

**THE EMPIRE'S MUSE: ROMAN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE  
AMAZONS THROUGH LITERATURE AND ART**

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A Thesis

Presented to the

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San Diego State University

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In Partial Fulfillment

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Master of Arts

in

History

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by

Erin W. Leal

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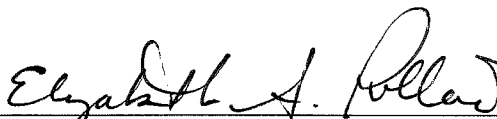
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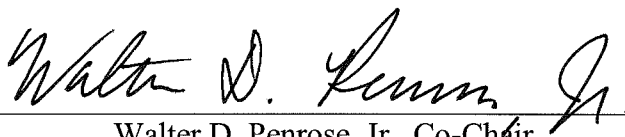
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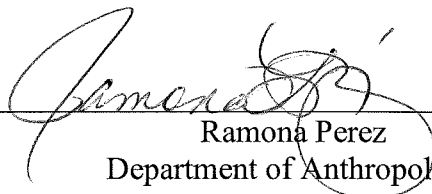
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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my mom and dad and my sisters, Caiter-tot and Pibby.  
Thank you, thank you, thank you, my indefatigable cheering section!

I thought I saw it all when I went to Phrygia once and saw thousands of soldiers and gleaming horses . . . that fated day when the Amazons swept down to fight against men.

-Priam

*Iliad* 3.196-203

## ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Empire's Muse: Roman Interpretations of the Amazons  
through Literature and Art

by

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Master of Arts in History

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Modern historians and classicists have studied the ancient Greeks' use of Amazon mythology extensively and exhaustively. Their analysis of the Amazon in literature and artwork has contributed to a better understanding of Greek society, culture, and the mindset of those ancient people. Next to nothing, however, has been written about the ancient Romans' use of the legends of the Amazons and what conclusions, if any, can be drawn about why Amazons appear as they do in the literature and artwork of Imperial Rome. This study draws primarily on my analysis of extant literature and art from the beginning of the reign of Augustus in 27 BCE to the end of reign of Marcus Aurelius in 180 CE.

Following the chaos and disharmony of the Roman Republic's Civil Wars, the Amazon was a popular character in the Imperial age of Rome and was used to discuss the creation of identity for the Roman people, though that identity changed over time. The extant sources discussing Amazon imagery survive mostly in two types. The documents are comprised of the literature of Virgil, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Curtius, Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias, all written from around 9 CE until 180 CE, which advocated the greatness of the Roman Empire and also the persona of the Emperor. Public and privately displayed artwork also used the Amazon imagery for statues, pediment reliefs, sarcophagi, mosaics, pottery, and jewelry. The Amazon in Roman literature and art is the Trojan ally, the warrior goddess, the native Latin, the warmongering Celt, the proud Sarmatian, the hedonistic and passionate Thracian warrior queen, the subdued Asian city, and the worthy Roman foe. Amazons appear as part of a changing imperial program in which military and political achievement is intertwined with social identity, public memory, and the imperial ideology of that particular time.

Chapter One explores the origins of the Amazon myth, how it was implemented in Greek society, and modern interpretations of the Hellenic use. Chapter Two analyzes how Amazon mythology was used by Romans during the reign of Augustus as part of a literary and artistic vehicle that, like their Greek predecessors, the Romans used to unite their people against a commonly-held enemy. Chapter Three delves into how Romans used Amazons as personifications of both nature and religion. Chapter Four follows how Romans use encounters with Amazons as indicators of larger societal characteristics, both positive and negative.

This thesis analyzes these sources based on time period, thematic repetitions and devices, homage of more ancient sources, contemporary events, location of images, and the style of the Amazon representations in an attempt to discern why the Amazon imagery was used instead of another mythic figure and what possible result the author/creator might be

trying to generate. A close examination of these sources suggests that there are trends in the use of the Amazon mythology that reflect the broader interests and contemporary problems of the Roman Empire.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Before Romulus captured the Sabine women, even prior to Aeneas' defeat of the Latin hero, Turnus and in advance of the founding of Rome, the Amazons were thriving in Greek mythology. Consistently portrayed as an independent, fierce, and barbarian nation of women, the Amazons existed in order to be fought, and ultimately vanquished, by Greek men.<sup>1</sup> According to the now-lost *Aethiopsis*, a Greek epic from the eighth century BCE, the Amazon queen, Penthesilea, fought against the Achaeans at Troy and was killed by Achilles. At Tiryns, a fragment of a terra-cotta shield dating from the end of the eighth or early seventh century BCE depicts either Achilles or Heracles fighting an Amazon.<sup>2</sup> In Homer's *Iliad*, another account of the epic battle, the Trojan king, Priam, mentions the Amazons' defeat by the hero Bellerophon in Lycia, and his own victorious encounter with the warrior women in Phrygia.<sup>3</sup> In these celebrated accounts, the Amazons are worthy opponents of the Greeks, but still extraordinary due to their status as women and barbarians, or non-Greeks.

By the sixth century BCE Amazons occupied a transitional, or liminal, space between matriarchal and patriarchal societies. They exhibited characteristics of both groups and traditions. In Homer's account of the Trojan War, King Priam recounts to his daughter-in-law, Helen, the story of the amazing warrior women, unparalleled in battle: "I thought I saw it all when I went to Phrygia once and saw thousands of soldiers and gleaming horses... an army in which I myself served... that fateful day when the Amazons swept down to fight against men."<sup>4</sup> Homer also discusses the Amazons as side note on the genealogy of one of the Trojan warriors, in the life of Bellerophon. The famous Greek hero was given a set of

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<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1996), s.v. "Amazons."

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Kleinbaum, *The War Against the Amazons* (New York: New Press, 1983), 14.

<sup>3</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Viking, 1990), 3.171, 111.

<sup>4</sup> Homer *Iliad*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997), 196-203, 56.

labors to accomplish, which included a guerilla battle against the Amazons in Lycia, a feat that was only undertaken after killing the (apparently less fearsome) divine half-lion, half-snake Chimaera, which was supposed to kill him.<sup>5</sup> The mythic poem highlights the encounters with the warrior women because they show the ferocity of the Amazons in battle. The epic *Iliad* is entirely focused on the world of warfare.<sup>6</sup> Violence in the poem was emphasized through graphic descriptions of deaths and mutilations received in battle. Though Homer did not detail the Amazons' participation in the *Iliad*, a narrative that begins almost ten years into the conflict, he does insert allusions to warrior women's aggressive nature as *antianeirai*- the equals of men into the tales of heroes and their past glories.<sup>7</sup> This is an ambiguous term and has also been translated as 'opposite of,' 'equivalent to,' or 'antagonistic towards' men.<sup>8</sup> The Amazons are established in the *Iliad* as courageous in battle, but fated ultimately to conform to Priam's acknowledgement that the Amazons "were nothing compared to these wild-eyed Greeks."<sup>9</sup>

Greek mythology represents Amazons as very different from proper Greek women. In the majority of accounts of the myth, Amazons belonged to a bellicose, matriarchal society ruled entirely by women. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian and biographer, claimed that the Amazons crippled some men and kept them as sex slaves.<sup>10</sup> The Amazons worshiped Cybele, Rhea, and Hecate and later Ares, Athena, and Artemis, Olympian gods famous for their ties to the natural world and/or skill and ferocity in battle.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to these wild women, the lives of Greek women were controlled by men; by their father, then their husbands, and then possibly their sons or other male relatives. Greek women were to reflect

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 6.185-192, 117.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, xiii.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek-English Lexicon says that this term is "the feminine form of the masculine *άνων*" and "always an epithet of the Amazons, a match for men." Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Sir Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 143.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Stewart, "Imag(in)ing the Other: Amazons and Ethnicity in Fifth-Century Athens," *Poetics Today* 16 (Winter, 1995): 576.

<sup>9</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997), 3.204, 56.

<sup>10</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, ed. F. M. Salter and H. L. R. Edwards, trans. John Skelton (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 2.45, 33.

<sup>11</sup> Florence Mary Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons* (New York: AMS Press Incorporated, 1967), 17, 26 and 61-5.

the male concern over honor and the legitimacy of their children and therefore stay indoors and away from men.<sup>12</sup> Greek women were supposed to remain in their fathers' and husbands' houses and tend to the needs of the household.<sup>13</sup> Xenophon, in his *Oeconomicus* explained that "the god prepared the woman's nature especially for indoor jobs and cares, and the man's nature for outdoor jobs and concerns."<sup>14</sup> The Greeks justified the separation of the spheres as an innate, god-ordained circumstance. The control of the marriage and of women and their children was a cornerstone of the male-dominated society.<sup>15</sup> Both the decision to marry and the responsibility of claiming children belong to the patriarch in Athenian society.

Ancient sources seem to emphasize that the Amazons lived in direct opposition to this societal norm. According to Herodotus, it was the custom with the Amazons after they intermingled with the Scythians that a woman would remain unmarried and unable to bear children until she had killed an enemy in battle. Herodotus warned that some women, whom he called Sauromatians, were never able to fulfill this challenge and thus died old, unmarried, and childless;<sup>16</sup> a life deemed worthless in Greek society. The Amazons denied the normative social function of women; namely that of the nurturing mother, and challenged the patriarchal rights to expose children.<sup>17</sup> Amazons seemed to blur the lines of Greek gender-based social roles. Apollodorus wrote that it was the Amazons' custom to "cultivate manly virtues, and if ever they gave birth to children through intercourse with the other sex, they reared the females. [Amazons] pinched off the right breasts that they might not be trammelled

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<sup>12</sup> Elaine Fantham, Helene Peet Foley, and H. Alan Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 113.

<sup>13</sup> One notable exception are the Spartans, a militaristic Greek society, which might have given women more physical education at a young age, to increase their fortitude for childbearing. Xenophon *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 1.2-9; Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 1.14-16, and Sarah B. Pomeroy *Spartan Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 12-19.

<sup>14</sup> Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, trans. Stylianos Spyridakis and Bradley Nystrom (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1997), 240.

<sup>15</sup> William Blake Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study of Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 52.

<sup>16</sup> Herodotus, *The Histories*, ed. and trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 133.

<sup>17</sup> Fantham, Foley, and Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World*, 131.

by them in throwing the javelin, but they kept the left breasts, that they might suckle.”<sup>18</sup> Hellanicus, who wrote towards the end of the fifth century BCE, discussed a history which included an invasion by the Amazons whom he described as a “golden-shielded, silver-axed, female, male loving, male infant killing host.”<sup>19</sup> This visually stunning moniker is aptly suited for another aspect of the Amazons’ non-Greek, uncivilized status; the Amazons’ supposed penchant for killing their newborn sons. These characteristics contrast explicitly with what was expected of a woman in any of the Greek city-states<sup>20</sup> and thus the Amazons personified the anti-Greek society; one that threatened to undermine the civilized Greek social structure.

According to ancient narratives, the Amazons were female almost exclusively in the biological sense. The Amazons challenged and sometimes highlighted the masculinity of Greek heroes and inverted normal Greek rules for women.<sup>21</sup> They lived outside of civilized community, beyond the protection of men. Diodorus Siculus claimed that, during a period of revolution, the rulers of Scythia, associated with the Amazons, were “women endowed with exceptional valor,” and “even took Cyrus [King of the Persians] prisoner and crucified him.”<sup>22</sup> Diodorus Siculus says that the women along the Thermodon River, called the Sauromatians by Herodotus, assigned the men to spin wool and “other domestic duties belonging to women.”<sup>23</sup> The women preferred female children and exposed any male progeny. They “mutilated both the legs and the arms of the male, incapacitating them in this way for the demands of war.”<sup>24</sup> Warlike in nature, the Amazons called themselves “Daughters of Ares”

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<sup>18</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 2, trans. Sir James George Frazer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 2.9, 203.

<sup>19</sup> Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (FGrH) (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1958), quoted in Lorna Hardwick, “Ancient Amazons- Heroes, Outsiders, or Women?” *Greece & Rome* 37, no. 1 (April, 1990):17-18.

<sup>20</sup> It has been argued, however, that it was common for any deformed infant in Greek society to be exposed.

<sup>21</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Amazons.”

<sup>22</sup> Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica*, trans. C. H. Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 2.44.1, 29.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.45.3, 33.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.45.3, 33.

and worshipped both Ares and Artemis Tauroplus, the virgin huntress.<sup>25</sup> They were expert equestrians and archers, and they were depicted as both fearless and fearsome in battle. Yet Xenophon promoted the idea that the gods “provided the body and the soul of the man with greater ability to endure cold and heat and journeys by land and military campaigns... but in making the body of the woman less capable with respect to these things... the god assigned her indoor work [as the woman was] more prone to fear than the man.”<sup>26</sup> The Amazons lived in direct opposition to how the Greeks defined their civilized lifestyle and so made the perfect antagonist for the shining Greek heroes who personified all that was good and worthy to the Greeks.

The roving, marauding Amazons had no place in civilized Greek society and so were not treated by mythographers as civilized Greek women were treated. The development of the Amazon myth also includes a number of references to the rape and abduction of Amazon women by Greek men. These incidents happen only when men come to the land of the Amazons. Historians vary on the location of the Amazons’ country. Herodotus claimed that an earlier invasion of Greeks captured the Amazons on the Thermodon River in Themiscyra and decided to take them back to Greece. This band of Amazons killed their captors, but had no knowledge of boats and so they eventually disembarked in the land of the Scythians. Once there, the Amazons made treaties with the Scythians and founded a new society based on Amazonian gender roles and called themselves Sauromatians.<sup>27</sup> The Amazons’ remoteness is also explained through the continuation of the myth of the matriarchy and the disregard of patriarchal societies. In Herodotus’ account of the Amazonian culture, the Amazons only agreed to mate with the Scythian men if they recognized that the warrior women were not like the women in the Scythian tribe; that they “never learned the employments of women.”<sup>28</sup> According to Herodotus, the Amazons told the Scythians that, “We are riders, our business is with the bow and spear and we know nothing of women’s work; but in your country... your women stay at home in their wagons occupied with feminine tasks and never go out to hunt

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 2.45.2, 33, and 2.46.1,35.

<sup>26</sup> Xenophon *Oeconomicus*, 7, 241.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus *The Histories*, trans. Godley, 4:110-114, 249-251.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 4:114, 251.



or for any other purpose.”<sup>29</sup> Because the Amazons lived outside of normal Greek society, they were placed, in the myths, at a geographical distance. Aeschylus placed the Amazon homeland in at the Sea of Azov, and later moved them to the area of Turkey.<sup>30</sup> Apollodorus believed they dwelled by the Thermadon river.<sup>31</sup> Diodorus Siculus locates a “number of races of women who were warlike and greatly admired for their manly vigor” in Libya “on the bounds of the inhabited world.”<sup>32</sup> Herodotus claims that Theseus found them on the edge of the Black Sea.<sup>33</sup> When the Amazons fled from Heracles, they settled in the Crimea.<sup>34</sup> Alexander the Great’s biographers reported that the Macedonian king had to travel all the way to Tajikistan to find the race of women warriors.<sup>35</sup> Amazons were literally outsiders in Greece. Some scholarship has even pushed for recognition of Crete as Amazon territory,<sup>36</sup> however, overwhelming evidence points to the Amazons as being beyond the borders of the Greek-occupied world. The ancient sources unanimously point to the Amazons as outsiders to Greek culture. The ancient myths highlight the polarities between the outsider Amazons and the normal Greek polis. The myths until the late sixth century BCE speak as merely a misogynistic and xenophobic viewpoint on this women’s culture.

The cities of ancient Greece were particularly wary of outsiders. Greece was made up of hundreds of individual city-states, each with their own foundation myths, gods, and vendettas. In the last 500 years before Rome claimed Greece as its own, Greece had been immersed in almost constant civil and ‘world’-wide wars. The Persian Empire invaded Greece twice in the fifth century, both devastating but ultimately unsuccessful attacks. There

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 4.114-116, 251-253.

<sup>30</sup> Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, ed. by Mark Griffith (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 5.707-35, 34.

<sup>31</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 2, trans. Sir James George Frazer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 2.5.9, 205;

<sup>32</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, trans. Oldfather, 3.52.4-53.1, 247-9.

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Godley 4.110-17, 253-254.

<sup>34</sup> Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 5.415-19, 57.

<sup>35</sup> Plutarch, *Greek Lives: A Selection of Nine Greek Lives*, trans. Robin Waterfield (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 146.

<sup>36</sup> R. R. Marett, ed., *Anthropology and the Classics: Six Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford* (New York: Barnes and Nobel, 1967), 238.

was in-fighting between several Greek city-states and an incursion by the Macedonian king, Philip II, in the fourth century led to increased xenophobic tensions throughout Greece. Greek city-states became incredibly intolerant towards any outsiders. This antipathy towards outsiders is reflected in the Greeks' literature and artwork. Xenophobia did not stop Greeks from exploring their world.

In myth Greek heroes actively pursue the Amazons to their outsider territory. The deviant, sexual, battle-hungry Amazons became the “analogous female challenge” for the Greek man.<sup>37</sup> The Amazons' defeat is a validation of the Greek way of life. There was also a certain masculine status achieved from vanquishing the Amazons and it was a fitting task for demi-gods and would-be heroes. Heracles, the Greeks' epitome of a strong man, was a son of Zeus and a mortal woman. He was charged with obtaining the Amazon queen Hippolyte's girdle, which was a symbol of her power as both a leader and a warrior, as part of the twelve labors assigned to him,<sup>38</sup> as part of the curse by the goddess Hera.<sup>39</sup> Heracles' ninth labor, a battle with an Amazon queen, began to appear in vase paintings around 575 BCE, without any apparent antecedents. It was not until the late fifth century that Euripides wrote the account down as part of his *Heracles*.<sup>40</sup> The myth detailed the ninth of Heracles' twelve labors; he must take the girdle of the Amazon queen, “the gold –decked garment of the dress of Ares' daughter.”<sup>41</sup> In this telling of the myth, the hazard is obvious. Ares is the god of war, and is typically represented as the father or god of the Amazons. Euripides continued with another sinister reminder, saying that Heracles went on a “deadly hunting for a girdle,”<sup>42</sup> which he did eventually acquire. Greek myth leaves many traces of sexualized violence through stories of maiden sacrifice, rape, and orgiastic murder. This aggressive sexuality typically asserts the dominance of the patriarchal figure.<sup>43</sup> In the context of the Amazonian

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<sup>37</sup> Fantham, Foley, and Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World*, 131.

<sup>38</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, trans. Robin Hard (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 2.5.10, 239.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.5.1-12, 322-43.

<sup>40</sup> Donald Sobel, *The Amazons of Greek Mythology* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1973), 97.

<sup>41</sup> Tyrrell, *A Study in Athenian Mythmaking*, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Euripides *Heracles*, trans. Shirley A. Barlow (Wiltshire, England: Aris and Phillips, 1996), 69.

<sup>43</sup> Eric Csapo, *Theories of Mythology* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 174.

mythology, rape serves the same purpose and is extended to include reassertion of the submissive, feminine, normative role onto the outsider. Once reassigned to a normative female role, the Amazon could be assimilated into the patriarchal Greek society.

In some accounts of the legend, the Athenian king, Theseus, accompanied Heracles and either kidnapped or was given an Amazon captive.<sup>44</sup> The *Theseid* builds on this aspect of the legend and details the ensuing Amazonian raid on the Athenian countryside. By fighting and defeating the women warriors, Greek heroes reasserted their masculine dominance over a worthy, if anomalous, foe. In Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, the Athenian hero had his own encounter with an Amazon in her homeland. Upon his arrival, the Amazons seemed "by nature well disposed to men and did not try to escape from Theseus when he landed on their coast."<sup>45</sup> When an Amazon came on board the ship to give him a gift, he abducted her and took her back to Athens. While myth varies as to whether or not he sexually violated the Amazon, Theseus' taming of the Amazon is emphasized in her almost immediate fidelity. Plutarch also mentioned how Antiope, the Amazon, found she had an admirer in a young man from Athens and she "firmly rejected him, although she handled the affair gently with discretion and did not accuse him in front of Theseus."<sup>46</sup> This representation of the Amazon is characteristic of a refined Greek woman, not a wild Amazon. Theseus is shown not only to enforce his will on the Amazon, but also to subjugate the Amazonian ideology to that of the Athenians.

Before his epic battle against the Amazons at Athens, Theseus prayed and offered sacrifice to Phobos, god of fear. In his supplication Theseus not only asked that fear inflame his opponents, but he also prayed for the god to quell the fear in his own breast. Fear played a large part in the Greeks' Amazon myth. The Greeks feared strangers and those who might have a subversive effect on their societies. A surprising amount of fifth century literature is concerned with the painful results of scorning a powerful woman.<sup>47</sup> The Greeks often

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<sup>44</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, trans. Oldfather, 4.16.4, 397.

<sup>45</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert in (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 26, 32.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, 32.

<sup>47</sup> Mary Lefkowitz, "Review: Wonder Woman of the Ancient World" *The Women's Review of Books* 1 (January, 1984): 12.

portrayed angry women as incapable of self-control and the destruction and disaster that followed in these females' wake. Examples are omnipresent in Greek tragedies including *Medea*, the *Lysistrata*, the *Bacchae*, *Agamemnon*, *Electra*, and in Hera's encounters with Heracles. The Amazons' presence in Athens threatened the Athenians' established order and their continued existence. In coming to Athens, the women warriors epitomized a physical force threatening to degrade Athenian hegemony. Part of that invasion can be seen in the transition of men being kept inside the walls of Athens, while women, traditionally kept inside, were outside and able to move around. The threat is politicized territorially and the men of Athens find themselves on the submissive side of the fight. Theseus' eventual triumph over the Amazons, brought about by obeying the oracle and attacking first, thus becoming the aggressor, is just one version of the Greeks' encounters with the mythic and terrible female warriors. By overcoming their fear of the Amazons' dangerous otherness and formidable battle prowess the Greeks displayed, through myth, their worthiness as masters and conquerors both at home and abroad.

Theories about the significance of myth in society vary; however, the social importance of the Amazon myth is reflected in how habitually it appears in ancient Greek culture. Stories about Amazons share a common assertion of their status as deviants, outsiders, and their cultural inferiority to the Athenians. The myths are cautionary tales that conveyed the ancient Greeks' fears and doubts about any outsiders' capability to destroy their belief in their own innate superiority. The Athenians' use of Amazon propaganda is rooted in the threat the Athenians experienced during the time of Persian invasion and the struggle for supremacy between them and Sparta. The myth of Theseus and the Amazons did not appear on vases or in sculpture until around the time of the Persian Wars.<sup>48</sup> But the centrality of the Amazons' defeat in Athenian myth is validated by the use of the motif in sculptures of the main city god, Athena Parthenos.<sup>49</sup> It is evident that the Greeks were not just concerned with outsiders, but with anyone who displayed anti-Hellene, barbarian tendencies, which transgressed the socially authorized roles. Anyone who, under these

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<sup>48</sup> Pierre Devambez, *Amazones*. (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1965), 520 and 640. Extant images of Theseus and Amazons, according to the *LIMC*, are around 490 BCE.

<sup>49</sup> Fantham, *Women in the Classical World*, 131.

restrictions, could possibly be defined as ‘non-Greek’ was both inferior and dangerous.<sup>50</sup> The Amazons represented deviant outsiders who had no understanding of the mechanisms of the proper *polis*. This tested the Athenians’ view of how the world should function. The myths of the Amazons validated the hegemony of Athens over the rest of the Greeks.

The Athenians were able to manipulate the stories of the Amazons, to make them more Athenocentric, by introducing Theseus into the myths. Athenians adjusted the myths of the Amazons to fit various historical contexts and to serve their own ideology. However, because the basis of the myth was represented as history, they would not manipulate the symbolism of the mythic events at will.<sup>51</sup> Greek myths typically transcended time and generalized events, eschewing historicity in favor of making connections with the revered past.<sup>52</sup> The Greeks would have believed the myth of the Amazons as they would any other myth: basic truth, but not exactly historical, so the myth could be reshaped to fit the changing culture and politics of Athens.<sup>53</sup> The myth defined the Athenians and gave them reason to celebrate the power of their *polis*.<sup>54</sup> The defeat of the Amazons, or anyone who threatened the city, promoted the importance and power of Athens. By overcoming the Amazons at Athens, Athenians could send the message to any other would-be interlopers: conform or be defeated.<sup>55</sup>

The literature about the Amazons spans hundreds of years and the characters, geography, and storylines change, but several themes remain fixed in the accounts of the Amazon myths. Greek mythology recounting interactions with the Amazons focuses on their otherness including their disdain for typical women’s roles of wife and mother, their aggressive natures, battle prowess, and thirst for power and vengeance. These attributes were valued in men but more problematic when found in women in the ancient Greek world. As

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<sup>50</sup> Edith Hall, *Cultural Responses to the Persian War: Antiquity to the Third Millennium* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 204.

<sup>51</sup> Mary Lefkowitz, “Review: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking,” *Classical Philology* 81 (January, 1986): 84.

<sup>52</sup> James S. Ruebel, “Politics and Folktale in the Classical World,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 50 (1991): 5-6.

<sup>53</sup> Fantham, *Women in the Classical World*, 128.

<sup>54</sup> Lefkowitz, “Review: Wonder Women,” 12.

<sup>55</sup> Lorna Hardwick, “Ancient Amazons,” *Greece and Rome* 37 (1990): 23.

such, it comes as no surprise that in Greek mythology, Amazons are almost never the victors in battle and are always vanquished by singular heroes. Their existence serves primarily to show the eventual defeat of perverse Amazonian- read non-Greek and barbaric- lifestyles and highlight the greatness of their Greek opponents.

The mythological themes of warrior women, riding on horseback, wielding double-headed axes, and inhabiting distant, unknown and uncivilized lands remained popular through the medieval ages with poets and geographers, and Amazons are mentioned in the journals of several explorers in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The Amazons may have been, and were commonly believed to be, until the end of the sixteenth century, a real tribe of warrior women. In the twenty-first century, recent tomb excavations in southern Russia may verify the existence of such a group of warrior women through the discovery of women buried with armor and weapons, leading credence to a historical foundation for the Amazon myth.<sup>56</sup> Leaving aside that fascinating but complex argument, modern historians have been particularly interested in the purpose of the Amazon myths in the ancient world, usually focusing on how the ancient Greeks interpreted the legends as remnants of ancient matriarchies, cautionary tales, or useful juxtapositions for Greek identity. Other scholarship postulates that the Amazon myth was an inaccurate, and often inconsistent, attempt at ethnography by the Greeks, and that warrior women could be found within non-Greek tribes rather than as one distinct tribe.<sup>57</sup> Even in accepting the idea that the Amazon tribes were strictly mythological (an argument that was proposed by scholars and historians in ancient Greece), scholars dispute the significance of myth as a tool for insight into the values and concerns of any society. There has been an active and cross-disciplinary debate concerning what stories within a culture constitute a myth and what aspects of a myth are most important in analyzing its relevance for the ancient Greeks. Most experts say that a myth is ‘true’ for those who use it, but modern historians have argued that the Amazon myth was particularly relevant to the Greeks because of their matriarchal past, their patriarchal present, or the

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<sup>56</sup> V. I. Guliaev, “Amazons in the Scythia: New Finds at the Middle Don, Southern Russia,” *World Archaeology* 35 (2003): 112.

<sup>57</sup> Walter Penrose, “Bold with the Bow and Arrow: Amazons and the Ethnic Gendering of Martial Prowess in Ancient Greek and Asian Cultures” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2006), iv-v, 2-4.

Greeks' interest in mother figures and phallic symbols.<sup>58</sup> Trying to figure out why the Amazon myth was so pervasive in the Greek world has been a popular pastime for ancient historians and archaeologists for over 150 years.

In the nineteenth century, a time when the idea of historical matriarchies was socially appalling, Johann Jakob Bachofen asserted in his book *Myth, Religion and Mother Right* that Amazons were a mythological remnant of ancient female-dominated communities. Bachofen believed that, like the Amazons, the matriarchal societies were eventually wiped out by male-dominated groups in early social Darwinian episodes as part of a uni-linear evolutionary stage in human history.<sup>59</sup> Bachofen's belief in a gradual shift from nature to culture in evolution was mirrored by the uncivilized Amazons' eventual and destined defeat by the cultivated patriarchal Greeks. In Dietrich von Bothmer's catalog of Greek pottery, he presumed Amazons were a representation of the Greek world. However archaeologists used his compendium to argue that the iconography of the Amazonomachies was a direct reflection of the Greeks' wars with the Persians and that the Amazons were the personified outsiders.<sup>60</sup> Structuralists argued that the Amazon represented the Greek patriarchy's opposite and worst fear: women in power. The structuralist point of view emphasizes that individuals are the product of relationships rather than social reality.<sup>61</sup> Structuralism regards the Greeks' gender roles and values as the predominant reason that the Amazons continued to be popular in Hellenic art and mythology. William Blake Tyrrell claims that the Amazons were pervasive in Greek mythology and artwork so as to be a constant reminder to Greek men of the validity of their polis and patriotism and a cautionary tale about what could happen if they did not control their young, half-wild daughters.<sup>62</sup> Feminist theory partially agreed with the Structuralists' image of the Amazons and patriarchal Greeks as diametrically

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<sup>58</sup> Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Johann Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967, originally published in 1861), 109.

<sup>60</sup> Pierre Devambez and Aliko Kauffmann-Samaras, "Amazons," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol 1 (Zurich, Switzerland: Artemis, 1981), 586-653; David Castriota, *Myth, Ethos, and Actuality: Official Art in Fifth-Century Athens* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

<sup>61</sup> John Scott and Gordon Marshall, "Structuralism," *A Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 235-6.

<sup>62</sup> Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking*, 22.

opposed figures but instead focused on the harmony of matriarchal societies that would and should overcome the violent male-dominated culture of both Greek and modern times.<sup>63</sup> However, the above scholarship, when discussing Greece, typically meant Athens and its patriarchy.<sup>64</sup> Recent post-modernist theory contends that the Amazon mythology was multi-dimensional and, far from debasing the warrior women, built up Amazon valor and bravery further to validate Greek heroism and prestige in defeating them.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, scholars like Lorna Hardwick, Alan Shapiro, Paul Cartledge, and Walter Penrose explore the ways in which the Greeks would have defined non-Greek groups in a tradition of Hellenization.<sup>66</sup> The repetition of the Amazon myth in narrative, literary, and artistic mediums is significant because it reflects its reception in a society. When the myth is first told, it is just another narrative. It is only when the narrative has been received by the society does it become a myth and part of the social fabric of the community. The individual involved in the telling of the narrative is unimportant in that their intentions for the story have little to do with its eventual induction into the myths of the culture.<sup>67</sup>

Modern scholarship theorizes alternately that Amazons enjoyed such popularity in ancient Greek literature and art because they were convenient personifications of the “other,”<sup>68</sup> or calls for vigilance against wayward daughters and caution against underestimating these women,<sup>69</sup> or the powerful, predatory, and monstrous threats to civilized

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<sup>63</sup> Page DuBois, *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1982); Eva Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985).

<sup>64</sup> Penrose, “Bold with the Bow and Arrow,” 136.

<sup>65</sup> Lorna Hardwick, “Ancient Amazons,” 14-36; Stewart, “Imag(in)ing the Other: Amazons and Ethnicity in Fifth-Century Athens,” *Poetics Today* 16 (Winter, 1995): 571-97.

<sup>66</sup> Lorna Hardwick, “Ancient Amazons,” 14-36, Shapiro, H. Alan, “Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24 (1983): 105-114; Paul Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self & Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11; and Penrose, “Bold with the Bow and Arrow,” 136-9.

<sup>67</sup> Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 134.

<sup>68</sup> Lorna Hardwick “Ancient Amazons,” 14-36.

<sup>69</sup> Stewart, “Imag(in)ing the Other,” 571-97.



society and everything a woman ought not to be.<sup>70</sup> Regardless, the scholarship argues that the Amazon myths are important because they were relevant to the Greeks in some way and, therefore, give modern historians and archaeologists sociological insight about the ancient civilization.

Given this line of reasoning, it is surprising that there has been no corresponding research on the possible reasons for the wealth of Amazon iconography in the Roman Empire. Historians have not been focused on the particulars of individual or social context in the Roman world that might have inflected new meaning on the Amazon myth. Roman myth was used by Augustus and later emperors, and incorporated into public life to support the new Empire through the use of symbols in literature and public art.

Amazon iconography in Roman culture was more than an eccentricity of a few idiosyncratic Emperors and sycophantic followers. As it was in Greece and, to a great extent, because of Greece, the Amazon mythology held immense popularity during the era of the Roman Empire.<sup>71</sup> The Amazons' special importance to the Greeks was pervasive and Roman writers, from approximately 50 BCE until the end of the fourth century CE, encouraged this continued association between Amazons and aberrant groups of people as a convenient and pliable vessel for their own ideas about Roman foundations, identity, and rights to supreme power.

This study concentrates on the meaning of the Amazon myth in its various forms and functions for the Roman Empire. Romans made use of the Greek mythology in the sense that; the same legends that glorified the independent city-states of Greece were now being used as formulaic expressions of praise for the expanding empire, Roman hegemony, and Roman identity. Mythic personifications and symbolic depictions were borrowed from ancient Greek mythology and remolded to facilitate use by Romans.<sup>72</sup> While the literature and artwork usually conform to prior accounts of heroes, divine interactions, war, and warriors, the establishment in Rome had no compunction about varying the legends to suit their own ends.

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<sup>70</sup> P. Walcot, "Greek Attitudes towards Women: The Mythological Evidence," *Greece and Rome* 31 (April, 1984): 41-2.

<sup>71</sup> Kleinbaum, *The War Against the Amazons*, 34.

<sup>72</sup> Paul Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 301.

Though the people living in the Roman Empire at this time should not and cannot be seen as an undifferentiated mass with no individual backgrounds, circumstances, thoughts, or feelings, the Romans of the Roman Empire, I argue, were united by shared histories and experiences in order that there might be a common identity held by Romans in much the same way as national identities are created in contemporary time.<sup>73</sup> Roman emperors embraced foundational myths that build that image of antiquity essential to the idea of the Empire. These myths promoted the idea of a shared future, through civic ceremonies and rituals that further encourage loyalty and personal identification with the system. The media of literature, art, and ceremonies lay the basis for a unified consciousness, pride, and identity.<sup>74</sup> Representations of Amazons are not merely literary or visual fictions, but a way to reflect Roman cultural and ideological experiences, either attained or desired. The Amazon myths might also have been linked by the Romans, as they had been by the Greeks, to religious rites and ceremony which seem to highlight Roman admiration for these warrior women. This multifaceted use makes the Amazons' depictions in the art and literature of the Roman Empire a compelling, and possibly more ambiguous, tangent of the imagery which the Greeks first manipulated.

This thesis investigates the use of Amazon mythology by Roman Emperors and citizens from the dawn of the Empire in the first century BCE through the reign of the inveterate philhellene, Hadrian in the second century CE. I argue that the Amazon imagery adopted from the Greeks was a useful, if not always used, vehicle for manipulating Roman identity and an ideology of victory and dominance. This Amazon imagery was fluid enough to weather the almost constant political and geographic changes in the Roman Empire, and ambiguous enough to play a continuing role in Romans' understanding and conquest of barbarians. The Amazon in Roman literature and art is the Trojan ally, the warrior goddess, the native Latin, the warmongering Celt, the proud Sarmatian, the hedonistic and passionate Thracian warrior queen, the subdued Asian city, and the worthy Roman foe. The Amazon appears as part of a changing imperial program in which military and political achievement is

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<sup>73</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983), 3-5; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 6-7, 44-5.

<sup>74</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1-3.

intertwined with social identity, public memory, and the imperial ideology of that particular time. The defeated Amazon is a necessary requirement for the continued success of Rome.<sup>75</sup>

By dissecting images of Amazons in Roman literature and art, one can observe aspects of the social, political, and cultural context in which those images were created, viewed, and utilized.<sup>76</sup> The Amazon image might also highlight fears and insecurities, some of which mirror those of their Greek predecessors, inherent in the ruling echelons of the expanding Roman Empire. The construction of a pliable image for the changing outsider and/or “other” was an extended act of Roman self-identification. The use of shifting image of the Amazon by an assortment of imperial regimes and multi-cultural artists, however created many contradictions in the imagery and so no single, all-encompassing, theory can explain it all. Rather this thesis discusses the most prevalent, and possibly overt, reasons why the Romans were continuously inspired by the Amazons in the first and second centuries of the Common Era.

In a time of turmoil and civil unrest, Octavian Augustus undertook the momentous task of unifying the Roman world into one cohesive, monumental, empire. Chapter Two discusses how, during the forty years of his reign, Augustus may have used Amazon iconography as part of an effort to create a national identity for the Roman people. I argue that the liminality inherent in the mythic representation of the physically female Amazon was juxtaposed against the virtue, piety, and patriotism supposedly inherited from the mythic half-god founder of the Roman people, Aeneas; qualities desired in the Roman citizen. The creation of both standard and formulaic images was part of Augustus’ complex strategy to aid Roman citizens in coming to terms with the changes within the new Empire.<sup>77</sup> Conversely, Amazonian figures, like the female warrior Camilla, who occur in the Augustan literature, create ambiguous feelings of admiration and disdain towards any people- not just female- and places outside of Roman society. Strabo’s discussion of geography highlights the blending of Greek knowledge with Roman hegemony and details the origins of the Amazons

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<sup>75</sup> Ferris, *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians through Roman Eyes*, (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2000), 71.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

as part of an effort to prepare Roman citizens for their roles as rulers on the new borders of the Roman world. This division between the known and the unknown created a basis for a common identity that promoted Roman unity through cultural collective memory of Rome's past while glorifying the predestined and divinely ordained future of Augustus' Empire.

After the death of Augustus, the hereditary emperors in the Julio-Claudian era did not, or were not able to, continue his massive propaganda machine. The Roman gaze and desire for colonial land were still part of the imperial propaganda. As the Roman inhabitants changed, so did the use of the Amazon imagery. In Chapter Three I postulate that Rome's proprietary interest in the regions bordering the Roman Empire led to more of an Amazon image that blended cultural ideas of what was foreign and what was not. Yet, the hybrid messages presented in the art and literature highlight the riotous inconsistencies of the Julio-Claudian emperors and their hedonistic tendencies which then inspired a more restricted framework by the Flavian dynasty that followed. Here, I also discuss the increasing intercultural mixing of Roman and provincial iconography and religion that influenced depictions of the Amazon and further obfuscate any one imperial or political message but confirms the popularity of the Amazon image and its relevance to the people in the Roman Empire.

By the early second century Rome reached its most extensive size and Romans lived in relative peace. However, in Chapter Four I argue that the continued use of Amazon imagery suggests that Rome was still undergoing constant renegotiations of self-identity. The Roman emperors were shrinking the borders of the Empire during this time but relationships between Rome and its provinces and allies were still changing what it meant to be Roman. So, again, Rome drew on Greek images of the Amazon to aid the ideological development of both the Roman and barbarian identity, but incorporated outsiders who exemplified Rome's virtuous and pious past.<sup>78</sup> However, the influence of Greece goes beyond Amazon prototypes in this era. The Adoptive Emperors, through the patronage of literature and art, compare Amazon encounters in Greece and Rome in a concerted effort to validate the Empire and the Roman identity. I argue that this new incarnation of the myth that was used to support the

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<sup>78</sup> Emma Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples of the Central Apennines*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 68.

established Roman government was readily accepted by the Roman masses and used to endorse individuals' achievements within the Empire. The use of political images in everyday civic life extended with time to ever broader spheres and the Amazon imagery was used in more generic and fictive ways that aimed at encompassing particular groups or identities. The Amazon literature and artwork was also used to highlight individuals' achievements and personal cultural influences.

The content of this paper is limited by time and source material. My goal in presenting information from the beginning of the Roman Empire is to advance one possible hypothesis regarding the ideological development of one of the greatest world powers in human history. This work is cross-disciplinary and aims to present material from a historical and anthropological background which might more fully represent the Roman mindset of the first and second centuries CE, when the Empire was developing and gaining acceptance as an established power. In restricting my time frame, I also necessarily limited my source material to focus on a few authors who referenced one particular myth. These authors have in common three things which, I believe, make their insights on the Amazon mythology pertinent to this argument: the authors were men who were born primarily outside the central axis of power, Rome, but were educated within the Roman system; they enjoyed special favor and close contact with both the Roman Emperors and influential men of their respective times, and all gave reference to the Amazonian myth as part of their discourses about the Roman Empire. Given their upbringing and education, the authors chosen for this paper had almost liminal positions in the Empire. They understood the Imperial movement that affected their lives and the lives of their families. Yet from Virgil to Pausanias they still took part in Roman indoctrination through education, government, and literature. All of the authors wrote for the Roman audience of the upper echelons and seemed, from their own accounts and those of contemporary sources, to have been in favor by the reigning powers. While some of the authors are more overt in praising their political patrons than others, all promote to some extent the expanding Empire's well-being and success through their literature and Amazonian anecdotes. Due to their close ties with the imperial powers-that-be, it would be these authors who would know best the leanings of the emperors and the political court, as their continued patronage depended on it. Finally, despite a variety of topics, the chosen authors reference the Greek myth of the Amazons to strengthen and support their

perceptions of the Roman Empire. The reasons behind this, I will argue, are multifaceted, but like the artwork, the ideas of Amazons were a useful tool in promoting the legitimacy and identity of the Roman Empire.

In analyzing the propagandistic power of visual imagery in the most inclusive manner possible, I chose to work exclusively with the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*) compendium of Roman Amazon artwork (see Appendix). The *LIMC* is best suited for this interdisciplinary study of the Amazons due to its inclusion of art history, archaeology, and study of antiquity within the commentary and the inclusion of so many illustrations and pictures in the catalog portion of the volume. It explores only the changing representations of characters and myths in the ancient world, and thus provides a *tabula rasa* for conjecture on how and why the images were used.<sup>79</sup> The first *LIMC* volume was published in 1982 and subsequent volumes have been added every few years. With every volume more nations became involved with the project making it one of the most current and inclusive compendiums of ancient data to date.<sup>80</sup> For my purposes, the cross-referencing of the artwork both by period and by plausible motifs enabled me to see themes, motifs, and variations played out visually. The *LIMC* is comprised of both famous and often reproduced images along side unpublished and little known pieces. Furthermore the *LIMC*'s treatment of a variety of mediums including statues, relief work, pottery, paintings, gems, and sarcophagi allowed me to look at both monumental and minor pieces and thus postulate on the widespread nature of the Amazon iconography and its impact on the Roman populace. The commentary for each topic is contributed by scholars well-respected for their work in the field and while there are varying scholarly interpretations, it provides an insight into the emergence of that particular iconography in antiquity.

The development of the Amazon myth in the Roman Empire mirrors transitions in the makeup of Roman culture and the discourse on what it meant to be Roman and what it meant to be barbarian and 'other'. The imagery, like the message, changed over time and with the varied purposes of the authors and artists. The Amazons, however, continued to play a

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<sup>79</sup> Martin Robertson, "Review: [Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae]," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104 (1984): 266-267.

<sup>80</sup> Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, "Review: [Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae]," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (January 1987): 150-151.

valuable role in literature and art because they could represent for the Romans a variety of specific or generic meanings that blended patriotism with civic identity on a collective level while still embodying the essential elements of the mythic Amazon.

## CHAPTER 2

### AMAZONS IN THE LITERATURE AND ART OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE

After the brutal Civil Wars and the defeat of Marc Antony at Actium in 31 BCE, Octavian –later Augustus- was left with an unstable nation in the crucial, formative phase of an Empire. In an effort to maintain a stability not seen in over a century of turmoil, Augustus encouraged symbolism that supported Roman unity and stability.<sup>81</sup> The literature and art of the Augustan age promoted a combination of strongly felt affiliations with acknowledged, esteemed, or derided homogeneities for a very large group of people. This idea of unity or identity was doubly hard because of the diverse groups of people that now made up the Empire. After generations of turmoil and Roman in-fighting, Italians in particular and Roman citizens in general had to recreate an identity that addressed the new duties, problems, hazards, challenges, and possibilities of the Roman Empire. Although military pacts and treaties had, for a long time, tied Romans with the Italian tribes at large, “the Romans treated these men of the same race and blood with disdain.”<sup>82</sup> A new self-fashioning of Roman identity and traditions was needed to minimize the chances of further civil wars.<sup>83</sup> This foundational bond between Roman citizens could be built on the commonality of religion, a common language, and similarities in culture and values.<sup>84</sup> Further amalgamations could be encouraged through marking groups that did not fit within Roman cultural archetypes.

It is my reasoning that foreign tribes of Amazons were an especially fascinating object for contemplation in the first century CE and they reinforced the quest for a public identity in

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<sup>81</sup> J. J. Pollitt, “Rome: The Republic and Early Empire,” in *Oxford History of Classical Art*, ed. John Boardman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 225.

<sup>82</sup> Velleius Paterculus *Roman History*, ed. A. J. Woodman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2.15 14.

<sup>83</sup> Katharine Toll, “Making Roman-Ness and the *Aeneid*,” *Classical Antiquity* 16 (April 1997), 37.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.



the Roman Empire by demonstrating what Romans (and through them, Rome) were not.<sup>85</sup> The epic author Virgil features the death of an Amazon-like warrior queen<sup>86</sup> as a central part of Rome's foundation story in which feminized barbarian warriors must be conquered, but not ravaged, to make way for Rome's founding. The geographer Strabo, who lived from 64 BCE to after 21 CE, struggles with the Amazons' historicity and reports on monuments ascribed to them as he nostalgically idealizes ancient Greece. Strabo places Amazons as a conquered "other," whose mythic lands were now well within the bounds of ever-expanding Roman territory. Strabo's use of Amazon mythology reinforces a Roman geographical assimilation. Public/monumental art (such as temples) and private art (such as jewelry and lamps) alluded to literary themes and also manipulated the message of Roman unity and identity to some extent. In both public and private art, Amazons play the dual role of barbarian and socially emancipated women. The barbarian identity perhaps stressed for the Romans the importance of gender-regimented roles and the distinction of courage (*virtus*) as a military and political bravery more appropriate in men and therefore unnatural, yet sometimes lauded, in a woman.<sup>87</sup> The image of the Amazon was an uneasy one given the historically recent, and very public, amorous conquests of Roman leaders by the Egyptian queen, Cleopatra, and the civil wars that seemed to follow in her wake. Public and private art both exploited the Amazon motif, but differed in their use of the iconography. Patrons, such as C. Sosius, who had fought with Antony before being pardoned by Augustus sponsored monuments that reflected the emperor's passion for imperial and civic glory.<sup>88</sup> By alluding to the *pietas* and *virtus* exemplified by the heroes facing Amazons in newly popular Roman foundation myths, these wealthy patrons sought to pay homage to Augustus. Private art continued to evoke the allegories of the older collectively known Greek mythology which emphasized power over foreign tribes and Roman cultural superiority. Both the literature and

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<sup>85</sup> Christina S. Kraus, "Forging a National Identity: Prose Literature Down to the Time of Augustus," in *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A New Perspective*, ed. Oliver Taplin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 325.

<sup>86</sup> Virgil compares Camilla to an Amazon in 11.854, saying "But at the center of the struggle, like an Amazon, one breast laid bare for battle, Camilla with her quiver charges, wild." Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), 295.

<sup>87</sup> Penrose, "Bold with the Bow," 86-87.

<sup>88</sup> Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 66-7.

the art developed in the Augustan period tapped into the mythology that preceded the supremacy of Rome and harkened back to Greek and Roman foundation legends.

In this chapter I will explore the variety of ways that historians, authors, and artists used Amazon imagery, a practice that favored the mythology of the Greeks and built upon those themes to promote the eminence of the Roman populace, and the extent to which it suited the political schema of the emerging Roman Empire. By examining the context of the sources, I will make a case that the myths of the Amazons were manipulated in literature and art as a parable to illustrate Roman citizens' feelings about the shifts in the make-up of the Empire. Authors used Amazons as a cautionary tale about the dangers of the barbarian other, a foil to define gender roles, and tool for mythologizing foundations of both cities and the empire as a whole. I will argue that this is largely due to the popularity of the Amazon imagery in earlier Greek epic and artwork prevalent in the Greek city-states during the Classical Age of Greek hegemony.

### **LITERATURE: VIRGIL'S *AENEID***

Publius Virgilius Maro, popularly known as Virgil, was a Roman who lived from 70 BCE to 19 CE, during the transition of the Roman state from Republic to Empire.<sup>89</sup> In this period of change, Virgil held local governmental offices and, through connections made in his formative school years, had a close relationship with Maecenas, Octavian's steward.<sup>90</sup> Modern authors have questioned Virgil's support of the Augustan empire due to his personal losses after the battle of Philippi when Octavian issued his victorious troops plots of land, including Virgil's ancestral holdings.<sup>91</sup> Virgil's literary efforts, however, promoted the continuation of a common Roman identity by contrasting it with the nationalities displayed in his work, particularly by his portrayal of the warrior maiden Camilla in *The Aeneid*.

Virgil lived during and participated in the Golden Age of Latin poetry, which highlighted the glory of a Roman empire and the charm of the Italian life, and borrowed

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<sup>89</sup> *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. "Virgil."

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> There are no contemporary sources that discuss this possible position, but Virgil's work, specifically the *Eclogues*, hints at Virgil's bias. See: Pollitt, "Rome", 810. See also Llewelyn Morgan, "Creativity out of Chaos: Poetry Between the Death of Caesar and the Death of Virgil," in *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A New Perspective*, ed. Oliver Taplin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 359-404.

heavily from Greek influences for inspiration.<sup>92</sup> His compositions reflected a plan and purpose that conformed to the recognized principles of Augustan rule and allude to his knowledge of both Greek-influenced poetry and Roman aspirations for hegemony.<sup>93</sup> As is seen in most prose-literature of the Augustan Age, Virgil drew much of his inspiration from the works of Greek poets, especially the genius of Homer and the poets of the Epic Cycle. The poetry of this era was particularly geared towards contributing to the fame of the patron.<sup>94</sup>

During the majority of his life, Virgil specialized in poetry that glorified the bucolic, agrarian lifestyle of the farmer. He is best known, however, for his epic poem, *The Aeneid*, which he wrote during the last ten years of his life, in the reign of Augustus. It was due to the renown of Virgil's earlier work that *The Aeneid* was lauded as an important work and compared to Homer's *Iliad* before it was ever published.<sup>95</sup> Virgil borrowed heavily from Greek accounts of the Trojan War and specifically mimics Greek representations of the Amazons as brave warriors full of hubris. He traces familial lines in order to compare to ideals of Aeneas with the desired ideals for the Roman identity. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil enhanced the prominence of a living ruler by associating him with the actions of a legendary ancestor. Octavian Augustus was the adopted son of Julius Caesar, who claimed to be descended from the goddess, Venus, through her Trojan son, Aeneas.<sup>96</sup> This connection promotes the idea of a continuation of eminence from the past to the present and gives "proof of the inheritance by the descendant of the personal qualities which first gave distinction to his race."<sup>97</sup> The association also legitimated for Augustus his claim for the monarchy through hereditary means. The *Aeneid* emphasized the transition of Aeneas' people from defeated Trojans to victorious Italians by comparing and contrasting them to people of other

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<sup>92</sup> W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 37.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>95</sup> R. J. Tarrant, "Aspects of Virgil's Reception in Antiquity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56.

<sup>96</sup> Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars*, trans. Catharine Edwards (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4-5.

<sup>97</sup> Sellar, *The Roman Poets*, 350.

ethnicities and nationalities. This comparative treatment was remarkably useful with the most unusual character in the *Aeneid*, Virgil's Amazon-like female warrior, Camilla.

Camilla of the Volscians, as Virgil first describes her in Book Seven of the *Aeneid*, is a mixture of warrior and pastoralist. She carries a shepherd's staff, but also a bow with arrows. Camilla's spear is country myrtle which is an appropriate weapon for the gentle, pastoral world; however the staff ends in a sharpened metal tip.<sup>98</sup> Camilla and her attire are arguably a fitting symbol for Italy as Aeneas finds it; a combination of pastoral harmony and militarism. Virgil's first account of Camilla in battle explicitly compares her to the mythical Amazon, with "one breast laid bare for battle, Camilla with her quiver charges, wild... she takes up a two-edged ax... a band just like the Thracian Amazons when they ride hard upon Thermadon's shores."<sup>99</sup> Again, this allusion to the Amazons' regional and barbarian background suggests Virgil's familiarity with the now-lost Epic Cycle and other Greek authors besides Homer who discussed the Amazons' origins.<sup>100</sup> She is, however, also almost god-like in her ability and otherworldliness. Camilla is a Volscian of Latin descent and naturally fights with the native Latins against Aeneas and his army of interlopers from Troy. Courageous, skilled in battle, and favored by the gods, the warrior maiden, in an *aresteia* worthy of the heroes of the *Iliad*, Camilla dispatches several of the Trojan enemy in single combat before her own valiant demise.<sup>101</sup> The description of Camilla's skill in battle reflects the Homeric tradition of recounting battles that would have been very familiar to the Roman reader. The action in Book 11 is set at a fast tempo; bloody and unapologetic. Camilla appears to be based on Amazons like Penthesilea; a mixture of beauty and ruthlessness, heroism and hubris.<sup>102</sup>

In Virgil's epic narrative, the description, defeat, and death of Camilla foreshadow the destruction of the Italian lords, the dominance of the Roman line in general, and the new

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<sup>98</sup> R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil: A companion to the translation of C. Day Lewis* (Bristol, England: Bristol Classical Press, 1985), 85.

<sup>99</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.855-869, 295-6.

<sup>100</sup> We know that Virgil had access to the Epic Cycle because it still existed in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE when Proclus summarized the contents.

<sup>101</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.875-959, 296-8.

<sup>102</sup> Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, 111.

order of Augustus in particular.<sup>103</sup> Virgil describes Camilla as a contradiction of masculine and feminine attributes. The name Camilla might remind a Roman of the *camillus*, a boy attendant to a priest in Roman religious festivals. Such an etymology for her name may well foreshadow this extraordinary case in which a female is equated with a male figure.<sup>104</sup> She is a nimble warrior with hands that had, “never grown accustomed to distaffs or the baskets of Minerva; a virgin, she was trained to face hard battle.”<sup>105</sup> Virgil pays special attention to her clothing of royal purple and her arrows and steel pike, which instill wonder in the young and the more traditionally female: “the matrons crowd and marvel, staring, in astonishment at how proud royal purple veils Camilla’s smooth shoulders.”<sup>106</sup> Virgil, by bringing this reaction to the reader’s attention, asks the reader to also see Camilla from that point of view; an awesome novelty even to her own people. Virgil references Camilla’s upbringing, raised in “life of the shepherds in the lonely mountains,”<sup>107</sup> dressed in the skin of a tiger,<sup>108</sup> and her transition into a warrior maiden in purple cloak and golden hair ornaments as a devotee of Diana the huntress. Camilla seems to represent, for Virgil, the transition from the natural and bucolic life that the author had idealized in his previous works into the world of battle and booty.<sup>109</sup>

Virgil also comments on the double-headed axes and half-moon shields of Camilla’s female companions, which he overtly compares to those carried by the Thracian Amazons of legend.<sup>110</sup> In Book 1, when Aeneas views the decorated walls of the temple in Carthage that depict scenes from the Trojan War, he sees on it the Amazon queen, Penthesilea. The Amazon carries weapons, she dresses differently than other warriors, and fights alongside female troops, and dies because of her hubris- the presumptuous pride of those who overstep

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<sup>103</sup> Antonia Fraser, *The Warrior Queens: The Legends and the Lives of the Women Who Have Led Their Nations in War* (New York: Random House Publishing, 1988), 20.

<sup>104</sup> Sara Mack, “The Birth of War: A Reading of *Aeneid* 7,” in *Reading Vergil’s Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 147.

<sup>105</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 7.1058-1060, 189.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, 7.1058-1060, 189.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*, 7.1058-1060, 293.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 7.1058-1060, 293.

<sup>109</sup> David O. Ross, *Virgil’s Aeneid: A Reader’s Guide* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 53.

<sup>110</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.858-869, 296.

their bounds and are doomed to defeat- as Camilla eventually will.<sup>111</sup> In both Penthesilea's and Camilla's circumstances, their haughty condescension of gender norms prophesy their downfall at the hands of male warriors. Given the fairly strict separation of gender roles and Augustus' edicts on morality during the early years of the Empire, there is surprisingly little chauvinism in connection with Camilla. Turnus sees Camilla as a suitable leader of his men and a valuable addition to his campaign: "O virgin, you, pride of Italy... share the trial with me... you shall meet the Tuscan horsemen head on."<sup>112</sup> Virgil's Trojans- Camilla's enemies and the mythic Roman ancestors- are not even allowed to debase the courageous warrior woman. When the coward Ligurian son of Aunus, calls Camilla a weak woman, his criticism is quickly nullified by his death at Camilla's hands.<sup>113</sup> These accounts provide paradigms of identity and reflect the Amazon character inherited from the Greeks, which included the disdain of women's work and any sexual proclivities in preference to weapons of war. They also mark Camilla as other, and maybe even extraordinary; a liminal figure in her society but still accepted by that society for her heroism.

In describing Camilla, Virgil does not compartmentalize her as simply a woman in form only, but embodies in her both male and female characteristics. He recounts Camilla's origins and conceives with her a proud, brave, and doomed three-dimensional character. By emphasizing these aspects of Camilla's nature, her eagerness for battle, glory, and love of finery, Virgil sets her apart from any other character in the poem. Virgil gives Camilla, not Turnus, the distinction of ending the catalogue of Italians at the end of Book VII, esteeming this warrior woman in particular and setting her apart physically from any other combatant in the epic, male or female<sup>114</sup> which accentuates her otherness.

Virgil does not go into specifics regarding what 'women's work' might be, he does give reference to the distaffs and baskets of Minerva<sup>115</sup> and offers a clear distinction between the domestic and the public sphere of the Volscians which Camilla flouts. She is no princess

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 1.693-7, 18.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 11.658-685, 291.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 11.923-59, 297.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 7.1055-72, 189.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 7.1058-1060, 189.

Lavinia, “the cause of so much suffering, [with] lovely eyes downcast,” a passive bride content to wait and see who survives the battle for her hand.<sup>116</sup> Camilla’s battle against Aeneas’ troops is truly patriotic in nature and she cares only to rout or destroy the invading forces. Conversely, both women are virginal but while Lavinia waits only for the right man, Camilla stoutly defends her chastity. Virgil often brings the reader’s attention back to this fundamental aspect of Camilla’s being. Camilla’s weapons are virginal, and even her blood, when it absorbs into the wood of the spear and drains from her at death, is virginal.<sup>117</sup> Yet Virgil also claims that Camilla’s weaponry skills, a skill gendered masculine in both Virgil’s poem and his own lifetime, inspired many Tuscan mothers, “who wanted [Camilla], in vain, as a daughter-in-law,” which seems to show that Camilla’s virtue and courage compensate for her social non-conformity within the story.<sup>118</sup> This is, perhaps a deliberate inversion of the norm of parents seeking prestigious men to marry their daughters. Virgil could also be saying that, in this literary construction, while Camilla’s most appropriate role may still be marriage, her realized role is not. Furthering Camilla’s gendered ambiguity, Virgil defines Camilla by her virginity and defames her love of finery,<sup>119</sup> a stereotype found in both Greek and Roman epic and tragedy where the blind pursuit of spoils leads women to a catastrophic end.<sup>120</sup> There is, however, a twist to Camilla’s attraction to all that glitters. She is wooed, and distracted, by the shining armor of a slain Trojan priest of Cybele, a man who could possibly be a eunuch, whose death at the hands of a ‘real warrior’ might have seemed to Virgil fitting.<sup>121</sup> While Virgil concludes that Camilla’s love of gaudy prizes of war is the pivotal cause of her defeat, it is one that also defeats male warriors, such as Turnus and Euryalus.<sup>122</sup> In Homeric epic, though, the spoils of war are justified and honorable tokens of victory.

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid, 11.634-6, 290.

<sup>117</sup> Virgil *Aeneid* 7-12, ed. G. P. Goold, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 11.808, 11.804, 292-293.

<sup>118</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.766-7, 293.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 11.1033-40, 300.

<sup>120</sup> William S. Anderson, “*Aeneid* 11: The Saddest Book,” in *Reading Vergil’s Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1999), 208.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 206-7.

<sup>122</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7-12, 10.500-2, 206-7, 9.363-6, 138-41, and 9.373-4, 140-1.

Virgil repeatedly condemns heroes who long for spoils, and shows how they are then ruined by them. This is one of the many times Virgil's own opinion supersedes traditional Greek mores and might be a caution directed to his Roman readers, undoubtedly educated and probably powerful, as the Empire expands and legions conquer new land full of booty and promises of early death.

Virgil uses Camilla's gender ambivalence to cast negative reflections on Trojan and Latin troops alternately. Camilla boasts, as she kills Aeneas' Trojans and allies, that they will be brought down by a woman, a prideful moment that echoes the supposed boasts of Penthesilea in the *Aethiopsis*.<sup>123</sup> This mocking implies that even Camilla knows that she is an anomaly. Yet, she is still accepted as a warrior and co-commander by Turnus with no reservations. Camilla is allowed to lead the key phase of battle while Turnus protects the city walls.<sup>124</sup> Virgil might be casting Turnus in a feminized role here as later in the book, the Latin mothers take up the protection of the city walls who, "remembering Camilla, are rivals in their eagerness to cast their shafts with anxious hands... each burns to die first for her city's sake."<sup>125</sup> In the fray, the Latins are turned back to their walls three times and the routed Latins "cast their shields behind them," as they turn towards the city walls.<sup>126</sup> Virgil uses this juxtaposition the same way as his Greek predecessors. Less bravery is required to defend walls than to attack the enemy. Virgil shames the men of his story by allowing the Amazon-like Camilla to subvert established societal and gender norms. Part of the make-up of male identity in ancient Greece and Rome was an omnipresent courage in battle. Men who broke rank or threw away their weapons during battle were seen as dishonorable, shameful, and cowardly.<sup>127</sup> The highest honor in Rome was the *spolia optima*, the prize given to a general who killed another general in hand-to-hand combat.<sup>128</sup> Cowardice was not rewarded. In

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<sup>123</sup> Virgil *Aeneid* 7-12, 11.687-9, 282-5; Arctinus *Aethiopsis* (apud. Proclus *Chrestomathia* 2) in Martin L. West, ed. and trans., *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 53.

<sup>124</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7-12, 11.502-510, 270-271.

<sup>125</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.1180-6, 303

<sup>126</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7-12, 11.618-20, 278-279.

<sup>127</sup> Penrose, "Bold with the Bow and Arrow," 20.

<sup>128</sup> Anderson, "Aeneid 11: The Saddest Book," 207.



contrast, Camilla, when forced to turn her horse towards the walls, “turns to cast her flying shafts.”<sup>129</sup> Camilla’s interaction with both her allies and her enemies entail a certain feminization of the Latin and Trojan warriors. Her masculine valor necessarily casts a shadow on other warriors who do not or cannot match her courage and deeds. As previously noted, however, Camilla does possess feminine traits beyond just her gender. She is constantly defined by her maiden state and retains a certain love of finery explicitly connected to her sex by Virgil.<sup>130</sup> By giving Camilla both feminine and masculine traits Virgil casts Camilla as an outsider, like the Amazon he names her, and the reader revels in her alterity. It is not her feminization or masculinity that sets Camilla apart; it is her liminal status as both and neither.<sup>131</sup> The death of Camilla, as a female and Italian, and the loss of her youthful promise, allows Virgil to construct a Roman identity by the means of the subjugation of all other groups (through descriptions of death in battle) who might oppose the fated Roman supremacy.<sup>132</sup> This echoes the death of the Amazon Penthesilea in the Epic Cycle; her death at the hands of the Greek hero Achilles signals the defeat of the Trojan defenders. Contemporary Roman audience would have been familiar with both the gendered social spheres of Rome and the barbarian defiance of those collective archetypes. Virgil creates a multi-dimensional character that embodies the traits of both Amazons and the defeated barbarian by highlighting Camilla’s breaches of respect and taboo of proscribed female social gender roles by Roman standards. As Roman soldiers conquer more territory, uncivilized barbarians might be destined to become a victim to the dawning of a new Empire, but they remain extremely dangerous as opponents.

Before Camilla’s defeat, Virgil gives her background as one devoted to Diana, the Huntress, and raised by a warrior father; and her defeat is foretold by the fates because of her eagerness to fight the Trojans. She glories in battle and taunts the enemy with her supremacy, saying, “The day has come that, with a woman’s weapons, will refute your nation’s threats.

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<sup>129</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.861-2, 296.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.767-9; 293 and 10.1038-9, 300.

<sup>131</sup> Josine Blok, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 130-1.

<sup>132</sup> J. D. Reed, *Virgil’s Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 13.

Yet it is no small glory you carry to your fathers' Shades: to have fallen beneath the spearhead of Camilla."<sup>133</sup> Her boasts create a dramatic irony for the readers given their knowledge of the eventual triumph of the Roman founders. Virgil imbued the *Aeneid* with images of Venus, the Julian ancestress, and foresight in which not only the future rule of the Julian clan, but the whole history of Rome was portrayed as one of predestined triumph and salvation through an all-encompassing world order.<sup>134</sup> Camilla, with her disdain of women's work, along with her fellow native (but foreign) Volscians will fall to Aeneas' Trojans and make way for Roman foundations and the victory of the Romans over the ambiguous other that the Amazon-like Camilla and her supporters represent.

In death, however, Camilla is honored by the gods and by the native Latins for her virgin's devotion to Diana and her bravery in battle. Arruns, the Trojan who killed Camilla and "defiled" Camilla's body with wounds and "ruined" her, is slain by Opis, the goddess Diana's immortal handmaiden, and Camilla is given a warrior's burial by Diana.<sup>135</sup> Camilla's death signals the Latins' retreat to the city. As previously noted the women of the city make weapons of hard oak balls and pikes in place of steel and prepare to fight in remembrance of Camilla.<sup>136</sup> The inter-textuality between the *Aeneid* and the Greek poems of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is abundant. Camilla's death, given the "gusto and violence" of her battle episode, is juxtaposed against the normal treatment of heroic warriors' demise, as seen in Homer's *Iliad*, and portrayed tenderly by Virgil.<sup>137</sup> Yet the description of her death is the same as the last line of the *Aeneid* which describes the death of the Latin hero, Turnus; "And with a groan for that indignity, [his/her] spirit fled into the gloom below."<sup>138</sup> These juxtapositions between traditional spheres of women's influence and the bloody battle scenes are a tribute to the slain Camilla while, at the same time, they are part of a commentary on the unworthiness of the Latin people. The Latins, as described by Virgil, are a wild, fierce group. Virgil

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<sup>133</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.906-910, 297.

<sup>134</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 193.

<sup>135</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.1091-1126, 301-302.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.1180-1186, 303.

<sup>137</sup> Homer details many heroes' deaths in the *Iliad*. Some of the more famous are the deaths of Sarpedon, 16.515-540; Patroclus 16.846-63; and Hector 22.403-356-360..

<sup>138</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.1101-2, 301 and 12.1297-8, 368.

repeatedly comments on the Latins' awe and admiration of Camilla and her companions.<sup>139</sup> In this admiration, this desire to be like Camilla, the Latins also embody the barbarous Amazon type. The Latins share Camilla's defeat. Romans well-schooled in Greek mythology would know that the Amazons, while a serious threat to other barbarians in their native lands, were traditionally the vanquished foes in battles against the established Greeks.<sup>140</sup> The Romans, in Virgil's epic, assign themselves the role of the invading Greeks in defeating Amazon-like, savage barbarians such as Camilla. The Romans in the Augustan age had been inundated with two centuries of Greek legends and heroic protagonists who fought for cities, family, and social hierarchy. Like the Greeks, the Romans used the mythology to advance their own political and nationalistic agendas.<sup>141</sup> Just as in Greek mythology Theseus had to defeat the Amazon army to rule Athens,<sup>142</sup> and Hercules, to accomplish his ninth labor in penance for the murder of his own children, had to obtain the war girdle of the Amazon queen Hippolyte;<sup>143</sup> as Achilles was fated to kill the warrior queen Penthesilea on the battlefield of Troy to fulfill his role in that legendary clash of humans and gods and achieve immortal renown,<sup>144</sup> so it was also necessary for Aeneas' new city to be founded in the death of a worthy, yet barbarous and unfamiliar Amazon-like opponent.

By portraying Camilla and her handmaidens as Amazons, Virgil signals their defeat, and the defeat of the Latins, by the Trojans. Very shortly after Camilla dies, her light-armed cavalry are the first to leave the field of battle. The retreat has an immediate effect on the rest of the Latins and the Rutulians quickly follow as "no one is able to stay with spears or stand against the press of Trojans bringing death."<sup>145</sup> The Latins' defeat could be inferred by

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 7.1064-8, 189; 12.667-671, 291; 12.765-7, 293; and 12.1180-6, 303.

<sup>140</sup> One notable incongruity is Herodotus' account of the Amazon mutiny on their Greek captors' ship. While the Amazons were defeated in battle, they later rebelled and killed their ship-bound masters and the vessel eventually landed in the region of Scythia, on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov, where they met and mated with native men and eventually formed a new tribe, the Sauromatians. Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey De Selicourt (London: Penguin Books, 1996).

<sup>141</sup> Tammy Jo Eckhart, "The Author-Centered Approach to Understanding Amazons in the Ancient World" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana State University, 2007), 132.

<sup>142</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall*, 32-34.

<sup>143</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, trans. Sir James George Frazer, 203-205.

<sup>144</sup> West, *Greek Epic Fragments*, 111.

<sup>145</sup> Virgil *Aeneid*, 11.1155-7, 303.

Virgil's readers as the continuation of the domination of the Romans over the other nations in their Empire. Augustus not only maintained a settled Roman Empire, but he also expanded the borders and increased Roman control over the known world, and eventually ushered in the *pax romana*, though his attempts were routed along the northern borders by the Germans. After the near century of civil war and conquest, the Roman Empire had expanded to an extraordinary size and the border lands were relatively peaceful.<sup>146</sup> In *The Aeneid*, with the death of the Latin hero Turnus (and supposedly the marriage to the Latin princess Lavinia), Aeneas becomes the ruler of not just the Latins, but all the Italian nations, unifying the various tribes.

The *Aeneid*'s ending might be a reflection of the Roman historical trend of allowing vanquished foes to continue governing their provinces as administrators of the Roman Empire or an avocation by Virgil for Roman assimilation rather than total domination of new tribes. In his unification of Italy, Aeneas instills a universal peace which gives rise to powerful Rome. In conquering the barbarian people of Italy, Aeneas established the foundations of a great nation. Virgil's *Aeneid*, in the end, does not try to evoke in the reader a simple partnership between the Latins and the Trojans, but instead it builds on the idea of an ideological unity and ethical endeavor for the benefit of the whole of the Roman Empire.<sup>147</sup> One might argue that Virgil is encouraging Rome's continued expansion as the only true solution for a universal peace which was splintered by the partisanship in the late Republic. Virgil pays special attention to Camilla, with her bellicose temperament so reminiscent of the Amazon Penthesilea, in order to highlight her alterity and ambiguous nature for his Roman reader. Virgil sets Camilla apart from both the Trojans and the Latins as the other, even a valued and admired other. Amazons in Greek mythology, it has been argued, served a similar purpose- that of the liminal woman who is only partly civilized.<sup>148</sup> The Roman identity might

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<sup>146</sup> Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London: Routledge Press, 2000), 107.

<sup>147</sup> Reed, *Virgil's Gaze*, 3.

<sup>148</sup> See articles by A. W. Kleinbaum, "Amazon Legends and Misogynists: The Women and Civilization in Question," in *Views of Women's Lives in Western Tradition: Frontiers of the Past and the Future*, ed. F. R. Keller (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1990); Stewart, "Imag(in)ing the Other," 571-597; and Blok, *The Early Amazon*.

change given the situation, but it would be reconfigured by the contrasts between the characteristics, nationalities, and motifs of the Roman and that of the Amazon figure.

### **STRABO'S GEOGRAPHY**

Epic is not the only genre that played on the Amazon motif in Augustan Rome. The geographer Strabo similarly uses the Amazons as a representative of the other in an increasingly larger world from 64 BCE to after 21 CE in his attempt to characterize a Roman identity that accurately reflected Rome's impact on the known world. The Roman conquests, which began under the Republic and continued in the unprecedented extension of the Roman Empire, contributed to the mounting geographical knowledge gained while expanding Roman territory. The security of the new empire allowed Roman citizens a modicum of safety when traveling across the conquered world.<sup>149</sup> Strabo used geography as a mode of identity through a cross reference of myth and history which brought an expansive variety of groups together. Strabo, like Virgil, was born into the world of Roman hegemony.

Strabo's native Amasia had just recently become part of the Roman Republic at the time of his birth, around 64 BCE.<sup>150</sup> So, as a Roman, Strabo attended schools taught by Roman tutors; which at one point included Tyrannion who was also the tutor of Cicero's nephew, the younger Quintus.<sup>151</sup> Modern scholarly opinions cite Strabo's tutors as facilitators of his desire for a discourse on the geography of the Roman Empire and Strabo himself cites his connections with his Roman contacts frequently in the *Geography*.<sup>152</sup> Conversely, the *Geography* is written entirely in Greek and Strabo's work and the authors he cites shows his self-identity as a Greek, a native speaker, and his immersion in the Greek tradition.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 107.

<sup>150</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961) 12.3.15, 395-397; 12.3.39, 445-447.

<sup>151</sup> Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 9; on Tyrannion see Wendel, *Paulys Real-encyclopedia der Clasischen Altertumwissenschef* s.v. "Tyrannion."

<sup>152</sup> Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 12, 85-96.

<sup>153</sup> Denise Eileen McCoskey, "Gender at the Crossroads of Empire: Locating Women in Strabo's Geography," in *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, ed. Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, and Sarah Potheary (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 58-9.

Strabo's *Geography* is an enormous compendium of geographical encyclopedic material whose composition might have taken forty years to research and finalize. During this time, Strabo traveled extensively around the Roman Empire and spent five years in Alexandria.<sup>154</sup> Given Strabo's description of Alexandria, the shapes of its streets and canals, and the layout of the public precincts it is conceivable that he was familiar with the famed Library.<sup>155</sup> Strabo's descriptions of his world validate and promote Roman imperialism but hearken back to Greek antecedents. Strabo had a deep respect for the earlier Greek tradition, particularly the work of Homer, asserting that "all educated men use the poet as a witness who speaks accurately."<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, the document was written in Greek and uses Greek ideas of ethnography, such as Herodotus' ethnographic model, in Strabo's discussion of cultural differences based on gender disparities.<sup>157</sup> Strabo discusses both physical and political geography in his work. The greater part of geography, Strabo says, is to aid future governors in their understanding of the territories they rule. Strabo outlines a geography that in describing space, intends as its main function, the eventual control of that space.<sup>158</sup> Geography "subserves [sic] the needs of states... and the description which geography gives is of importance to these men who are concerned as to whether this or that is so or otherwise, and whether known or unknown. Thus they can manage their various affairs in a more satisfactory manner."<sup>159</sup> Strabo references the campaign of the Romans against the Parthians as sufficient proof that "the utility of geography is more conspicuous in great undertakings."<sup>160</sup> Strabo was looking at patterns of cultural assimilation and a blending of traditions under Imperial reign, something with which he would have been very familiar. Strabo's audience was the elite men in power in Rome and he wanted them to learn how to best govern and rule their expanding domain.<sup>161</sup> According to Strabo, his *Geography* was

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<sup>154</sup> Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 16. Strabo was in Alexandria around the year 20 CE.

<sup>155</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 17.1.8-11, 33-43.

<sup>156</sup> Strabo *Geography* 1.2.4 quoted in Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 30.

<sup>157</sup> Strabo *Geography* 3.4.8, 16.2.38.

<sup>158</sup> McCoskey, "Gender at the Crossroads of Empire," 59.

<sup>159</sup> Strabo *Geography* 1.1.16, 31 and 33.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.1.17, 35

<sup>161</sup> Eckhart, "The Author-Centered Approach," 99-100.

meant to be a compendium to his *Historia* and to discuss only what was noble and great, memorable, or entertaining. His work includes material from authors that are now lost to us.<sup>162</sup>

Strabo was particularly concerned with barbarian encounters though, for Strabo, ‘barbarian’ was a shifting moniker. In the *Geography*, he discusses interactions with barbarians from a specifically Greek standpoint, saying that there are two groups of people in the world, those who have the elements of law and education, and those who do not. The strict division between those who should be praised and those to be censured is typically Greek.<sup>163</sup> In Strabo’s specific descriptions of various states, empires, and regions, however, he addresses the political leaders of the known world, the Romans, in an effort to construct a world view for this rising Empire.<sup>164</sup> Strabo, in books three and four of the *Geography*, promotes the Roman world view and imperialism when he explains that many tribes that were once barbarian are no longer uncivilized because they have adapted to the Roman way of life.<sup>165</sup> Strabo comments that it is only when Augustus pursued and destroyed Cleopatra that he was able to “put an end to Aegypt’s being ruled with drunken violence.”<sup>166</sup> It is in Strabo’s eleventh book that he broaches the subject of the Amazons, the female barbarian other and antithesis of Greek and Roman tradition.

Strabo discusses the origins of the Amazons as told by various tribes in the Black Sea area and the possible veracity of these accounts. He first cites a Roman by the name of Cnaeus Pompeius Theophanes of Mytilene, and then focuses on Greek historians and geographers Metrodorus of Scepsis and Hysicrates who were “not unacquainted with the region in question.”<sup>167</sup> While those accounts vary, there are common aspects to them, including the Amazons’ geographically remote origins, lack of respect for patriarchy, and

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<sup>162</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 1.1.1, 3; 1.1.16-20, 29-43; 1.2.1, 51-53; 1.2.30, 133-137.

<sup>163</sup> Eran Almagor, “Who Is A Barbarian? The Barbarians in the Ethnological and Cultural Taxonomies of Strabo,” in *Strabo’s Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, ed. Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, and Sarah Potheary (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 50-1.

<sup>164</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 1.1.16-17, 29-35. In translations of Strabo, the terms “state,” “empire,” and “region” are all used.

<sup>165</sup> Strabo *Geography* 3.2.15 and 4.1.12.

<sup>166</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 17.1.2, 47

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, 11.5.1, 233.

their war-like nature.<sup>168</sup> Strabo analyses the individuality of the mythology of the Amazons. Strabo says that normally the things that are ancient, false and monstrous are called myths, [in contrast] history wishes for the truth, whether ancient or recent, and contains no monstrous element, or else only rarely,<sup>169</sup> Strabo continues to cite the peculiarity of the Amazon accounts explaining that while they are certainly “marvelous beyond belief,”<sup>170</sup> historians have made no distinction between the “mythical and the historical elements.”<sup>171</sup> Earlier historians’ handling of the Amazon legends is at odds with both the regular treatment of legend and the writing of history, in Strabo’s opinion. Furthermore, Strabo says that the themes he finds in these Amazonian legends are in conflict with how civilized societies act. It is as if “the men of those times were women and that the women were men.”<sup>172</sup> Strabo expresses his aversion of the idea of women assuming a very public role, a role that was the inverse of typical Greek (in which he seems to include himself) social structures where women were confined to the private sector.<sup>173</sup> Strabo denies the legitimacy of the Amazons while still admitting a fascination with them. It is possible that the legends of the Amazons resonated on a chord familiar to the Romans because of the frequent speculation of the Amazon ethnography in the Greek mythology and the remnants of buildings that represented legendary encounters with the feminized barbarians.

Strabo follows his discussion of the legitimacy of the Amazons with a dissection of the founding of cities and tombs which he says have been ascribed through legend to the Amazons by authors now lost to time. Strabo’s focus on the creation of cities and the resting places of those city founders highlights the Romans’ fascination with foundation myths, a subject important throughout antiquity. Strabo’s focus was evocative of the Greek Ephorus’ interest in the fourth century BCE. Other famous authors of that time, Horace, Ovid, and Propertius focused on poetry and the duties one had to the state. Strabo in his own way,

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 11.5.1, 233-235.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 11.5.3, 237.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 11.5.3, 237.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 11.5.3, 235.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 237. Also Xerxes’ account of Artemisia in Herodotus, *Histories* 8.88.

<sup>173</sup> Strabo *Geography* 3.4.18 and 4.4.3.



preparing future Roman leaders, explains that these geographical locations should be noted and recognized because “men like to visit these places as well as others, because they are eager to see at least the traces of deeds so widely famed.”<sup>174</sup> Exceptionally solemn superstitions were connected with the foundation of a city. City foundations were important affairs contingent on divine guidance. “A grave, or tomb of some kind, was often looked upon as a palladium, or talisman, of the city.”<sup>175</sup> The *Geography* is full of foundational myths like both the Romulus and Aeneid foundation legends that, while not clearly historical, are taken by Romans as evidence of auspicious beginnings and ancient monuments satisfy the desire of the Romans for proof of mythological events. Strabo accepts the Amazon foundation stories because, he rationalizes, that a consensus seemed to have been reached “by all writers” that the Amazons could claim founding urban sites. These earlier authors include the Greek cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyme, Myrine, the area of Themiscyra, and the plains around Thermodon as Amazon establishments.<sup>176</sup> Although the Amazons had been summarily driven out of those areas before Strabo’s lifetime, the author notes that their funerary monuments and lasting cults to warrior goddesses and gods remained.<sup>177</sup> The Romans, Strabo included here, continued to associate these places with the Amazons in the context of Greek views although colonization of the Black Sea area was firmly established before the dawn of the Roman Empire. The historians’ placement of the Amazon homeland could be due to the fact that Libyan, Thracian, and Scythian societies on the fringes of the Greek world allowed women to take military positions.<sup>178</sup> Strabo specifically sets Amazon myth, its origins, and its possible veracity, apart from all other Greek tales that were “marvelous and beyond belief,” by discussing their historical impact on the surrounding countryside.<sup>179</sup> Strabo seems to contradict his earlier claims about the definitive line between myth and reality when he discusses their landmarks, foundations, and origins. He concedes

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<sup>174</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 2.5.17, 465.

<sup>175</sup> H. N. Wethered, *The Mind of the Ancient World: A Consideration of Pliny’s Natural History* (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1937), 161.

<sup>176</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 11.5.4, 237.

<sup>177</sup> Blok, *The Early Amazon*, 439; Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 8-9.

<sup>178</sup> Penrose, “Bold with the Bow and Arrow,” 105.

<sup>179</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 11.5.3, 237.

that these fantastical tales of warrior women strengthens beliefs in the ancient accounts rather than the modern, less fanciful, histories saying that Amazon mythology “intensifies the peculiarity abovementioned and our belief in the ancient accounts rather than those of the present time.”<sup>180</sup> The Amazons, however, could be just an example of the barbarian peculiarity, an inversion of civilization, and an interesting story for Strabo.

Strabo’s concept of the difference between civilized and ‘barbarian’ is striking in the *Geography* and he uses the Amazons further to emphasize this contrast. He makes a distinction between the traits he considers aspects of a civilized community and those that are barbaric. Strabo identifies the Roman conquest of ‘barbarian’ land as the advent of culture, law, and peace for the unrefined borders of the known world. “The Romans took over many nations that were naturally savage owing to the regions they inhabited . . . and thus not only brought into communication with each other peoples who had been isolated, but also taught the more savage how to live under forms of government.”<sup>181</sup> Yet Strabo makes clear the Amazons’ alterity even compared to barbarian groups by stating “who could believe that an army of women, or a city, or a tribe, could ever be organized without men.”<sup>182</sup> Strabo gives further evidence of his disbelief in mono-sexual societies when he discounts the popular myth of Alexander the Great’s encounter with an Amazon queen.<sup>183</sup> In discussing the account as given by his Greek predecessors, Strabo denies the possibility that a group of women could travel 6,000 *stadia* to mate with the Greek king. Strabo criticizes earlier Greek biographers, Diodorus and Cleitarchus, for using such a tall tale to flatter Alexander; perhaps also insinuating that Alexander was not worthy of such a pilgrimage.<sup>184</sup> It is in the twelfth book of the *Geography* that Strabo deconstructs the names of various groups, including the Amazons, which undergo many changes, “particularly among the barbarians.”<sup>185</sup> In discussing their name and geographic origins and giving the Amazons a history, Strabo

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 11.5.3, 237.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 2.5.26, 487.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 11.5.3, 237.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 11.5.4-5, 237-239.

<sup>184</sup> Eckhart, “An Author-Centered Approach,” 108-110.

<sup>185</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 12.3.21, 407.

reverses his initial claims that the Amazon was only a myth and legitimizes the Amazons' reality as a tribe. He does qualify this claim saying that the tribe did not consist exclusively of women.<sup>186</sup> Strabo excuses the variations in their supposed homelands as due to the errors of historians who get confused and “do not say the same things about the same subjects;”<sup>187</sup> a trend Strabo tries to rectify in the *Geography*. Strabo might not believe that the Amazons existed as a single-sex tribe, but does seem to think that the women warriors had existed at some point in history and had plagued more civilized societies.

Strabo singles out a group called the Cavari, in Book 4 of the *Geography*, who were defeated by the Romans and became Roman subjects. He says that they are “no longer Barbarian, but are... transformed to the type of the Romans, both in their speech and in their modes of living, and some of them in their civic life as well.”<sup>188</sup> The rationale Strabo uses in his analysis of the Amazon myth emphasizes the idea of ‘us’ vs. ‘them.’ Strabo applies this idea to juxtapose the Romans and Greeks vs. the savage tribes. This treatment seems to echo one of the themes in Virgil’s *Aeneid* where the Trojan/Roman foundation and identity are based on the radical differences and subjugation of others’ cultural orientations and institutions. Strabo’s theory that the Roman conquest brought with it stability through peace, prosperity, and progressive social customs juxtaposes the civilized Greeks and Romans against the rest of the world.<sup>189</sup> Strabo’s *Geography*, above all, uses the Homeric tradition and Greek mythology and foundation stories to discuss relevant subjects in his contemporary world as, he says, certain places, deeds, and actions should be noted to “incite emulation or else avoidance of this or that.”<sup>190</sup>

Strabo uses the Amazons and the symbolism of their defeat to promote the idea of Roman hegemony and curry favor with Augustan practices. He continues Virgil’s categorization of people on the edges of the Empire as ‘other’ as he helps to construct a Roman identity. This identity, for Strabo, is based on a Greek design and tradition which

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, 12.8.7, 495.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, 4.1.12,65.

<sup>189</sup> Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 75.

<sup>190</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 2.5.17, 467.

identifies and resists the ‘barbarians’ who, like the Amazons, do not conform to Roman social edicts or morals. They also surround Roman-controlled land on all frontiers. Before denouncing the earlier Greek tradition of the foundation of Rome by Evander as “older and fabulous,” Strabo discusses the Trojan founding of Rome in the land of the bellicose Latins—groups of individuals living only in small villages.<sup>191</sup> Strabo continues, saying that the Trojan founding of Rome where before there had been no collective organization shows the foresight of the Romans in recognizing the potential of the land.<sup>192</sup> Virgil’s literary iconography shows the number and variety of barbarians subdued by the Romans (Augustus) on the hero, Aeneas’, shield. Strabo also mentions all of the visual references, such as the Forum Augusti, and the temple for Augustus near Lugdunum in Gaul, on which the personifications of conquered peoples are depicted to demonstrate the extent of Augustan achievements and victories.<sup>193</sup>

Through the exploitation and compellation of the Amazon myth from older Greek sources, the literature of both Virgil and Strabo advocates for sovereignty, imperialism, morality, and continuation of the Roman Empire. These Augustan authors, confident in their audience’s knowledge of foundation myths in Greek epic and the role played by Amazons, appear to use the warrior women to promote the Imperial hegemony in general and the Emperor Augustus in particular. They also establish a unifying identity for the Roman people in contrast to conquered and savage tribes on the fringes of Roman territory. The warrior women epitomize the fascinating ‘other’ in Roman ideology because of the Hellenistic association with Amazons’ alterity. While the Amazons’ ferocity and bellicose natures were admired, their sex cast a negative reflection on the men around them. The Amazons’ legendary customs did not conform to Roman notions of normal gender roles, which idolized women like the mythic Lucretia. Lucretia, epitomized Roman womanliness in the private sphere; her defiled purity became a rallying cry for the beginning of the Republic. Virgil and Strabo promoted both a selective memory of the Roman past, which glorified Rome’s epic

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid, 5.3.2-3, 174-178.

<sup>192</sup> Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, and Sarah Pothecary, *Strabo’s Cultural Geography: The Making of Kolossourgia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press), 127.

<sup>193</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 4.3.2, 83; Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 126-127.

beginning and emphasized the state identity as a *res publica restituta*, or “restored Republic.” These ideologies encouraged increased Roman presence in the outskirts of the Empire.<sup>194</sup>

### **PUBLIC ARTWORK**

I will explore how the ideas of Roman identity and hegemony were spread by examining the artwork of this period. Art took advantage of the Amazon motif to emphasize Rome’s conquering of barbarians, as used by Virgil, and legitimized Rome’s expanding and multicultural borders, as seen with Strabo. Virgil’s *Aeneid* and Strabo’s discussion of the Trojan War allude to the foundation of the Roman Empire and reflect the new political order in the Augustan re-foundation of Rome.<sup>195</sup> Virgil and Strabo take a wealth of legends, myths, and historical facts inherited by the Romans from the Greeks, and create a justifiable nationality and identity for the Roman people. By identifying a group outside of the imperial identity, the female barbarian, Augustan authors and artists emphasized the Roman imagined community, civilized people with strict culture, ancestry, and gender roles; a group of individuals who- through a commonality of tropes and social ties- could conceivably share an emotional bond with all members of the Empire, though the Empire was enormous.

Augustus employed various methods to restore and develop the Roman identity. He reinstated the worship of the old gods and rituals, restored and built new public buildings within the city of Rome.<sup>196</sup> After the naval battle of Actium, many new works of public art, and soon after, private pieces, included tritons and ship’s prows in the foreground to commemorate the positive outcome of the conflict and promote the ideology of a peacefully acquired Empire. In extant Augustan art, there are no references to the complicated and protracted campaigns, during Augustus’ reign, in Spain, Illyria, and Germany. The emphasis on scenes of peace and security helped blur the memory of these wars in the public eye.<sup>197</sup> Popularity in trends, however, in both public and private artwork seem to suggest that certain

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<sup>194</sup> Alain M. Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4.

<sup>195</sup> Eve Adler, *Virgil’s Empire: Political Thought in the Aeneid* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), ix.

<sup>196</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 101.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

iconic imagery, such as myths of the Amazons, were used as visual proclamations of Roman unity against outside forces. The Imperial artwork accessed Greek traditions and expressions to demonstrate Roman rule and political dominance. The artists used familiar Greek myths, such as the Trojan War, to explain the worthiness of the Roman line of Aeneas and thus the success of Romans as ordained by the gods. Just as in the literature, the Amazons find their place in this symbolic repertoire. As with Hellenic representations, such as the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, the Roman representations are female, warriors, and barbarians. These characteristics are repeated symbolically and repeatedly in the artwork of the Augustan age. The visual iconography of Augustan Rome, such as images of piety, triumph and foundation ceremonies,<sup>198</sup> reflects both the public aspect of social unity and possibly the populace's private reception of Augustus' communal identity and morality since the public imagery is repeated in smaller, private pieces. The repetitive symbolism of certain images, many of which were very reminiscent of earlier Greek artwork, employed by the state during the Augustan years emphasize key ideas and central themes tirelessly propagated in the Roman Empire of the first century CE. Amazons were an important part of a range of images which were necessarily narrow but, pursued with far-reaching and concentrated effort, popular during the reign of Augustus. Victorious imagery was used to encourage "nothing less than a complete moral revival," after the years of civil war culminating in Augustus' victory at the battle of Actium.<sup>199</sup> In response to the glut of warfare in the recent years, Augustan art focused on peaceful treaties and ultimately positive culminations of battles that emphasized the glories and security of the Roman Empire, rather than the harsh and stressful reality of warfare for Roman citizens. As Rome's first citizen, Augustus cultivated for himself the image of the protector of a new peace.<sup>200</sup>

The visual imagery used by artists and craftsmen in the Augustan era also employed familiar mythology, including the legends of Romulus, Aeneas, and Greek encounters with Amazons that emphasized the ancestry of both the Julian line and the Roman people in that it

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<sup>198</sup> Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, trans. Anthony Snodgrass and Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47-55.

<sup>199</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 3.

<sup>200</sup> Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 84.

evoked memories of their foundation and subsequent rise to power. The aim in using this mythology was to encourage not only a respect for the “historical” foundations of Rome, but also to promote the awareness that the virtues represented in these myths were crucial to the continued peace and prosperity brought about by Augustus’ rule; something more blatantly accomplished in Augustus’ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, which summarized the actions he had undertaken for the benefit of the Roman people.<sup>201</sup> Art historians have suggested that this focus reiterated Augustus’ claim to renew the *res publica* and further increased the degree to which Rome celebrated its past.<sup>202</sup> Aeneas’ piety is extolled in the literature and symbolized in the artwork. Might not other images founded in the Greek classical tradition, such as the depictions of Greeks bravely fighting Amazons, evoke memories of civilization overcoming the uncivilized?

These mythic foundation stories, embraced by more ancient Greek city-states, were perpetuated by Augustan artists and sponsors in monumental art and eventually transcended their mythological constraints to become instead idealized paradigms of virtue, piety, and dominance over barbarity and chaos. The artwork used available sources in mythology and politics to generate imagery that could be understood by the literate and illiterate alike.<sup>203</sup> Sarcophagi depicting scenes of battle, barbarian submission, and bucolic harmony beginning in the late Republic and continuing through the Antonine period reflect knowledge of the imagery displayed in earlier Greek work and of the popular literature promoting the Roman community. This artistic expression that included Amazon mythology as part of its vocabulary projected the impression that Roman citizens were epitomizing Roman virtues of *pietas*, *clementia*, and *virtus* through imagery of sacrifice, barbarian submission, and marriage.<sup>204</sup> The image of the kneeling barbarian, long a sign of complete submission and defeat, was especially popular after Augustus’ rout of the Parthians and the return of the Roman standards from that area in 20 BCE. Augustus said later, in his *Res Gestae*, that he had “compelled the Parthians to return the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and

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<sup>201</sup> Pollitt, “Rome”, 225.

<sup>202</sup> Gowing, *Empire and Memory*, 18.

<sup>203</sup> Natalie Boymel Kampen, “Biographical Narration and Roman Funerary Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (January, 1981), 51.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

humbly to beg the friendship of the Roman people.<sup>205</sup> Both the construction of the temple of Mars Ultor- Mars the Avenger, and the triumphal Arch of Augustus erected by the Senate depicted the defeated Parthians.<sup>206</sup> The image of the kneeling Parthian appeared on large issues of coins and Horace mentions in his *Epodae* that the Parthian king, Phraates knelt down and accepted the rule of Caesar Augustus.<sup>207</sup> This imagery was, in part, avidly promoted in art because it was a largely bloodless victory. While the style of the art differed little from classical work, the symbolism behind the imagery was new. The iconography of the defeated Parthian was originally made popular by the Senate who, using traditional imagery of submission, had it produced on *denarii*.<sup>208</sup> The imagery was almost immediately copied in private art pieces such as rings.<sup>209</sup> The kneeling barbarian was a symbol of submission that dated back to ancient Greece and it was not long before the legendary Amazon became a place-holder for any barbarian group.

Augustan artists and craftsmen used the Amazon mythology much in the same way it had been used by Arctinus of Miletus and Herodotus up to 800 years earlier; to promote a predetermined hegemony brought about by conquering worthy but uncultured opponents. Though, all evidence supports the idea that the Persians were, in fact, very civilized, the Greeks promoted the idea of Persian barbarity and perversion of social and gender roles to create a stronger identification within the Greek society. It would be very hard to explicitly prove that imperial propaganda was purposefully enmeshed in private artwork, however the mix of mythology and political imagery, some from ancient Greece and the late Republic,

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<sup>205</sup> Bill Thayer, "Res Gestae of Augustus: As Published in the Loeb Classical Library 1924," [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Augustus/Res\\_Gestae/5\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Augustus/Res_Gestae/5*.html).

<sup>206</sup> Cassius Dio *The Roman History*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Viking Publishing, 1987), 54.8, 258. The Arch of Augustus was probably dedicated in 29 BC (at the same time as the Curia and Temple of Divine Julius) to celebrate the victory of Octavian at Actium. But it also could have been an arch of 19 BC, commemorating the previous year's return of the legionary standards lost by Crassus to the Parthians in 53 BC. (This diplomatic victory also is commemorated on the cuirass that Augustus wears in the statue found at the villa of Livia at Prima Porta.)

<sup>207</sup> Horace, *Epodes*, ed. David Mankin (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.12.27, 27.

<sup>208</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, Figure 146 *a* and *b*, Coins depicting (*a*) the Triumphal Arch for Augustus as victor over the Parthians in 19/18 BCE at the Münzen und Medaillen Auction 43 (1970) and (*b*) a kneeling Parthian with standards in 19 BCE at Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, 188.

<sup>209</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, Figure 147, Impression of a glass paste, probably once Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiquarium inv. 2816, 187.



seem to imply that that Greek motifs and values recast in a Roman light were filtering into public and private artwork and reinforcing ideas of Roman morality and identity.

Whether the defeated barbarian group is German, Dacian, or Illyrian, the Amazon represents that ‘other’ quality of the people living on the borders of the Empire: wild, immoral, and irreverent. The Temple of Apollo *in Circo*, in Rome, was built by C. Sosius, a man who had fought at Actium with Marc Antony’s troops and had later asked for and received a pardon from Augustus. The reconstruction of the ancient temple was a sycophantic commemoration to Augustus’ victory at the battle at Actium.<sup>210</sup> The temple features a sculptured Amazonomachy frieze that, with a slightly shorter Centauromachy, circles around the inner parameter of the temple.<sup>211</sup> The battle on the frieze, which comprises 12 of the 23 slabs, seems to depict an encounter between the Greeks and the Amazons. While mimicking the friezes of the Parthenon and the Temple of Bassai which were built in the heyday of Greek hegemony in the fifth century of the Common Era, the artwork could have very well been compared favorably by Roman viewers with Augustus’ defeat of the eastern female barbarian threat of Cleopatra.<sup>212</sup> Though she had managed to captivate two elite Roman men, Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius, her fleet was demolished by Octavian (Augustus) at Actium and Cleopatra committed suicide rather than submit to further Roman rule. The fact that Cleopatra’s refusal to ask for amnesty was followed by her death could have been used as an allusion to the fate of any person or group who defied Roman rule. The depictions of the Amazon as either proud and defiant or tamed and submissive helped enforce the Romans’ view of the relationship between citizens and people on the cusp of the Empire. Once he had felt the power of Rome, the barbarian was supposed to subject himself to the Roman rulers, ask for amnesty, and respect Roman authority.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> L. Richardson, Jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 14.

<sup>211</sup> Frederick A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo at Bassai: A Preliminary Study* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 143-4.

<sup>212</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 84.

<sup>213</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 187.

## PRIVATE ARTWORK

Symbols of Roman dominance which used the familiar Greek imagery that had been used for over 600 years, similar to the subjugation of the kneeling barbarian, were prevalent on gems, plaques, lamps, cups, and tables during Augustus' reign. Popular themes including Amazons on horseback, wielding axes and fighting Greek soldiers, were evocative of Greek representations of Amazon encounters. These themes were also, as shown above, popular in Augustan literature. Motifs of Amazons in the above situations appear in ninety percent of the extant private Amazon artwork during the reign of Augustus.<sup>214</sup> Military victories do occupy a place in the public, Augustan, ideology, but the context is that of renewal of religion and the favor of the gods.<sup>215</sup> Private art emphasizes the defeat of a (usually) valiant barbarian foe. In contrast to the modest long, sleeveless *chiton* with secure shoulder straps made popular during the Augustan age, the majority of Amazon artwork depicts the warrior women with short *chitons*, partially unwound to reveal at least one breast. The Amazons, however, as depicted during the Augustan age, are less often represented in 'oriental' clothing than they had been in Greek artwork predating the fourth century. Typically, if the Amazon is on horseback, a soldier is in the act of pulling her off the horse and to the ground by her hair. Such is the case in a few murals in Pompei and various gem reliefs that depict men throwing partially nude Amazons to their knees in submission.<sup>216</sup> Roman hostage and submission images are borrowed directly from earlier Greek representations wherein Amazons stare, wild-eyed as a Greek warrior forcefully dismounts them.<sup>217</sup> In Roman art,

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<sup>214</sup> *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, vol. 1, book 1, s.v. "Amazons," 586-653; *LIMC*, vol. 1, book 2, s.v. "Amazons," 440-526. The statistics are my own.

<sup>215</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 185.

<sup>216</sup> *LIMC*, no. 485 and no. 486 are murals in Pompei dated to around 1-25 CE and show men grabbing Amazons by their hair and pulling them either from their horses or to the ground. Image no. 552, a plaque dated to around 27 BCE to 14 CE, depicts a Greek warrior grabbing an Amazon by her hair and stepping on her; another Amazon kneels in submission next to them. Both Amazons expose their breasts. The description of *LIMC*, no. 546, dated 27 BCE to 14 CE, explains that it is a gem relief, portraying two naked figures; the male warrior pulls the Amazon from her horse by her hair.

<sup>217</sup> *LIMC*, no. 92(c) is an amphora from the mid-third century BCE showing Amazons in foreign costume with Heracles and his lions skin; no. 104(a, f, and i) is a marble frieze from the Temple of Artemis Leucophryne from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE showing Heracles and Amazons engaged in battle; no. 392 is a krater from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE of Amazons in skins; no. 435(b) is a sarcophagus from the very end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE showing Amazons in foreign clothing; no. 450 is a ceramic relief on a vase from after 350 BCE; and no. 466 is a bowl relief depicting Amazons are some extant examples of Greek artwork depicting Amazons

and the Greek art before it, being held by the hair was a symbol of submission and defeat. The combination of female nudity and physical aggression alludes to a stronger sexual violence, but never- in the extant artwork- is a rape actually depicted. The format can be found in art, both public and private, until the fall of the Roman Empire. This visual image can be found in artwork depicting a general subjugating a personified country, river, or town. It is not surprising that the hair motif is present in the majority of art representing the Amazons as it references the ultimate subjugation inherent in the Amazon myth, though there are sometimes pitched battles depicted in the artwork. The symbolism of the defeated Amazon would be easy to translate into the context of the Roman-dominated barbarian because it had been so widely recognized and used in Greek artwork.

Just as the Amazons in the private art habitually fight Greek warriors, the mythology that is represented in the private artwork hales from Greek mythology rather than the state-favored Roman legends. Instead of depictions of Romulus founding Rome or Aeneas carrying the *lares* from defeated Troy, general mythological themes portray an older collective memory: that of either the *Aethiopis*, possibly the oldest epic to mention the ill-fated love of Achilles for the Amazon warrior queen Penthesilea, or the welcome of the Amazons to still-powerful Ilium.<sup>218</sup> The reference to Troy does allude to the foundational myths of Rome, but there is a discontinuity in the subject material. There is the possibility that the Amazons, as in Troy, were the focus of not just fear or scorn but also veneration and maybe objects of worship in Roman mystery cults. The mythology of Aeneas pre-dated Virgil's *Aeneid* by around eight hundred years with his Homeric conception and Aeneas' many god-ordained escapes from death for "now Aeneas will rule the Trojans with might and the sons born to his sons in the future."<sup>219</sup> Instead of showing Aeneas' brave new beginning, the art represents the final moments of Troy before its utter annihilation by Achilles and the

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being pulled from their horses by their hair.

<sup>218</sup> *LIMC*, no. 215, a so-called 'Trojan' table in the Delphi Theater from the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, shows scenes from the Epic Cycle of the *Aethiopis*. Achilles, holding weapons, bends over Penthesilea who is weaponless. Text on either side of the picture describe the scene and the characters in it. Image no. 225, a relief dated to the first century CE, depicts episodes from the life of Achilles; Achilles lifts the fallen Penthesilea from the ground. Image no. 789, a table relief also from the first century CE, shows two Amazons, possibly one is Penthesilea, being welcomed into Troy by Priam and two Trojan women, possibly Hecabe and Cassandra.

<sup>219</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Lombardo, 20.313-4, and 20.323-55, 390-397.

invading Greeks. In Quintus' account of the battle, Priam laments after Penthesilea's death, saying "When I saw [Penthesilea], I thought one of the blessed ones had come here from heaven to show us favor. I see now that I was wrong. Let us consider what may be better for us...to flee now from a dying city. For we shall no longer be able to oppose the Greeks."<sup>220</sup>

The Romans read and were familiar with the Greek epics, including the Epic Cycle of the Trojan War. The Roman viewer would recognize that it is shortly after the Amazons' arrival that the great city falls to the invading Greeks.<sup>221</sup> This imagery, borrowed from the Greeks, again evokes sentiments of the assertion of a cultural superiority and power (the Greeks) over a foreign tribe (the Trojans) rather than a pious new beginning of a great empire. As such, it seems to be an inauspicious moment to portray. These images might have reflected more the influences of the previous Greek themes rather than extant Augustus' state-commissioned themes. Given the popularity of the subject, it seems that Amazons, whether portrayed as heroes, demi-gods, savage warriors, or subjugated women, resonated with the Roman populace, perhaps reminding them of their own bellicose struggle as a people and an empire.

During the early first century, the extant art portraying Amazons is more often private rather than public, minimal rather than monumental. That the radical change of political imagery found its way into private art in so many examples shows that the ideology did, in some way, have an effect on the populace. Of course, the popularity of the image might not have been influenced by political messages- the depiction of Amazons in private art might just have been a passing trend inspired by Greek cultural influences. The fact that these pieces of art, in the form of gems, lamps, and tables, were chosen over other motifs, however, shows an interest in the iconography and possibly what it represented in either the mimicry of the Greek themes or the contemporary imagery of the new Empire.<sup>222</sup> The myths used in the artwork highlight Roman interest in their own history. This meditation on Roman foundations was an activity that was whole-heartedly embraced by the Roman citizens and

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<sup>220</sup> Quintus Smyrnaeus *The War at Troy: What Homer Didn't Tell*, trans. Frederick M. Combellack (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 48.

<sup>221</sup> The exact time between Hector's death and Penthesilea's arrival is unknown, but Proclus in his *Chrestomathy* summarizes the Aethiopsis saying, "Such were the funeral games of Hector. And now there came and Amazon."

<sup>222</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 265-6.

Italian tribes of the Augustan era; it propagated through monumental building projects, which included the redesign and refurbishment of many temples built during the era of the old Republic and focused on providing symbols of victory.<sup>223</sup> Augustan visual imagery never depicts a Roman defeat and never represents a loss as a harbinger of future subjugation. The imagery glosses over the Germans' slaughter of Roman legions and ignores the Parthians continued flouting of Roman authority. The imperial imagery "only took note of the successes and used them to reiterate its civic, political, and ethical leitmotifs."<sup>224</sup> Failure, losses, and routes are so much falsified, as they are instead omitted in favor of more glorious picture of Augustan Rome. Both interpretations of the imperial mythology and the visual expressions in which it was found contributed to the stability of the state; an image more powerful than reality.<sup>225</sup> The eventual submission of barbarian tribes in the Amazon legends encouraged the idea of a divinely sanctioned world order in which civic peace and prosperity transcended everyday reality and created a level of expectation that even military setbacks would be accepted automatically and on faith, and that such setbacks were a prelude to a turn for the better.<sup>226</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

While scenes of peace and victory were commonly represented in the general public artwork, the literature of the age was designed through allegory to inspire in the Romans a civic pride and faith in the merit of the Empire. This identity was built on the sentiments encouraged both in the new political order and also in the memories of the foundations of the Roman city and the historicity of their past. The literature reflected back on the beginnings of Rome in the ancient world and set a precedent for the greatness of the dawning Empire.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid, 80-3; In the Roman Forum, Octavian set up four bronze columns with ships prows, cast from the prows of Egyptian ships captured at the Battle of Actium, while actual prows were mounted on the Speaker's platform. Copies of the prows were copied in marble in other cities. The recently constructed Temple of Saturn featured a band of Tritons- symbols of aquatic victory- on the pediment. The Senate, as previously mentioned, sanctioned a Triumphal arch for Augustus' victory at Actium, and another arch celebrated Augustus' 'victory' over the Parthians and the return of the Roman Standards.

<sup>224</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 237.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, 237-8.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, 237.

The idea of the subjugated and sometimes awesome barbarian is represented; as I have argued; in the *Aeneid* and *Geography*. Yet there is a fascination with the Amazon legend that plays out in small workshops throughout the Roman Empire that predates Augustus or Imperial hegemony. Some extant pieces reflect the xenophobic attitudes of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Greeks, while other images reveal a reverence for the Amazon that seems more indicative of the multicultural Greeks of the fourth-century BCE Hellenistic era. The Amazons that Virgil and Strabo characterize in their literature are more closely paralleled in the private artwork not directly sponsored or condoned by Augustus' Senate than in the public and monumental art of the Augustan Era. There is certainly Amazon artwork in both Greece and Italy that predates the Augustan era. Many of the same themes of battle, flights of maidens on horses, warrior women in exotic clothing, and those women's eventual surrender- though sometimes depicted as evenly pitted in battle- and subjugation are present on buildings, monuments, and jewelry dating before the rule of Augustus and the writings of Virgil and Strabo. It should be noted, however, that nowhere in the extant artwork of the Augustan or pre-Augustan age is there any artwork expressly portraying the Virgilian heroine, Camilla. By 'extant' I mean to allude to the extensive compellation of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art found within the *LIMC* and my own research as to any other possible predecessors of the Camilla legend. Other Amazons, such as Penthesilea and Hippolyte, are infrequently labeled on mosaics and pottery in earlier Greek artwork.<sup>227</sup>

While the private art in Rome did not mean the same things to all people, nor always reflect the public/propagandized art that had been created to epitomize the *res publica restituta*, it did work cohesively. The same interests and social constraints, such as morality, the separation of spheres, and the trappings of civilization, that dictated public art influenced the messages in the private media.<sup>228</sup> The reception of certain themes of Imperial artwork

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<sup>227</sup> *LIMC*, image no. 169 is a terra cotta votive from around 600 BCE inscribed with the names of Achilles and an Amazon named Ainia. Achilles hits Ainia. *LIMC*, no. 170-174 are all bronze shields dated from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE to mid 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE which are all inscribed with the name Penthesilea. The Amazon attacks hoplites. There are many others that are similar. *LIMC*, no. 175 is an amphora from 550-40 BCE show Achilles and Penthesilea (inscribed) fighting. *LIMC*, no. 176 from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century is very similar. *LIMC*, no. 232 is a vase from 450-430 BCE showing Theseus attacking Antiope with other Amazons shown, it is inscribed with the names of Theseus, Antiope, Andromache, Eymache, and Hyrogomache.

<sup>228</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 3.

into the private sector do suggest that the imagery, for one reason or another, found favor and resonated with the general populace.

### CHAPTER 3

## AMAZONS IN THE LITERATURE AND ART OF THE POST-AUGUSTAN JULIO-CLAUDIAN AND EARLY FLAVIAN DYNASTIES

The Augustan Era of the Roman Empire, after the tumult of the Civil Wars of 30 BCE, was a time of relative peace with only a few annexation campaigns, rebellions, or frontier uprisings.<sup>229</sup> That tranquility, however, did not last long. The post-Augustan Julio-Claudian era was witness to many campaigns and battles. By 43 CE, the Emperor Claudius had launched an incursion campaign on the British Isles. His successful invasion of Britain was celebrated with a triumph in Rome in 44 CE. Other less publicized campaigns in Mauretania, the Crimea, Armenia, and on the Rhine led to five new annexed territories for the Empire; Britain, Thrace, Lycia, Mauretania, and Noricum. Over the next fifty years, the key power holders in the Roman Empire attempted to assert its domination over the “barbarians” at the fringe of the Empire. New grants of Roman citizenship were sometimes offered to the people of conquered provinces. Claudius promoted some of the Gallic leaders to Roman Senators.<sup>230</sup> Emperor Nero, too, relied on victories in the battlefield to support his imperial claims. Most publicized was the repression of the warrior queen Boudicca’s uprising in Britain in 61 CE. A series of military rebellions led by various governors of conquered Roman territory followed in 67, 68, and 69 CE. The Emperors of the Flavian dynasty, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian were embroiled in costly rebellions that threatened trade throughout the Empire, and had further expansionist ambitions elsewhere in Scotland, Germany, and Dacia. These military and political expansions were not always productive or

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<sup>229</sup> G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1994), 29.

<sup>230</sup> Chris Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial Rome* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1995), 48.



well-received by Roman citizens or vassal states, but they did allow for a new kind of Roman identity: one that was increasingly and intimately familiar with “barbarian” cultures.

The Roman emperors of the first century were geographically augmenting the Empire, but it is arguable whether they had any plans for cultural domination. Intellectual exchanges regarding literature, art, and technology habitually occurred between mighty Rome and the conquered people. Rome did not completely assimilate the barbarian hoards, nor did the indigenous groups routinely resist or completely embrace the Roman traditions and values. In this chapter, I will affirm the argument that Rome did not intend to culturally dominate but rather to create an empire based on syncretism of ideologies that strengthened their reign.<sup>231</sup> I will explain the position that there was an intercultural mixture of Roman and provincial elements, a negotiation of post-conquered identities that were adjustments rather than a strict Romanization- where Roman provinces were given civilization by the hegemonic Romans.<sup>232</sup> There were, however, persistent fears of ethnic and gender-related pollution which might weaken the growing empire. Provincial artifacts, including artistic and religious acculturation, in the Roman world might appear truly Roman but, in certain provincial frameworks, operate according to indigenous or even older religious tenets.<sup>233</sup> I will represent these points by exploring how post-Augustan Julio-Claudian textual and artistic interpretations of these encounters show, using mythic characters such as the Amazons, feelings of victory and an attention to the shifting identity of the Roman people through the categorization of culture and geography. Pliny the Elder approached this matter by cataloging the non-Roman groups, including Amazons, on the borders of the Roman Empire. Quintus Curtius Rufus used Alexander the Great’s encounter with Amazons as a cautionary tale to highlight his gradual decline into barbarian opulence and corruption of his physical and mental state due to what was seen as polluting encounters outside of Greece. The artwork also reflects a fascination and intimate knowledge of the barbarians hovering on the borders of the Empire. Both public and private artwork repeat popular tropes of

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<sup>231</sup> Eve D’Ambra, *Roman Art* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 55.

<sup>232</sup> Jane Webster, “Creolizing the Roman Provinces,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (April 2001): 209.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid*, 219.

ambiguity and dominance tensely intertwined in Amazon iconography, but in Asia Minor Roman citizens confronted cultural and political concerns through their receptivity of Amazon foundation myths and religious connections between the warrior women, Hellenistic gods, and local cults.

### **LITERATURE: PLINY THE ELDER'S *NATURAL HISTORY***

Gaius Plinius Secundus, later called Pliny the Elder in distinction from his nephew of the same name, was an author and natural philosopher who lived through both the Augustan and part of the Flavian dynasty. Many notable events happened during Pliny's lifetime: Claudius received a triumph for his victories in Britain; Rome completed several successful invasions into Germany; multiple command posts were permanently established in Britain, Spain and Gaul; Jerusalem was taken and destroyed by Vespasian,<sup>234</sup> Pliny's close friend and future Emperor; an ocean trade route with India was open and accessible through the Red Sea and Vesuvius erupted, destroying the towns of Pompei and Herculanium.<sup>235</sup> As a student and, later, a lawyer in Rome under several emperors- Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian- Pliny had direct contact with the politics and policies of the Roman Empire. As a soldier in Germania, Spain, and Gaul, Pliny had intimate knowledge of the Roman borderlands. Pliny was devoted to both his duty to the Roman state and learning.<sup>236</sup> His scholarship offers a rich and remarkably comprehensive picture of the mind set of Rome in the first century C.E.

Pliny gathered a prodigious amount of information about both the political and natural world in which he lived. Pliny and his writings are complex and difficult to boil down into simple generalizations. As an advocate of Stoicism and moderation, Pliny believed that he, and all mankind, belonged to a savage and greedy race redeemed only by culture and art, which enabled man to represent Nature's blessings.<sup>237</sup> Pliny's understanding of his world is

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<sup>234</sup> Before the conquest of Jerusalem was complete, Vespasian returned to Rome and Titus, Vespasian's heir continued the sack of the Temple in 70 CE under the new Emperors' auspices.

<sup>235</sup> Wethered, *Mind of the Ancient World*, 11.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid*, 157.

<sup>237</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: Adam Islip, 1962), 7.143, 80, and 34.92, 388.

reflected in his literary works. He wrote, through still extant letters, a history of the wars between Rome and Germania. Pliny composed a complete history of his own times through the reign of Vespasian.<sup>238</sup> Possibly influenced by the teachings of Seneca the Younger, Pliny also wrote several treatises on rhetoric and grammar. Pliny's *magnum opus*, however, was his thirty-seven volume encyclopedia of knowledge, nature, and morality, dedicated to the Emperor Vespasian's heir Titus, the *Historia Naturalis*.

Within Pliny's *Natural History*, all things in nature, "legend, science, literature, graphic and sculptured art, religion, all went to make one glorious whole."<sup>239</sup> Pliny included interpretations of all accepted forces of nature and included discussions of people, events, and creatures better defined as fantastical.<sup>240</sup> Pliny's encyclopedia was a compendium of all forms of knowledge as is evidenced by the author's references to excerpts from hundreds of other scholars including historians such as Homer, Thucydides, and Xenophon, authorities on geography such as Strabo and Varro, philosophers including Plato and Aristotle, and even scientists such as Archimedes and Democritus.<sup>241</sup> Varro, a Roman of equestrian rank, was a regularly cited authority in the *Natural History*. Pliny was particularly dependant on Varro's knowledge of Greek authorities on art, architecture, and geography, and he often quoted the elder Roman.<sup>242</sup>

In the extensive and diverse *Natural History*, the Amazons are mentioned only twice, in a discussion of the invention of weaponry and in reference to their use by sculptors.<sup>243</sup> In contrast to his off-hand mention of the Amazons themselves, Pliny gives a detailed account of the history of warfare which included the first use of the "gleive, bill, battle axe, and halbert," by the legendary Penthesilea, the Amazon-queen.<sup>244</sup> In this same section Pliny mentions the hero Theseus and the other liminal creatures he battles, the Centaurs. Given the

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>239</sup> Wethered, *Mind of the Ancient World*, 2.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>242</sup> Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 34.56, 35.173, 36.17, 39, and 41.

<sup>243</sup> Pliny does mention Scythians as cannibals, 'Sauromates' who eat meat once every three days, but in no relation to Amazons. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Holland, 7.21, 72-73.

<sup>244</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Holland, 7.7, 189.

connections between the warrior women, horsemen, and the Athenian hero in Greek mythology, this would have been an unsurprising compilation for the ancient reader.<sup>245</sup> Also mentioned in the inventions and inventors section are gods, Greeks, other foreigners, and, finally, the Romans who highlight Pliny's interest in antiquarianism. Like Strabo, Pliny is an advocate for using ancient knowledge to supplement the development of contemporary learning.<sup>246</sup> He is very concerned with preserving the legacy of past learning for future Romans; even to the point of recording ideas with which he does not agree, because memory, he says, "is the greatest gift... and most necessary for this life."<sup>247</sup> As such, Pliny includes every bit of information at his disposal in an effort to "rehearse every particular thing through the whole round globe of the earth."<sup>248</sup>

Pliny's second mention in passing depicts the Amazons as a group of warrior women who were portrayed by sculptors as either wounded or dying, in holding tradition with the older mythology.<sup>249</sup> Pliny never discusses the tribe as having a geographical location. Even though Pliny discusses the Scythians, a barbarian group whom he describes as "savage and wild men"<sup>250</sup> delighting in cannibalism; and the Sauromatians, whom he briefly described as a group who eat meat only once every three days, he declines to bring up the Amazons. These groups were previously connected to the Amazons by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.<sup>251</sup> Though Pliny does not relate the Scythians and the Sauromatians to the Amazons in his discussion of "Human Oddities," he often refers to Greek sources for knowledge of

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<sup>245</sup> Page DuBois discusses in *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* that Centaurs, like Amazons, are liminal characters who have untamed natures and battle civilization. The most popular centaur myth in Greek literature and art deals with the abduction of women by centaurs during a wedding. Theseus, the Athenian hero, is present at the wedding and is involved in the ensuing battle. The myth is reviewed in Homer's *Iliad*; Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica*; and on the Parthenon frieze currently housed in the British Museum.

<sup>246</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Holland, 14.3, 146.

<sup>247</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Holland, 7.88, 86; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Mary Beagon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 22-3.

<sup>248</sup> Pliny *Natural History*, trans. Holland, 3.1, 45.

<sup>249</sup> Pliny *Natural History*, trans. Beagon, 4.35 and 380, 233.

<sup>250</sup> Pliny *Natural History*, trans. Holland, 7.22, 72.

<sup>251</sup> Pliny *Natural History*, trans. Beagon, i.153. Herodotus (whom Pliny cites often) and Diodorus Siculus both refer to the Scythians as neighbors and eventual kin (then called Sauromatae) of the Amazons in their respective works. It is fairly certain that Pliny read both the above-mentioned scholars.

Nature. The Romans were indebted to the Greeks for their cultural development. Although the Greek sources in the *Natural History* outnumber the Roman sources by three to one, the Roman sources always come first and have precedence. Furthermore, his acknowledgement of Greek informants, whom he says are “a [people] above all other most given to praise themselves beyond all measure,” is generally prejudiced towards the Romans, which may allude to Pliny’s feelings of cultural inferiority.<sup>252</sup> Pliny states that while the Greeks had never undertaken a project such as his, preferring to focus on treatises of a less practical- and more philosophical- nature, the Romans had been the society to bring together all the components of world knowledge.<sup>253</sup> Because of Pliny’s effort to include all things in nature, and his inattention to the details of the Amazon myth, it is difficult to postulate a reason for his lack of cohesiveness regarding this legend. Pliny said in his introduction, “Nor do I doubt that there is much that has escaped my notice.”<sup>254</sup> It is possible that Pliny’s treatment of the Greeks’ Amazon sources and his preference for Roman sources in general is part of an attempt to subordinate Greek legends in favor of Roman accounts. There is, however, little evidence to support this claim and it is more likely that the Amazon references, like so many accounts in Pliny’s magnum opus, is just part of his attempt to “give everything its proper nature and to Nature all that is hers.”<sup>255</sup>

Pliny planned the *Natural History* while living under the rule of Nero, but the tone of the book is more in keeping with the Roman moralists and specifically anti-Neronian interests who condemned luxury, decadence, and indolence and linked the Roman peasant soldiery and focus on practical physical labor, military, and agriculture with the restoration of the Roman historical and cultural tradition.<sup>256</sup> Pliny does not, as I previously mentioned, discuss the culture of the Amazons in the *Natural History*, though he does reference societies which earlier historians say did encounter the warrior women. Pliny dedicates numerous books to the discussion of the people surrounding the Roman Empire, much of which is quite

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<sup>252</sup> Pliny *Natural History* trans. Philimon Holland, 3.1, 45.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>256</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. Mary Beagon, 12.

fantastical.<sup>257</sup> He discusses the immortal Hyperborei of Great Britain in Book Four, headless Ethiopians in Book Five, dog kings, multi-eyed marksmen, and Gorgons in Africa in his sixth book, and barbarian European and Indian tribes, the ‘Human Oddities’ in Book Seven. Pliny’s attention to the physical strangeness of people in liminal societies might reflect his, and Romans’ in general, focus on the imagined constructs and communities of the barbarian hoards rather than actual encounters with, or geographical locations of, the tribes living on the borders of the Roman Empire. Like the Amazons, these societies are highlighted for their distinctive characteristics, traits that mark them as different from Pliny’s Romans. Pliny’s accounts focus much more on these cultural differences rather than the actual geographical locations of these “Human Oddities.” This would, in theory, reinforce the imagined community of Rome without impeding interactions between the Romans and conquered neighboring territories and peoples.

### **QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS’ *HISTORY OF ALEXANDER***

Unlike Pliny, with his fluctuations between the realistic and fantastical, Quintus Curtius Rufus chose to address the imperialistic impulses in the Roman political mythology head on. Curtius used the extraordinary historic example for interactions between sovereign states and conquered nations, namely Alexander III, called ‘the Great’. Alexander was the king of Macedon, Greece, and Persia in the late fourth century BCE. He spent the majority of his life, however, occupying foreign territory. His life and legend were assiduously studied by the Roman elite and copied down by Roman ‘historians,’ such as Quintus Curtius Rufus, numerous times.

Little is known about Quintus Curtius Rufus, now commonly referred to as Curtius, due possibly to the missing first two books of his ten-book *History of Alexander*. There are four notable Curtiuses and scholars argue about the exact dates of the author’s life. Most place Curtius’ writings some time between the reign of Claudius and Septimius Severus, though given his biography according to Tacitus<sup>258</sup> and Curtius’ mention by Pliny,<sup>259</sup> the

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 12-14.

<sup>258</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, ed. A. J. Woodman (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2001), 11.20.4-21.4.33, 311-13.

<sup>259</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Epistularum Libri*. ed. A. N. Sherwin-White (Oxford: London U.P., 1967), 157.

lifetime of the author of the *History of Alexander* is closer to the former than the latter.<sup>260</sup> Regardless of his specific dates, his message was one that transcended a particular timeframe and was a significant cautionary tale for the chaos at the end of the Julio-Claudian era or the reign of the Greek-loving Hadrian.<sup>261</sup> Modern scholars propose that Curtius was a Latin-born historian, possibly related to either a proconsul of Africa, mentioned by Pliny and Tacitus, or a rhetorician referenced by Suetonius.<sup>262</sup> Curtius seems to have been educated, like most upper-class Roman boys, in the art of poetry, prose, and rhetoric. His writing, always Latin and never the Greek that was likely part of his education, shows the “inherent didacticism, consistent authorial moral comment, political insight, and literary skill,” common in the writings of other Roman historians.<sup>263</sup> Curtius’ focus was on the character of his subjects, and what he considered their questionable moral fiber, or lack thereof. During the last half of the first century C.E., an education in Rome would have included the study of politics and power personified in the history of Alexander the Great.

The history of Alexander was inherently fascinating to the Romans, possibly due to the fact that Romans were a warlike and imperialistic people and so were inherently interested in such success stories.<sup>264</sup> Curtius’ treatment of the history of Alexander reflected the Roman obsession with Alexander’s world-wide conquests and manipulations of power. Equally as fascinating is Curtius’ handling of Alexander’s decline; a topic quite possibly discussed in detail in the author’s rhetoric classes.<sup>265</sup> Alexander’s encounters with groups that had been considered barbarian and ethnically inferior since before the sixth century BCE, could have been seen as polluting factors that lessened Alexander’s effectiveness as a ruler. It is in Alexander’s mental and heroic deterioration that Curtius exercises the most selectivity

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<sup>260</sup> See also Elizabeth Baynham, *Alexander the Great: The Unique History of Quintus Curtius* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 7; J. R. Hamilton “Date of Quintus Curtius Rufus,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 37, no. 4 (1998): 445-56; and A. M. Devine, “The Parthi: The Tyranny of Tiberius and the Date of Q. Curtius Rufus,” *Phoenix* 33 (1979): 146.

<sup>261</sup> For arguments for later dates based on philology, see R. B. Steele “Quintus Curtius Rufus,” *American Journal of Philology* 36 (1915): 402-423; and A. B. Bosworth, “History and Rhetoric in Curtius Rufus,” *Phoenix* 37 (1983): 150-61.

<sup>262</sup> Baynham, *Alexander the Great*, 8.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

in detailing Alexander's life; and where Curtius mentions the appearance of the barbarian Amazon queen, Thalestris.

According to Curtius, when Alexander and his army had arrived in Hyrcania, the site of Darius' palace, Thalestris traveled from her lands with a proposition for Alexander. Curtius describes the Amazon queen as, "carrying two lances in her right hand... [her clothing did] not wholly cover the body, for the left side [was] nude as far as the breast, then the other parts of the body [were] veiled."<sup>266</sup> Curtius' description of the Amazon's physical appearance is very similar to Diodorus Siculus' account, and includes the searing of the right breast and preference for female children.<sup>267</sup> Curtius does not mention Diodorus' influence specifically, yet both Curtius' and Diodorus' work have large sections that use the same information in the same order, implying that they used the same source and a common tradition for some of their material. Curtius certainly would have been familiar with the depiction of the warrior women referenced by Diodorus and might have used it because of its historical legitimacy.<sup>268</sup> Curtius then discusses her character, in which she shows her barbarian nature and her bellicose disposition. Amazons, concludes Curtius, like "all the barbarians... believe that only those are capable of great deeds [who] nature has deigned to adorn with extraordinary attractiveness."<sup>269</sup> Alexander falls far short in majestic presence, but Thalestris apparently decides that his status as a great warrior is more important to her than his physical appearance and the encounter concludes with their thirteen-day affair. Curtius, unlike Virgil, does not seem to hold any admiration for the warrior women. While Alexander does not turn down Thalestris' offer, Curtius frames the encounter with other accounts of Alexander's descent from being the epitome of a Greek man. Curtius says that it is this episode that infected Alexander with barbarian morals of laxity and effeminate mannerisms; that corrupted his masculinity. The Amazon's lust and wildness destabilize the masculine

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<sup>266</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, trans. John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 46-49.

<sup>267</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, ed. John Skelton.

<sup>268</sup> Bosworth argues that this common tradition was based on the work of Cleitarchus, a popular author in the Roman period. From Arrian to Alexander, 8-10.

<sup>269</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, 48-49.



heroic qualities of Alexander.<sup>270</sup> Curtius seems to affirm that the woman's presence and disregard of the established role of the female pollutes Alexander and make him act out in a manner unfitting of a great king. Alexander, afterwards "gave loose rein to his passions, and changed continence and self-control, eminent virtues... to haughtiness and wantonness."<sup>271</sup> Curtius implies that it was the "passion of the woman, being, as she was, more keen for love than the king," that polluted Alexander.<sup>272</sup> Curtius' judgment of Alexander could also be utilizing the same trope used by Virgil in which men are dishonored when they compared to women and found inferior in areas that are typically gendered masculine by their society.

Curtius could inevitably adapt and distort his source material in his efforts to achieve a certain literary effect. Here Curtius selectivity emphasized Alexander's moral decline as caused by his interactions with barbarians; in this case, an extended tryst with an Amazon Queen.<sup>273</sup> The excerpt about Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, is sandwiched between Curtius' account of Alexander taking possession of Darius' consort, "a eunuch of remarkable beauty," and a side commentary on Alexander's assumption of Persian courtly airs.<sup>274</sup> The placement of the Amazon encounter highlights where Curtius' interests lay, namely in the deconstruction of a great monarchical power through intimate encounters with the 'other'. To further detail Alexander's deterioration, Curtius includes mentions of the great king's adoption of Persian dress, the plethora of leisurely parties, and various other foreign habits he assumed were the main reasons Alexander lost the admiration and loyalty of his followers.<sup>275</sup> For Curtius' purposes, Thalestris does not possess, as in Geek legends, heroic qualities. Instead, Curtius uses her to represent the 'barbarian,' appearing out of nowhere with her tribe of women. Her sexual aggression underscores the incumbent dangers of mixing too closely with outsiders and the problems with crossing gender barriers.<sup>276</sup> Alexander's sexual activities with strange, foreign queens illustrate the Persian/barbarian effect on the once-great

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<sup>270</sup> Blok, *The Early Amazon*, x.

<sup>271</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus *History of Alexander*, 6.5.1, 48-49.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.5.32, 48-9.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.5.24-32, 44-9.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.5.23, 43; 6.6.1, 50-2.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.2.1-4, 27-30.

<sup>276</sup> Blok, *The Early Amazon*, x.

ruler.<sup>277</sup> Curtius' sensationalist point of view aims to present a moral lesson for the Roman populace of what happens when dominant governments mix too closely with 'barbarian' groups. This cautionary tale was a product of Curtius' contemporary environment of the growing Roman Empire and increased contact with non-Romans on the periphery of the Empire.

When Roman troops began to come into contact with Britons, Sarmatians, and other barbarian groups around the Black Sea and beyond, suddenly the remoteness of the barbarians was less of a factor than their mysterious and, possibly, alluring habits that encouraged shifts in ethnic and gendered boundaries.<sup>278</sup> For the upper echelons of Roman society, barbarian cultures were, "of markedly less interest . . . consolidation and conformity were higher priorities."<sup>279</sup> Both Pliny and Curtius, however, explore the remote, the fantastical, and the unique in their work. Though they do not agree on the historical message, both texts reflect the novel interpretation and interest in fictions and wonders of the second half of the first century which seem to imply a new relationship with both the barbarian and the identity of the Roman citizen.

As the Roman Empire attempted to expand further its borders in the mid-late first century CE,<sup>280</sup> Romans were forced to interact with groups on the fringe of the civilized world due to the need for governmental establishments, peace-keeping forces, and tax collection. Pliny's and Curtius' treatment of mythology about Amazons reflect on the increasing diversity within the previously unified and coherent, even assimilated Roman Empire. While the literary themes approached in Pliny and Curtius' work are developed within mythology borrowed from much earlier Greek accounts and are therefore products of centuries of refined thought on style, rhetoric, and historical narrative, they are not completely harmonized in Roman culture. At the end of the Julio-Claudian era and the beginning of the Flavian dynasty, the Amazon legend was still part of the Roman cultural mythology. Like their Greek counterparts, Roman historians were using the Amazon legends

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<sup>277</sup> Baynham, *Alexander the Great*, 170

<sup>278</sup> Bowersock, *Fiction as History*, 36.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>280</sup> The greatest extent of the Empire is accomplished under the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian around the year 120 C E, though there was much ebb and flow to the Roman borders both before and after this time period.

to discuss particular current events rather than to further the commentary on historical veracity or Rome's mythic origins.

Forays into the previously unknown borderlands of the Roman Empire made frequent encounters with non-Romans unavoidable. In the British Isles, the most notable example was the revolt led by the tribal queen of the Iceni, Boudicca (Boadicea), in 61 CE after local Roman officials attempted to deny her claims to regency, whipped her, and had her daughters publicly raped. Boudicca is not, in any of the ancient extant literature, compared to an Amazon. I do not believe, however, that the Amazonian image would have been far removed from the Roman author's or reader's mind. The focus for the authors who discuss the Celtic queen is on Boudicca's aggressiveness and on her abilities as a warrior rather than her looks. The Romans attempted to define Boudicca's place as a woman by taking away her rights to inheritance as a Roman ally, whipping her publicly and asserting the basest masculine physical dominance over her daughters. What makes Boudicca Amazon-like is that she refused to remain within these prescribed boundaries. She regained her agency by leading men into battle and attacking and defeating a Roman legion. Dio Cassius says, "More over, all this ruin was brought upon the Romans by a woman, a fact which in itself caused them the greatest shame."<sup>281</sup>

Only Dio Cassius, of the extant sources, discusses her physical appearance. She is described as having been "very tall, having fierce eyes, long tawny hair, and possessing a very large gold necklace [possibly a torc]."<sup>282</sup> Dio lived over a hundred years after Boudicca, though he might have been relying on sources that are unknown and no longer extant, it is difficult to interpret his physical description of her. Dio might have been simply relating commonly held ideas of what British or even Celtic women looked like. Or Dio might have been, again, attempting to fit Boudicca into a Roman social role by focusing on her appearance as he might any other Roman woman. In other words, there is no way to verify or dismiss any or all of this description or even begin to understand his reasons for describing her physical appearance at all.

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<sup>281</sup> Cassius Dio *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001) 8, 83.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 85.

In the British Isles, royalty was masculine but the queens still had influence and legal privileges that were not recognized by Roman authorities.<sup>283</sup> Tacitus claims that “under the leadership of Boudica [sic], a woman of kingly descent (for they admit no distinction of sex in their royal successions), they all rose in arms.”<sup>284</sup> Boudicca’s uprising successfully razed two Roman strongholds and defeated a Roman legion before she died due either to illness or suicide. Suetonius claims that Nero was so put out by the whole rebellion that he strongly considered pulling Roman legions out of Britain permanently.<sup>285</sup> Amazons would have been a pertinent medium for exploring this interaction on the borders of the Roman-controlled world.

### PUBLIC ARTWORK

The art at the end of the Julio-Claudian and the beginning of the Flavian era reflects the more intimate encounters with groups of people outside the Roman Empire. After Augustus’ death, for approximately a quarter of a century, under the reign of Tiberius, the imperial doctrine that focused on piety, virtue, and a communal Roman identity in the official public art remained intact. By the reign of Caligula, however, the imperial dogma became more an intimation than conviction about the glory of the New Republic.<sup>286</sup> In 39 CE, Emperor Caligula attempted to conquer Britain and Germany and it is said that he took the breastplate of Alexander from his sarcophagus in Alexandria.<sup>287</sup> He failed to subdue either nation and quickly returned to Rome, assumed the trappings of divinity- an unpopular decision, and was assassinated a few months later in January of 41. War, a topic that was never glorified in Augustus’ public art, became a common motif due to the numerous skirmishes and battles along the border of the Roman Empire. Claudius’ reign had a similar dogmatic theme. In 43 CE, the Emperor Claudius spent sixteen days in Britain leading troops

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<sup>283</sup> Jean Markale, *Women of the Celts*, trans. A. Mygind, C. Hauch, and P. Henry (London: Gordon Cremonesi Publishers, 1975), 32.

<sup>284</sup> Tacitus *Annales: The Life and Death of Julius Agricola*, ed. and trans. Alfred John Church, William Jackson Brodribb, Robin Fox, Eleanor Cowan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 328.

<sup>285</sup> Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 113.

<sup>286</sup> John Boardman, ed., *Oxford History of Classical Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 227.

<sup>287</sup> Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 78.

in battle against the barbarian enemy. After receiving tributes from the local tribal chieftains, Claudius declared Britain conquered and the campaign a success.<sup>288</sup> Back in Rome proper, Claudius proceeded to celebrate a triumph in honor of his domination of Britain. Gold coins, always a good way to circulate news and propaganda, were minted depicting the emperor's victory over Britain. Two commemorative arches were to be built to mark the conquest of Britain. Claudius chose to erect them on the south road leading into Rome, though Rome was not the only center for Imperial dogma.<sup>289</sup>

Aphrodisias, a Greek city in south-west Turkey, boasts over two hundred relief sculptures from the first century C E. The figures include mythical scenes, imperial figures, and personifications of subjugated and allied provinces and nations. One piece of iconography in a shrine to the Julio-Claudians portrays the Emperor Claudius, naked with Roman helmet and cape, gripping a prone, half-nude woman representing Britannia, the personification of Britain.<sup>290</sup> Britannia bears a striking resemblance to the conventional portrayal of Amazons. The figures in the relief mirror the specific style used by both Greek and Roman artists to depict Achilles and Penthesilea in the final moments of their struggle at Troy. Britannia's breast is uncovered, conveying the meaning of her intended image as a barbarian, wild and 'other', and ripe for conquest. The Amazon iconography does not emanate only from Rome but takes cues from local mythology and popular iconography in a blending between the two.<sup>291</sup> Similar elements of war with submission by, and conquest of, the Amazon-like barbarians appear in artwork throughout the Empire.

During the reigns of Claudius and, later, Nero the Amazon iconography shows a concentration on the mythical representations of the warrior women. Hellenistic-based artwork depicting Amazons played an important part as it provided an inspiring medium in which the emperors could express their assertions of power. Roman copies of Greek artwork were influenced by the originals but were used because they fit the purpose of the Roman

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<sup>288</sup> Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, 47-48.

<sup>289</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia: Rebel, War-leader, and Queen* (New York: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), 44-45.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," 209-225.

ideology.<sup>292</sup> Roman conquest of foreign lands improved the imperial image in Rome and in the remote edges of the known world. In one piece of public artwork created in Rome during the sovereignty of Claudius, the Labors of Hercules are presented in relief on a pillar opposite an Amazon.<sup>293</sup> Hercules was responsible for the rape of the warrior queen Hippolyte and the theft of her war girdle. Josine Blok argues that the girdle in many Greek and earlier myths represents the transition from virginal girlhood into womanhood and the role as a wife and mother.<sup>294</sup> The Amazons are no longer girls, yet they wear the girdle much like the goddess Athena Zoosteria who dresses like a hoplite for battle. In this martial phase of the Empire, soldiers were confronting women who held themselves, from the Roman point of view, to different and ambiguous social standards. Women like Boudicca, who led several tribes united against Roman troops in Britain, and Cartimandua,<sup>295</sup> another Celtic queen whose "self-indulgence" due to her sexual immodesty in discarding her husband in favor of a common soldier; and her "cunning stratagems"<sup>296</sup> in taking the family of Venutius, another Celtic warlord, hostage, were now interacting with Roman legions. While, and perhaps because, elite Roman women such as Livia, Agrippina Minor and Maior, and others, were attaining greater power in the Empire, male Roman writers and politicians were still wary of female transgression.<sup>297</sup> The depiction of an Amazon whose fated rape and abuse were well known to the Roman public reflects a certain indignation, and possibly fury, at confronting women who refused to conform to imperial power.<sup>298</sup> Claudius' triumphal coin has been mentioned, but Nero, too, used the Amazons on currency to promote his authority over the

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<sup>292</sup> Elaine K. Gazda, "Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology: Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, and Resistance* 97 (1995): 122-3. Gazda discusses the idea of Roman adaption of earlier Classical mythology to promote contemporary Roman themes.

<sup>293</sup> *LIMC*, Image no. 117, a relief on a pillar in Rome, depicts the Labors of Hercules and the focal point is the encounter between Hercules and Hippolyte.

<sup>294</sup> Blok, *The Early Amazon*, 427-30.

<sup>295</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 12.36 and Herodotus *Histories* 3.45.

<sup>296</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 12.40.

<sup>297</sup> Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, according to Tacitus, accompanied him into battle and convinced the troops to stand and face the German barbarians in 15 CE. Tacitus, *Annals of Imperial Rome*, trans. Michael Grant (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1956), 64-65. Also, Livia, Messalina, and Agrippina (the younger) were all feared and respected for their power in the Empire as the emperors' wives. Only Livia died of natural causes.

<sup>298</sup> Iain M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome*, 56-61.

Roman Empire. During his reign, there were coins minted depicting an Amazon wearing a crown and holding a ball in one hand and a trident in the other. Ancient sources claim that Nero, an admirer of Alexander, demanded that the statue of an Amazon, made by the fifth-century BCE Greek sculptor Strongylion, be carried in the Emperor's retinue.<sup>299</sup> Dating back to the Battle of Actium, the trident was used to signify a nautical battle, a crowned woman often symbolized the goddess Victory, and the figure of Rome as a seated female warrior (Roma) also indicated lasting allegiance to Rome.<sup>300</sup> The imperial coin could allude to the aforementioned Boudican rebellion in the British Isle in 61 CE. It is quite possible that coinage minted during this time could reflect the historical turmoil in the British Isles while also connoting Nero's victory over the symbolic female barbarian residing on the unstable edges of the Roman Empire.<sup>301</sup> Similarly, the inclusion of an Amazon statue in his entourage might indicate Nero's (assumed) control of barbarians and even Roman imperial power over transgressions of suitable behavior.<sup>302</sup>

### PRIVATE ARTWORK

At the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the beginning of the Flavian, much private artwork focused on tableaux from Greek myth. The extant private Amazon pieces during this time outnumber public depictions approximately five to one.<sup>303</sup> Like the literature of this age, private pieces often reflected the mysterious and fantastical elements of the Amazon legend. Various gems portray the dying Penthesilea at the moment Achilles falls in love with her. In some instances, Achilles is bent almost worshipfully over Penthesilea's prone figure. This imagery dates back to the hundreds of representations in Greek pottery but the likely origins of the myth are from the *Aetheopis* of 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE Greece. Again there

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<sup>299</sup> Pliny the Elder *Natural History*, 34.48 and 82, 380.

<sup>300</sup> D'Ambra, *Roman Art*, 56.

<sup>301</sup> Oceanus was the Roman personification of the river believed to wrap around the world.

<sup>302</sup> I say this last part almost ironically given Nero's reputation as unpredictable and not just a little bit crazy. Tacitus, *Annals* 14.16, 15.44; Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars* 5. Later Emperors, such as Vespasian and Titus echo this key idea in the Arch of Titus which commemorates the suppression of the Jewish War of 67 and the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The Jewish seven-branched candlesticks that were sacked from Jerusalem and used in the triumphal procession convey the same message as Nero's coins: domination was an integral part of the Roman identity and it was dangerous to protest the excesses of Roman rule.

<sup>303</sup> This ratio is my own, determined using the *LIMC* records for the approximate time period.

is the mystery, but also the wonder, of the unknown expressed by Roman artists in this iconography. Achilles, the noble and civilized Greek, vanquishes his exotic enemy only to fall in love with Penthesilea as she dies. There are two very diverse messages that can be hypothesized here. It is possible that this scene, and the majority of other scenes that involve Greek warriors and dead or dying Amazons, depicts the Amazon, as a woman, returning to her socially-sanctioned and proper role as the tamed woman.<sup>304</sup> Conversely, Achilles' unrequited love for Penthesilea causes him to kill his fellow Greek soldier.<sup>305</sup> The mythic representation might reflect the very real fear that encounters with the female barbarian will lead to the loss of a Roman identity and community as it was tied to the continued domination and control of the Penthesilea-like figure. Regardless, the schema was meaningful to the artists and their contemporary viewers. It could simply be that, by depicting such images in the private artwork, pieces that might be used in the household on a daily basis or habitually worn, the artists and owners might have enjoyed the mythological reference and the timeless symbol of unrequited love of two equally esteemed heroes.

Very rarely are Amazons depicted as positive characters or protagonists in Roman art. There are, however, aspects of religion that appear to harmonize with artistic representations in a decidedly peaceful variety on the borders of the Roman world at the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and throughout the Flavian era. In art, the Amazons have several connections with gods and goddesses that are sometimes also reflected in the literature. Proclus calls Penthesilea the "daughter of Ares."<sup>306</sup> Diodorus Siculus agrees with Proclus and additionally names Otrere as the Amazon's mother.<sup>307</sup> Amazons are frequently named as the daughters of Ares and the goddess Harmonia. Thus they are goddesses themselves. Florence Mary Bennett argues that many ancient cultures, particularly in Asia Minor, worshipped a mother goddess.<sup>308</sup> Diodorus Siculus claimed that the Amazon honored the Mother of the

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<sup>304</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 116.

<sup>305</sup> Believed to have been written by Arctinus of Miletus, there are only secondary fragments of papyrus remaining. See West, *Greek Epic Fragments*; and Quintus Smyrnaeus *The War at Troy*, Book 1.

<sup>306</sup> West, *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, 53.

<sup>307</sup> Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 2.46.

<sup>308</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 4.



Gods known both as Rhea and Cybele.<sup>309</sup> Hecate is also shown to have had cult worship in Asia Minor.<sup>310</sup> These nature goddesses were depicted as fierce female warriors, who protected the state and women in travail and promoted sacrifice in their worship.<sup>311</sup> Regardless of her name, this goddess was entered into the Greek pantheon as Thracian Artemis.<sup>312</sup> Over time, Greek religion blended with these habits of local religious cults when Greek colonists appropriated the worship and rites. By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Amazons were connected to Artemis due to her courageous protection of virgins and possibly their respected roles as opponents of Greek masculinity.<sup>313</sup> Several forms of the Artemis cult- Tauric Chersonese, Brauron, Laodicea, Ephesus, and with Aphrodite in Persia- were founded. The Artemis cult at Ephesus was especially well known for its antiquity and the wealth it brought to the city.<sup>314</sup>

Monumental art was created to glorify city foundations, Rome, and maybe the Amazons as goddesses. In Asia Minor a statue of Tiberius, created no earlier than Claudius' reign, is decorated on all four sides by a relief of partially nude Amazons who represent six cities in the area; Cibyra, Cyme, Myrina, Ephesus, Apollonidea, and Hierocaesarea. The relief is on the base of a statue of Tiberius now in Naples, and personifies several cities in Asia Minor as Amazons; the women wear long chitons which bare their breasts.<sup>315</sup> Domitian, Vespasian's son, was particularly fond of including Amazons on the reverse of his coins. One coin, found in Ephesus, portrays two Amazons facing and offering their hands to each other. The Amazons wear chitons that expose their breasts. One wears a crown; the other carries the double-headed ax, a common Amazon weapon in the mythology and a weapon allotted to the Minoan mother goddess associated with Rhea-Cybele<sup>316</sup>. They personify a treaty between

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<sup>309</sup> Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 3.55.

<sup>310</sup> Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 10.3.20, 473.

<sup>311</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 26-27.

<sup>312</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 26.

<sup>313</sup> Blok, *The Early Amazon*, 439-40.

<sup>314</sup> Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4.31.8. Discussion of the popularity of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus quoted in Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 33.

<sup>315</sup> *LIMC*, Image no. 798, a statue, depicts several Amazons personifying the Asia Minor cities of Cibyra, Cyme, Myrina, Ephesus, Apollonidea, and Hierocaesarea.

<sup>316</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 28.

the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, two cities which were said to have Artemis cults.<sup>317</sup> Another depicts the treaty between eponymous heroines, Myrina and Cyme. In this scene, the Myrina Amazon sits, holding the traditional double-headed ax while the Cyme Amazon offers her hand.<sup>318</sup> Pausanias notes that there is a shrine to Artemis in Messenia where the cult statue bears both a spear and a shield.<sup>319</sup> Herodotus, Apollodorus, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch all agree that Amazons founded, inhabited, set up worship, or promoted the cults in several cities in Asia Minor, including Smyrna, Ephesus, Myrina, and Cyme, and Cibyra. Strabo, in particular, cites names for the cities of the Amazons.<sup>320</sup> Whether the Amazons are real or fictitious symbols conjured by the civilized psyche, Strabo points out that there are actual towns that claim their establishment by Amazons. What might these cities have gained by thinking of their origins in terms of Amazons? As in the case of Ephesus, the connection between Amazons and Mother cults might have had even more ancient connections to pre-Greek settlements and it quite possibly bred further prosperity for the town. In the second half of the first century, a number of public media represents these founders. Later coins and reliefs depict Amazons offering worship at altars to Cybele and Artemis, both seen as warrior women and protectors of supplicants and women in distress, which are symbolized by the palm trees around the scene.<sup>321</sup>

The Roman army had a custom of allocating land for farming in conquered areas to soldiers who had fought there. These Roman citizens, often as not, would take local women as wives and begin new lives in newly created townships that blended the bloodlines of Roman citizens and non-Romans.<sup>322</sup> The coins with Domitian on the obverse and Amazon-

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<sup>317</sup> *LIMC*, Image no. 800 is a coin from Ephesus that depicts the Emperor Domitian on the obverse and two standing Amazons, representing the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, on the reverse.

<sup>318</sup> *LIMC*, Image no. 799, a coin, depicts the Emperor Domitian on the obverse and two Amazons, personifying cities, on the reverse. The seated Amazon (Myrina) holds a double-headed ax. The other Amazon, who is standing, reaches out to her in accord.

<sup>319</sup> Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4.13.1.

<sup>320</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 2.5.4. See Chapter 2, above.

<sup>321</sup> *LIMC*, Image no. 796 and no. 802 are both coins from the reign of Caracalla (211) and show Amazons with the goddess Cybele. Image no. 695, a terra cotta lamp from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, shows an Amazon kneeling at an altar holding up an object as sacrifice. See also Sourvinou-Inwood's discussion of palm trees and alters, 99-143.

<sup>322</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 173.

personified cities on the reverse indicate that imperial imagery blended the Roman and non-Roman much like the hybridization of religious cult worship began by the Greeks but noted and honored by Roman conquerors. Both were sometimes manipulated by local government to indicate dual allegiances to one's hometown in particular and the Empire in general.<sup>323</sup>

Imperial expansion necessitated coming in contact with women who did not embody the traditional female social roles, such as Boudica and even Cartimandua who ignored the rules of civilized society by pushing those established gender boundaries. In Britain, at the site of a Roman town cemetery, stands a funerary stele that depicts a Roman soldier trampling local people beneath his horse's hoofs. The image emulates a fundamental theme of the imperial iconography in which the Emperor subjugates non-Roman enemies. The statue, one of many of its kind, emphasizes with purposeful disproportion of horse and rider to barbarians underfoot. It hints at the insignificance of the British to their Roman conquerors.<sup>324</sup>

Nonetheless, the literature of Pliny and Curtius which explores the Amazon foundation myths and the coins and statuary that personify towns as Amazons hint at another side of Roman expansion, one that appreciates the blending of certain cultural aspects, but is also aware of the perceived dangers of assimilation. At the end of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian Empires the Roman boundaries extend further out and the emperors lost the singular propagandistic drive of Augustus, subtle flexibilities in the Roman identity became a necessary part of the hegemony.<sup>325</sup> While not always cohesive, the literature and art of the post-Augustan, Julio-Claudian Empire used representations of the Amazon as an archetype for the non-Roman in their midst, be it the wounded warrior, the sexual virago, the desperate supplicant, or the worshipped goddess.<sup>326</sup> The Romans living in the mid-late first century CE Empire were encountering barbarian groups on a regular basis due to trade, war, and the vision of Imperial dominance through expansion promoted in the art and literature of Augustus' reign.

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<sup>323</sup> D' Ambra, *Roman Art*, 55.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>325</sup> Arthur M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 312.

<sup>326</sup> D' Ambra, *Roman Art*, 56-57.

## CONCLUSION

The literature and art of this time reflected Romans' interpretations of what it meant to be barbarian, what it meant to be Roman, and complexities of these new identities. Both literature and art focused on ancient myths and encounters with the mythical, not to build a common past like in the Augustan age, but to discover what future might be possible when barbarians were becoming Roman allies and citizens. The mixed messages and uncertain intent of Romans for using the Amazon mythology highlight the changing needs and the predilections of an Empire compelled to address this reality.

The Amazons presented an allure which outweighed their alterity.<sup>327</sup> No longer were the Romans just those who could claim to have inherited the piety and virtue of Aeneas. Romans were acknowledging the integration between Rome and the provinces that is evidenced in the discussion and depictions of the Amazons in the late Post-Augustan Julio-Claudian and early Flavian dynasties.

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<sup>327</sup> John Boardman, ed., *Oxford History of Classical Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 217.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **AMAZONS IN LITERATURE AND ART DURING THE REIGN OF THE ADOPTIVE EMPERORS**

For the period of 96-180 CE, the century that historians sometimes term the rule of the “Five Good Emperors,” the Empire’s power was most secure. This chapter sets out to argue, using literary accounts that explore the Amazon from historical, philosophical, and geographical points of view and artwork that is influenced by both Greek and Roman mythology, that the continued and shifting use of Amazon iconography hints that the Roman identity was still malleable at the beginning of the second century. It is during this time in the Roman Empire that Amazons appear in Plutarch’s historical biography of Theseus, Arrian’s history, and Pausanias’ travel logs. This chapter will investigate how Romans of Greek origin used the Amazon mythology to give records of action and achievement while also exploring the relationship between a conquering country and subject groups who did not fit into pre-constructed ideas of social behavior. I will also demonstrate that the appearance of the Amazon in two different kinds of images, one that notes the inversion of social spheres, and the other that blurs the distinction between Amazons and any group of warrior women, are both reflective of the subjugated barbarian.

The late second-century CE literature utilizes encounters between Greeks and Amazons to explore the idea of the monarchical power of an Empire and the way that the Greeks approached encounters and relationships with foreign groups. In utilizing the Amazon legends, Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias were Greeks and seemed to have been hugely influenced by Greek culture and legends. They educated elite Romans using their unique perspectives of the connection between the old hegemony and the new in the effort to ensure the success of the Roman Empire.

Extant public and private art depicting Amazons is extensive, and the media of representation are wide-ranging from basilicas and statues to votives and especially sarcophagi. The dominance of recognizable mythology in the artwork, particularly the Labors of Heracles and Achilles and Penthesilea’s battle at Troy, reflects the ties between

Greece and Rome. The culture of those two societies blended and also drew on more ancient social and mythical motifs. In Greek mythology, Heracles fights and wins against monstrous or aberrant creatures that plague the Greeks. He is the hero and the bringer of civility, peace, and prosperity. Seen mostly in the Epic Cycle, Achilles is the civilized, deity-blessed Greek who defeats the female barbarian far from Rome, even as he is attracted to her beauty and ferocity. Both Greeks and Romans saw themselves as bastions of civilization against the barbarian hordes, and ‘barbarian’ was defined by distinctions made by the dominant group and based on perceived differences in social customs such as diet, clothing, and division of labor.<sup>328</sup> The mythology was used by both the Greeks and the Romans to address that concept and reassure themselves of their own superiority. Even though this was a relatively secure time in the Empire, the subject of warfare, both real and mythical, appeared as a motif in much of the artwork. Augustus’ previous unwillingness to portray war by direct depiction of battles was reversed in Trajan’s time. Trajan’s column depicted overtly the Dacian defeat.<sup>329</sup> However, warfare and constant conflict on the borders in the latter half of the second century resulted in a renewed artistic point of view: that of the defeated barbarian. In many cases though, the sympathy and humanity shown to the enemy in these artistic portrayals suggest a new aspect of the Roman identity; one that questioned the continued necessity of expansion and the inexorable power of Rome. While it is impossible to know what stimuli encouraged Roman artists to depict the Amazon, it seems that even at the pinnacle of Roman expansion and strength, artists still found the warrior women a beneficial medium for constructing a paradigm for barbarian encounters and a paternalistic imperial identity during the reign of the Adoptive Emperors. For good or bad, the authors and the artwork suggest that Greek identity was still being appropriated and constructed by the Romans.

During the years of the Adoptive Emperors, the rulers were chosen for their cultivated talents in politics, battle, philosophy, and statecrafts rather than their bloodline.<sup>330</sup> After the murder of Domitian by his personal staff, the ebullient Senators were eager to proclaim as

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<sup>328</sup> Walter Penrose, “Bold with the Bow and Arrow,” 137.

<sup>329</sup> Ferris, *Enemies of Rome*, 85.

<sup>330</sup> Though the inheritance of the title was not patrimonial, most of the Adoptive Emperors were related distantly. Hadrian’s father was a cousin to Trajan, and Hadrian’s nephew became emperor after the reign of Antoninus Pius, his father-in-law.

emperor, Nerva, a man with no direct ties to the throne. Elderly by the time of his reign, Nerva managed to hold popularity with the populace, but could not control the soldiers. His most noted action was his adoption of Trajan, a governor of Upper Germany who had the respect of the legions, in 97 CE. Trajan, in assuming rule from his adopted father Nerva in 98 CE, became the first non-Italian emperor of Rome.<sup>331</sup> It is perhaps fitting that it was during the reign of Trajan, a non-Roman by origin whose family had migrated from Italy generations earlier to settle and colonize what would become southern Spain, that the Roman Empire expanded to its furthest reaches and regained land in Parthia and Armenia which had been lost to revolts in the time of this successors. Although Hadrian, Trajan's heir, did not hold the expansive borders of the Empire, during his reign from 117-138 CE, he maintained a stabilized frontier, including the building of Hadrian's Wall in northern Britain, and concentrated on improving the internal government. Called the 'Greekling' by various ancient historians and politicians, though he was of Spanish origin, Hadrian spent very little time in Rome and devoted most of his reign to either touring the provinces of Africa, Greece, and Asia, or retiring in his villa in Tivoli.<sup>332</sup> Hadrian's adopted heir, Antoninus Pius, ruled longer than any other emperor since Augustus, yet his reign was peaceful with a strong central government and no major wars. Pius' family was originally from Gaul but had established themselves in a leading position in Rome.<sup>333</sup> With the exception of a year as governor in the province of Asia in 135-6, Pius, in contrast to Hadrian, spent almost no time outside of Italy. Marcus Aurelius had a much more bellicose reign. During his rule, between the years of 161 and 180 CE, only four years were unmarked by bitter and near-continuous warfare on the edges of the Empire.<sup>334</sup> Plague and poor economy also assaulted the Empire during Aurelius' reign; however, he was remembered as a prudent and stoic leader who preserved the Empire. Cassius Dio said of him "[Marcus Aurelius] did not meet with the good fortune that he deserved, for he was not strong in body and was involved in a multitude of troubles throughout practically his entire reign. But for my part, I admire him all the more

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<sup>331</sup> Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, 90.

<sup>332</sup> J. J. Pollitt, *Art of Rome: c.753 B.C. - 337 A.D.: Sources and Documents*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 166.

<sup>333</sup> Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, 106-107.

<sup>334</sup> Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, 115.

for this very reason, that amid unusual and extraordinary difficulties he both survived himself and preserved the empire.”<sup>335</sup> Not promoted through nepotism and without the need to glorify the family name, these emperors were very different from previous emperors in their policies, concerns, and personal interests.

### **LITERATURE: PLUTARCH**

The philosopher, biographer, and prolific writer Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus, popularly known as Plutarch, lived a life that contrasted with the expansionist characteristics of the late first and early second century Rome. A native of Chaeronea in Greece, Plutarch spent most of his life in his hometown. Plutarch, a priest at Delphi, was devoted to the ancient gods and the popular resurgence of the Delphic sanctuary during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Plutarch was, however, very conscious of the world outside of his Greek province. He traveled to Athens and Egypt and also journeyed as far as Rome to teach. The philosopher developed friendships with a number of influential political figures including the consulars Mestrius Florus and Sosius Sencio, and the Syrian prince Iulius Antiochus Philopappus. Plutarch used his standing in governing circles to promote his theories concerning a symbiotic partnership between Greece as educator and Rome as a hegemonic power.<sup>336</sup>

Plutarch’s belief in this compatibility between Greece and Rome is displayed in his numerous works of rhetoric, moral philosophy, dialogue, polemic, and biographical narrative. The theme of a cohesive Greco-Roman unity is aptly portrayed in his *Parallel Lives*, which compare the lives of Greek and Roman heroes to “exemplify individual virtue (or vice) in the careers of great men.”<sup>337</sup> To achieve this, Plutarch did not always adhere to strictly historical anecdotes. Although acutely aware of the differences between the truth and legend, Plutarch chose to intermingle and complicate the two, saying in *Theseus*, “Now that I have traversed the period of time that is accessible to probability and supports a history based on facts... may I therefore succeed in purifying the mythic while making it submit to reason

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<sup>335</sup> Cassius Dio *Roman History* 71.35.2, 69.

<sup>336</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. “Plutarch,” 585.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 586.



and take on the look of history.”<sup>338</sup> Plutarch evaluates his characters to display either their good qualities or lack thereof. The biographer acknowledged that his *Parallel Lives* took advantage of the idea of history as a plot that gave structure to the overall theme of the work.<sup>339</sup> Plutarch focused on the parallel moments and asked his reader to compare the Greek subject and the Roman subject.<sup>340</sup> Plutarch used Amazon mythology to fulfill his need to display Theseus’ lasciviousness and also the civilizing effect that Greek customs and values had on non-Greek people.

In the *Life of Theseus*, Plutarch explores the birth, family line, public debut, relationships, and battles, change of fortune and attitude, and death of the legendary king of Athens. Plutarch compares Theseus’ life with that of Romulus, the mythic founder of Rome. Like Romulus, Theseus is given credit for establishing the city/state of Athens, if not for actually founding it. Among the many parallels between the lives of the two great initiators, Plutarch highlights their dealings with the barbarian hoards and both men’s illicit relationships with women which lead to family and state conflicts.<sup>341</sup> In both biographies, the king, in initiating the abduction of women —Amazon for Theseus and Sabine for Romulus, is both responsible for the outbreak and cessation of hostilities and for the ensuing victory. Plutarch comes to the conclusion that Romulus is the better man because he established familial relationships with the Sabine women and countrymen and only took the women to benefit his city. “And indeed there was nothing did more advance the greatness of Rome than that she did always unite and incorporate those whom she conquered into herself.”<sup>342</sup> Theseus, on the other hand, was full of self-interest and his abduction of an Amazon led to the near destruction of Athens. According to Plutarch, Theseus took the Amazon queen, Antiope, for his bride.<sup>343</sup> This abduction incited the Amazons and their allies to attack Athens. Plutarch offers two different accounts of how this happened. One involves the Greek

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<sup>338</sup> Plutarch, *Lives*, vol. 1, trans. Hugh Clough (New York: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1967), 13.

<sup>339</sup> Tim Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 15.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 308.

<sup>341</sup> Eckhart, “The Author-Centered Approach,” 149-50.

<sup>342</sup> Plutarch, *Lives*, 41.

<sup>343</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall*, 34.

hero, Heracles as the main protagonist; the other gives Theseus credit (or responsibility) for the kidnapping, which Plutarch says is a “more convincing story.”<sup>344</sup> In either case, a Greek expedition led by Theseus or Heracles is responsible for advancing into foreign land and for asserting their will on a foreign group. Given the expanding empire and the constant tension along the border, it is likely that the idea of imperialism was on the minds of those who would have read Plutarch’s account of Theseus in the early second century. Plutarch, in his case studies of virtues and vice, expected his readers might also associate the Amazons in *Life of Theseus* with the hero’s moral gaffes; his sexual mishaps and his subjugation of people in his attempt to procure women he desires.<sup>345</sup> As Plutarch compares the two founders, he judges them by a Greek value system, including condemning an excessive love of glory or cruelty and promoting compromise. By judging the men and their actions by Greek standards, he is promoting the universality of the Greek culture and its influence in the Roman Empire.<sup>346</sup>

Regardless of the similarities and differences of the Romulus and Theseus account when it comes to abducting women, Plutarch makes clear his belief that Greek hegemony had a civilizing influence on barbarian traits. He cites the historian Menecrates, saying that when the Amazon was a captive on Theseus’ ship, she quickly developed the proper womanly attributes and rejected the advances of all men other than Theseus, “though she handled the affair gently and with discretion and did not accuse her unwanted admirer in front of Theseus.”<sup>347</sup> While this anecdote certainly implies the successful assimilation of the conquering kingdom, the result of Antiope’s rebuff of an Athenian sailor has far-reaching consequences. The suicide of Solois, Antiope’s dismissed suitor, causes Theseus to remember the charge of an oracle of Delphi. The Pythian priestess had ordered him to found a city when he was “plunged into grief in a foreign land.”<sup>348</sup> Doing so, Theseus established an

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<sup>344</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>345</sup> Eckhart, “The Author-Centered Approach,” 143-44.

<sup>346</sup> Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 307-309.

<sup>347</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall*, 32.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, 32-33.

Athenian colony on the Black Sea, named it after a Greek god, and left it to thrive.<sup>349</sup> The account of the divinely-ordained satellite of Athenian dominance nicely legitimizes Greek, specifically Athenian, attempts to control foreign land, including the Black Sea area, the traditional region of the Amazons. It is not difficult to see the parallels for early second century Rome. They, too, were expanding their hold on increasingly distant lands and coming in contact with foreign cultures and people who had to be dominated and/or allied.

Plutarch describes the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons incited by Antiope's kidnapping as "anything but a trivial or womanish affair," and cites the necessity of the Amazons having to overrun the entire countryside to succeed in approaching Athens without fear of reprisal from the countryside as example of their martial prowess.<sup>350</sup> Once based on the Areopagus, the Amazons, according to Aeschylus offer sacrifice to Ares, their father and god of war.<sup>351</sup> Conversely, Plutarch says that it was Theseus who attacks the Amazons only after "sacrificing to Fear [Phobos, son of Ares] in obedience to an oracle."<sup>352</sup> Of course is it quite plausible that both sides would pay homage to whatever gods they thought might grant them victory. It is worth noting, however, that 500 years after Aeschylus made Ares a patron god of the Amazons, Plutarch was having Theseus curry favor with the god's son. Fear was significant to Plutarch because he believed that the ancients used fear to manage selfish impulses and enforce obedience. Fear of societal reprisals encouraged men to avoid being cowards in battle.<sup>353</sup> While fear was esteemed as manly, a way to manage uncivilized behavior and promote courage; cowardice was a completely different, negative — even effeminate — emotion.<sup>354</sup> The Amazons are portrayed as worthy opponents to the Athenian men and the women come quite close to taking the city. Unwilling to be a coward, Theseus and his troops attack the Amazons outside the city walls.<sup>355</sup> Plutarch carefully details

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>351</sup> Aeschylus, *Eumenedes*, trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970, 43.

<sup>352</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall*, 33.

<sup>353</sup> Penrose, "Bold with the Bow and Arrow," 32-3.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>355</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall*, 33.

that during the battle; the Amazons gain the upper hand on the left wing and force the Athenians to retreat while the opposite happens on the right flank.<sup>356</sup> Plutarch makes sure the reader knows that both Theseus and his opponents are worthy adversaries by ancient Greek estimation. The Amazons are eventually routed and their supposed burial monuments mark their journey back to their homeland. He also states that some Amazons were wounded, cared for, and died in these Greek cities which then took on the Amazon names such as Amazonium and Horocomosium.<sup>357</sup> Plutarch also sees evidence of a real Amazon invasion in an annually offered sacrifice to the Amazons in Athens. He postulates that the Athenians and Amazons came to a truce. The proof of a possible treaty lies in the construction of a building adjoining the Theseum (or Theseion), called the Horocomosium due to the oaths and sacrifices offered there to the Amazons before the festival of Theseus.<sup>358</sup> It is also possible that the annual event actually celebrated Athens' victory over the invading Amazons.<sup>359</sup>

Plutarch begins his comparison of the Roman and Greek heroes by saying "It seemed clear that I could find no more fitting counterpart for the father of glorious and unconquerable Rome than Theseus, the founder of the lovely and far-famed city of Athens."<sup>360</sup> With the Theseus account, there seem to be variations in details surrounding the religious rites ascribed to both sides before and after the battles. Plutarch highlights the fear and duty of defending one's way of life which culminates, in this case, with an often-remembered celebration of victory. The two possible alternate endings to the war between the Athenians and the Amazons- peace or the utter defeat of the Amazons- are analogous to the Roman assertion of power over others during this time period. Groups who would dare challenge Rome's supremacy during the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE can hope for one of two outcomes: becoming an allied province of Rome, or becoming Rome's slaves.

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>359</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 57.

<sup>360</sup> Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall*, 13.

## ARRIAN

Arrian is writer who, like Plutarch, seemed to be particularly interested in the historical and mythical relationship of the Romans with the ancient Greeks. He, himself, was a man of both worlds. Born in 86 CE in Nicomedia in northwestern Turkey, Arrian was a Greek speaker and belonged to a well-respected Greek family, but was a Roman citizen formally named L. Flavius Arrianus.<sup>361</sup> Arrian, during his youth from 111-114 CE, also served in the Roman army of Trajan. The historian traveled around much of the Roman Empire and made the acquaintance of the future emperor, Hadrian, during that time. Arrian was invested in the politics of Rome. He served as a local politician in his birthplace of Nicomedia and was also elected to senatorial rank in 129 or 130 CE by Hadrian after being employed at the emperor's consulate for six years. Later, from 131-7 CE, Arrian held offices in Cappadocia and Athens.<sup>362</sup>

Arrian's extant works, written in Attic Greek, show his interest in the history of Greece in general and the life of Alexander the Great in particular.<sup>363</sup> In the second century C.E., the virtues and vices of Alexander were viewed by the Roman elite as more useful as a rhetorical device than as historical account. A.B. Bosworth says that while Alexander retained his legendary aura of charisma in accounts, his appetite for expansion was no longer 'fashionable' and condemned after Hadrian renounced his conquests beyond the Euphrates.<sup>364</sup> In his *Anabasis of Alexander*, however, Arrian combines his knowledge of geography and representative elements of Greek composition into a laudatory tribute to Alexander's accomplishments augmented by echoes of historians such as Thucydides.<sup>365</sup> Arrian believes that his literary skills and fame are on par with Alexander's military skills and so tasks himself to create a lasting literary memorial to the Greek king.<sup>366</sup> The *Anabasis*,

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<sup>361</sup> A. B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 17.

<sup>362</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Arrian," 76.

<sup>363</sup> Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretation*, 25.

<sup>364</sup> A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 5.

<sup>365</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, trans. P. A. Brunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 5.11.1, 12.3, 17.2.3, 241 and A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary*, 1-3, 15.

<sup>366</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 4.10.2, 241.

as is inferred by the title, adopts the style of the ca. 400 BCE historian, Xenophon, and focuses on acclaiming rather than criticizing the warlord.<sup>367</sup> Seemingly chosen for color and accuracy, though not always both, the anecdotes about Alexander display Arrian's reliance on Greek descriptions to detail to the Roman populace, the narrative of exploration, domination, and achievement.<sup>368</sup> Like Strabo, however, Arrian critically analyzes these encounters and rationalizes these accounts rather than accepting the mythic events without question.

When Arrian narrates Alexander's encounter with a group of warrior women, he categorically and explicitly refutes any assumption that the warrior women in question are actually a tribe of Amazons.<sup>369</sup> His rationalization of the existence of the Amazon is based solely on the myths of Heracles and Theseus, the paintings of Micon, and the testimony of Herodotus, but the unanimity of belief of his ancient Greek predecessors keeps Arrian from rejecting the legend of Alexander and his encounter with warrior women as unfounded.<sup>370</sup> According to Arrian's account, the women carried axes instead of swords and possibly had one breast that was smaller than the other.<sup>371</sup> These disparities with the common Greek cavalry reflect the traditional mythology about what Amazons used for weaponry. Alexander, however, supposedly sent the women away because he worried for their safety among his soldiers, "in case they suffered any outrage from the Macedonians or barbarian troops."<sup>372</sup> Arrian implies that real Amazon warriors would not have had to worry about such an assault on their persons. The biographer also states that since neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy, "nor any other reliable author on such matters [had] attested," to this incident, though other encounters with barbarian groups had been recorded, it was most likely untrue.<sup>373</sup> The

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<sup>367</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Arrian," 76.

<sup>368</sup> According to Dio Chrysostom (29.1, 30.1), Trajan sacrificed to Alexander in Babylon and bragged to the Senate that he had advanced further than the great Greek king. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary*, 14.

<sup>369</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 7.13.3-4, 247.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.13.5-6, 247-49.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.13.2, 247.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.13.3, 247.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.13.3, 247.

majority of Arrian's 'reliable' sources were Greek.<sup>374</sup> While Arrian did not report his sources' accounts without some care and reflection, he was convinced that Aristobulus', Ptolemy's, Strabo's, and Plutarch's accounts were above reproach.

Arrian mentions that Alexander might have told the leader of the group of women that he would someday visit and impregnate her, but the author quickly discounts the veracity of this tale.<sup>375</sup> Arrian does say that Alexander received envoys from Scythia who offer to do Alexander's bidding and that the king was willing to give Alexander his daughter in marriage as part of the alliance.<sup>376</sup>

Arrian's discussion of the Amazons turns into a digression of their historicity, which he concludes is genuine, but not important to his current purpose. Arrian cites the wealth of mythological accounts, the representations of the Amazons in paintings, Herodotus' descriptions, and wartime eulogies to the barbarian women as indicators of their historical reality.<sup>377</sup> These examples however are simply respectful; a nod to traditional accounts, and they highlight Arrian's treatment of the incident. Arrian's handling of this material is indicative of his attention to the traditional Greek methods of historical biography as used by Xenophon and Herodotus.<sup>378</sup> Arrian could believe in strange phenomenon, if they did not encroach on history, and he tried to first find some factual basis for any tale he rejected.<sup>379</sup>

By paying attention to these details, Arrian includes the habits of earlier Attic orators and writers. Arrian would have been well aware of how his contemporaries compared the Empire to that of Alexander's. Alexander was used as a military exemplum imitated by Pompey, Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan.<sup>380</sup> By this time, due in large part to the Greeks' treatment of warrior women, the Romans taken on a stock view of the Amazons as a moniker

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<sup>374</sup> Arrian used Ptolemy, Nearchus, and Aristobulus for *Alexander*, Xenophon for *Cynegeticus*, and Nearchus, Megasthenes, and Eratosthenes for his *Indica*.

<sup>375</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 7.13.3, 247. Arrian does not specify who 'they' (Ἐντάυθα λέγουσιν) are, but we know that they are not "any other reliable author" and so might be his discussion of common hearsay.

<sup>376</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 4.15.1-4, 389.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.13.5, 247-249.

<sup>378</sup> Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 66-67.

<sup>379</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 493-4.

<sup>380</sup> Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary*, 1-13.

for any armed barbarian woman. Though Arrian discounts the veracity of the Amazon tribe met by Alexander, he sums up the encounter saying, “I think they were some other barbarian women taught to ride, whom [Atropates, the satrap of Media] exhibited, dressed in the traditional Amazon fashion.”<sup>381</sup> This is quite possible as there are accounts of women with martial prowess in Europe, Africa, Asia Minor, and India.<sup>382</sup> Alexander’s encounter with the Amazons could serve theoretically as a Greek illustration of monarchy and barbarian encounters; a traditional treatment designed to create frames of identity and relationship. In highlighting Alexander’s encounter with Amazons during his trek across Persia and India, Arrian could be highlighting the distinction between the mythic Amazon and any group of armed women- an identity that was blurred by both the Greeks and Romans.<sup>383</sup>

Arrian is certainly aware of the Roman reader when he expounds on Alexander’s grand travels. Arrian includes a reference to the great King’s acknowledgement of ancient Rome. According to Arrian, Alexander, “Thereafter, in some accounts, planned to... make for Sicily and the Iapygian promontory, as he was already rather disturbed that Rome’s fame was advancing to great height.”<sup>384</sup> Arrian uses Alexander as an example for the Romans, certainly as a military exemplar and possibly as a moral one. Greece was the ancient locus of philosophy, theater, and art. Rome was the military and political powerhouse. And though Greece was technically a conquered nation, by the second century it had become an intrinsic part of the Roman identity. Using this account of Alexander’s interaction with warrior women, and debates about Amazon historicity and ethnicity Arrian explores how a conquering group’s idea of a myth might distort the reality of a culture or race.

### PAUSANIAS

That complex interaction of Greeks and Romans with barbarian groups as played out in Amazon imagery is further developed in the life and work of Pausanias. Compared to other writers in the second century, Pausanias is a mysterious, enigmatic figure. Not much is

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<sup>381</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 7.13.5, 249.

<sup>382</sup> Penrose, “Bold with the Bow and Arrow,” 103-35 and 189-228.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 138-39.

<sup>384</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 7.1.3, 203.



known about Pausanias beyond what he relays in his travel log, *Description of Greece*. However, in writing about ‘all things Greek,’ Pausanias does give his readers insight into his views on Greece as an intrinsic part of the Roman Empire. Some assumptions can also be made from his writing about his personal life. Pausanias was a Greek from Asia Minor rather than mainland Greece. As a Greek who had long lived under Roman dominion, Pausanias might, theoretically, be able to distance himself from a strictly Greek or Roman viewpoint in his discussion of his travels.<sup>385</sup> However, in discussing the Amazons, Pausanias exhibits biases that reflect a loyalty to the Empire and a disdain for uncivilized groups in the Roman Empire. The Amazons, Pausanias believes, are just a story, one sometimes used in foundation mythology by similarly uncivilized cities.

The cultural climate of the Roman Empire and Asia Minor, specifically, must have equipped him with both the “education and motivation to undertake his travels and his writing.”<sup>386</sup> In his writing, Pausanias’ discussion of his travels focuses almost exclusively on monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods, with frequent digressions about their historical and sacred contexts.<sup>387</sup> Pausanias’ approach in his writing was descriptive and personal. The author’s attention to detail and accuracy extended only to aspects of the monuments which he felt to be worthwhile to his reader.<sup>388</sup> He was out to preserve as much for posterity as he could of the inheritance of the past.<sup>389</sup> When Pausanias bothers to describe a monument with Amazonian imagery, the description is not idle curiosity, but something he thinks is important for his reader to know. Pausanias’ discussion of Megara is rife with such imagery.

Pausanias discusses the structures of worth in Megara, and the stories that surround those cities, monuments, sanctuaries, and tombs. He prefaces his discussion of Megarian art and architecture with the notably caustic comment that the inhabitants of the small district of

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<sup>385</sup> K. W. Arafat, *Pausanias’ Greece: Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8.

<sup>386</sup> Arafat, *Pausanias’ Greece*, 14.

<sup>387</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Pausanias,” 543.

<sup>388</sup> Arafat, *Pausanias’ Greece*, 2-3.

<sup>389</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, vol. 5, trans. J. G. Frazer (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965), 12.33.4, 452.

Greece were the “only people whom even the emperor Hadrian could not make thrive.”<sup>390</sup> This is less of an accusation of Hadrian than a comment on the meager significance and paucity of the Megarians. Pausanias’ biases against the Megarians are evident in his treatment of their legends, including that of the Amazons. In his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias discredits the Megarians’ rationalization for an ancient dispute with city of Athens and its great king, Theseus. This digression might be an allusion to Emperor Hadrian’s symbolic connections with Theseus and the aforementioned difficulty with making Megara prosper economically.<sup>391</sup>

This incredulity at the Megarians’ account of local legends is the prelude to Pausanias’ cursory discussion of the evidence of the Amazons’ retreat from Athens and a harbinger of his treatment of Amazon mythology. Pausanias only mentions in passing the epic battle between Athens and the Amazons, which he says is evidenced by the shield-shaped tomb of Hippolyte, war-queen of the Amazons.<sup>392</sup> Pausanias proceeds to tell Hippolyte’s story “as it is told by the Megarians.”<sup>393</sup> After most of the Amazons had died fighting and the rest were vanquished by Theseus, Hippolyte escaped with a few others to Megara. However, the warrior queen died of a broken heart for her situation and despair of ever returning to her homeland of Themiscyra.<sup>394</sup> It is her renown as a warrior which compelled the Megarians to build her tomb in the shape of her shield.<sup>395</sup>

While Pausanias does not explicitly discount the story of Hippolyte’s death at Megara, his opinion regarding the veracity of the Megarian legends is disdainful and his discussion of the Amazons is flanked by commentaries on a Megarian city and the tomb of a despotic Megarian king, possibly casting derision on the Megarian people by focusing on stories that cast the Megarians in a negative light. Pausanias’ commentaries on the

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<sup>390</sup> Ibid., 1.36.3, 55.

<sup>391</sup> Hadrian’s arch in Athens, which honored Hadrian’s benefactions to the city, show both Theseus and Hadrian as founders of Athens. A statue of Theseus was also displayed prominently at Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli.

<sup>392</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1:41.7, 63.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid., 1:41.7, 63.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid., 1:41.7, 63.

<sup>395</sup> There are indications that all the cities which claimed Amazon tombs (Athens, Troezen, Megara, Chaeronea, Chalcis, and Thessaly all had earlier cults to Ares. Bennett, *Religious Cults*, 68.

Megarians' propagandistic aspects of all their other legends cannot be ignored. The writer disputes the accuracy of both of those accounts; disagreeing with the genealogy and reconstruction of the former and the domain of the latter. In no other point in his discussion of Megara does Pausanias validate the local legends and the story of the Amazonian retreat is no different. The Megarians were an anomaly in Greece, according to Plutarch, because they did not flourish with Hadrian's extensive aid to that region. Furthermore, their 'claim to fame' is as host to a defeated Amazon warrior queen. By discounting their stories and the mythic importance of the city, Pausanias discounts their worthiness as cultivated Greeks and Roman citizens. Plutarch, in describing the sites of his homeland is attempting to leave for Roman conquerors a record of the past and connect it with the present.

Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias lived in an expanding Empire under new types of Emperors. These authors used Greek mythology and history to explore the maintenance of an empire. The artwork created and reproduced during Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias' era also attempted to divide what was implicitly Roman from what was explicitly barbarian. To this end, the use of Amazon iconography, as first portrayed by older Greek artwork, flourished.

### **PUBLIC ARTWORK**

The Amazons depicted in surviving art from the reign of Nerva and Trajan reflect a condensed and more overt version of trends found in the imperial ideology of previous eras. There was increased contact with barbarians through Trajan's policy of imperial expansion which was pursued through war. Much of Trajan's reign was comprised of fighting barbarian groups on the borders. He conquered Decebalus and the Dacians in 101-2 and 105-6 C.E. He also facilitated a campaign against the Parthians in the east and reasserted control over Armenia before his death.<sup>396</sup> Unlike the imagery of the Augustan era which focused on the peaceful aftermath of successful battles, the Trajanic art, such as Trajan's Column, depicted active battle scenes that sometimes show pitched battles with no clear victor. Also, it is during Trajan's reign that barbarians begin to be represented as distinct ethnic groups, such as the Dacians, rather than generic savages attacking civilization.<sup>397</sup> As the Roman Empire

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<sup>396</sup> Pollitt, *Art of Rome*, 166.

<sup>397</sup> Ferris, *Enemies of Rome*, 64.

continued to expand and incorporate an increasing variety of tribes and people, Roman identity at once had to become more inclusive and more defined. This expansion had to include groups that once might have been seen as barbarian while still excluding groups similar in location and custom that resisted Roman dominance.

I will assert that Amazon images in Imperial artwork allowed those in power to create and disseminate imperial ideology and mythology. This artwork, I will explain, concentrated on the strangeness of female warriors and the physical efforts by civilized men to control them. During the period of the Adoptive Emperors, public works of art; statues, architecture, coins, and relief work on buildings and plaques, depict two types of Amazon. The first is the typical, anonymous warrior woman, but defined by her clothing and weapons as oriental-like and other. The Amazons wear Phrygian hats, pants, and belts. Their short chitons are either unraveling or already baring their breasts. Their weapons are depicted as different from their adversaries in design. The second type depicted evokes the Greek myths of Heracles, Theseus, and Achilles in the penultimate moment of victory. Heracles hits Hippolyte with a club as she rides by on horseback,<sup>398</sup> Theseus battles an Amazon in single combat,<sup>399</sup> and Achilles restrains Penthesilea in the heat of battle as he looks around for allies.<sup>400</sup> The Greek imagery assumes the Roman viewer's intimate knowledge of the outcome of these battles, but shows the effort needed to assure the successful conclusion. The Empire's ongoing efforts to gain land on its borders may well be reflected in the artistic depictions of battle scenes between Greeks and Amazons. The public art during Nerva and Trajan's reigns revisits characters and themes from previous dynasties. Unlike the Augustan, Julio-Claudian, or Flavian ideologies, the Trajanic artwork appears to concede that Roman hegemony does not come easily or without cost. The theme was well-received in private, plebian artwork as evidenced from the amount of extant pieces. Votives, jewelry, crockery, and sarcophagi portray similar scenes of mythological battles with eastern-garbed warrior women. Extant

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<sup>398</sup> *LIMC*, no. 121 is a basilica relief, in situ in Lepcis Magna, depicting Heracles hitting a eastern-garbed Amazon as she rides horseback.

<sup>399</sup> *LIMC*, no. 246c is a relief fragment of a shield on a statue, Theseus battles among fifteen other figures.

<sup>400</sup> *LIMC*, no. 246d is a relief fragment of plaques featuring Theseus and various other groups of joined adversaries fighting, inspired by Athena Parthenon's shield; and *LIMC*, no. 223a is relief plaque of Achilles holding Penthesilea's arm; she stands with bared breast clutching her half-moon shield.

private artwork includes a relief in Rome depicting Heracles, with a club, holding a kneeling Amazon, most likely Hippolyte, and taking her belt,<sup>401</sup> a relief on a silver locket, now in Athens, shows Heracles throwing an Amazon from her horse to the ground,<sup>402</sup> a sarcophagus fragment in Anatolia portrays Amazons of Asia Minor wearing overcoats over eastern clothing and galloping around its base,<sup>403</sup> a terra cotta lamp in Corinth depicts a nude warrior pulling an Amazon to the ground by her hair while the Amazon raises her arm in supplication,<sup>404</sup> a relief on a bowl that shows an Amazon galloping, and possibly hunting, with various animals including lions and snakes,<sup>405</sup> and another sarcophagus, where six Amazons, in pairs of two, are sitting back-to-back, holding half-moon shields.<sup>406</sup> Again, the women are represented as a wild and courageous group, galloping on horseback with various animals, or trussed up as dangerous captives in need of control. Through the use of these two types of Amazon iconography, ranging from the public monuments reminiscent of artwork in the Acropolis to the private artwork found in Roman homes, the diverse Roman citizenry could still focus on a group of others. That similar iconography was portrayed in public and private art argues for the positive reception and encouragement of this Roman identity through Greek archetypes.

Hadrian's predecessor, Trajan, had spent most of his sovereignty fighting barbarian incursions while attempting to increase territorial boundaries the Roman Empire. Hadrian, on the other hand, concentrated on building a commonwealth and a sense of identity and unity between all the groups within the Roman Empire. This purpose was manifested in Roman involvement with Greece. Like Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias, the emperor Hadrian was a philhellene. During the first ten years of his reign, the Spaniard Hadrian traveled across the entire Roman Empire. He visited Greece three times during his tours. The emperor encouraged respect, perhaps an exaggerated respect for the Greek past.<sup>407</sup> Hadrian actively

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<sup>401</sup> *LIMC*, no. 142.

<sup>402</sup> *LIMC*, no. 153.

<sup>403</sup> *LIMC*, no. 514.

<sup>404</sup> *LIMC*, no. 559.

<sup>405</sup> *LIMC*, no. 593.

<sup>406</sup> *LIMC*, no. 774.

<sup>407</sup> Arafat, *Pausanias' Greece*, 14.

contributed to the cultural and physical embellishment of Greece as “part of a fairly systematic imperial attempt to reinforce the structures of civic life in the Roman east.”<sup>408</sup> Hadrian was attempting, in his own way, to once again civilize (i.e. Hellenize and Romanize) the ‘barbarians’ like Boudicca and Cartimandua. He declared with his disregard for expansion that there was to be a limit to outward growth and a separation between the barbarian tribes and the Roman areas. As such, Britain did not have a stable and fortified Roman presence.<sup>409</sup> They preserved their language and their culture.<sup>410</sup> Instead, Hadrian maintained a defined line, physically represented by a heavily-fortified, 73.5 mile turf, stone, and timber wall in Northern England, between Roman territory and the world beyond; separating civilization and unmanageable barbarianism- in this case the British culture in which patriarchy was not inherent and women could and did hold supreme authority, and controlling who crossed the border and where.<sup>411</sup> His use of Classical Amazon imagery in his public art continued this theme.

Hadrian was particularly interested in the Classical Era of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. and promoted associations between old Greece and Rome. He renamed several cities in Greece and Asia Minor ‘Hadrianople.’ Hadrian encouraged the imperial cult and a close association with long-established religious hubs within Greece.<sup>412</sup> With substantial allusions to Alexander the Great and his beloved steed Bucephalus, Hadrian built a funerary monument to his favorite horse, Borysthenes.<sup>413</sup> The emperor enthusiastically endorsed the correlation between his Rome and Athens at its zenith and himself with the founder of Athens, Theseus.<sup>414</sup> The Greek and Roman sculpture, pottery, coins, mosaics and

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<sup>408</sup> P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London: Routledge, 1989), 108.

<sup>409</sup> In 142 CE, about twenty years after Hadrian’s Wall was begun, a stone and turf wall was built by the Romans under the Emperor Antoninus Pius across the center of Scotland. It was intended to expand the dominance of the Romans in British territory over 100 miles north of Hadrian’s Wall. Due to constant attacks from the local tribes, however, the wall was abandoned after twenty years around 162 CE.

<sup>410</sup> Markale, *Women of the Celts*, 27.

<sup>411</sup> Pollitt, *Art of Rome*, 166.

<sup>412</sup> Arafat, *Pausanias’ Greece*, 162.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>414</sup> Arafat, *Pausanias’ Greece*, 14. In my research, I found no sources that mentioned Hadrian affecting any alterations on the Theseum in an effort to reconstruct Athens.

architecture that survives into the modern day seems to show that the Roman people were very familiar with the myth of Theseus, his taming of the Amazon, Antiope, and the near destruction of the hostile, invading Amazons.<sup>415</sup> In the sixth century BCE, the iconography of this invasion legend almost completely replaced the myth of Hercules' and Theseus' rape of Amazons in Athens.<sup>416</sup> This association with ancient mythology would have gone a long way in promoting the legitimacy of Hadrian's rule in Greece and Asia Minor and the benefits of being within the scope of the Roman Empire.

The Amazons were a special subset of the barbarian iconography. Barbarians were illustrated in great detail in both literature and art. Barbarian customs and social practices appear in detailed descriptions in writing and show the Romans' interest in the differences between themselves and the barbarian people. However, the artwork portraying barbarians, especially the female barbarian is in a "sharply defined war-opposition," where the barbarian is always shown in the context of defeat and subjugation.<sup>417</sup> The Adoptive Emperors' female barbarian, i.e. Amazon, imagery reflects the idea of the dominated foe but includes two sub-topics. The first is that of the inverted social spheres of influence, one reminiscent of the Augustan era. The second topic in the Amazon iconography is entirely new and truly takes shape only in the reign of Hadrian. Amazons are used by artists in public art to make a connection between the glory of ancient Greece and the majesty of Imperial Rome, a connection the philhellene Hadrian would appreciate. Through a common history the Roman Empire would have a common destiny epitomized by the Greek and Roman shared history of conquering and taming the unknown, as embodied by the Amazons in early second century literature. In Corinth, as part of a relief from the Corinth Theater, is a scene from the Labors of Heracles. The hero raises a club in his hand while an Amazon falls to the ground on his

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<sup>415</sup> *LIMC*, nos. 230-1 the Amazonomachy on the Stoa Poikile; no. 232 is a vase from 450-30 BCE depicting Theseus attacking Antiope (both inscribed) along with many other Amazons; no. 234 is a vase dated to 450 BCE in which Theseus and Antiope are represented in Oriental garb; no. 236 is a krator also dated to about 450 BCE depicting Theseus, Antiope, and Phaleros; no. 245 is a metope showing Theseus returning to Athens with Antiope; and the shield of Athena Parthenos showing Theseus fighting various Amazons, including Antiope dated to about 447-38 BCE.

<sup>416</sup> Blok, *The Early Amazon*, 440-41.

<sup>417</sup> Ferris, *Enemies of Rome*, 180.

right.<sup>418</sup> Another relief in the same Theater depicts a scene in which bare-breasted Amazons and armor-clad warriors fight in single combat with swords, axes, lances and shields.<sup>419</sup> Further artwork found in public places include a votive relief now in Naples, again depicts the Twelve Labors with Heracles grabbing Omphale by her hair in the center picture,<sup>420</sup> and a statue of an Amazon wearing a chiton that reveals her breast, and leaning to her left, probably to favor a wound.<sup>421</sup> This imagery of battling soldiers and Amazons is similar in form to, and might have been inspired by the Athena Parthenon shield.<sup>422</sup> So again, images of Hercules and Theseus subduing Amazons, and Amazons dying from their wounds occur in public art, but the female barbarians, due to Hadrian's fascination with all things Greek, factor less in imperial depictions in the era. For Hadrian's imperial ideology, the Amazons were more relevant as a connection to the Greek past rather than an indication of the Roman present or future.

Like Hadrian, Antoninus Pius had little interest in expansionist or aggressive military policies. This is reflected in the lack of public architecture espousing the 'theology of victory' so common with earlier emperors.<sup>423</sup> Extant artwork, however, is not entirely cohesive during this time, but it does blend Greek mythology and Roman emperors' iconography. A coin issued in Alexandria does reveal one such domination theme. The obverse shows the bust of Antoninus Pius, the reverse illustrates the myth of Heracles and Hippolyte. The hero takes the Amazon's belt as she crouches next to her horse.<sup>424</sup> With that war belt, he takes her power to fight and to lead her people. The image plays on themes with intrinsic hegemonic value to the Empire. Within the bustling port city, that type of coin might have exchanged many hands and circulated widely. Minted in Alexandria, a center of trans-

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<sup>418</sup> *LIMC*, no. 116.

<sup>419</sup> *LIMC*, no. 491.

<sup>420</sup> *LIMC*, no. 140.

<sup>421</sup> *LIMC*, no. 708.

<sup>422</sup> *LIMC*, no. 246, the shield of Athena in the Parthenon sculpted by Phidias and dated to between 447 and 438 BCE.

<sup>423</sup> Ferris, *Enemies of Rome*, 83.

<sup>424</sup> *LIMC*, no. 157, coin from Alexandria, depicts a nude Heracles throwing Hippolyte to the ground and taking her belt. The obverse is a bust of Antoninus Pius.



Afroeurasian trade, the coin might have also been a not-so-subtle message of Antoninus Pius' hegemonic power over the majority of those traders' home ports. However, the image seems to be an aberration during the reign of Pius. Given the location of the coin, in the established, urban city of Alexandria, the coin could have, instead, evoked memories of Greek and Roman unity rather than the subjugation of unknown barbarians on the borders of the Empire.

### PRIVATE ARTWORK

Public artwork during the reign of Antoninus Pius rarely included barbarian skirmishes as a subject matter while private artwork depicting female barbarians abounds in this era. The bulk of these are relief on sarcophagi, part of private and personal imagery.<sup>425</sup> The sarcophagi reliefs depict generic Amazons fighting in groups, on horseback, wielding double-headed axes; or tied as prisoners with their weapons lying beside them.<sup>426</sup> Other sarcophagi illustrate the popular mythological themes of Heracles and Achilles subduing their female foes.<sup>427</sup> A few of the battles are pitched, but most show Amazons in defeated positions. What is interesting is that while Antoninus Pius' reign included no real wars or major skirmishes, a plethora of funerary monuments connote battle imagery. Even if he had never served as a soldier, a Roman who was wealthy enough to have commissioned the work might embody, if only ever in this one instance, the Emperor or the mythical hero who

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<sup>425</sup> Of the 17 pieces depicting Amazons firmly placed in the time of Antoninus Pius, 16 are sarcophagi or sarcophagi fragments.

<sup>426</sup> *LIMC*, nos. 500-3, nos. 510-12, and no. 773 are all sarcophagi which depict Amazons, wearing chitons with bared breasts, on foot or horseback fighting warriors (no. 500), Amazons in chitons with half-moon shields fighting warriors in groups of two or three (no. 501), Amazons fighting warriors in a mass scene along the sarcophagus sides (no. 502), or as on a Napels sarcophagus in groups of two, fighting amongst horses and equipped with bows and shields (no. 503). In Asia Minor and Anatolia sarcophagus fragments illustrate Amazons on horseback fighting Romans (no. 510), being chased by warriors (no. 511), or facing off against opposing cohorts (no. 512). Another sarcophagus lid depicts Amazons as bound prisoners sitting next to their weapons; the image is repeated on the body of the sarcophagus (no. 773).

<sup>427</sup> *LIMC*, no. 122, a sarcophagus in Anatolia, shows Heracles fighting Hippolyte in his ninth labor; *LIMC*, no. 123, a sarcophagus now in Rome, depicts Heracles fighting an Amazon and trapping her horse; *LIMC*, no. 126 is sarcophagus fragment in Athens which depicts five of Heracles' labors, including Heracles kneeling on the rump of an Amazon's horse; *LIMC*, no. 127, a sarcophagus relief also shows five of the labors including one where Heracles pulls an Amazon from her horse by her hair; *LIMC*, no. 193 is another sarcophagus fragment that includes soldiers on foot and Amazons on horses all surrounding Achilles and Penthesilea; and *LIMC*, no. 197 is a sarcophagus that shows Amazons and Greeks in battle while Achilles drags Penthesilea by her hair.

subdues and conquers untamed an Amazon.<sup>428</sup> In this allegory, the Roman citizen celebrates his personal achievements, industry, and determination, which could be depicted as heroic victories, over the capriciousness of fate by means of thoroughly civilized Roman morals and deeds.

It is also possible that there were few monumental depictions of Amazonomachies because the imperial ideology no longer needed to be espoused blatantly in public works; it was totally immersed in the Roman culture. In the case of Antoninus Pius' name, the term 'pious' denoted not only his status as an august leader, but also alluded to the description of Aeneas in Virgil's poem. The allusion to the piety of Rome's founder would not have been missed by any Roman. Such a name suggested to the Roman citizens that the Emperor was mindful of his duties to Rome without ever directly mentioning the foundation myth.<sup>429</sup> Allusions to the Amazons and what they represented were at once implicit and innovative in that some of the themes, like the image of Amazons as outsiders, were continuously popular; while other themes, like the Amazon connection between Greece and Rome, which were only recently being explored as a part of the Roman identity.

The private artwork depicting Amazons possibly reflects the internalization of Imperial ideology by the Roman populace and their societal compulsion to conform to a proscribed identity as a proto-nation with established laws and boundaries. The Empire during this time was relatively peaceful, the economy was good, and Rome was prosperous. The Romans' insistence on the durability of the Empire as a second Golden Age of Greece is manifest in the sustained use of imperial ideology and propaganda in the private sector.

Despite Marcus Aurelius' fervent interest in stoic philosophy, ethics, and other intellectual pursuits, war in the provinces and instability on the borders again characterized the relationship between the Romans and the barbarians in artistic representations during the nineteen years he was the Emperor of Rome. Though he found it necessary to fight the almost constant wars on the Empire's frontiers and barbarian contact zones, Marcus Aurelius' own writings reveal a man who abhorred battle but cared enough for the greatness

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<sup>428</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 336.

<sup>429</sup> Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art*, 209.

of Rome and her people to do what was needed.<sup>430</sup> Like the artwork in Antoninus Pius' sovereignty, the extant majority of Amazon images during Marcus Aurelius' time in power are privately-controlled pieces such as sarcophagi relief. It might have been in answer to the rapid increase in military activity that Romans begin to depict a new kind of battle scene on their sarcophagi; one imbued with a certain amount of humanity. The Amazons depicted are usually in groups on horseback and equipped with axes, swords, and shields. They fight armed warriors on foot. When being subdued, the women are either pulled by their hair or trampled underfoot. The faces of the Amazons are twisted by agony, if in direct combat with soldiers, or by grief when subdued.<sup>431</sup> Most of the male combatants are either mythical heroes or anonymous Greek soldiers. In rare instances, Greek soldiers are depicted as wounded or dying, though these casualties never outnumber the wounded and dying barbarians.<sup>432</sup> One sarcophagus piece, however, produced in the heart of the Aurelian rule disregards the Hellenized versions of Amazons and depicts their civilized opponents as Roman legions in the uniforms of cavalry rather than Greek warriors who were almost exclusively naked. This is the only extant representation of explicitly Roman soldiers fighting actual Amazons.<sup>433</sup> Perhaps this was the resting place of a Roman soldier or maybe it is the beginning of a new ownership of the traditional Greek myth.

The art in the Aurelian period is not subtle and seems to have echoed the feelings of the Emperor as if it were imperial dogma. The encounters between Amazons and their foes portray the brutality, rather than the glory, of war. The images represent the pain and suffering of the female barbarian, take a sympathetic view of the vanquished, and record their plight in relief. Marcus Aurelius felt torn between his need to defend the Empire as the leader

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<sup>430</sup> Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, trans. Gregory Hays (New York: Modern Library, 2002).

<sup>431</sup> *LIMC*, no. 133, a sarcophagus in Mantua (Lombardy), Italy, where Heracles is completing his ninth labor, stepping on a prone, bare-breasted Amazon, her ax nearby; *LIMC*, no. 194, sarcophagus, Amazons and Greeks battle. On the long side is depicted Amazons on foot or on horseback, on the two ends are illustrations of Achilles grabbing bare-breasted Penthesilea by the hair and stepping on her.

<sup>432</sup> *LIMC*, no. 515, a sarcophagus fragment in Istanbul, shows three figures: a Greek warrior, nude and wounded, an Amazon kneeling- possibly wounded, and another Amazon standing in front of a horse; *LIMC*, no. 520, a sarcophagus, depicts Amazons on horseback facing Greeks on foot or horseback. The ground around them is littered with the wounded and dying – mostly Amazons.

<sup>433</sup> *LIMC*, no. 509, sarcophagus fragment, Amazons on horseback fight soldiers in Roman cavalry uniforms. Of course, there a plethora of images- Trajan's column comes to mind- of Roman soldiers fighting non-Roman peoples.

of Rome and the personal, possibly philosophical, concern he had for the inhumanity of war and the dangers of conquering new land.<sup>434</sup> The message internalized by the general populace and made popular in funerary art is that an emphasis on the psychological and emotional reactions to warfare coupled with an increasing uneasiness about the power of Rome and the Emperor in a time of constant conflict on the borders, plague, and economic crisis.

### CONCLUSION

The Amazons in the literature of Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias and in the public and private artwork during the era of the Adoptive Emperors are significant because they reflect some of the sentiments and reservations of Roman culture in the second century. The security and affluence in the Roman Empire of the Adoptive Emperors permitted a great revival in Greek culture. This resurgence, in turn, encouraged the absorption of Greek men of culture and Greek cultural mythology into the social conditions of the Empire. To glorify Greece, however, was not to degenerate Rome. While the Roman Emperors encouraged antiquarianism as fashionable, it was predominantly because the values within the popular cult reflected those of the Emperors and highest social classes; conservatism, Hellenism, enjoyment of wealth and prosperity, and consideration of barbarians in changing ideas of identity and relationship.<sup>435</sup> Though the literature of the next two centuries before the fall of the Roman Empire would wax and wane, the artwork would continue to evince the Amazon myth's hold on the Roman psyche.

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<sup>434</sup> Marcus Aurelius, *The Thoughts of the Emperor*, trans. George Long (London: George Bell & Sons, 1910) 2.1, 3.4, 10.10.

<sup>435</sup> C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 129.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

This thesis sought to explore the use and development of the Amazon myth by Romans in the Empire. I wanted to look at the texts and artwork that incorporated the Amazons in order to see if the reportage could work as a medium for information that the creator wished to convey. I also wanted to delve into the cultural development of the myth over the span of two centuries.

Chapter 1 introduced the myth of the Amazon and attempted to address to what extent Amazon mythology had been generated and used by the Greek city-states in order to substantiate their hegemony both within their society and abroad. By examining some of the more prevalent Amazon legends, I was able to discuss, to some degree, the themes inherent in the Greeks' representations of Amazons and what those themes said about the society in which they were created. In Chapter 1 I also documented the historiography of Amazon mythology in Greek society in which ancient historians, classicists, and archaeologists have asserted their own hypotheses about why the Amazons were such a popular myth in Greek society. It is in Chapter 1 that I also promote the question of why the Romans might have adopted the Greeks' use of Amazon mythology and advance the theory that the Romans used the Amazons in much the same way as their predecessors—to legitimate their own increasing hold on the known world.

In the next several chapters I explored the use of the Amazon myth by writers and artists on a case-by-case basis. It was also my intention to understand the value of the Amazon myth to those of influence in the Roman Empire. I argued that each period and dynasty was inspired by current events and themes that were highlighted through the Amazon myths in literature and artwork. By dissecting images of Amazons in Roman literature and art, I sought to find the significance of the images in the social, political, and cultural context of Imperial Rome.

My purpose in Chapter 2 was to explore how the Amazon myth was first used in the Roman Empire by authors and artists when there was a paucity of faith in Rome's

cohesiveness and sustainability. The Amazon mythology as used by Virgil, Strabo, and various artists, builds on the theme of an ideological unity and ethical endeavor created for the benefit of the whole of the Roman Empire. On one hand, the Amazons, specifically the Italian Camilla, became part of the Roman foundation *mythos* and, in that way, assisted in the rebuilding of the Roman identity. On the other hand, the Amazon is presented, I affirm, as the extreme other that either humbles men or challenges them to their highest glory. Virgil's Camilla is set up as a foil for the men she fights. If she is brave, they are cowards. If she is proud and vain, they are cunning and single-minded. Strabo geographically juxtaposes his Amazons as the wild alternative to civilized Roman societies. There is no doubt, I affirm, that the underpinnings of these Amazon legends and visual art are Greek in origin. The Amazons in art played the same unifying function as they did in literature with Amazonomachies prevalent in public and private artwork. Correspondingly, reliefs, sculptures, frescoes, and vases emphasized the victorious defeat of Amazon foes by classical Greek heroes. The Romans of the early Empire could be united, through the messages of literature and art, against a commonly-held *outside* enemy.

In Chapter 3 I affirm that the Amazons are used as a tool of nature and in juxtaposition to the culture Rome. Subtle flexibilities became a necessary part of the reportage, however, due to the expanding territory of the Roman Empire during the Post-Augustan, Julio-Claudian age. The authors and artists I examine in Chapter 3 all address the existence of ferocious barbarian women because Imperial expansion necessitated Romans coming in contact with foreign customs and tribes led by barbarian women. Authors and artists during this time reflected back on the culture of non-Romans—its literature, history, architecture, and religion—and promoted a blending and acceptance and negotiation of hybrid culture. Pliny and Quintus Curtius Rufus addressed imperialistic impulses in the Roman Empire through historical and mythological encounters with liminal societies—particularly that of the Amazons. In looking at the incidents Pliny and Curtius choose to relate, I conclude that their literary encounters with violent, lustful, fantastic, and decidedly foreign women like Boudicca were intended to serve as allegorical guides for possible encounters with non-Romans. Extant artwork from the era also reflects a blending of culture and religious influences exacerbated, I argue, by tribal rebellions against the Romans in the outposts of Britain. The artists, as I pointed out, relied heavily on portraying extremely

popular Greek myths, such as the Amazons' presence at Troy and Heracles theft of Hippolyte's war girdle. Roman artists used Greek mythology to develop ideas about the blending of cultures in the Roman colonies.

The Romans' use of Amazon mythology continued to blend Greek legends and history with Roman exploration. Chapter 4 discussed how Greek-born Roman citizens promoted respect for the Greek past through, amongst other things, encounters with Amazons. I sought to look at why authors in this era; Plutarch, Arrian, and Pausanias, were interested in the historical and mythical relationships between the Greeks and the Romans. I assert that these authors focus on encounters with Amazons as indicators of larger issues—for either good or ill—that were important to the Greeks and the Romans as hegemonic societies. I also suggested that that the dominance of Rome at this time is a significant factor in why there is much less extant artwork depicting battles with Amazons and the 'theology of victory' prevalent in earlier Greek and Roman society. The Imperial ideology no longer needed to be blatantly promoted because it has become an intrinsic part of the Roman psyche. Romans, in funerary artwork, I explained, used the Amazon imagery to laud their personal achievements rather than to highlight military courage. Other artwork I discussed emphasizes the brutality of war rather than the glorious subjugation of barbarian foes. The significant change during this latter half of the first, and beginning of the second century CE is that, unlike the earlier ideologies of the Julio-Claudian or Flavian empires, is that war and the quest for power and dominion is portrayed as costly to both sides.

Like their Greek counterparts, Romans used the Amazon mythology during the initial stages of the Roman Empire to better define what it meant to be Roman and live in Roman society. Roman literature and art, I affirm, transitioned from being concerned with creating a glorious past to instill faith in an uncertain future, to one focused on hegemony and blending cultures, and finally the compatibility of Greek and Roman hegemonies in dealing with non-Roman cultures. This idea of Roman identity necessarily changed over time to reflect contemporary trends and conflicts. As such, the Romans' use of Amazons in literature and artwork reveal significant factors in the psyche of Roman identity in the early Roman Empire.

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**APPENDIX**  
**LEXIKON ICONIGRAPHICUM MYTHOLOGIAE**  
**CLASSICAE**



Table 1. Lexikon Iconigraphicum Mythologiae Classicae

LIMC Number	Date	Location	Description	Medium	Motifs
705*	(27) - 14	Smyrna	Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding ax and shield in one hand, Nike stands. In back, the bow of a ship (Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta)	Coins	crown, chiton, double-headed ax, half-moon shield, god, ship
112	211		Labors, Heracles	Mosaic	
113	(27) - 14	Volubilis, Maison a abside (in situ)	Labors, Heracles grabbing the hair of an Amazon fleeing on horseback	Mosaic	grabbing hair, fleeing right, horseback
114	(27) - 14	Piazza Armerina (in situ)	Labors, Heracles, Amazon fleeing on horseback	Mosaic	horseback, fleeing
116	(27) - 14	Corinth Theater, Greece	Labors, Heracles raising a club in his hand, Amazon falling to the ground to the right	Relief	
LIMC #	(27) - 14	Place	General Theme	Medium	Special Motifs
117	(27) - 14	Rome	Labors Heracles, opposite Amazon	Relief on pillar	
118	0 - 199	Ostie	Labors (six shown), Heracles trampling Amazon, grabbing her hair and horse	Relief on tomb	grabbing hair, stepping on A
124	0 - 25	Rome	Labors, Heracles fighting Hippolyte	Sarcophagus	
125	0 - 25	Salonique	Amazons with swords attacking Heracles, he is grabbing an Amazon's arm and wielding his club	Sarcophagus, frgt	grabbing arm, sword
129	0 - 25	Florence	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying dead, Heracles taking her belt	Sarcophagus	Hypolyte's belt
130	0 - 25		Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying dead, Heracles taking her belt	Sarcophagus	Hypolyte's belt

(table continues)

**Table 1. Continued**

131	0 - 25		Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying dead, Heracles taking her belt	Sarcophagus	Hyppolyte's belt
134	0 - 50	Villa Borghese, Rome	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying on her back, Heracles stepping on her	Sarcophagus	
135	0 - 50	Villa Albani, Rome	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying on her back, Heracles steps on her	Sarcophagus	
136	0 - 50	Rome	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying on her back, Heracles stepping on her	Sarcophagus	
138	0 - 50		Labors, Heracles fighting Amazon	Sarcophagus	
139	0 - 99	Rome	Labors (three shown), Heracles fighting Amazons on all sides of alter	Relief, Alter of Heracles	
141	0 - 99		Heracles threatening Amazon with lance, Hermes standing in background	Relief, votive	
142	0 - 99	Rome	Heracles holding club, Amazon kneeling, Heracles taking her belt	Relief	kneeling, Hippolyte's belt
143	0 - 99		Labors (seven shown), Heracles grabbing the Amazon from her horse by her hair	Relief, votive	grabbing hair, horseback
144	0 - 99	Rome	(Five scenes of battle) Heracles grabs an Amazon's horse and pulls at her hair. An Amazon carries a wounded companion. Amazon on horseback between two Greeks. A Greek next to an Amazon. A Greek pulls the hair of an Amazon on horseback (copy of Greek)	Relief, plaster disk	grabbing hair, horseback
145	0 - 99		Amazon moving right after a bolting horse, Heracles on left	Relief, plaster disk, frgt	
146	0 - 99		Heracles naked, standing upright with club in hand, two dead Amazons, in Phrygien dress, at his feet	Relief, glass gem	Phrygien clothes
148	0 - 99		Heracles attacking Amazon with a club, Amazon thrown from horse	Relief, bowl in terra cotta	horseback

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

149	0 - 99	Tunis	Heracles and Amazon	Relief, lamp in terra cotta	
151	0 - 99		Heracles, bearded and naked, holding a club, unhorses an Amazon. Hyppolyte gallops to the right	Relief, plaque in terra cotta	Fleeing, horseback, bared breast
152	0 - 99	Naples	Labors, Heracles, holding a club, pulls the hair of an Amazon galloping towards the right	Relief, silver cup	Fleeing, horseback, grabbing hair, bared breast
153	0 - 99	Athens, Greece	Labors, Heracles grabs a horse, taking the Amazon rider to the ground	Relief, silver locket	horseback
154	0 - 99		Labor, Heracles and Amazon	Relief, bronze vase	
158	0 - 99		Heracles nude, with beard, waving his club with his right hand and throwing Hippolyte from her horse with his left. (o) Gordien III	Coins	
164	0 - 99	Thrace	Heracles, nude, stepping on a prone Hippolyte.	Coins	stepping on A
166	0 - 99	Rome	Amazon on horseback, Heracles grabbing her helmet	Statuary, bronze	horseback, grabbing hair
190	0 - 99		Achilles, mounted, carrying wounded Penthesilea, combat between Greeks and Amazons	Mosaic	ax, shield
191	0 - 99		Achilles removes (sou-tient?) Penthesilea from her horse.	Mosaic	horseback
192	0 - 99		Amazonomachy, five groups battle, Amazons draw bows, they are dressed as Roman soldiers. One Amazon tries to get quickly to Achilles as he pulls the hair of kneeling Penthesilea	Painting	Roman dress, kneeling, grabbing hair
193	0 - 99		Solders on foot, Amazons on horses. Central group is Achilles and Penthesilea.	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

196	0 - 99		Amazons and Greeks battle, Achilles dragging Penthesilea	Sarcophagus, frgt	
197	0 - 99		Amazons and Greeks battle, Achilles dragging Penthesilea	Sarcophagus	
199	0 - 99	Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome	Amazons and Greeks battle, Amazons on foot and horseback. A Greek throws an Amazon to the ground by her hair. Achilles, on horseback, kills Penthesilea with his sword.	Sarcophagus	chiton, belts/girdle, grabbing hair, horseback
200	020 - 21	Villa Borghese, Rome	Battle on foot and horseback, Achilles supports a faltering Penthesilea	Sarcophagus	horseback
202	025 - 26		Amazons and Greeks battle, Amazons on foot and horseback. In center, a warrior holds a wounded Amazon. To the left, a Greek grabs the hair of an Amazon on horseback	Sarcophagus	horseback, chiton, bared breast, shields, double-headed ax, grabbing hair
203	025 - 75		Amazons and Greeks battle in groups of two or three. Amazons on foot and horseback. To the left a nude warrior supports a faltering Amazon	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast, shields, double-headed as, swords
204	033 - 66		Amazons and Greeks battle, Amazons on foot and horseback. In center, a warrior holds an Amazon	Sarcophagus	
207	040 - 45		Amazons and Greeks battle, Achilles supporting Penthesilea	Sarcophagus, frgt	
208	050 - 51	Villa Borghese, Rome	Amazons and Greeks battle, Achilles supporting Penthesilea	Sarcophagus	
209	050 - 99		Amazons and Greeks battle, Amazons on foot and horseback. Greek supporting an Amazon with a bow	Sarcophagus	horseback, round shield, helmets, bow

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

211	050 - 99		Battle between Greeks and Amazons. A small Eros is present	Sarcophagus, frgt	shield, chiton, god
212	050 - 99		Battle between Greeks and Amazons. A small Eros is present	Sarcophagus, stele	god
213	050 - 99	Rome	Scenes from the Aetheopis (seven), Achilles supporting Penthesilea	<i>iliaques</i> (?) table	
214	054 - 68		Scenes from the Aetheopis (five), Achilles, with small shield, ready to attack	<i>iliaques</i> (?) table	
216	069 - 79		Achilles supporting Penthesilea	Gem	
217	075 - 99		Achilles supporting Penthesilea upright, fighting behind them	Gem, glass	himation, Phrygian hat
218	075 - 99	Sardinia	Achilles supporting the wounded Penthesilea	Gem	
220	075 - 99		Achilles supporting the faltering Penthesilea	Gem	
221	081 - 96		Young man (Achilles?) holds a dead Amazon	Gem	
223	081 - 96		Achilles holds Penthesilea's arm and looks behind at the battle	Relief, plaque	
224	081 - 96		Bust of Penthesilea, nude	Relief, plaque, frgt	
225	081 - 96		Episodes from the life of Achilles, Achilles lifts the fallen Penthesilea from the ground	Relief	
226	096 - 98	Carthage	Achilles supporting the wounded Penthesilea	Relief, terra cotta jug	
227	098 - 117	Naples	Achilles, Warrior holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. (o) Trajan, (Inscription) Ach Penthes	Coins	
228	100 - 125	Naples	Achilles, Warrior holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. (o) Trajan, (Inscription) Ach Penthes	Coins	
229	100 - 199	Naples	Achilles, Warrior holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. (o) Trajan, (Inscription) Ach Penthes	Coins	

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

249	100 - 199	Ephesus	Dionysus triumphs over Indians. Pan turns left, three Amazons stand upright in front of the god, a fourth Amazon falls to her knees	Relief, marble	chiton, bare breast, shield, kneeling, god
483	100 - 199	Pompeii	Amazon on horseback looks right, a Roman soldier attacks from behind. An Amazon in eastern clothing is attacked and wounded. Possibly Bellerophon and Amazon	Painting, mural	shield, horseback, eastern clothing
484	100 - 199	Roman Gaul (?)	Amazons on foot or horseback, fighting with enemies	Painting, mural	chiton, hymation, shields, half-moon ax
486	100 - 199	Pompeii	Young man grabbing Amazon by hair while she attacks with sword. Another Amazon on horseback is on the right, a young nude warrior on the left holds a sword	Painting, mural	horseback, grabbing hair
487	100 - 199	Pompeiii	Amazon with ax attacks young warrior. An wounded Amazon holds a shield against two warriors, one on foot, the other on horseback	Painting, mural	double-headed ax, shield
491	100 - 199	Corinth Theater, Greece	Many groups to two opponents. Amazons on foot or on horseback. Warriors dressed in armor. (Possibly inspired by the Athena Parthenon shield)	Relief, architecture	horseback, chiton, breastplate, bare breast, shield, double-headed ax, sword, lance
492	100 - 199	Epirus (in situ)	Amazons and warriors fight in several small groups. Warriors dressed in armor	Relief, architecture	chiton with belt, pants, Phrygien hat, lance, shield, double-headed ax
493	100 - 199	Athens, Greece	Amazon and warrior fight	Relief, architecture, frgt	chiton with belt

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

494	100 - 199	Athens, Greece	Amazon on the ground at the foot of a rock. Another Amazon and a warrior hold their respective wounds. (Possibly from same relief as #493)	Relief, friese, frgt	horseback, helmet, chiton, bared breast, shield
495	100 - 199	Aphrodisias	Amazons and warriors fight in groups of two or three. Amazons on foot or horseback. Warriors dressed in armor.	Relief, friese, frgt	
496	100 - 199		Two Amazons, one on horseback, face a warrior	Relief, marble	horseback
497	100 - 199		Amazon, upright, stands in front of horse with bridal in left hand and ax in right hand. In other relief, the Amazon fights a naked warrior	Relief, architecture, façade frgt	double-headed ax, horseback
498	100 - 199		Two Amazons in back, three warriors gallop towards the right. Two Amazons stand upright.	Relief, architecture, stele in marble, frgt	chiton, hat
499	100 - 199	Bucarest	Two groups of two opponents. Roman foot soldiers fight Amazons carrying axes on horseback. In each group an Amazon lays with her weapons at her side. Another Amazon remains with another soldier	Relief, friese, marble frgt, possibly funerary	horseback, double-headed axes
500	100 - 199		Amazon on foot or horseback fight warriors	Sarcophagus	chiton, bared breast, shield, horseback
501	100 - 199		Amazons and warriors fighting in groups of two or three. Amazons stand in front of horses. Warriors grabbing Amazons' hair.	Sarcophagus	chiton, half-moon shield, double-headed ax, grabbing hair
502	100 - 299		Long side shows Amazons fighting with warriors, either on foot or horseback.	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

503	100 - 299	Naples	Two groups of Amazons and warriors fighting in groups of two. The two Amazons are in front of horses. Another Amazon has a bow. The fight encircles the sarcophagus	Sarcophagus, frgt	shield, chiton, bared breast, bow
504	100 - 299		Amazons on horseback fight warriors	Sarcophagus	horseback, chiton, double-headed ax
505	100 - 299		Amazons, on foot or horseback, fighting warriors	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast, shield, sword
506	117 - 138	Corinth	Amazons galloping to the right with shields and axes	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, shield, double-headed ax
507	117 - 138	Villa Albani, Rome	Amazons galloping to the right, looking back with hand raised to hit the opposing army	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast
508	117 - 138		Amazons, on foot or horseback, fighting warriors	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, helmet, chiton
509	125 - 175		Amazons, on horseback, fighting Roman soldiers	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback
510	138 - 161	Asia Minor	Amazons, on horseback, fighting Roman soldiers	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, shield
511	138 - 161	Anatolia	Amazon galloping towards the right, the arm of her attacker is shown behind her	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback
512	140 - 150		Amazons on horseback looking to the left, warriors facing them	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback
513	140 - 150		Amazon looking to the right, hand on breast	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton
514	150 - 151	Anatolia	Amazons galloping, looing to the left. Around the sarcophagus are Amazons of Asia Minor	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, floating overcoat, eastern clothes

(table continues)



Table 1. Continued

515	150 - 151	Instanbul	Greek, nude and wounded, Amazon kneeling and another Amazon standing in front of an horse	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, kneeling, helmet, bared breast
516	150 - 155		Amazon on a horse attacking a hoplite kneeling on another horse. One Amazon wounded. Soldiers in armor	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast
517	150 - 155		Two Amazons gallop towards the left, another lays on the ground, dead. Amazons are being chased by two warriors in armor. Another Amazon faces a warrior on the left of that group	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, horseback, bared breast, double-headed ax
518	155 - 160	Sparta	Warrior, naked, pulls Amazon to her knees by her hair. To the right is a second Amazon	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, bared breast, shield, sword, kneeling, grabbing hair
519	155 - 160		Amazon pulled by her hair by the hand of a warrior. Other Amazons heads and arms are shown (five fragments)	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, bared breast, shield, grabbing hair
520	160 - 161		Amazons on horseback facing Greeks on foot or horseback. The ground is littered with the wounded and dying	Sarcophagus	chiton, bared breast, horseback, sword, shield, helmet
521	160 - 161		Amazon on horseback, looking left, is attacked from behind by a soldier, nude. Behind him is another Amazon on horseback, looking right, being pursued by a hoplite on foot. Another Amazon carries a wounded companion. Other Amazons arrive. Another Amazon is wounded and a dead warrior lies over a horse (two fragments)	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, sword, horseback, shield, helmet, bared breast

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

522	160 - 161			In the center of the long panel, a warrior holds kneeling Amazon by the hair. Many groups of Amazons and warriors fight. One Amazon carries wounded and dying companions on her horse. In one corner, a warrior with a lance in hand, steps on a dead Amazon	Sarcophagus, frgt	grabbing hair, chiton, bared breast, stepping on A
525	160 - 161			Amazons face hoplites on foot and on horseback, Amazon blows horn, bodies of dead and wounded on the ground (three fragments)	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast, trumpet
526	160 - 170	Corfu		Amazon faces warrior, various groups of opponents (two fragments)	Sarcophagus, frgt	
527	160 - 190	Venice		Amazons and warriors fighting on foot and horseback. Warrior pulling Amazon to her knees by her hair. Bodies lay on the ground	Sarcophagus	horseback, bared breast, grabbing hair, kneeling, shield, double-headed ax
528	160 - 190			Amazon looking to the right, on horseback	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton
529	165 - 170			Amazons on horseback facing warriors	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback
531	165 - 180			Amazons face warriors	Sarcophagus, frgt	chiton, bared breast
532	170 - 171	Venice		Amazon on horseback looking right, while her hair is being pulled by a warrior. Next to her another warrior and Amazon on horseback look right	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, pulling hair
533	170 - 171	Sparta		Amazon on horseback looking right	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback
534	170 - 171			Amazonomachy; in center, warrior, nude, pulling Amazon to her knees by her hair. Another Amazon on horseback faces a Greek	Sarcophagus	horseback, kneeling, pulling hair, chiton, bared breast

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

535	170 - 171		Amazonomacy	Sarcophagus, frgt		horseback, pulling hair, chiton, bared breast, phrygien hat
536	170 - 171		Warrior, pulling Amazon's hair. Another Amazon faces an opponent, nude. Another warrior at the foot of Amazon on horseback	Sarcophagus, frgt		
537	170 - 171	Jerusalem	Groups of Amazons and warriors meet, one Amazon kneeling, warriors nude with helmets and lances	Sarcophagus		kneeling
538	170 - 180	Vienna	Amazons on horseback, warriors on foot or horseback	Sarcophagus, frgt		horseback
539	170 - 190		On long side: Amazons and warriors on foot or horseback, many wounded or dead on ground	Sarcophagus		horseback, bared breast, chiton, Phrygien hat
541	175 - 176	Sparta	A nude warrior and an Amazon, upright	Sarcophagus, frgt		chiton, bared breast
542	175 - 180		Partial head and raised arm (possibly of Theseus) attacking an opponent to the right. Behind is the head of a horse, another fragment shows an Amazonomachy	Sarcophagus, frgt		
543	175 - 199	Tunis	Amazons and warriors battling	Sarcophagus		
545	175 - 199		Amazon on horseback, warrior pulling her hair (Inscription) Theodoron	Relief, gem		horseback, grabbing hair
546	175 - 199		Warrior, naked, pulling Amazon, naked, from her horse by her hair	Relief, gem		horseback, grabbing hair, bared breast/nude

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

547	175 - 199		Warrior, naked, with sword fighting Amazon, stretched out on ground	Relief, gem, glass	
550	175 - 199		Amazon turning on her horse and attacking another horseman	Plaque	horseback
553	175 - 225		Greek attacking kneeling Amazon	Plaque	kneeling
554	175 - 225		Amazon, upright, raising hand, attacking a warrior stretched out in front of his shield	Lamp, terra cotta	
555	180 - 181		Amazonomachy	Lamp, terra cotta, frgt	
556	180 - 181		Amazon and warrior	Lamp, terra cotta	
557	180 - 181		Warrior striking with a sword and trapping an Amazon by her hair	Lamp, terra cotta	grabbing hair
559	180 - 181	Corinth	Warrior, nude, pulling Amazon by hair to the ground. Amazon, one hand on breast, the other hand on the wrist of her opponent	Lamp, terra cotta	grabbing hair, supplication
560	185 - 186	Naples	Amazon, on foot, faces warrior (Achilles?)	Medallion, silver	ax, Phrygien hat, tunic
562	185 - 195	Samos	Warrior, upright, pulling hair of kneeling Amazon, preparing to hit her with a sword (Achilles and Penthesilea?), (o) Gallien and Valerien	Coins	grabbing hair, kneeling
563	190 - 190	Samos	Warrior, upright, pulling hair of kneeling Amazon, preparing to hit her with a sword (Achilles and Penthesilea?), (o) Gallien and Valerien	Coins	grabbing hair, kneeling
570	190 - 191		Two griffons facing two Amazons, each griffon attacking Amazon, Amazon falling to knees	Plaque	

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

571	190 - 191	Naples	Three griffons facing three Amazons	Relief, terra cotta jug	
592	190 - 200	Pompeii	Amazon galloping	Mosaic	horseback, chiton, ax, shield
593	190 - 200		Amazon galloping with various animals, lion, snake; hunting them?)	Relief, bowl	horseback
594	190 - 200		Amazon galloping to left, waving ax	Gem, cameo	horseback, chiton, double- headed ax
595	190 - 210	Naples	Amazon galloping, waving lance	Statue, bronze	horseback, lance
597	190 - 210		Amazon galloping	Statue, bronze	horseback
598	190 - 210		Amazon, wounded, falling from horse	Gem, glass	horseback
600	190 - 210		Amazon falling to the ground, stretched out, holding ax in one hand, reins in other	Lamp, terra cotta	horseback, ax
601	193 - 211		Wounded Amazon on horseback (Inscription) Attale	Lamp, terra cotta	horseback
604	193 - 211		Amazon, Villa Doria Pamphili type. Copy of original by Phradmon	Statue, marble	
606	193 - 211		Amazon dressing in a breastplate and Phrygian hat	Gem, cameo	chiton, Phrygien hat
607	193 - 211		Amazon, supporting an ax, holding a shield	Gem, cameo	double-headed ax, shield
703*	193 - 217	Smyrna	Amazon, sitting, wearing crown, holding ax in one hand, a statue (Nemesis?) in other. Shield leaning against chair (Septimius Severus)	Coins	crown, chiton, bared breast, double-headed ax, half-moon shield, statue

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

704*	193-211	Smyrna	Amazon, sitting, wearing crown, holding ax in one hand, a temple in other. Shield leaning against chair (Septimus Severus)	Coins	crown, chiton, bared breast, double-headed ax, shield, temple
795*	193-211	Smyrna	Amazon giving her hand to a warrior (Ares?), Nike behind them, wearing crown (Septimus Severus)	Coins	god, crown, chiton, double-headed ax
625	193-211		Two medallions, at the center is a bust of an Amazon, wearing a Phrygien hat	Mosaic	Phrygien hat
626	195 - 196		Amazon heads with helmets (corners of cover)	Sarcophagus	helmet
628	195 - 196		Head of Amazon with chignon, right profile	Gem	
630	200 - 201		Bust of Amazon, right profile	Gem	
631	200 - 201	Florence	Head of Amazon, right profile	Gem	
632	200 - 225	Syracuse	Head of Amazon, Phrygien hat	Gem	Phrygien hat
633	200 - 225		Head of Amazon, Phrygien hat	Gem	Phrygien hat
634	200 - 250		Head of Amazon, Phrygien hat	Gem	Phrygien hat
635	200 - 250	Argos	Bust of Amazon with ax	Lamp, terra cotta, frgt	double-headed ax
636	200 - 299	Argos	Bust of Amazon, ax in right hand	Lamp, terra cotta, frgt	double-headed ax

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

641	200 - 299		Bust of Amazon, Phydias	Statue, bronze	
642	200 - 299		Bust of Amazon, Phrygien hat	Chariot, bronze	Phrygien hat
681	200 - 299		Amazon, dressed in somber tunic, holding an unknown object	Painting, mural	
683	200 - 299	Pompeii	Two figured dressed as Amazons	Painting, mural	
684	200 - 299		Amazon, upright in front of horse, holding reins in hand, ax in right hand	Mosaic	Phrygien hat, chiton, bared breast, double- headed ax
686	200 - 299	Chypre, Paphos	Amazon in front of horse, holding reins in one hand, ax in other	Sculpture	double-headed ax
688	200 - 299		Amazon, upright, behind horse, holding an ax	Gem, glass	double-headed ax
689	200 - 299		Amazon, upright, behind horse, holding an ax	Gem, glass	double-headed ax
692	200 - 299		Amazon, upright, holding a lance and sword	Gem	lance, sword
693	200 - 299		Amazon, leaning backwards, bending knees, letting fly an arrow	Gem, glass	kneeling, bow
694	200 - 299		Amazon, marching, looking right, holding an ax and shield	Lamp, terra cotta	double-headed ax, shield
695	200 - 299		Amazon holding an object above an alter	Lamp, terra cotta	chiton
707	200 - 299	Rome	Amazon (Capitoline), laying down, holding an ax and lance in hand	Statue, marble	ax, lance
727	200 - 299		Amazon letting horse away, shield and ax on field	Mosaic, pavement	chiton, bared breast, ax, shield

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

735	200 - 299		Amazon, facing forward, head turned, looking right, supporting the shoulders of her companion kneeling in front of her. Shield on the right	Relief, plaque	bared breast, shield, kneeling
737	200 - 299		Amazon supporting the shoulders of a wounded companion, behind them, a horse turns to the right	Gem	bared breast
771	200 - 299	Pompeii	Two pairs of Amazon, upright	Painting, mural	chiton, Phrygien hat, shield, ax
775	200 - 299		Amazons, lifting arms (all corners of cover)	Sarcophagus, marble	bared breast, chiton
786	200 - 299	Constantine (?)	Priam welcoming Amazon, treating her as a queen	Mosaic, pavement	
788	200 - 299		Amazon lays stretched out below a sitting warrior (Achilles?)	Sarcophagus, marble	
789	209 - 211		Two Amazons (Penthesilea?) welcomed by Priam, accompanied by two women (Hecabe, Cassandra?)	Table, relief	
790	210 - 211		Amazons arriving at Troy	Table, relief	
791	210 - 211		Amazon, upright, (Penthesilea?) beside horse, helping Paris and Helen, sitting on left side beside a throne	Gem	Phrygien hat
819	210 - 215		Bust of Amazon wearing Phrygien hat topped with the head of a griffon	Statue, bronze	Phrygien hat
111*	210 - 220		Labors, Heracles slaying Amazon on horseback	Mosaic	Double-headed ax, horseback, bared breast
115*	210 - 250	Delphi Theater, Greece	Labors, Heracles hitting Amazon with a club, Amazon kneeling in front of H.	Relief	kneeling
119*	210 - 250		Labors, Heracles, tenth labor, Amazon trying to move her horse away from Heracles	Relief	horseback, fleeing right, chiton

(table continues)



Table 1. Continued

120*	211 - 217	Hadrian's Temple, Ephesos	Heracles, and possibly Theseus, standing with club and lion cloak, in front of him, four Amazons running away	Relief on temple frieze	fleeing, falling to ground, bared breast
796*	211 - 217		Amazon, upright, giving her hand to goddess (Cybele) who takes it (Caracala)	Coins	chiton, himation, crown, shield, lance
802*	211-217		Amazon, upright, giving her hand to goddess (Cybele) who takes it (Caracala)	Coins	chiton, himation, crown, shield, lance
121*	211-217	Severe a Lepcis Magna (in situ)	Labors, Heracles hitting Amazon with a club as she gallops to the right.	Relief on basilica	Phrygian hat, tunic unwinding, bared breast, half-moon shield
122*	217 - 218	Antalya	Labors, Heracles fighting Hippolyte	Sarcophagus	
123*	217 - 218	Villa Borghese, Rome	Heracles fighting Amazon, trapping her horse	Sarcophagus	grabbing hair, kneeling
126*	218 - 222	Athens, Greece	Labors (five shown), Heracles kneeling on the rump of the Amazon's horse	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, half-moon shield, sword
127*	220 - 230		Labors (five shown), Heracles grabbing the Amazon from her horse by her hair	Sarcophagus	grabbing hair, horseback
128*	225 - 226	Velletri	Labors, Heracles, Hippolyte laying dead in the center, Heracles taking her belt	Sarcophagus	Hyppolyte's belt
132*	225 - 226	Florence	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying dead, Heracles taking her belt	Sarcophagus	Hyppolyte's belt
133*	225 - 250	Ducal Palace, Mantoue	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying on her back, Heracles stepping on her	Sarcophagus	bared breast, double-headed ax

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

137*	225 - 275	Rome	Labors, Heracles, Amazon laying on her back, Heracles stepping on her	Sarcophagus	double-headed ax, Hippolyte's belt
140*	225 - 275	Naples	Labors, Heracles and Omphale in center, Twelve labors, Heacles grabbing Amazon by hair	Relief, votive	grabbing hair, bared breast, horseback
147*	230 - 231		Heracles attacking Amazon with a club, Amazon flees on horseback	Relief, gem	Fleeing, horseback
150*	230 - 240		Heracles attacking Amazon with a club, Amazon falls but protects herself with her shield	Relief, lamp	shield
155*	230 - 250		Battle between Greeks and Amazons with Heracles holding club	Relief, silver bowl	chiton, bared breast, double-headed ax, half-moon shield
156*	238 - 244		Labors (six shown), Heracles upright, grabbing the hair of Hippolyte as she kneels in front of him	Relief, bell	grabbing hair, kneeling
157*	238 - 244	Alexandria (?)	Heracles nude, throwing Hippolyte to the ground and taking her belt. Hippolyte crouches next to her horse. (o) Antoninus Pious	Coins	kneeling, Hippolyte's belt
159*	238 - 244	Point Heracles (?)	Heracles nude, waving his club, grabs Hippolyte's hair and kneels on the back of her horse. (o) Septimius Severus	Coins	grabbing hair, shield, bared breast
160*	238<	Thrace	Hippolyte, kneeling in front of her horse, pleads with Heracles, who is waving his club. (o) Geta	Coins	kneeling, chiton, pleading
161*	240 - 241	Point Heracles (?)	Amazon galloping towards the right, Heracles, nude, hitting her. (o) Macrin (?)	Coins	horseback
161a*	240 - 241		Heracles nude, grabbing Amazon by her hair and throwing her to the ground, horse in background. (o) Gordien III	Coins	grabbing hair
161b*	245 - 250	Tomis	Heracles nude, throwing Amazon to the ground. (under Elagabius and Gordien III)	Coins	

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

162*	250 - 251	Perinthos	Heracles nude, grabbing Amazon by her hair and throwing her from her horse, who runs to the right. (o) Elagabius	Coins	grabbing hair, horseback, fleeing right, half-moon shield, chiton
163*	250 - 251		Heracles, nude, stepping on a prone Hippolyte. (inscription) Invincible Heracles	Coins	stepping on A
165*	250<	Hadrianopolis	Labors, Heracles in front of kneeling Amazon. Other labors around the center picture. (o) Gordien III	Coins, medallion	kneeling
167*	253 - 268		Heracles, grabbing Amazon by hair, pulling her off her horse	Statuary, bronze	horseback, grabbing hair, chiton
190a	253 - 268		Achilles carrying Penthesilea, combat between Greeks and Amazons, other scenes inspired by the Aetheopis	Mosaic	
194*	256 - 256		Amazons and Greeks battle. (long side) Amazons, on foot and horseback. (short side) Achilles grabbing Penthesilea by the hair, stepping on her.	Sarcophagus	horseback, grabbing hair, chiton, bared breast, shield, stepping on A, double-headed ax
195*	266 - 266		Achilles, naked, dragging Penthesilea. Another Amazon weeps.	Sarcophagus	bared breast, double-headed ax, Phrygian hat
198*	266 - 266		Amazons and Greeks battle, Amazons on foot and horseback. Achilles supports Penthesilea as she falls	Sarcophagus	horseback, chiton, bared breast
201*	275 - 299		Battle on foot and horseback, Achilles supports a faltering Penthesilea, to the right several Amazons crouch on the ground	Sarcophagus	horseback, chiton, bared breast

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

205*	280 - 300	Algeria	Amazons and Greeks battle. Greeks on foot, Amazons on horseback. On long side, a Greek supports a fallen Amazon, several Amazons are crouched on the ground	Sarcophagus	horseback, chiton, bared breast
206*	284 - 305	Rospigliosi Palace, Rome	On long side, Amazons and Greeks battle, Achilles holding dead Penthesilea	Sarcophagus	horseback, chiton, bared breast
210*	284 - 305		Achilles holds the dying Penthesilea's right hand and removes his heroic honors from his clothing	Sarcophagus, frgt	
215*	300 - 301		Scenes from the Aetheopis, (five), Achilles, with weapons, bends over Penthesilea	<i>iliagues</i> (?) table	
219*	300 - 301		Achilles, sword in hand, supports Penthesilea as she collapses	Gem	kneeling, chiton, Phrygian hat
222*	300 - 301		Achilles supporting the dead Penthesilea	Relief, bronze	chiton, bared breast, shield, double-headed ax
223a	300 - 301		Achilles holds Penthesilea's arm and looks behind at the battle	Relief, plaque	bared breast, half-moon shield
246b	300 - 324	Conservateurs Palace, Rome	Theseus, Five warriors battle three Amazons	Relief, frgt of shield, marble	chiton
246c	300 - 399		Theseus, Fifteen figures battle	Relief, frgt of shield on statue, marble	chiton
246d*	300 - 399		Theseus, Various groups of two adversaries fighting. Inspired by Athena Parthenon's shield	Relief, frgt of plaques, marble	chiton, grabbing hair, shield, half-moon shield, bared breast

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

246d*	300 - 399		Theseus, Various groups of two adversaries fighting. Inspired by Athena Parthenon's shield	Relief, frgt of plaques, marble	chiton, grabbing hair, shield, half-moon shield, bared breast
246e*	300 - 399	Athens, Greece	Theseus, Greeks fighting Amazons	Relief, shield of statue, marble	chiton, shield
246f*	300 - 399		Theseus, Greeks fighting Amazons	Relief, frgt of shield, marble	chiton, bared breast, lance, shield, half-moon shield
246g	325 - 375	Athens, Greece	Four fighters preserved. An Amazon on the ground with her shield. A Greek holding an Amazon by her hair	Relief, frgt of shield, terra cotta	shield, grabbing hair
248*	400 - 499	Aphrodisias	Dionysus, nude. Amazon on horseback. Pan looking at another Amazon galloping	Relief, flagstone, marble	half-moon shield, chiton, horseback, gorgon shield, god
485*	400 - 499	Pompeii	Young man grabbing Amazon on horseback by hair. Possibly scene from Troy	Painting, mural	horseback, chiton, grabbing hair
696*	450 - 499		Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding a ball in one hand, a trident in the other (Nero?)	Coins	chiton, crown
697*	54-68	Smyrna	Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding an ax in one hand, a lance in the other (Domitian)	Coins	chiton, crown, lance, double-headed ax, bared breast
701*	81-96		Amazon, looking right, holding an ax and shield (Domitian)	Coins	chiton, bared breast, double-headed ax, shield

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

799*	81-96		Amazon sits with ax (Myrina), other Amazon (Kyme), upright, offering hand to her. Represents treaty between cities of Myrina and Kyme (Domitian)	Coins	double-headed ax
800*	81-96	Ephesus	Two Amazons face each other, upright, offering hands. Represents treaty between cities of Ephesus and Smyrna (Domitian)	Coins	double-headed ax, chiton, crown
488*	81-96		Greeks and Amazons fighting. Amazon on horseback waving an ax. Shields and axes on the ground. (Border of mosaic depicting Amazons in battle in Algeria)	Mosaic, architecture	horseback, shield, double-headed ax, bared breast
490*	Date		Heros fighting Amazons on foot and on horseback. At right, a wounded Amazon turning around to look for her horse; behind her is another Amazon	Relief, architecture	horseback, chiton, bared breast, double-headed ax
523*	Empire	Conservateurs Palace, Rome	Amazons and warriors fight on foot and horseback. Warrior, naked, attacks Amazon on horseback. Another warrior pulls Amazon to her knees by her hair	Sarcophagus	grabbing hair, chiton, bared breast, horseback, double-headed ax, shield, kneeling
524*	Empire	Beirut	Amazon, at the foot of a horse, faces a warrior. (Around the bottom of all four sides)	Sarcophagus	horseback, bared breast, grabbing hair
530*	Empire	Ephesus	Amazon faces warriors, on foot or horseback. Dead and wounded on the ground	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

540*	Empire		Amazons on foot or horseback fighting warriors, nude, with helmets and breastplates, many laying on ground, all four sides	Sarcophagus, frgt	horseback, chiton, bared breast, Phrygian hat, grabbing hair
544*	Empire		Amazon and warrior fighting, Amazon on knees	Relief, gem	chiton, kneeling
548*	Empire		Amazon on horseback, with lance, attacks a warrior, upright, nude, with sword and shield	Relief, gem	horseback, chiton, lance
549*	Empire		Warrior, with shield, pulling Amazon, from her horse by her hair	Relief, cameo	horseback, chiton, pulling hair, bared breast
551*	Empire		Two groups fighting, Amazon kneeling with a shield and lance in front of a Greek, another Greek is pulling another Amazon by the hair, she is falling	Plaque	half-moon shield, lance, bared breast, kneeling, pulling hair
552*	Empire		Greek pulling Amazon by the hair, stepping on her, another Amazon kneeling	Plaque	half-moon shield, lance, bared breast, kneeling, pulling hair, stepping on A
558*	Empire		Warrior striking with a sword and trapping an Amazon by her hair	Lamp, terra cotta	grabbing hair, kneeling
558a*	Empire		Warrior, nude, knife in hand, holding Amazon by her arm. Amazon on the ground, knees bending, raising arms in supplication	Lamp, terra cotta	grabbing hair, kneeling, supplication
561*	Empire		Amazon, horseback, faces warrior, on foot	Amphora, silver	horseback, chiton, helmet, double-headed ax, shield
564*	Empire		Amazon falling to her knees, no opponants	Bronze	chiton, helmet, bared breast

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

572*	Empire	Tunis	Four Amazons hunting, lion and tiger menacing horses	Mosaic, frgt	Double-headed ax, horseback, bared breast
573*	Empire	Syria	Two Amazons attacking a lion and panther, one Amazon wears a tiara (queen?)	Mosaic	horseback, crown, shield, chiton
574*	Empire	Antioch	Three Amazons on horseback, one holding a yellow parasol over her companion who is attacking a fawn with a lance	Mosaic	horseback, lance
596*	Empire		Amazon galloping, one hand on the bridal of horse, the other raised	Statue, bronze	horseback, chiton, Phrygien hat
599*	Empire		Horse goes down, Amazon falling off back, holding reins in one hand	Lamp, terra cotta	horseback, chiton, breast bared
599a	Empire		Horse goes down, Amazon falling, holding shield and ax	Lamp, terra cotta	horseback, shield, double-headed ax
602*	Empire		Amazon disrobing, himation behind her on the ground. Appears to be holding a lance in one hand, other hand to her breast. Copy of original by Phidias (Soscicles)	Statue	Lance, bared breast
603*	Empire		Amazon wearing a chiton, hand on a small pillar, other hand on head. Copy of original by Polyclitus (Sciarra)	Statue	chiton, bared breast
605*	Empire		Amazon holding a bow in her right hand, the other is over her head, holding a lance. Copy of original by Mattei (Capitoline)	Statue	chiton, lance, bared breast, bow, half-moon shield
605a*	Empire		Body of Amazon, down to hips, left hand at side, right hand up, alongside head	Statue	chiton, bared breast

(table continues)



Table 1. Continued

	Empire	Amazon bust, left profile	Gem, glass	
627*	Empire	Amazon bust, left profile	Gem, glass	double-headed ax
629*	Empire	Head of Amazon, right profile, ax in field	Gem	
629a	Greco-Roman	Bust of Amazon, nude, turning right	Gem	bared breast
637*	late-Empire	Bust of Amazon, ax in right hand	Coins	double-headed ax, bared breast
638*	pre-Empire	Bust of Amazon, crown on head, ax	Coins	double-headed ax, bared breast, crown
639*	Roman	Bust of Amazon, crown on head, ax	Coins	double-headed ax, bared breast, crown
640*	Roman	Bust of Amazon, crown on head, ax	Coins	double-headed ax, bared breast, crown
682*	Roman	Amazon, advancing toward the right, holding a lance and shield	Painting, mural	lance, half-moon shield
685*	Roman	Amazon, head three-quarters turned, looking behind her to the right, holding ax	Mosaic, frgt	Phrygien hat, chiton, double-headed ax
687*	Roman	Amazon marching right, holding an ax and lance (Sword of Tiberius)	Sword sheath, bronze	double-headed ax, lance, chiton, Phrygien hat
690*	Roman	Amazon, kneeling, with shield and ax	Gem	double-headed ax, half-moon shield, kneeling
691*	Roman	Amazon, kneeling, with shield and ax	Gem	double-headed ax, half-moon shield, kneeling

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

698*	Roman		Amazon, upright, holding an ax in one hand, a cup/trophy in the other	Coins	chiton, bared breast, double-headed ax, cup
699*			Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding an ax, shield, and himation in one hand, a bowl in the other	Coins	chiton, himation, double-headed ax, half-moon shield, cup
700*		Smyrna	Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding an ax and shield in one hand, and cup in other	Coins	chiton, crown, double-headed ax, shield, cup
702*			Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding an ax and shield in one hand, and anchor in other	Coins	crown, chiton, himation, double-headed ax, shield, anchor
706*			Amazon, upright, facing forward, wearing crown, holding a cup in one hand, a lance, ax, and shield in the other. In the background are a bow and quiver, and a sphinx (Macrin)	Coins	crown, chiton, bared breast, cup, lance, double-headed ax, half-moon shield, bow, sphinx
708*			Amazon, upright, leaning to left	Statue, marble	chiton, bared breast
734*			Amazon, facing forward, head turned, looking right, supporting the shoulders of her companion kneeling in front of her. Shield on the right	Relief, plaque	bared breast, shield, kneeling
735a			Amazon, facing forward, head turned, looking right, supporting the shoulders of her companion kneeling in front of her. Shield on the right	Relief, plaque	bared breast, shield, kneeling

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

736*			Amazon, wounded, falling to the left, supported by another Amazon, holding her shoulders. Axes and shields lay on the ground	Lamp, terra cotta	bared breast, double-headed ax, half-moon shield
738*			Amazon supporting the shoulders of a wounded companion, behind them, a horse turns to the right	Gem	bared breast
772*			Amazons, upright, holding a trophy above head (all corners of cover)	Sarcophagus, marble	chiton, bared breast, trophy
773*			Amazons as prisoners, sitting on ground, the arms tied behind back, shields, axes, and lances lay beside them (cover is repeated on body of sarcophagus)	Sarcophagus, marble	double-headed ax, half-moon shield, lance, chiton
774*			Six Amazons in pairs of two, back-to-back, arms touching, holding onto shields (cover of sarcophagus)	Sarcophagus, marble	bared breast, chiton, half-moon shield
776*	Rome		Bust of Commodus, representing Heracles. Below the bust, a shield supported by an Amazon	Bust	bared breast, chiton, half-moon shield
783*			Amazon, upright, holding a cup, an ax, and a shield, facing Heracles, upright, nude, holding a club in one hand, a statue of Cybele in the other	Coins	bared breast, chiton, half-moon shield, double-headed ax, cup, statue
787*	Palermo		Priam in front of the gates of Troy, welcoming arriving Amazons, on foot or horseback (long side)	Sarcophagus, marble	bared breast, chiton, double-headed ax, half-moon shield, horseback

(table continues)

Table 1. Continued

793*	Constantine (?)	Amazons bringing offerings to an altar (Artemis?), holding axes, giving fruit and game	Mosaic	bared breast, double-headed ax, altar, shield, temple
794*	Ephesus	Amazon, kneeling, statue of Artemis Ephesus on side, a man standing upright at right	Coins	kneeling, god, chiton, crown
798*	Naples	Women and Amazons, upright, representing the villages of Asia Minor (Inscription) Kibyra, Kyme, Myrina, Ephesus, Apollonidea, and Hierocaesarea (four sides of base of statue of Tiberius)	Statue, Relief	chiton, bared breast
801*		Amazon, upright, wearing crown, holding a shield and phiale(?), behind her Victory crowns her	Coins	chiton, crown, shield