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The Polyvalence of Pallas in the *Aeneid*

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Pallas quas condidit arces / ipsa colat
Let Pallas herself attend to the citadels she builds

Eclogue 2.61-62

Of all the deities portrayed in the *Aeneid*, Pallas (Minerva, Tritonia) is the least discussed. [1] There is reason for this, of course, given that she appears as a character only once (in 2.615-16, as Aeneas is shown the gods orches-trating the fall of Troy), and even that is mediated through Venus:

> iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
> insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva. [2]
>
> Look there, now, Tritonian Pallas rests firm on the lofty citadel, harsh and resplendent with her stormcloud and Gorgon.

Her presence, however, is felt, strongly, and in ways that would suggest that she remains an important figure in the poem. [3] This is not to argue that her **[End Page 149]** very absence ensures her importance--such arguments do not usually hold up under scrutiny. But in the case of Pallas, the ways in which Vergil evokes the deity suggest that her role in the text remains important despite her elusiveness.

I wish to address two questions here: why does Vergil seemingly ignore or withhold a character prominent in the Homeric poems, and why Pallas? This last question is only complicated by the fact that the role granted Pallas in the literary tradition inherited by Vergil is hardly one of absence or silence. On the contrary, she, more than any goddess, would seem to be a character who deals in the direct rather than the covert. She may be coy, as indeed she is with Odysseus, but she is, most often, tangibly, palpably present. It will be my contention that this fact is relevant in the *Aeneid* as she appears, coyly, finally, at the end.

Moreover, she is exceedingly important in both the contemporary Augustan mythology and its Trojan and Etruscan antecedents. While serv-ing essentially the same function as the Greek Athena, she does take on certain attributes in Roman culture that are new. Some of these are due to the apparent existence of an early Etruscan deity, Menerva, who was associ-ated with more domestic issues than the Greek Athena, though Servius, citing the *Etrusci libri*, claims that Menerva is among the goddesses who can throw the thunderbolt. [4] A *iusta urbs* ("lawful city"), again according to Servius, will have three temples dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, a sentiment that is also voiced by Vitruvius. [5] This trio of deities, according to Varro (*L.L.* 5.32.158), constituted the Capitoline triad starting around 580 B.C.E. and, as a member of the Capitoline triad, Minerva is at least as important as Jupiter and Juno [6] (arguably she is more important as she becomes assimilated to the figure of Roma). [7] However, it is Jupiter and Juno who guide the action of the *Aeneid* while Minerva virtually never appears. This becomes even more unsettling when we take into account the **[End Page 150]** fact that, in her association with the Palladium, Pallas was the *dea poliade* ("divine guardian of the city") of Rome. [8]

Finally, Pallas is associated with, if not assimilated to, the Magna Mater and, as such, looms large in Au-gustan mythologies. [9]

The ways in which she *does* figure in the *Aeneid* have been sur-veyed in two studies, by Elisabeth Henry and Michelle P. Wilhelm, and these supply many important details and observations. [10] Henry, in particular, provides a good catalogue of the scenes in which Minerva is used. They are, without exception, critical moments in the text: she seems to preside over the Laocoon scene (2.199-227); she choreographs the fall of Troy (2.615-16); denies the Trojan women (1.479-81) and, later, the Latin women (11.477-85) their appeals; appears via her temple and four white horses on the first headland of Italy (3.530-40); and sides with Augustus on the shield (8.699). [11]

Pallas' role throughout is perhaps best illustrated by two scenes in which she figures largely even though she does not appear: the Judgment of Paris, mentioned at 1.27, and the conversation between Venus and Juno about Dido in 4.90-128. Two of the three goddesses from the Judgment of Paris, Juno and Venus, guide the action of the *Aeneid* while the third, Pallas Athena, is significantly downplayed. Yet her absence has textual power: both of the goddesses from the Judgment who are present, Juno and Venus, liken themselves to her when they first appear: Juno in her opening speech, Venus, through a much-studied intertextual allusion. When Venus appears to Aeneas in Carthage, in a scene calqued on *Odyssey* 19, she is implicitly **[End Page 151]** likened to Athena, Aeneas to Odysseus. [12] It is, in short, in likeness to Athena that both Juno and Venus first appear.

The second scene, from Book 4, is not only drawn from but is dependent on the one in the *Argonautica* in which Medea's fate is decided. However, there the discussion involves not two goddesses but three, as Athena also appears. Again, in Vergil's adaptation of this scene, Pallas, while absent, remains allusively present. [13]

Further examples of her absent power exist in a series of allusions to her that begin in the ekphrasis of Book 1. Here she is shown in conjunction with an appeal by Trojan women that she denies. [14] As Richard Thomas has pointed out, her appearance is highlighted by the fact that the reflexivity of her scene in the ekphrasis--the scene within the temple shows her standing within a temple--suggests that hers is in some ways the critical scene (Thomas 1983). This feeling, at first, seems false as Dido welcomes the Trojans directly afterwards, but then proves true as the image of Pallas is evoked again in Book 6 when Aeneas, appealing to the shade of Dido, is rejected with a direct quotation from Book 1: *solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat* ("turned away, she was holding her eyes fixed to the ground," 1.482, 6.469), thus linking Dido to the rejecting goddess. In the end, the temple scene was indeed proleptic of Aeneas' fate. Again, Pallas' silence was powerful.

Throughout the work, Pallas is constantly appealed to and, just as consistently, she denies such appeals--by looking askance and by remaining not only hidden but silent, both unspoken and unspeaking. She, nonetheless, affects the action. It is perhaps fair to suggest that what guides the text is not just Juno's wrath but Pallas' silence; Aeneas needs as much to placate the one as the other. As Elisabeth Henry (1989.107) says: "[w]hether or not she appears in the last four books as an external agent, it is her will that is being fulfilled through the acts of Aeneas." O'Hara has shown in what ways we cannot trust the overt statements of the text; meanwhile Conte has demonstrated how strong the covert forces in the text are (O'Hara 1990, Conte 1986). The text's direct focus on Juno's wrath may be a foil to a real, if perhaps secondary, force guiding the text: the appeasement of the absent Pallas. **[End Page 152]**

Pallas' connection with Juno in the plot of the *Aeneid* is perhaps best indicated by the first direct mention of her in Juno's opening speech, where it provides the motivation for action in the poem (1.37-41):

> mene incepto desistere victam
> nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem!
> quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
> Argivum atque ipsos potuit summergere ponto
> unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?
>
> Am I, conquered, to put off these undertakings, unable to turn aside the Trojan king from

> Italy? Indeed, I am for-bidden by the fates. Yet Pallas, she was able to burn the Argive ships and submerge the crew in the sea all on account of the damage and rage of one Ajax, son of Oileus?

This story is an odd one, not the least bit canonized and known only through scant references, most of which are iconographic. [15] Yet the story establishes a dynamic that, I would argue, does indeed recur in various forms throughout the epic, most strikingly at the end.

In this opening monologue (and the lines that precede it), Juno identifies with Pallas in their mutual defeat at the Judgment of Paris, even as she envies Pallas' avenging powers. For Juno, Pallas seems to represent pure, unappeased vengeance. Yet for the audience, Pallas (Minerva), cer-tainly as represented later on the shield, for example, serves as a possible model for the reconciliation of hostile deities (8.698-700):

> omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
> contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
> tela tenent.
>
> All sorts of monster gods and even the barker Anubis wield weapons against Neptune and Venus and also against Minerva. **[End Page 153]**

On the shield, Pallas stands next to Augustus as the representative of the Capitoline triad. While the plot of the text suggests a need for her appease-ment, the audience of the poem contemporary with these events on the shield would have been aware that she had been placated. The question is: when did it happen?

Pallas' appearance on the shield may be more significant than has previously been acknowledged since it seems to be linked, however im-plicitly, with the Palatine. Not only is Pallas represented on the shield, she is present in scenes that precede its creation: in the simile of Vulcan engaging in Minervan tasks (8.409-13) and in the fact that workers in Vulcan's workshop put down the creation of Pallas' shield to create Aeneas' own (8.435-38). Her presence seems almost synonymous with that of the shield. But the shield is associated, in turn, with the Palatine: Alexander McKay has argued persuasively that the shield can be read as a triumphal procession ending on the Palatine, an interpretation that would cause all of Book 8 to take on a unity previously unseen (McKay 1998). As Evander shows Aeneas around the Palatine in the first half of the book, the shield echoes this procession in the last half. Taken together, the scenes suggest the centrality of the Palatine, then and now (as it were), to the power of Rome.

But Pallas figures in both halves as well. Not only is she on the shield but, shortly before the walk on the Palatine, the river Tiber explains that (8.51-54):

> Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
> qui regem Evandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
> delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
> Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum
>
> On these shores Arcadians, a race derived from Pallas, who are comrades with king Evander and follow his standard, selected a location and built a town in the hills, Pallanteum, from the name of their ancestor, Pallas. [16]

The genitive and ablative cases make it clear that this is not the goddess being referred to here, but the discussion raises an interesting point. While **[End Page 154]** the etymology of the word "Palatine" is undetermined (Varro *L.L*. 5.53 offers five different sources for the name; Nicholas Horsfall 1990.467 cites this as a prime example of confusion in Vergil), in the *Aeneid*, it is associated with Evander's lineage and, by extension, with his son. But, strikingly, we find that in the first half of the poem the name Pallas refers only to Minerva; in the last half, with one exception, it refers only to Evander's son. The glissage is important as it suggests a shift in register from Trojan to Italian. On the literal, linguistic level "Pallas" never disappears: she is transformed from an Olympian force to an Italian one. Furthermore, according to Pausanias, Minerva was born in Arcadia [17] yet became the patron goddess of cities; [18] she is thus clearly related to both Arcadian Evander and the *dea poliade* aspect of Athena even as she supports the dual agenda of Augustan (in particular Palatinian) Rome: she is pastoral and urban, just

like Book 8 as a whole.

Traces of a connection between Pallas Athena and the Palatine may be found, at least in part, in the (fairly murky) story of the Palladium, the ancient, sacred image of Pallas that was reputed to have been given to Dardanus by Zeus as protection for the city of Troy; as long as the image was safe, Troy would be too. Diomedes and Odysseus, according to Greek legend, stole the Palladium to ensure the fall of Troy. Somehow it is said to have ended up in Rome, where it is reputed to have saved the city from the attack of the Gauls in 390 B.C.E. [19] Because of the lack of clarity on this issue, several competing stories arose about the transport of the Palladium. As Austin summarizes it, according to one source there were two Palladia in Troy, one of which was stolen and brought to Rome. Another legend has it that Aeneas carried the true image and the other was fake (interestingly, Vergil does not mention this). Yet another version states that Diomedes returned the Palladium to the Trojans, either in Lavinium or elsewhere (Austin 1964.83-85).

However the Palladium got to Rome (and Vergil, strikingly, says nothing about it), the bare bones of the story remained undisputed: the image was considered the source of security for Troy and also for the new **[End Page 155]** Troy, Rome. What is of particular interest here is Vergil's addition to the legend, admittedly learned only from the lying Sinon in Book 2: the theft by Ulysses and Diomedes, according to Sinon, led to the displeasure of Athena that the Trojan horse was said to ameliorate. Her character as a goddess in need of appeasement is thus attested within the text, as is the suggestion that, by Vergil's and Augustus' time at least, she has been appeased and has become a pro-Trojan/pro-Roman force as shown on the shield.

Mary Joann McDaniel has recently argued persuasively that the poem's audience would have been very aware of this appeasement as Augustus had built a temple to house the Palladium in his house on the Palatine. [20] Dedicated on 28 April 12 B.C.E. (seven weeks after Augustus became *pontifex maximus*), the temple would have served to replace the Vestal temple in the Forum and would have housed all of the objects sacred to the Vestals. McDaniel emphasizes the political use Augustus makes of his alignment with the Vestals; for our purposes, it is telling that the Palla-dium itself (the one object, McDaniel points out, that bears the title *signum imperii*) would have earned pride of place. [21] Clearly the temple housing such an object would have honored Pallas as well, causing her association with the Palatine to be foregrounded in a contemporary Roman's mind.

There is another element as well. We know from Dionysius of Halicarnassus that Aeneas was to "have brought [gods] from Troy and installed them at Rome." But Lycophron's version, in the prophecy of Cassandra, is that Aeneas, "having built a temple to Athena . . . will there install the images of the gods of his country." [22] We know there was a cult of Minerva in Lavinium; the archeological finds there seem to support Lycophron's version and suggest the importance of Minerva (Castagnoli 1972).

Is Augustus, through his attention to the Palladium, doing Aeneas one better? That is, if it was Aeneas' task to bring Troy to Italy, there installing his gods and appeasing Minerva, is it Augustus' self-appointed task to bring Italy (or Lavinium) to Rome (and the Palatine)? And is it Vergil's wish to show, through his poem, how those two things can happen simultaneously?

This seems a plausible suggestion. While the end of the poem literally transpires in Lavinium, several elements suggest that we are meant **[End Page 156]** to think of the Palatine as well. Nicholas Horsfall (1993) has suggested the importance of the Palatine library to Vergil; I have argued elsewhere that the statues of the Danaids and their father that occupied the porticus of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine were meant to be evoked by the reference to Pallas' buckle at the poem's end, thus further situating the scene, at least conceptually, on the Palatine (Spence 1991). Alexander McKay's new interpretation of the shield in Book 8 could be extended to suggest that the final scene of the epic is proleptic of the vision portrayed on the shield. [23]

But most importantly, Pallas--allusively, finally--appears and, in so doing, recalls her association with the Palatine. At the end, stabbing Turnus, Aeneas avenges a wrong done to him and his protégé in a way that is strategically similar to the opening speech of the poem when Pallas avenges the wrong done *her* protégée by impaling Ajax. There is a pretty if fearful symmetry here: the poem begins and ends with a similar scene of wreaking vengeance. [24] Moreover, the avenging of Ajax Oiliades by Pallas is one of very few iconographic types in which the goddess herself is represented as the Palladium; the

symmetry would suggest a parallel between Aeneas and Pallas. [25]

Such an echo cannot help but affect the interpretation of Aeneas' last speech (12.948-49):

> Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.
>
> Pallas sacrifices you with this wound, Pallas exacts payment from guilty blood.

With these final words, Aeneas sinks his sword into Turnus to end the *Aeneid*. It has always been assumed, given the provenance of the *balteus*, that it is only Evander's son, Pallas, who is being evoked. Although he is **[End Page 157]** clearly the primary referent, the fact that the opening and closing speeches of the epic mirror each other and include references to a "Pallas" raises the possibility that Pallas Minerva cannot be excluded. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the word "Pallas" occurs here twice in the potentially ambiguous nominative and, perhaps more strikingly, the second "a" in each case is long--by nature in the case of Evander's son, by position for Pallas Athena. [26]

There is certainly generic precedent for such an appearance. Pallas' Greek counterpart Athena appears abruptly and decisively at the end of two texts critical to Vergil's own literary imagination: the *Odyssey* and the *Oresteia*. [27] While Vergil's indebtedness to the *Odyssey* is evident from the first line of the poem, it is usually only to the *Iliad* that readers turn for the source of these final lines. [28] However, if this reference is to Athena as well, there would be further reason for seeing the *Odyssey* as returning at the end. Moreover, in the *Odyssey*, Athena engages in a conciliatory conversation with Zeus that can be seen as a source for the final conversation between Juno and Jupiter in the *Aeneid*. [29] That the *Oresteia* influenced the *Aeneid* is not accepted universally, even though many readers have noted similarities between the transformation of the Erinyes into the Eumenides and the apparent appeasement of Juno's fury in the compromise struck with Jupiter. [30] In both the *Odyssey* and the *Oresteia,* Athena's role is, arguably, similar; in both she appears to stop the ongoing cycles of vengeance. My suggestion here is that this is precisely her function at the end of the *Aeneid*. [31]

Moreover, Jupiter sends a *Dira* to Juturna as an omen of Turnus' fate; the creature flies to earth in the shape of an owl-like bird (*quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis/ nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras*, "which sits sometimes on tombs or deserted roof-tops **[End Page 158]** and sings ill-omened things late at night in the shadows," 12.863-64), thus suggesting not Juno's presence but Pallas'. The *Dira* evidently repre-sents Jupiter's furious side that has remained hidden up to this point. While the argument made in the *Eumenides* is usually invoked to explain that Athena is the masculine face of woman, [32] in the *Aeneid,* she is shown instead to represent Jupiter's feminine aspect, appearing as a wrathful *Dira* in the wake of the compromise with Juno. As Jupiter's literal power beside the throne unleashed at the end, Pallas Athena's and her veiled appearances throughout the *Aeneid* suggest a much larger force, comparable to that of Athena at the end of the *Oresteia*. [33]

The prolonged absence and final appearance, through a pun, of Pallas Athena at the end of the poem and, above all, the parallel roles played by Athena in the *Odyssey* and the *Oresteia* suggest that she is more a symbol of inclusion than divisiveness; through this we may be being en-couraged by the text to read the ending in a more conciliatory light. [34]

At the end of the poem, the role of Pallas surfaces as crucial, as Aeneas, spotting the *balteus*, re-enacts the scene on it as he becomes, briefly, a Danaid, killing the bridegroom Turnus. His feminine side (Pallas) wells up out of him even as Jupiter's arose from beside his throne. [35] Far from being a non-ending, the wrong ending, or even a tragic ending, I would argue that the ending is perfect, even potentially positive, because it encapsulates and demonstrates precisely what the poem has been trying to show all along: those things that seem so opposed, so incompatible, are completely intertwined. Perhaps one reason why the ending has caused such controversy is that it, too, breaks the expected generic rules of nar-rative. As Laura Mulvey points out, relying on the work of Terence Turner, the middle section of a narrative is usually perceived as "erupting into **[End Page 159]** action with disorder, so the end must integrate disorder back into stability. The rule of law closes in the space for transgression and disruption" (Mulvey 1989.170). But the end of the *Aeneid* refuses to do this, establishing no lasting stability. Instead it offers "ending without closure [in which] the state of liminality is

politically significant [as it] insist[s] on the possi-bility of change without closure" (Mulvey 1989.175). I would argue that not only does the end achieve this "state of liminality," but that Pallas, in her polyvalence and political significance, embodies it. In this final act, Aeneas both gives up his right to be the first Roman, by defying his father's precepts, and shows himself to be as Roman as Augustus, by aligning himself with the Danaids. He is *pius* in his concern for his pledge to Pallas' father--to watch over and protect the boy--and he is the embodiment of *furor* as he finally lashes out and expresses his pent-up anger. The killing of Turnus, in this way, both acknowledges and destroys the past as it asserts that *furor* has a necessary place in the system of *pietas*--it is not foreign to it--and therefore Aeneas embodies Pallas, not Juno. The very violation of expectation grants a certain freedom; by embodying Pallas he acknowledges just this freedom. Through the death of Turnus, *pietas* is not rejected but, rather, redefined. [36]

Augustus' Rome needs to have a founding deity, akin to Athens' Athena, but it must be one that invokes power from three sources: Italian, Trojan, and Olympian. It must somehow share the power of the earth and heavens. It must partake not only of heaven, but also draw strength from the Italian land. Pallas--and Pallas alone--can do this. Because of her role in mythical Athens, in the literary *Oresteia*; because of her name and her assimilated Etruscan face, and because of her importance in Lavinium, she can bring to the Palatine and hence to Augustus the *auctoritas* he needs.

Minerva as Pallas is represented throughout the poem. Her Protean appearance adds to her elusiveness even as it suggests the very way in which she can be captured. While the *Aeneid* begins as a poem about transgression and opposition between forces, it ends, however tentatively, as a poem about transformation and reconciliation. At the end of the poem, **[End Page 160]** Turnus is sacrificed to Pallas and his groan places his spirit arguably beneath the earth where he and Camilla will enrich the soil of Rome as the Augustan Eumenides. It is not just Juno who is appeased at the end but Pallas as well, and it's not just Troy that has come to Italy, but Lavinium that has moved to the Palatine. The remote goddess, awaited throughout the text, becomes her more familiar self at the end as, in her appeasement, she approaches and helps to end the text. [37]

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Notes

1. As Henry 1989.91 has argued, "Virgil unites the attributes of the Italian craft-patroness with Pallas the guardian of cities; he also introduces a chthonic element that seems startling in association with the wise goddess whom Homer usually calls Athena. These various attributes are not consistently attached to particular names or epithets. Craft-goddess and war-goddess may both be called Minerva, and the war-goddess also Pallas, so that the deity who destroys is clearly also the power that tends and guides." I am indebted to this study for its many insights about the role allotted Pallas throughout the text.

2. The text of the *Aeneid* is that edited by R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969 (rpt. 1980). All translations are my own.

3. By presence in the text I mean, very narrowly, presence as an active character or agent. While Pallas is represented with relative frequency throughout the work, it is always as part of a secondary, mediated medium, such as an ekphrasis. As an active character, who has the potential to affect the direction of the plot of the text, she appears only the one time in Book 2.

4. Servius *ad Aen*. 1.42.17-20.

5. Servius *ad Aen.* 1.422.5, Vitruvius *Arch*. 1.7.1.

6. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II,1,1050 (hereafter *LIMC*).

7. As, for example, on the *ara pacis*. See also *LIMC* II,1,1108 that states that Roma and Minerva share an *intima connessione* ("intimate connection"). But here see d'Ambra 1993.89. There is tremendous resistance to identifying this figure securely as Pallas; see, for example, de Grummond 1993.667 where Roma is described as "the goddess of war" without then being identified with Pallas.

8. *LIMC* II,1,1108. In addition, Cicero describes a statue that looks like Pallas as the *custos urbis* ("guardian of the city," *Leg*. 2.17.42; see also Plutarch *Cic*. 3.6).

9. *LIMC* II,1,1108: *la dea doveva esservi identificata con la Magna Mater Berecynthia*. ("the goddess ought to be identified with the Magna Mater Berecynthia"). But cf. the fine article by R. Wilhelm 1988 that offers evidence of connections between Venus and Cybele.

10. Henry 1989.chap. 5, M. Wilhelm 1992. Henry's work is referred to throughout this paper; Wilhelm's I found less useful, as she focuses on the domestic attributes associated with Minerva, seeing as central the simile of Vulcan as a housewife. This seems to me to be only a part of the picture. Wilhelm refers to Bailey 1935.152-57, where "all of the appearances in the *Aeneid* of Minerva, as both the Italian and Etruscan goddess of handicraft and women's work and as the Greek warrior goddess Pallas" are reviewed (M. Wilhelm 1992.80).

11. Henry 1989.101, 103. As Henry points out, Pallas' role in the text, especially in her appearance on the shield, seems to represent controlled violence that can be useful. Hers is not a random *furor*--that is left to Juno--but rather a violence that functions entirely within the system.

12. So E. L. Harrison 1988.

13. Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 3.1-110.

14. So Thomas 1986, Henry 1989, S. J. Harrison 1987.

15. *LIMC* II,1,1019; catalogue 966-68.

16. On this etymology see O'Hara 1996.202.

17. Paus. VIII.5.

18. So Servius *ad Ecl*. 2.61.1: *dea arcium Minerva dicitur* ("Minerva is said to be the goddess of the citadels") and Servius *ad Aen*. 2.615.4-5: *arces Minervae dantur, quod ipsa sit inventrix aedificiorum* ("the citadels are given to Minerva because she is herself the inventor of buildings").

19. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant*. 6.69.1; Serv. *ad Aen*. 2.166, 3.407, 5.704.

20. McDaniel diss. 1995.

21. So Cic. *Scaur*. 23.48: *pignus nostrae salutis et imperii* ("token of our health and rule").

22. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant*. 1.57.1, Lycophron *Alexandra* 1261-62.

23. Strikingly, the word *indignatus* (-*a*) appears at the end of both Book 8 and Book 12 (8.728, 12.952). Moreover, if the Palatine is evoked, this would provide further evidence for seeing the death of Turnus against the backdrop of the fratricidal story of Romulus and Remus in which, as Wiseman 1995 has recently reminded us, Romulus is clearly associated with the Palatine, Remus with the Aventine.

24. Hardie 1993.19 has made a similar observation about the parallel between the first and last scenes of the poem, which he sees as its first and last sacrifices. He mentions, as well, the echoing of the name Pallas in these scenes (34-35).

25. *LIMC* II,1,1019; catalogue 966-68.

26. This pun has been noted before, most notably by Hornsby 1966.358-59. I should make it extremely clear that I am talking about a *double entendre*. There is no doubt whatsoever that the primary, literal meaning of these lines refers to Evander's son Pallas, a denotation that, as Putnam 1985 has argued so persuasively, has its own tremendous importance.

27. Moreover, the passage in which Turnus throws the boundary stone is based, at least in part, on

Iliad 21.405 in which Athena hefts a similar rock.

28. Here see, above all, Cairns 1989.211-14.

29. *Odyssey* 24.472-88.

30. So Johnson 1976.123-28. More recently, see Feeney 1991.153 n. 99; E. L. Harrison 1984.112.

31. But here see the caveat of Putnam 1994.189 n. 41.

32. Aeschylus *Eumenides* 657-66 and 734-41.

33. 12.849-50: *hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris.*

34. The presence of the pun, far from undermining this argument, actually bolsters it. It is an extension of the concept of ambiguity discussed with such acuity by Perkell 1994. (Her notes are also extremely rich and helpful.) Punning, as a form of ambiguity, has proven very useful to feminist criticism in all fields (see, for example, the work of Hélène Cixous), even as it causes tremendous anxiety (Bauman 1991). It is, I feel, language's answer to what Mulvey 1989.161 has identified as quite possibly the central problem of feminism (and psychoanalysis): the "problem of dealing with difference without constituting an opposition."

35. See Putnam 1994.

36. Weinstock 1971.248 makes it clear that the word *pietas* derives from *pius* and the phrase *pium est* means, like *fas est*, that which can be done without committing a religious offense. It is significant to this argument to note that one of the coins Weinstock studies that shows a female head (unnamed, but, he argues, an image of Pietas) on one side, shows Aeneas carrying the Palladium and Anchises on the obverse (253).

37. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference on "Athena in the Ancient World" held at Lincoln College, Oxford, in April 1998. Michael Putnam, Nicholas Horsfall, Christine Perkell, and Pamela Bleisch have read drafts of this paper and offered very helpful advice. I would also like to thank the anonymous reader at *Arethusa*, as well as its editor, Martha Malamud, for useful criticisms and suggestions.

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