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VERGIL'S USE OF SAEVUS (VS. HOMER'S ΔΕΙΝΟΣ)
TO DEPICT JUNO

Summary: Vergil's depiction of Juno as *saeva* does not correspond to Homer's depiction of Hera, but rather to a combination of Homer's Hera and Pallas. Vergil's Juno, moreover, is far less subservient to Jupiter (who is not really as active in the *Aeneid* as Zeus is in the *Iliad*). While Homer frequently pairs Hera with Pallas Athena, Vergil's Juno acts independently, while assuming in particular many of the traits of Homer's Pallas Athena.

Key words: Juno, Hera, Pallas, Uni, Veii, *evocatio*, *saevus*, δεινός, κυνώπις, βοώπις

... *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*
vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram
Aen. 1. 1–4

As I have argued on a number of occasions,¹ I believe that Vergil was trying to present in his epic a Juno who was not merely an equivalent of Homer's jealous Hera – although they do share a number of features – but that he really was trying to depict Juno in her role as a major deity of Italy (and Etruria), and not just a transplanted Greek deity. Livy, for example, highlights her pre-Trojan ties to Italy, as the embodiment of the Etruscan Uni – whom Livy tells us that the Romans struggled to win over to their cause. After a very long struggle – i.e., about a century – between the Romans and the Veientes, this finally took place at the fall of Veii, as recorded by Livy, and was marked by the evocation² of their goddess, Uni, and her transposition to Rome. Those three recorded

¹ Most recently at the Symposium Veronensium, June 2014. Cf. JOHNSTON 2015.

² RAWSON 1973 expresses doubts as to whether the *evocatio* of 146 BCE occurred as such. Some scholars think that Vortumnus (Etruscan Voltumna) was brought by evocation to Rome in 264 BCE as a result of M. Fulvius Flaccus' defeat of the Volturni.

evocations include the transfer of Juno Regina/Etruscan Uni from Veii in 396 BCE; the same ritual involving Tanit (=Juno Caelestis) was performed in 146 BCE by Scipio Aemilianus after the defeat of Carthage. The third recorded occurrence was the dedication of a temple to an unnamed deity at Issura Vetus in 75 BC in Cilicia.³ We have evidence that Juno's hostility to the Trojans may also be viewed in the context of this goddess's desire to protect her homelands – which, as I have said, would include Italy as well as Carthage – rather than merely by some unhappiness over past struggles in the Greek world. After Vergil questions the source of Juno's great anger, in the prologue to Book 1⁴ (*quo numine laeso, / quidve dolens regina deum...* *Aen.* 1. 8–11), he proceeds to indicate, in effect, that her real concern has not so much to do with things Greek, but rather with Carthage, a city dear to Juno, which was destined to be destroyed by the Romans – and, of course, happened, in the Punic Wars.⁵

I would like to consider here the extent to which Vergil's epithet for Juno, *saeva*, is an echo of the adjective, δεινή, which Homer applies – not to Hera, however, but to other figures, especially to Pallas Athena, whom Homer frequently pairs with Hera, especially when they are angry or on the attack, and whose martial powers are to some extent incorporated by Vergil into the powers of *Iuno saeva*. I realize that Etruscan Menrva (Roman Minerva) is usually interpreted as the correct equivalent of Pallas Athena, and the name, Minerva, does appear eight times in the *Aeneid* (once, in *Aen.* 8. 409, in the context of crafts she teaches). Often she is cited as the equivalent to Pallas Athena. In *A.* 2.31 *donum exitiale Minervae* and in 2. 189, *dona Minervae*, refer to the Trojan Horse which Pallas/Minerva had the Greeks build. Her temple at Troy is named in 2. 404, where Cassandra is seen being dragged from the temple by the Danaans (*Aen.* 2. 404 *crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae / ad*

³ To some degree the struggle corresponds to those between the Latin League, the Etruscans, the Volsci, etc., as reflected in the predictions by Anchises in Book VI (as he anticipates they will all becoming one people) and in the presences of their representatives in Book VII and later; see JOHNSTON 2015, and also MUELLER 1998. MUELLER writes that Valerius Maximus, writing *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, under Tiberius, to whom he dedicated his work, “divides his exempla into two categories: Roman and foreign, mostly Greek... There Roman Juno appears as a stern goddess, somewhat prone to anger. She is animated by the power of chastity (6. 1. *init.*), sets an austere example of earlier manners (2. 1. 2), takes offense at the presence of a beautiful male actor in her husband's chariot (1. 1. 16), takes vengeance on Q. Fulvius Flaccus for stealing marble from her temple (1. 1. 20), receives a temple on the spot where M. Manlius Capitolinus' house once stood (6. 3. 1), but, in spite of all provocations, comes willingly to Rome from Veii (1. 8. 3). Foreign Juno's temple is the site of a miracle; winds cannot move ashes there (1.8. ext. 18); she forgives the sacrilege of Masinissa (1. 1. ext. 2), and she takes the lives of Cleobis and Biton (5. 4. ext. 4). The rubrics under which Juno appears are revealing also: she is harsh, she is concerned with proper behavior, and she has power to intervene in the affairs of this world: *de neglecta religione* (1. 1. 16, 1. 1. 20, 1. 1. ext. 2); *de miraculis* (1. 8. 3, 1. 8. ext. 18); *de seueritate* (6. 3. 1); *de pudicitia* (6. 1. *init.*); *de institutis antiquis* (2. 1. 2); *de pietate erga parentes et fratres et patriam* (5. 4. ext. 4); and *de parentibus, qui obitum liberorum forti animo tulerunt* (5. 10. 2).”

⁴ *Musa, mihi causas memora quo numine laeso, / quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casu ... tot adire labores / impulerit* (*Aen.* 1. 8–11).

⁵ Ennius *Ann.* 291 V, cited by Servius *ad Aen.* 1. 20 and *Aen.* 1. 281, indicated that Juno was finally reconciled to the Trojans after the Second Punic War. Cf. FEENEY 1984, 179, and nn. 2 and 4 for other sources.

caelum tendens ardentia lumina), and as the Trojans approach Castrum Minervae in Calabria, on the heel of the boot of Italy, and Anchises cries out, *portusque patescit / iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae* (*Aen.* 3. 530–531). She is named two more times, once on the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8. 699) and finally in Book 11, where Diomedes tries to persuade the Latins not to engage in battle with the Trojans, he names “Minerva’s grim constellation <Pegasus>” and “the cliffs of Euboea and its avenging headland, Caphereus” where Minerva caused the Greeks to be shipwrecked after violating Cassandra” (*Aen.* 11. 259–260, recalling *Aen.* 2. 404).

I want to focus on the militaristic role of Homer’s Pallas Athena, however, which is one that Vergil especially blends with his *saeva Iuno*.

Vergil’s *Aeneid* tells of the great struggle of Aeneas and his fellow-Trojans, after the fall of Troy, to find a new homeland. It is stated repeatedly, with increasing specificity as the tale progresses, that they are fated not only to succeed, but that their new homeland will be in Italy, where they will establish the new Roman race which will eventually rule the world. But, as Vergil says at the outset (in the fourth line of the poem), they were continuously opposed by the gods “on account of the unforgiving anger of *saevae Iunonis*” – “savage/cruel Juno”. A few lines later, Vergil asks, “what was the wrong that was done to the queen of the gods?” It is of course easy to identify Juno’s resentment with that of Homer’s jealous Hera, who is often furious because of Zeus’ infidelities or scorn for her ideas. But in the *Aeneid* Juno has to be examined in terms of Vergil’s epithet for her – *saeva* – and its possible relation to Homer’s epithet, δεινός, and then also to consider how relevant this is to Juno’s historical relationship to Italy. *Saeva* is the one epithet that Vergil uses to define Juno as well as those beings who are associated with her, beginning in line 1. 4, and again in line 1. 25 when he speaks of her *saevique dolores*. In 1. 25, he focuses on her hatred of the Trojans because of the judgment of Paris, and because of the elevation of Trojan Ganymedes by Jupiter – Homeric themes, indeed. But in Books 1, 4, and 5 her manipulations are focused on keeping Aeneas and his people away from Italy – hence the storm at sea, and then her attempt to tie Aeneas to Dido in Carthage, and her attempt to burn the Trojan ships in Book 5. It is not until Book 7, however, when they have reached Italy, that he again calls her *saeva*: there he twice calls her a *saeva ... dea*, first when she catches sight of the Trojans and learns they have successfully completed their voyage (7. 287). Then, at *Aen.* 7. 592, just before Juno opens the Gates of War, Latinus, after beseeching his Latin people not to fight, concludes that he has no power “over his people’s blind demands for war (*caecum concilium*)”, since “matters proceeded directed by cruel Juno’s nod” (*saevae nutu Iunonis eunt res*, *Aen.* 7. 592).

Book 7 actually begins with a another *saeva ... dea* (7. 19), namely Circe, and the wild animals she controls are said to *saevire*, “to rage” (7. 18). Then, in line 511, just after Ascanius has killed Silvia’s deer (in 496–504), the Fury Allecto is also called a *saeva dea*, as she blows her Tartarean horn and rouses both sides to action.

Dictionary definitions of *saevus* are “raging, furious, mad, fierce, cruel, savage, ferocious”. Homer’s δεινός is in some ways the equivalent of *saevus*, meaning “causing or able to cause fear; fearful; terrible; dread; dire”. But it can also mean “awe-inspiring; marvellous, strange”. Hence, δεινός can be more ambiguous than *saevus*. So, while

Homer sometimes uses δεινός to describe fearful or terrible persons or things, for him it can also denote reverence and respect.⁶

Homer also applies δεινός to the gods – once to Apollo, at the end of *Iliad* 4. 514, where the god is participating in the fighting and cheering for his Trojans – there he is called πτόλιος δεινός θεός, “the δεινός (terrible/indignant/fearful to see⁷) god of the city” (πτόλιος=πόλιος). This can therefore be interpreted as a positive epithet for a human warrior. The word can also convey a sense of honor and respect, as when Hector refers to Athena in *Iliad* 6 as δεινή θεά.

Athena is the deity to whom Homer more commonly applies this adjective; she is called δεινή θεά in *Iliad* 5. 839, when she supports Diomedes against Ares, and again (twice) when Hektor twice asks whether Andromache has gone to the temple of this δεινή θεά (*Iliad* 6. 380, 385).⁸ Vergil uses *saeva* once to describe *Pallas* (he only assigns this adjective to Athena, never to Minerva), in *Aen.* 2. 615–616, namely when Aeneas sees her among the gods reveling in the final destruction of Troy – here Vergil is emphasizing the negative implications of *saeva*/δεινή⁹ (some scholars have questioned whether *saeva* should instead be attributed to *Pallas*’ Shield [Aegis], on which Medusa is depicted). Her hostility to the Trojans is foreshadowed earlier in *Aeneid* Book 1 (1. 482) by *Pallas*’s refusal (as depicted in the mural on Juno’s temple) to respond to the Trojan women who have come to her temple: there the goddess “turned away, holding her gaze fixed on the ground” (*diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*). This line is repeated in Book 6 when Dido, with these same words – (*solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, 6. 469) – refuses to raise her eyes to Aeneas in the Underworld.

While Homer, then, uses δεινός to mean, in addition to “fearful” or “terrible”, also “marvelously strong” or “powerful”, Vergil employs this same sense for *saevus* when describing mortal warriors on both sides, such as Hector, (*Aen.* 1. 99), Achilles (*Aen.* 1. 458), and Aeneas himself, who is called *saevus in armis* in *Aen.* 12. 107. For Vergil, of course, because she is also “marvelously strong” and “powerful” – *saeva Iuno* is also feared, but not with the same mixed sense of awe and respect. Vergil’s underworld and its creatures, including the Hydra, the Harpies, and the Furies – namely *Allecto* and *Tisiphone*, as well as their home in the underworld, are also *saevae*.¹⁰ The

⁶ Herodotus (5. 23) uses δεινός to mean clever or skillful, a meaning adopted by Sophocles to describe Odysseus (*Philoct.* 440; *Oed. Col.* 806).

⁷ Charybdis (*Od.* 12. 260), or in the neuter, “fearful to hear”, or “to see”, etc. (in *Od.*; cf. Sophocles *Oed. Col.* 141; Thuc. 1. 22, etc.).

⁸ Note *Aen.* 6. 469 Dido [*illa*] = Athena 1. 482 [*diva*] *solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*. 2. 615–616: *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*, “shining forth from a cloud and fierce with a Gorgon”.

In the *Odyssey*, Athena is again called δεινή (7. 41), as is Kalypso (7. 245–246, 254–255) and Kirke (10. 136 = 11. 8 = 12. 150 and 449).

⁹ *Pallas* 2. 615–616: *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva* “*Pallas* sits flashing from a cloud and with her Gorgon shield”. Craca observes, “It is not clear whether *saeva* is an attribute of *Pallas* or of the Gorgon” (cf. CRACA 1996).

¹⁰ *Allecto*: 7. 329 *saeva facies, tot pullulat atra colubris*; 7. 511 *at saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi*; and *Allecto* descending back into ‘savage’ underworld: 7. 568 *saevi spiracula Ditis*. Harpies: 3. 214–215 *neq saevior ulla / pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis*; *Tisiphone*: 6. 572 *vocat agmina saeva sororum*; *Hydra*: 6. 576–577 *Hydra / saevior intus habet sedem*.

sea, its waves, and its creatures are called *saevus* or they *saevire* – they rage savagely.¹¹ So, too, does he apply this word to weaponry and wars and associated pain and slaughter, as well as to fire and deaths.¹² And it is curious that Deiphobos, in the Underworld, advises the Sibyl herself not to *saevire*, possibly in a more gentle sense of, “don’t get anxious”, or “don’t worry...” : *ne saevi, magna sacerdos* (*Aen.* 6. 544).

Vergil thus uses *saevus* with this range of meanings to describe both humans and fearful events and deeds, including deities, especially Juno,¹³ and also to describe Pallas in a Homeric context, when Aeneas is watching her and the other gods tearing down Troy. It is interesting that Homer never applies δεινή to Hera. Instead, he dwells on her unpleasantness as well as on her manipulation. In *Iliad* 1. 159, Zeus says to Hera, “you, too, may roam (to Tartarus), κυνώπις (Fitzgerald¹⁴ translates it as “you bitch unparalleled” – Lattimore’s more polite translation is “with your dog’s eyes”, “but” (Zeus continues) “I’ll be indifferent still to your bad temper”. Again, in Book 18, when Thetis comes to Hephaistos to ask him to make a shield for Achilles, Hephaistos responds to the announcement that she is coming:

Ah, then, there is a goddess *we honor and respect* (δεινή τε καὶ αἰδοίη)
in our house.

She saved me when I suffered much at the time of my great fall
through the will of my own *brazen-faced/dog-faced* (κυνώπις)
mother, who wanted to hide me, for being lame. (*Iliad* 18. 394–397)

Lattimore translates κυνώπις as “brazen-faced (mother)” while Fitzgerald again says, “mother, *bitch* that she is”, thus again nicely capturing the canine pejorative of κυνώπις here – in other words, “lost to all sense of shame and decency, shameless, reckless, outrageous”, which I suspect is consistent with Vergil’s implications when he applies *saeva* to Juno. Homer’s Achilles also uses this term, κυνώπια, in Book 1 of the *Iliad* when he chastises Agamemnon’s “shamelessness” (*Il.* 1. 159) in taking away Briseis to replace his lost Chryseis. Similarly Helen, after she says to Priam (*Il.* 3. 172), “αἰοιοδοῖος τέ μοί ἐσσι ... δεινός τε: “revere you as I do, I dread you too (δεινός), dear Lord”, and then she demeans herself by calling herself κυνώπιδος (*Il.* 3. 180 – which Lattimore translates, “slut that I am”).

A more flattering – and more frequent – Homeric epithet for Hera is βοῶπις (“ox-eyed”, or “having large soft eyes”), which occurs repeatedly in the *Iliad*, begin-

¹¹ *saevit Nereus* 2. 418; *saevae petunt Tritonidis arcem* 2. 226; *saeva quiescunt aequora* 4. 523; *saevisque vadis* 10. 678.

¹² Weaponry and wars and associated pain and slaughter are *saevus: arma* 1. 295, 9. 651; *verbera* 6. 557; *proelia* 11. 727; *saevius ... armis* 12. 890, 8. 842; *saevam caedem* 12. 498; *tela* 11. 545; *saevus securis [Bruti]*; *saevi monumenta doloris* 12. 945; *saevit amor ferri* 7. 461; *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu* 4. 532. Fire and death: *incendi* 9. 77; *funera* 8. 570; *[Turnus] furens (et saeva Iovis numina poscunt) / deserit obsessos collis* 11. 901–902.

¹³ Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9. 198–199, where Hercules speaking, before mounting the pyre, reviews his exploits, and here says: *defessa iubendo est / saeva Iovis coniunx, ego sum indefessus agendo.*

¹⁴ FITZGERALD 1983.

ning in Book 1. 551, where she is called βροῦπις πότνια Ἥρη, “ox-eyed queen Hera”, suggesting a certain beauty, and the equally frequent epithet, λευκώλενος, “white-armed”, a term also applied to mortal women, such as Helen, Andromache, and Nausicaa. But there are other negative references to Hera in Homer, such as Achilles’ allusion to her “hard-to-bear anger” ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης (18.119), and its effect on Herakles.

As I have said, however, it is striking that Homer never applies δεινή to Hera. Instead, it is Pallas Athena, who is frequently paired with Hera, who has this epithet. Hera and Pallas Athena are frequently working together, particularly in combat scenes. At the end of *Iliad* 3, Zeus declares that Menelaos is victorious, and that it is time for him to take Helen home. *Iliad* 4 begins with a council of the gods, wherein Zeus declares that Menelaos is to be the protégé of “Argive¹⁵ Hera and guardian Athena” (Ἀλκομενεῖς Ἀθηναίη, *Il.* 4. 8). Shortly thereafter, at *Il.* 4. 20, Athena and Hera merely murmur in response. In Book 5. 418, after Aphrodite’s speech Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη, looking on, have “waspyish” (καροτομίους) things to say (against Aphrodite’s arguments), and the same phrase from 4. 8 (“Argive Hera and guardian Athena”), concludes *Il.* 5. 908.

In *Il.* 8. 426, after Zeus has sent Iris to order *both Hera and Athena* to stay out of the battle, Zeus says to Iris: “let Grey-Eyed Athena realize the peril of going into battle with her father. I cannot be so furious with Hera – she balks me from sheer habit.” A short time later (20 lines later, at 8. 447) as Zeus sits in his golden chair, and Athena and Hera sit alone, never speaking a word to him, Homer says, “He knew their mood and said ‘Athena, why so gloomy? And Hera, why? In war, where *men win glory*, you have not had to toil to bring down Trojans.’” “Athena and Hera”, says the poet, “put their heads together, meditating the Trojans’ fall”, and ten lines later, (8. 457) we are told “Athena held her peace toward Zeus, although a fierce rancor pervaded her; but Hera could not contain it and burst out to him: “fearsome as you are, why take that tone with goddesses, my lord? We are well aware how far from weak you are, but we mourn for the dead Akhaian.”

In Book 9, Odysseus, recalling Peleus’ instructions to his son, Achilles, quotes Peleus as saying “now as to strength, child, if *Hera and Athena* wish, they’ll give it” (κάροτος μὲν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη / δώσουσ’ αἶψ’ ἐθέλωσι, *Il.* 9. 254–255), thus suggesting the goddesses’ control over the outcome of the war.

In Book 11, as Agamemnon and his men *prepare for battle*, “Athena and Hera *thunder overhead*” (ἐπὶ δ’ ἐγδούπησαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη, 11. 45) (unusual, since Zeus usually does the thundering). Finally, as Zeus tells the gods they may side with the men of Troy or of Akhaia (20. 33), *Hera and Athena*, along with Poseidon and Hermes and Hephaestus are the deities named on the Akhaian side.

Thus, while Hera and Athena *do* work with the other gods in the military struggle, their skills are seen as complementary, a natural, complementary pairing. Vergil’s Juno, as I have said, embodies the qualities of Homer’s Athena as well as his Hera. Juno has all the negative qualities of Hera in the *Aeneid*, but she gradually comes to embody

¹⁵ FITZGERALD 1983 translates Argive, ‘Boiotian’.

the strengths of Athena *qua* warrior-goddess – and indeed this is what we see happening in *Aeneid* 7. Here, when war is declared between the Latins and the Trojans, it is not Mars but Juno who sets the conflict in motion – *Aen.* 7. 572–573 begins: *Nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello / imponit regina manum*: “No less then does the Saturnian queen impose the final ‘hand’ (*manum*) on the pending struggle”, as she “pushes open the gates of war”. The acrostic¹⁶ that introduces this action, as Barchiesi observes, is the only time that Mars, the god of war is named in the action of the entire *Aeneid*. His name, as here, is frequently used to mean “war”, but it is Juno, daughter of Saturn, who is the deity of war in this epic. Note that the gates open with the acrostic MARS:

*Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
Albae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
Roma colit, cum prima movent in proelia Martem,
sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum* (Aen. 7. 601–604)

When they began to wage war in Latium, there was a custom which Alban cities observed and now is closely followed by Rome, the greatest of cities...)

and this door-opening concludes in line 617 with *Belli* and *Saturnia*:

*impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine verso
Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis.* (Aen. 7. 616–617)

the consul ... opens these creaking doors and he himself declares **WAR**

If we then compare the similarities and differences between Vergil's Juno and her possible Homeric predecessors, we find that Vergil's Juno is not merely a close replica of Homer's Hera, but rather incorporates many qualities of Homer's other goddesses, especially of Pallas Athena. Vergil's *saeva Juno* shares with Hera a close association with the underworld and its *saeva* creatures, to which she resorts to hinder the Trojans. But she is also a warrior goddess. We have seen that Homer's Hera and Athena are frequently found working together in the *Iliad*. In the *Aeneid*, their functions might appear to be separate, but *saeva Juno* embodies many of the warlike orientations of Athena that are combined in Vergil's *saeva Juno*: Homer, in joining the two goddesses in the conflict between the Trojans and the Akhaians, frequently provides Vergil with a basis for also doing so.

While Homer's Hera is never given Athena's epithet, *δεινή/saeva*, Vergil on at least one occasion gives Pallas this epithet, during the fall of Troy (*Aen.* 2. 615–616: *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone*

¹⁶ Cf. JOHNSTON 1981, 23–30, and again in 1998. For the identification of the acrostic MARS in *Aen.* 7. 617–620; later also noticed by FOWLER 1983, 298, later cited by BARCHIESI 2002, 1–22.

saeva: “Tritonian¹⁷ Pallas sits on the top of the citadel, dazzling and cruel with her Gorgon-shield”). In *Aen.* 1. 39, as Juno observes the Trojans setting sail from Sicily, she begrudges the fact that *Pallas* was able to exact a toll on the Argives (with Jupiter’s help), while she herself could not:

... *Pallasne exurere classem*
Argivum atque ipso potuit sommergere ponto
unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei? (Aen. 1. 39–41)

<I am forbidden> not at all like Pallas Athena, who burned and sank the Argive fleet merely to punish only the crime of Ajax, the maddened son of Oileus!

Pallas Athena, as I have said, appears in the mural on Juno’s temple in 1.479, a scene which corresponds to the delegation of Trojan women to Athena in *Iliad* 6. 297 ff.:

*interea ad templum non aequae **Palladis** ibant*
crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant suppliciter. (Aen. 1. 479–80)

Meanwhile Trojan women, with disheveled hair, make their way to the temple of Pallas and carry a humble offering, a robe.

Pallas, with her divine art (*Aen.* 2. 15) enables the Greeks to build the Trojan horse, and the Trojan horse is claimed by lying Sinon, in *Aeneid* 2. 163, 183, to have been built as recompense for the theft of her statue (*Palladium*):

(*Sinon’s lies:*) *omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli*
***Palladis** auxiliis semper stetit. Impius ex quo*
Tydidēs sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixēs,
fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo
***Palladium** caesis summae custodibus arcis...* (Aen. 2. 162–67)

All the Danaans’ hopes had rested upon the support of Pallas Athena, once the war had begun. But from the time Diomedes, along with Ulysses, contriver of crimes, came to the temple to steal her statue, and murdered the guards and took the sacred *Palladium*...

The Greeks, according to Sinon, had built the horse after the seer, Calchas, warned them they must escape by sea after the Greeks had received terrible omens

¹⁷ *Tritonia* is a frequent epithet of Pallas, after an obscure lake in Africa where she was born. In *Aen.* 2. 226 *saevae Tritonidis* refers to Athena compare *Tritonia Pallas* 2. 615, 5. 704, and *Tritonia virgo*, 11. 483; the name of Evander’s son, Pallas, is particularly noteworthy here.

because of their having stolen the Palladium (the statue of Pallas Athena, which had stood in the city of Troy). Calchas warned them first to build the Horse as an offering to Pallas Athena, to watch over the city in their absence. But if the Trojans brought the horse into the city, the whole of Mycenae and its people would fall. (*Aen.* 2. 183–190).¹⁸

In *Aeneid* 3, as the Trojans reach Calabria (*Castrum Minervae*, 3. 531), Anchises warns that the four white horses they see there are an omen of war; the Trojans thereupon pray to ***Palladis armisonae***, “Pallas, Loud-in-Battle” (3. 544) and then offer sacrifices to Argive Juno (*Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores* 3. 548).

... *tum numina sancta precamur*
Palladis armisonae, *quae prima accepit ovantis,*
et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu,
praeptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima rite
Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores. (*Aen.* 3. 544–548)

And so we prayed to the sacred spirit of Pallas-Loud-in-Battle, the first to Welcome our cheers. Then at her altars we veiled our heads with Phrygian cloaks, and heeding the earlier prophecies uttered by Helenus, we offered sacrifice to Argive Juno.

In Book 5, after the ships have been burnt and Aeneas is in despair, the old man Nautes is able to persuade Aeneas to entrust to Acestes, in Sicily, (*tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas / quem docuit*, 5. 704–705) the women and those too weak to travel, because he was one of the priests of Pallas who brought back the Palladium from Troy (in 2. 166) to Italy.

In Book 7, after the Trojans arrive in Latium, Aeneas sends a peaceful delegation to the walls of Evander, *ramis velatos Palladis omnis* (*Aen.* 7. 154), “all of them covered with the olive-branches of Pallas”.

In *Aeneid* 8, when Vulcan goes to his workshop, at the request of Venus, to make a shield for Aeneas, his Cyclopes are in the process of making a shield for Pallas Athena:

aegidaque horrifera, turbatae Palladis arma
certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant
conexasque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae
Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo. (*Aen.* 8. 435–438)

... a terrifying shield, the weapon used by Pallas when she is aroused; the golden scales of the serpents were being entwined on the breast of the goddess,

¹⁸ *Palladium* is the sacred image of the maiden goddess Pallas Athena. WILLIAMS, at *Aen.* 2. 166, points out that this story is not in Homer, but goes back to the cyclic epic. “According to one version, it was a false Palladium which the Greeks stole, and the real one was brought from Troy to Rome by Aeneas; according to another Aeneas recovered it from Diomedes after the fall of Troy.”

along with the head of Medusa herself, glaring even though her neck had been severed.

And finally, as Latinus regrets that he had not accepted Dardanian Aeneas on his own and received him as his son-in-law into the city (*Dardanium Aenean generumque asserit urbi*, 11. 471–72), his queen, Amata, “comes to the lofty temple of Pallas” (*ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces / subvehitur* to seek Pallas’ support for Turnus (*Aen.* 11. 477–478). The Latin women begin their request:

*armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia Virgo,
frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum
pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis.* (Aen. 11. 483–485):

Mighty in
arms, Tritonian Maiden, ruler of battle, smash the
weapons of the Phrygian thief, and cast him low on the
ground (solo), beneath our lofty gates.

We are reminded of the delegation to Athena in Book 1 (482), depicted on the mural of Dido’s temple of Juno, where the goddess is “turned away, holding her gaze fixed on the ground (*solo*)”, and the identical reaction of Dido to Aeneas in the underworld (*solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, *Aen.* 6. 469). Here there is clearly no need to mention the goddess’s reaction – and it is not mentioned, as Vergil moves on to the *arete* of Camilla, and her destruction.

CONCLUSION

It is clear, then, that the *saevitia* Vergil assigns to Juno is not consistent with Homer’s depiction of Hera, but is rather a combination of the traits that emerges when Homer pairs Pallas Athena with this goddess. Homer’s Pallas Athena does not pursue Aeneas and his Trojans after they leave Troy, although there are frequent recalls of their hostility at Troy in the early books of the *Aeneid*, whereas Juno, who is far less subservient to Jupiter (who is not really as active in the *Aeneid* as Zeus is in the *Iliad*) in the *Aeneid*. Homer’s frequently paired Hera and Pallas Athena, are much more easily reprimanded than is Vergil’s Juno, who, while assuming many of the traits of Homer’s Pallas Athena, acts much more independently. She embodies their military prowess, but is much more dominant in the action of Vergil’s epic.

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