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PALLAS, TARPEIA, AND VIRGILIAN RECEPTION IN DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

Abstract. – This article examines Pallas and Tarpeia in Virgil's *Aeneid* alongside variant traditions preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*. Although direct Virgilian influence on Dionysius cannot be demonstrated, Dionysius preserves mythographic traditions that illuminate Virgil's treatment of genealogy, homonymy, and conflicting accounts of Rome's early past. Particular attention is given to the tradition of Pallas, the prematurely deceased son of Hercules and Evander's daughter Launa/Lavinia, and its possible relevance to Virgil's doomed son of Evander. The discussion also considers broader associations of the name Pallas with Athena, the Palladium, and alternative genealogical lines leading to Aeneas. Tarpeia provides a complementary case – Dionysius records traditions presenting her as either traitor or heroine, while Virgil gives the name to one of Camilla's companions. Together, these cases suggest that Virgil exploited inherited names and contradictory traditions as part of his poetic method, especially in shaping themes of premature death, failed lineage, memory, and vengeance.

Key words. – Virgil; Dionysius of Halicarnassus; *Aeneid*; *Roman Antiquities*; Pallas; Tarpeia; Palladium; Roman mythography; Virgilian reception; Augustan literature.

It is lamentable that many studies of Virgil neglect to mention another Augustan Age writer with Roman antiquarian interests, namely the historian and essayist Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[1] One reason for this comparative disregard is temporal: Dionysius is part of the Virgilian reception, at best contemporary with the great poet, a researcher and student of the myth-history of early Rome in the years when Virgil was working on the *Aeneid*. Dionysius was not a source for Virgil, but it is quite

[1] The key work here = Vanotti 1995, which provides a detailed appraisal of the relevant material from Dionysius, including a useful reprint of Jacoby's standard Teubner text. For a useful introduction to the study of the two authors in tandem see Linderski 1992. I am grateful for the assistance of the editor, Professor Vojislav Sarakinski. All errors that remain are my own.

possible (if not probable) that he was influenced by the epic of Aeneas that proved to be something of an instant (albeit posthumous) classic, a work that was already garnering significant attention in learned circles before the poet's death. It is impossible to prove that Dionysius read Virgil. But relevant lore preserved in Dionysius may prove to shed light on certain Virgilian passages, and to enable a deeper reading of the close of the poet's epic in particular.

We know little for certain about Dionysius.[2] He came to Italy at a fortuitous time, namely at the end of the civil wars. He spent some two decades in research and writing. He learned Latin and made extensive studies of Latin historical records. He left behind both a monumental history of early Rome and a number of rhetorical and literary-critical works, substantial remains of which survive.[3] His history is noteworthy for its elegant narrative, frequent digressions on Roman institutions, and extensive use of speeches.[4]

Work on Dionysius has tended to focus on the vexed question of the variant traditions that surround Rome's earliest origins.[5] Since authors like Varro have been preserved in so fragmentary a state, Book 1 of Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities* takes on particular importance for what it can tell us about versions of ancient lore that are otherwise more or less poorly attested.[6]

Andrew Riggsby sums up the problem of the possible relationship between Dionysius' history and Virgil's epic neatly: "Although his treatment of Roman prehistory has substantial overlap with material in *A*. … specific references have proven hard to establish … More productive have been assessments of the ideological distance between Virgil's and Dionysius' projects (e.g., considerations of how pointed is Dionysius' promotion of Greek origins for the Roman people as opposed to Virgil's more autochthonous ones …), though consensus remains lacking."[7]

The scope of the present study is deliberately modest. It will consider two characters from the earliest stories of Rome and the origins of the city, one of whom is a major figure in Virgil's epic. The goal of the investigation is twofold. Certainly one can hope to glean some better under-

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[2] There is much useful information in Rhys Roberts 1900 (a succinct, classic study); cf. Shutt 1935.

[3] For interesting analysis and consideration of the relationship and interconnectivity of these seemingly disparate works, see Hunter and de Jonge 2018.

[4] See further here Sautel 2015.

[5] The best introductory scholarly volume on the author = Gabba 1991; note also Hill 1961.

[6] On how Dionysius addressed the problem of how to incorporate myth into historical narrative note Driediger-Murphy 2014.

[7] In Thomas and Ziolkowski 2014, 373. For a remarkable study of the question of the historian's ultimate point in emphasizing Rome's Greek origins, note Peirano 2010.

standing of these two figures, in particular their relevance for Virgil. Second, close examination of what Dionysius does with figures like Pallas and Tarpeia may point the way to more extensive consideration of the question of vestiges of Virgilian influence on the *Roman Antiquities*. Lastly, consideration of the presentation of Pallas in Virgil and Dionysius may allow for a more extended treatment of this highly consequential hero from the *Aeneid*, a study that has been a scholarly desideratum.[8]

Why Pallas and Tarpeia? For all his importance to the plot of the *Aeneid*, the son of Arcadian Evander is a shadowy figure in our extant sources. As for Tarpeia, a minor character in Virgil's epic shares a name with a notorious figure from Roman myth-history.[9] While it is easy to dismiss the homonymity as insignificant, a closer look at context and variant traditions allows for a richer reading of Virgil's narrative, and a deeper appreciation of his compositional method.

We may commence with some relevant passages from Dionysius.[10] The first concerns "Pallas," who proves to be one of the more elusive personages in Italian myth-history:

> ὡς δέ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἐπί τινος μειρακίου Πάλλαντος αὐτόθι τελευτήσαντος: τοῦτον δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι παῖδα καὶ Λαύνας[11] τῆς Εὐάνδρου θυγατρός: χώσαντα δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸν μητροπάτορα τάφον ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μειρακίου τὸν τόπον ὀνομάσαι. (1.32.1)

Dionysius is explaining the origins of the name of the settlement of Pallanteum, which Arcadian immigrants were said to have established on the site of what would be the future Roman Palatine. "Pallas" is said to have been the son of Hercules and Evander's daughter Launa/Lavinia (?); the youth died under unspecified circumstances, and his grandfather erected a tomb on the height, naming the locale after the dead young man.

Given the state of our evidence and knowledge, this is a tantalizing passage. We can take some comfort in the knowledge that the indefati-

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[8] The father is better attested than the son (see further here especially Papaioannou 2003; cf. Fantham 1992). While monographs have been devoted to Latinus, Turnus, Mezentius, Camilla, and even Achates, there has been no comparable, exhaustive study of Pallas.

[9] Neel 2020 = one of the rare attempts to explicate Virgil's solitary reference to Tarpeia. Neel offers a number of interesting analyses and speculative arguments that repay consideration.

[10] For the text, see Jacoby 1995. For English translation with introduction and brief notes, see Cary 1937.

[11] Even a cursory glance at an apparatus or critical note on this passage reveals the predictable confusion as to (at minimum) orthography. The name appears to be "Launa." It is reasonably clear that Dionysius means "Lavinia," but there are not only multiple Pallases, but also multiple Lavinias.

gable Dionysius was also somewhat perplexed by certain aspects of the story:

> ἐγὼ μέντοι οὔτε τάφον ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πάλλαντος οὔτε χοὰς ἔμαθον ἐπιτελουμένας οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων οὐδὲν ἠδυνήθην ἰδεῖν, καίτοι γε οὐκ ἀμνήστου τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἀφειμένης οὐδ᾽ ἀμοίρου τιμῶν αἷς τὸ δαιμόνιον γένος ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων γεραίρεται. καὶ γὰρ Εὐάνδρῳ θυσίας ἔμαθον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτελουμένας ὁσέτη δημοσίᾳ καὶ Καρμέντῃ, καθάπερ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἥρωσι καὶ δαίμοσι, καὶ βωμοὺς ἐθεασάμην ἱδρυμένους, Καρμέντῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ ταῖς Καρμεντίσι πύλαις, Εὐάνδρῳ δὲ πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τῶν λόφων Αὐεντίνῳ λεγομένῳ τῆς Τριδύμου πύλης οὐ πρόσω: Πάλλαντι δὲ οὐδὲν οἶδα τούτων γινόμενον. (1.32.2)

Dionysius is aware that Evander was the subject of a certain cult and of cult offerings (including on the Aventine). His mother Carmenta also received honors (including on the Capitoline). But the historian notes that he has never been able to find any tomb of Pallas, and he has failed to uncover any evidence of cult honors paid to the young man who is said by Polybius to have given his name to Pallanteum.

Moving from Virgil to Dionysius can engender the sense that the same names have been jumbled together into some new and unfamiliar order. Virgil's Pallas is the son of Evander. His Lavinia has nothing to do with the account of Arcadian settlement in central Italy.[12] The only common detail is the fact that Evander was the son of the prophetic nymph Carmenta; the rest of the family tree is different.

One problem here is that in both Virgil and Dionysius, one encounters more than one "Pallas." In Virgil, Pallanteum is named after a more or less "cardboard cutout" of a Pallas, a hero who has a name and no mythology:

> Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
> qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
> delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
> Pallantis proaui de nomine Pallanteum. (*A*. 8.51-4)[13]

This is the information given to Aeneas by the river god Tiberinus.[14] When Aeneas arrives at Pallanteum, Evander and his son Pallas are busy with sacred rites in honor of Hercules:[15]

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[12] On Arcadia in Virgil see further Cardete del Olmo 2017. On the complicated mythology of Arcadian origins and migrations note Corso 2022.

[13] Quotes from the *Aeneid* are cited from Conte 2019.

[14] Cf. here Eden 1975, Gransden 1976, and Fratantuono and Smith 2018, *ad loc*.

[15] On references to the demigod in the poet note Fratantuono 2024.

> Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
> Amphitryoniadae magno diuisque ferebat
> ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,
> una omnes iuuenum primi pauperque senatus
> tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras. (*A*. 8.102-6)

Pallanteum has its *senatus*, as if it were a proto-Rome. And it has its Arcadian king and his son, whose name was recycled from that of the storied ancestor after whom the settlement was named.[16]

But let us return for a moment to Dionysius. He tells us more about Pallas, the son of Hercules and Lavinia:

> λέγουσι δέ τινες αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις τούτοις, ἃ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι κατοικοῦσιν, ἐκ δύο γυναικῶν γενομένους καταλιπεῖν: Πάλλαντα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Εὐάνδρου θυγατρός, ᾗ Λαῦναν ὄνομά φασιν εἶναι, Λατῖνον δὲ ἔκ τινος ὑπερβορίδος κόρης, ἣν πατρὸς εἰς ὁμηρείαν δόντος ἐπήγετο καὶ αὐτὴν μέχρι μέν τινος ἀγνὴν γάμων ἐφύλαττεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἔπλει ἐρασθεὶς ἐγκύμονα ποιεῖ, ἣν καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἄργος ἔμελλε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων Φαύνῳ γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι δίδωσι: δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν Λατῖνον τούτου υἱὸν νομίζειν, οὐχ Ἡρακλέους. (1.43.1)

Hercules is said by some to have had two sons in central Italy: Pallas from Launa/Lavinia, and Latinus, from a Hyperborean girl. That girl was given in marriage to Faunus, whence the tradition that Latinus was Faunus' son.

Needless to say, Latinus and Pallas had different fates:

> Πάλλαντα μὲν οὖν πρὶν ἡβῆσαι λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν, Λατῖνον δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα τὴν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. τούτου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀρρένων παίδων τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους Ῥοτόλους μάχῃ περιστῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς Αἰνείαν τὸν Ἀγχίσου κηδεστὴν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἑτέροις χρόνοις ἐγένετο. (1.43.2)

Pallas died before puberty, while Latinus lived to be king, only to die in battle against the Rutulians. Enter Aeneas, the son of Anchises, the son-in-law of Latinus.

The plot thickens as we reflect on Virgil in light of the lore preserved in the historian. Virgil's story is comparatively simple: there was an Arcadian Pallas (with no stated mythology or history), and there is a son of Evander of the same name. Dionysus has Pallas the son of Hercules,

[16] The name would surface in Roman imperial history in the person of the famous freedman and financial official in the Claudian and Neronian principates, on whom see Oost 1958 (with consideration of the origins of the name).

who died under unspecified circumstances at a very young age. He also has another Pallas, the son of Lycaon (1.33.1). This Pallas is credited with the rearing of the goddess Athena, who was raised with Pallas' daughter Nike.

The story of the rearing of the goddess (Pallas) Athena by Lycaon's son Pallas invites mention of another complication, namely the tradition of a female Pallas who was Athena's childhood playmate, an ill-fated figure in the goddess' mythology who was associated with the complicated and contradictory lore surrounding that preeminent Trojan talisman, the Palladium. The Palladium is unknown to Homer, but it figured in the *Ilias Parva* of the epic cycle, and Sophocles knew the tradition that Troy's safety was tied to the image (*Phil*. 604 ff.). In origin it took its name from the tradition preserved in Pseudo-Apollodorus (3.12.3) that the goddess Athena was aggrieved by the death of her playmate Pallas, and that in her memory she had an image made of the ill-fated girl. There is no agreement in our sources on how the image became a Trojan talisman. Nor is there clarity on how what was in origin an image of Pallas the playmate came to be revered as an icon of Pallas the goddess.

What exactly happened with this Pallas? She was the daughter of the sea god Triton, who was given charge of raising Athena after her birth. Pallas and the goddess were playing, and Zeus was worried when Pallas went to strike Athena; he interposed the aegis, and the startled Pallas was struck down by her opponent.

So in Dionysius we have 1) Hercules' dead young son, 2) Lycaon's son who reared Athena and Nike, and we have a mythographic tradition of a third Pallas, a girl who was raised with Athena and inadvertently slain by her.

To complicate matters still further, there is a third male Pallas cited in Dionysius. And the Palladium figures in his story. Atlas is said to have been the first Arcadian king (1.61.1). He was the father of the seven Pleiades, one of whom – Electra – was married to Zeus. Iasus and Dardanus were the offspring of the union. Iasus remained single, while Dardanus married Chryse, the daughter of Pallas (whence Idaeus and Deimas). This Dardanus remarried after the death of Chryse, thus inaugurating the line that led to Anchises and his son Aeneas (1.62.1-2). Chryse was also connected to the lore surrounding Samothrace (1.68.3-4). Her dowry consisted of the Palladium and other gifts from Athena, and Dardanus is said to have brought some sacred objects to the island.

The Virgilian ambiguity about Pallas *proavus* allows for a certain degree of flexibility as to identification. In his narrative, Pallanteum was named after some more or less distant ancestor, concerning whom the poet offers no mythology. Dionysius says that the locale was named after an Arcadian metropolis, while citing Polybius for the story of Pallas *filius*

Herculis, dead before his time. While Virgil's Pallas was not the son of Hercules and Launa (let alone a Lavinia), one thinks readily of the doomed Arcadian of Books 8 and 10 of the *Aeneid* when reading about a Pallas who died prematurely. There is a chronological problem in that Dionysius' *Πάλλαντα μὲν οὖν πρὶν ἡβῆσαι λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν* does not accord readily with the tradition of a reckless youth slain in battle. But in both cases, "Pallas" does not live long.

Some parallels and affinities may be noted among the stories of these various homonymous figures. There is the theme of premature death (Hercules' son Pallas, Triton's daughter Pallas, and of course Virgil's son of Evander). Athena was said in one myth to have been reared by Lycaon's son Pallas, who had a daughter Nike; in another version, Athena was raised by Triton, who had a daughter Pallas. One might be tempted to wonder if the goddess' place in the story were simply a consequence of the shared name, vowel quantities aside.

Indeed it has been argued that Virgil brilliantly alludes to certain aspects of this "polyvalent" Palladian lore at the end of the *Aeneid*:

> "... Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat, et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit (12.948-9)

Pallās is the name of the hero; with a short ultimate vowel it would be the goddess famous for her wielding of the aegis, though here the second vowel is long by position … Sarah Spence highlights how the "ambiguous nominative" may help to secure a shade of allusion here to the goddess alongside the obvious reference to the dead young warrior."[17] In other words, the poet deliberately exploits variant versions of myths and shared names (again, vowel quantities notwithstanding) for a particular purpose. Exploring the implications of this homonym game at the end of the *Aeneid* may prove profitable for a better understanding of Virgil's method for addressing contradictory myth traditions.

Those familiar with Dionysius' first book are aware that "Pallas" is by no means the only figure from the mythic history of Italy who poses genealogical problems. At 1.65.1 we hear of Aeneas' son Euryleon, who was renamed Ascanius during the flight from Troy. At 1.72.1 Dionysius names four sons of Aeneas: Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus, and Romus (*sic*). The timeline and exact events of the war(s) in Latium do not fully accord. The historian is aware of differing traditions in such matters, and on occasion he cites a source for a particular lineage or story. We are limited in our knowledge by what sources happen to have survived. But Dionysius' Pallas *filius Herculis* invites closer consideration, notwithstanding our being hampered by lack of definitive evidence for his story.

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[17] Fratantuono 2022, 174-5, citing Spence 1999, 157-8.

The Pallas who died young and gave his name to Pallanteum was half-brother to Latinus, who became king of the Aborigines and was slain in battle fighting the Rutulians. Evander's daughter Launa/Lavinia was Pallas' mother. "Lavinia" presents her own problems.[18] There were two other women of the same name: Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, and Lavinia the daughter of King Anius of Delos. Dionysius records the traditions that Aeneas named Lavinium after one or the other (1.59.3). Here the historian gives at least a vague reference to sources: the "Romans" say that she was Latinus' daughter, while "Greek mythographers" name the Delian girl. The Delian Lavinia died of illness, the first to fall prey to sickness at the time the city was being built (such premature deaths are convenient in mythography). Lavinia *filia Latini* became the mother of Aeneas' son Silvius (1.70.1).

While it does not affect the arguments I propose to make about Pallas, it is reasonable to agree that "Launa" does indeed = a "Lavinia." As with Pallas, so then with Lavinia we would have three homonymous figures in Dionysius. For Pallas there is the king who is cited in connection to the Pleiades, Samothrace, and the line that devolves on Aeneas. There is the son of Lycaon who helped to raise Athena. And there is the dead son of Hercules. For Lavinia there is also a dead figure cited in connection to the naming of a locale, the daughter of Anius. There is the wife of Aeneas who bears Silvius (the best known Lavinia). And there is likely Evander's daughter, who gave birth to the doomed Pallas.

The "first" Arcadian in our Palatine story was not Evander, but Pallas, who "Since Hesiod … had been the eponymous founder of Pallanteum in Arcadia."[19] Virgil knows this tradition, and it implicit to Dionysius 1.31.4. For the story that the Pallanteum in Italy was named after Evander's grandson, Dionysius cites no less eminent a source than Polybius. "One might expect the rigorous Polybius, fiercely scornful of credulous predecessors, to reject or ignore such tall tales. But it is useful to recall that he himself was an Arcadian. Hence it causes little surprise that Polybius should find the legends of Evander at Rome so enticing. He gives the Arcadian connection still greater luster by having the colony named after young Pallas, son of Herakles and grandson of Evander."[20] *Pace* Gruen, there is nothing particularly "tall" about Dionysius' tale, minus the question of Herculean lineage. It is highly plausible that a place was named after a dead young noble.

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[18] Perhaps as evidence of the confusion, note that the index to the Loeb edition of Dionysius erroneously calls the Lavinia of Dionysius 1.32.1 and 1.43.1 the wife, not the daughter, of Evander.

[19] Penny Small, 1982, 8.

[20] Gruen 2011, 246.

Pausanias records that he found images of Evander and Pallas at the Arcadian Pallantium.[21] "It is doubtful whether this Pallas was Pallas the son of Lycaon … or Pallas the son of Evander, celebrated by Virgil … but the mention of Evander is in favour of the second identification, and if that identification is correct we may fairly assume that the statues of Evander and his son were not set up at Pallanteum until that obscure little town had burst into fame through the guess of some misguided Roman antiquary. For Evander seems to be a creation of Roman, not of Greek, mythology."[22]

Let us reflect further on the implications for Virgil in particular of a tradition that there was a son of Hercules and Lavinia named Pallas, a youth who died before his time and who lent his name to the Italian Pallanteum. In Virgil, Pallas is a major figure in the narrative of Books 8 and 10 of the *Aeneid*. His requiem rites occupy significant space at the start of Book 11. And then there is the aforementioned dramatic reference to him at the close of Book 12, as Aeneas slays Turnus.

Hercules is a key figure in the Arcadian pantheon, and liturgical rites in honor of the demigod are accorded a prominent place in Book 8. As part of his hospitable reception of Aeneas, Evander invites the Trojan hero to assume something of the dignity of the storied hero:

> ut uentum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina uictor
> Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
> aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
> finge deo rebusque ueni non asper egenis.' (8.362-5)

But the Herculean color of Book 8 is succeeded by the grim reality of Pallas' death at the hands of Turnus in Book 10, notwithstanding the young Arcadian's invocation of his patron:

> ire prior Pallas, si qua fors adiuuet ausum
> uiribus imparibus, magnumque ita ad aethera fatur:
> 'per patris hospitium et mensas, quas aduena adisti,
> te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.
> cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta
> uictoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni.'
> audiit Alcides iuuenem magnumque sub imo
> corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis. (10.458-65)[23]

Hercules is unable to help Pallas, and his own father Jupiter offers consolatory reflections (10.466-72). Jupiter knows the pain of losing a son (Sarpedon), and Turnus will face his own destiny. The parallelism

[21] 8.44.5.
[22] Frazer 1929, 187 n. 5.
[23] For helpful commentary on this scene see Harrison 1991, *ad loc*.

here is more purposeful in view of the tradition that Hercules had a son named Pallas.

The Pallas *filius Herculis* mentioned in Dionysius was no war hero. He is given no mythological *curriculum vitae*, and in fact he is said to have died before puberty. We cannot be sure what Polybius said about him (perhaps quite little), and we have no idea where Polybius found the lore ascribed to him by Dionysius. But let us focus on an important detail in Dionysius, namely his highlighting of the fact that he saw no evidence of statues or cultic reverence of Pallas in Rome: *Πάλλαντι δὲ οὐδὲν οἶδα τούτων γινόμενον* (1.32.2). Readers of Ovid's *Fasti* will concur. Evander has his place in the Augustan poet's grand survey of Rome's liturgical calendar, but there is no mention whatsoever of any Pallas, let alone of some hero.

Did Virgil invent the character of Evander's son? It is always perilous and problematic to be definitive about such questions in the face of how much literature has been lost. If he did, then he developed the story about a descendant of Evander who died prematurely. He made the descendant a son and not a grandson. He transformed a youth who died before puberty into a young hero who was not too young for participation in the war in Latium, though certainly too inexperienced to face Turnus.[24] And yet Virgil's Pallas is a successful, impressive hero in his own right. He inspires the Arcadians when they take flight before the Latins (10.362-79). He slays Lagus (380-4a), Hisbo (384b-87), Sthenelus and Anchemolus (388-9), the twins Larides and Thymber (390-6), and Rhoeteus, who is accidentally slain in the place of Ilus while he was attempting to flee from the brothers Teuthras and Tyres (399-404). Halaesus poses a greater threat, but after a timely prayer to the Tiber (*pater Thybris*), he too is added to the catalogue of carnage (411-25). Eight men fall in the space of less than fifty verses.

We are led to wonder for a moment if Pallas and Lausus will meet (10.433-4 … *hinc Pallas instat et urget,* / *hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepant aetas*). It is fated that they will not, but Turnus' sister Juturna urges him to aid Lausus all the same (439-40). This detail deserves particular attention. Arguably Lausus should need no help against Pallas; the fight would be even. But Pallas does deserve help against the likes of Turnus, and nobody seeks to aid him or to prevent his combat with the Rutulian. The fear of Pallas' men is acute (452 *frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis*). But no one intervenes, least of all Hercules. Pallas prays successfully to Thybris for help against Halaesus. His invocation of

[24] At 10.426-38, Virgil makes clear the point that Pallas and Lausus should have fought (a good example of the "fair/unfair fight" theme), but the *regnator Olympi* did not allow them to meet, since *Fortuna* and *fata* had other demands.

Hercules *versus* a far deadlier opponent is in vain. Pallas is slain by Hercules, and the stage is set for the inexorable march to the vengeful close of the epic.

Before considering more closely the last references to Pallas in the *Aeneid*, we may turn to another figure from Virgil of curious, homonymous associations – the maiden Tarpeia. Compared to Pallas, she is inconsequential. She appears but once in the *Aeneid*, in a brief vignette that describes the companions of the Volscian heroine Camilla:

> at circum lectae comites, Larinaque uirgo
> Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
> Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
> delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras (11.655-8)[25]

Later in the book we learn of another companion of Camilla (with another decidedly significant name from early Roman myth-history), a girl who does play a role in the narrative – Acca (cf. 11.820-8 and 896-900). Some have argued that the Larina of the present passage may = Acca (i.e., Acca Larentia).[26] But this is not the place to consider Larina. Our concern is with the most "famous" of Camilla's daughters of Italy, Tarpeia. She bears the name of a notorious figure from early Roman lore, the traitor from the war with the Sabines in the time of Romulus and Titus Tatius.

Dionysius knows and cites different traditions about Tarpeia. Some would say the stories about her are diametrically opposed. Dionysius leaves it to his reader to determine which is likelier to be true, based on what happened after the dramatic events at the citadel. He names his sources, and he invites his audience to appraise them. We may consider the passage in full (emphases regarding *Quellenforschung* added):

> ἀμηχανοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ παράδοξος εὐτυχία γίνεται παραδοθέντος τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ συντυχίαν. παρεξιόντας γὰρ τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τοὺς Σαβίνους εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, εἴ τι μέρος εὐρεθείη τοῦ λόφου κλοπῇ ληφθῆναι δυνατὸν ἢ βίᾳ, παρθένος τις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου κατεσκόπει θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ᾧ προσέκειτο ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακή, Τάρπεια ὄνομα: [3] καὶ αὐτὴν, **ὡς μὲν Φάβιός τε καὶ Κίγκιος γράφουσιν**, ἔρως εἰσέρχεται τῶν ψελλίων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίοσιν ἐφόρουν, καὶ τῶν δακτυλίων: χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τότε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἁβροδίαιτοι: **ὡς δὲ Πείσων Λεύκιος ὁ τι-**

[25] See further here Alessio 1993, Horsfall 2003, and Fratantuono 2009, *ad loc*. Alessio in particular is detailed and insightful on the onomastic significance of minor characters.

[26] Köves-Zulauf 1978, 429. More generally on Camilla and her relevance to the battle narrative of Book 11, note Köves-Zulauf 2017.

> **μητικὸς ἱστορεῖ**, καλοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμία γυμνοὺς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὅπλων παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς πολεμίους. **ὁπότερον δὲ τούτων ἀληθέστερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων ἔξεστιν εἰκάζειν**. (2.38.2-3)

What happened later (*ὕστερον*)? Something occurs to the historian that persuades Dionysius that Lucius (Calpurnius) Piso was correct in his estimation of Tarpeia:

> **ἔοικε δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γενόμενα τὴν Πείσωνος ἀληθεστέραν ποιεῖν ἀπόκρισιν**. [3] τάφου τε γὰρ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἠξίωται τὸν ἱερώτατον τῆς πόλεως κατέχουσα λόφον, καὶ χοὰς αὐτῇ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦσι (**λέγω δὲ ἃ Πείσων γράφει**), ὧν οὐδενὸς εἰκὸς αὐτήν, εἰ προδιδοῦσα τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε παρὰ τῶν προδοθέντων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι λείψανον αὐτῆς ἦν τοῦ σώματος ἀνασκαφὲν ἔξω ῥιφῆναι σὺν χρόνῳ φόβου τε καὶ ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα τῶν μελλόντων τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶν. **ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων κρινέτω τις ὡς βούλεται**. (2.40.2-3)

Simply put, Tarpeia would not be remembered the way she is (i.e., with a monument and libations) were she a traitor and not a heroine. Learned readers then and now would debate Dionysius' conclusion, and he closes his Tarpeia account with the concession that his audience may judge for themselves. Dionysius' Tarpeia passage offers a classic instance of source criticism, with ready acknowledgment of the conflicting accounts in his sources. We may note the emphasis on what Tarpeia enjoys today (*τάφου τε γὰρ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἠξίωται τὸν ἱερώτατον τῆς πόλεως κατέχουσα λόφον, καὶ χοὰς αὐτῇ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦσι*), an emphasis that invites comparison with the lack of such a place of honor for Pallas the son of Hercules and Lavinia, the grandson of Evander. Tarpeia is remembered; Pallas is not.

Livy (1.11.9) also knows both of these versions of Tarpeia's story, though he is more sympathetic to the account of the traitor than the heroine.[27] For the Augustan poet Propertius, Tarpeia offered sufficient interest to inspire an etiological elegy, c. 4.4. In some extant sources (including Propertius), Tarpeia was a Vestal, with resultant complications for the story of her treachery.[28] Virgil is simple and provocative in his allusion to Tarpeia. His method is to use a name that makes one think naturally of a famous (not to say notorious) figure. Contextually, Camilla and her *Italides* are on the "wrong" side of the war in Latium, in that they are fighting against the forces of the epic hero Aeneas, the favored son of Venus and

[27] Note here Ogilvie 1970, *ad loc*.

[28] For a valuable study of this and related considerations, note Neel 2019.

model of *pietas*. But matters are complicated by the fact that the *Italides* are destined to be on the "right" side of history, not least in view of the final settlement of affairs in what will be the future Rome (not to mention the Rome of the Augustan Age). "Tarpeia" elegantly and pointedly serves Virgil's various purposes. His Tarpeia is not "the" Tarpeia. And her presence on the "wrong" side while fighting for what will ultimately be the victorious, indeed "right" cause – the sanctity of Italy – accords with the diverse traditions about the most famous bearer of her name. Virgil's reader might think first of Tarpeia the traitor. But especially in context with Larina, Tulla, and *dia* Camilla (the epithet is striking and deliberately provocative on the poet's part), the reader may also recall the tradition of Tarpeia the heroine, doomed in one sense and yet honored and remembered with offerings.

Likewise, it is possible to see certain vestiges of variant traditions in Virgil's treatment of Pallas. There was a story that a young son of Hercules and Lavinia, the grandson of Evander, died prematurely and gave his name to the Pallanteum in central Italy. In Virgil, Pallanteum is named after some shadowy Pallas who is a name and nothing more, while Evander's son Pallas will die early in war, after a failed invocation of Hercules. Some scholars have posited that Virgil draws a typological association between Hercules and Aeneas.[29] While impossible to prove, such a reading of Book 8 of the *Aeneid* has much to commend it, and it takes on added significance when we consider the tradition of a doomed son of Hercules and Launa/Lavinia named Pallas, a stepsibling of Herculean Latinus (who will be reared by Italian Faunus). The demigod Hercules was unable to help Pallas against Turnus, and Aeneas fails to protect the Arcadian who in some regards is akin to a surrogate son. Certainly Aeneas views Pallas as a formidable aid to his son, a sentiment that he expresses in a powerful moment at the Arcadian's funeral:

> … ei mei, quantum
> praesidium Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule! (11.57-8)

Neither Hercules nor Aeneas is father to Pallas, but both are depicted with strong hints of such a relationship. The associations are made easier by the fact that Evander is too old to participate in the war.

Evander cannot fight, but he is the one who urges Aeneas to seek vengeance for Pallas' death:

> uadite et haec memores regi mandata referte:
> quod uitam moror inuisam Pallante perempto
> dextera causa tua est, Turnum gnato patrique
> quam debere uides. meritis uacat hic tibi solus

[29] See, e.g., Glei 1991, 324-32.

fortunaeque locus … (11.176-80)

This is the message he sends to Aeneas after the reception of Pallas' bier. It is a summons to revenge that is recalled (and fulfilled) in the closing scene of the epic.

We have seen that some critics have seen a deliberate echo of the goddess Pallas in Aeneas' words to Turnus about the murderous action that he attributes to Pallas at 12.948-9. Beyond the shared name and arguments that can be crafted as to the appropriateness of having an allusion to Pallas Athena/Minerva at the close of the *Aeneid*, there is also the tradition that the goddess was raised by "Pallas" the son of Lycaon. "Lycaon" is another Arcadian name of rich and diverse associations.

Interestingly, there is mention of a Lycaon in Virgil's epic. Aeneas' son presents Euryalus with a gilded sword and ivory sheath before the fateful night raid, the work of *Lycaon Cnosius* (9.303-5). Mnestheus presents Euryalus' companion Nisus with a lion's pelt (306-7). Who is this Lycaon? "A Cretan artist Lycaon is otherwise unknown."[30] The name Lycaon may make one think of the importance of the name in Arcadian myth-history; likewise, the lion's skin gift may make one think of Hercules. Whatever the associations we make, Nisus and Euryalus are doomed. Ascanius is the survivor, both of his doomed Trojan companions who will perish in the night raid, and of his Arcadian ally Pallas (with whom he never interacts). The non-negotiable, *sine qua non*-strategy of the war in Latium is keeping Ascanius alive.

But let us return to the significance of the goddess Pallas to the end of the *Aeneid*. We may approach the controversial close by remembering one of the other Pallases of Arcadian lore: Pallas, *pater Chryses*. Dionysius carefully delineates the descent from Dardanus that leads to Aeneas (1.62.1-2). Originally, Dardanus was married to Pallas' daughter Chryse. But after her death, he married Teucer's daughter Bateia. Their son was Erichthonius. Of Erichthonius and Scamander's daughter Callirhoe came Tros. Of Tros and Eumedes' daughter Acallaris came Assaracus. Capys was born in the next generation, and then Anchises, and then Aeneas.

Dionysius records one other detail about Dardanus' first wife Chryse, which we have noted in passing (1.68.3). Pallas' daughter brought for her dowry the Palladium and other gifts of Athena. The connection between the goddess and Pallas' daughter is onomastic. Of interest to us is how Dionysius provides citation of two marriages of Dardanus, the first with connection to Athena (via the gifts that Chryse brought for her dowry), and the second that leads to Anchises and Aeneas.

[30] Hardie 1994, *ad loc*.; he takes the point to be simply that the sword is a "named" piece.

Virgil's Aeneas makes no mention of the Athena element of Dardanus' story in his address to Evander at Pallanteum about the shared (Atlantid) lineage of their respective families (*A*. 8.126-45). Dionysius records no line of descent from Dardanus and Chryse. The marriage was consequential for one reason, namely the bestowal of the Palladium and gifts of the goddess. Chryse died childless. Children and descendants came from the union with the daughter of Teucer. The virgin goddess is connected to the preservation and protection of cities, not least through tangible artifacts like the Palladium. But there is no lineage, and the Palladium has associations (at least in some accounts of the myth) with the death of the goddess' ill-fated playmate Pallas.

A picture comes into sharper relief, the colors and contours of its canvas contributed by variant versions of myths. I suggest that Virgil's Pallas was developed from the tradition of a son of Hercules and Launa/Lavinia who died at a very early age. Virgil made Evander's grandson his son, and he made Aeneas – the future husband of Lavinia – a surrogate father figure for the doomed youth. Pallas calls on Hercules in vain before he is slain; Jupiter consoles his son, with the memory of his own experience of the loss of a son. In this key scene, we may recall the tradition of Pallas *filius Herculis*, a tradition that is cast in deeper relief when one considers the possible typological connections between Aeneas and Hercules.

I suggest further that even beyond the obvious connection of *Pallās* and *Pallas*, Virgil drew on other traditions about the goddess Pallas as part of his depiction of the son of Arcadian Evander. Pallas the son of Lycaon helped to raise Pallas the goddess. Pallas the father of Chryse gave his daughter in marriage to Dardanus, and the girl's dowry included gifts from the goddess Pallas, not least the fateful Palladium. But the union of Dardanus and Chryse was fruitless, cut short by the girl's death. A second marriage engendered the lineage that leads to Aeneas, such that we are presented with alternative lines of descent. The Pallas line dies out, while the lineage that leads to Aeneas continues with Ascanius, not to mention Aeneas' son Silvius with Lavinia, and so forth.

In ascribing his act of vengeance to Pallas, Virgil's Aeneas does more than simply recall either the dead Arcadian or the homonymous goddess.[31] Invested with knowledge such as what Dionysius records in the first book of his *Roman Antiquities*, the reader of the *Aeneid* appreciates that the end of Virgil's epic is invested with the memory of lines that bear no fruit. Hercules' son Pallas died before puberty. Pallas' daughter Chryse died before giving birth to offspring from Dardanus. In both cases, there is a relevant "other" line – Hercules' son Latinus, and Darda-

[31] For a start to a controversial topic, see Esposito 2016.

nus' union with the daughter of Teucer (whence Anchises, and Aeneas). Dionysius is determined to highlight Rome's Greek origins, while in Book 12 of the *Aeneid* Virgil emphasizes the eventual suppression of the Trojan element in the future Rome, and the ascendancy of the Ausonian.[32] At the end of the *Aeneid*, neither Aeneas nor Turnus is aware of the concessions, arrangements, and resolution discussed and agreed to by Jupiter and Juno. In his enjambed burning madness and frightful rage (*A*. 12.946-7 … *furiis accensus et ira* / *terribilis*), Aeneas takes vengeance for his slain Arcadian surrogate son, in the name of both the dead hero and the homonymous immortal. There is no line of descent from Pallas the hero, and while the Palladian gifts of Pallas the goddess were given to Dardanus' first wife, she died without child.

Dionysius does not mention Virgil. We cannot be sure that he read him, but there is no compelling reason to think that he did not. Certainly as part of his investigation of the traditions of Pallanteum, the historian takes care to note that while Evander and Carmenta find their place of honor on the Palatine, Pallas *filius Herculis* is nowhere. This detail takes on added poignance and deeper meaning if one has read the *Aeneid* and considered the place of Arcadian Pallas in its dark and violent conclusion. Dionysius further notes that (in contrast to Hercules' son Pallas) the controversial Tarpeia is remembered, with a monument and libations. For him this is sufficient proof that she was a heroine and no traitor. And so it may come as no surprise that Virgil's Tarpeia gallops across the battlefield as one of the daughters of Italy, fighting on the wrong side for the right cause.

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[32] Cf. *A*. 12.791 ff., especially 830-42.

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