimed; there it drank deep draughts of her virginal lifeblood.
 Frantically, comrades converge at a run and support their collapsing 805
 Mistress. But running away is the most frightened person around them:
 Arruns. Elation has mingled with fear and he now doesn’t even
 Dare to put his trust in a spear or face up to a virgin in combat.
 He’s like the one who conceals himself instantly up in the mountain
 Heights, to which no path leads, before hostile weapons pursue him: 810
 He is the wolf who has just killed the herdsman or champion bullock,
 Fully aware of the rash deed done, tail limp now and quivering,
 Tucked away under its womb-like paunch, heading into the forests.
 That is how Arruns, in panic, took off to where eyes couldn’t see him.

Happy just to escape, he hides himself deep in the fighting. 815
She, though, is dying. She tugs at the weapon. The spear's tip of iron
Close to her ribs, in between her bones, won't budge. The wound's too deep.
She's slipping now, as her life's blood seeps; and her eyes are now slipping
Coldly to deadness, the color once bright in her face has all faded.
Breathing her last breath, she speaks a few phrases to one of her girlfriends, 820
Acca, the one she most trusted, the only person Camilla
Shared her concerns with at all. She addressed her much in this manner"
'Up to this point, I had strength, No, Acca my sister, this vicious
Wound makes me weak, and the world all around me grows blacker with shadows.
Hurry away and convey my final instructions to Turnus. 825
He must take *my* place in battle and keep Trojans out of the city.
Now, farewell.' As she spoke she was loosening her grip on her horse's
Reins and was slipping down to the ground, unwittingly this time.
Cold now, and slowly detaching self from her whole body, bowing
Slumped neck and head to her captor, Death, she surrendered her weapons. 830
Life flutters off on a groan, under protest, down among shadows" (292-293).

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