Abstract: A series of links to the last verses of the Eclogues and Georgics characterizes A. 12.945–52 as a covert sphragis that reflects on Vergil's corpus. Through their description of Pallas' baldric, focus on Aeneas' relationship with Pallas and allusion to Eclogue 1, the epic's final lines continue the modes of closural reflection established by Ec. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66. In doing so, they mark grief as a central emotion of the Aeneid and render distance and death a point of conclusion for Vergil's earlier works as well. This perspective emphasizes the tension between the necessity of Aeneas' last action and the emotional toll it entails, at the same time as it calls attention to the opposition between the frailty of human bonds and the courage of those who attempt to form them in all of Vergil's writings.

When Aeneas plunges his sword into Turnus' chest and his enemy's soul flees to the underworld, the audience is left to ponder the hero's last action. Yet while the Aeneid's closing verses have prompted no shortage of questions about piety, sacrifice and the like, relatively few scholars consider the possibility that the epic's end fashions a portrait of the poem itself. In this article, I argue that a series of links to the Eclogues and Georgics' final verses characterizes A. 12.945–52 as a covert sphragis that establishes grief as a dominant passion in Vergil's epic and subsumes his earlier poems into a single "Book of Vergil" concluding with distance and death. Three aspects of their last

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1 I am grateful to Timothy Joseph and Sarah McCallum for their invaluable feedback on an earlier version of this article. Some sections of this article were presented at the 2016 Summer Institute of the Classical Association of New England at Brown University, and I am indebted to the audience for their questions and feedback. I also offer my thanks to the anonymous referees for their insightful comments and to the journal's editor, Antony Augoustakis, for his generous help throughout the process.


3 Tarrant (2012) 127 entertains this possibility.

4 In a study of relationships between Vergil's writings, Theodorakopoulos (1997) 155 uses the phrase "The Book of Vergil" to refer to the one text that seems to be formed by the poet's three works. Theodorakopoulos (1997) and Nels (2004) 74–5 discuss the many connections between
lines connect Vergil’s masterpieces: a reference to the entire work, a description of a personal relationship and an allusion to Eclogue 1. In Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66 these elements openly comment on the composition they close and position their poem as the capstone to Vergil’s corpus. Although the Aeneid’s concluding verses appear solely to concern its narrative, they contain these same features. Indeed, their description of Pallas’ baldric as a “monument of savage grief” (saevi monimenta doloris, A. 12.945), their reflection on Aeneas’ connection with Pallas and their reference to Eclogue 1 in their final word, “shades” (umbras, A. 12.952), recall how Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66 likewise refer to their entire poem, comment on a personal relationship and allude to Eclogue 1.

This consistency frames the end of the Aeneid as a similar sort of reflection. Viewed from this perspective, A. 12.945–52 marks grief as a central emotion of the Aeneid and renders distance and death a point of conclusion for Vergil’s earlier works. In doing so, this sphragis increases the tension between opposites that characterizes Vergilian poetry. These verses emphasize the grief associated with Aeneas’ actions even as they do not eliminate those actions’ justifications, and they also extend their implications back to the Eclogues and Georgics, characterizing the human bonds within Vergil’s poetic worlds as fragile and courageous at the same time.

The article’s first section analyzes how Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66 show a remarkable consistency in their structural details and modes of closural reflection. In Ecl. 10.70–7, Vergil invokes his entire pastoral collection, situates his poetry within his relationship with Gallus and looks back to the Eclogues’ first poem. By recalling the end of Eclogue 1, Ecl. 10.70–7 supersedes that poem’s moment of closure and characterizes itself as the culmination of Vergil’s pastoral book. The Georgics build on these effects. In G. 4.559–66, Vergil describes the entirety of his poem, compares himself with Octavian and invokes Eclogue 1. While a sphragist typically reflects only on the poem it closes, this allusion gathers the Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid, while Zetzel (1983) 101 and Kofler (2003) 141 note the holistic portrait of Vergil’s literary career projected by his poems, a view Volk (2002) 154–6 finds overstated in current scholarship.

1 The Latin text of Vergil is from Mynors (1969). All translations are my own.
3 Kranz (1961); Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 335–6; McKewen (1989) 11.388–9; Edmunds (1997) 29–48; Fakas (2001) 52 n. 153; Klooster (2011) 176 n. 5; and Peirano (2013) 270–2 and (2014) 224–5 discuss the background of the term sphragis and offer further references. I use it to denote a passage that concludes a poem with remarks about the poet and his literary production. As
the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* into a larger unit. The thematic similarities between *Ecl.* 10.70–7 and *G.* 4.559–66, reinforced by correspondences of diction and structure, connect these passages as moments of closural reflection.

The article next illustrates how three aspects of A. 12.945–52 echo the mechanisms of closure seen in *Ecl.* 10.70–7 and *G.* 4.559–66: a reference to the entire poem through the description of Pallas’ baldric as a “monument of savage grief” (*saevi monimenta doloris*, A. 12.945), a focus on a personal relationship in Aeneas’ invocations of Pallas and an allusion to the *Eclogues* via “shades” (*umbras*, A. 12.952). These details frame A. 12.945–52 as a continuation of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*’ closural modes and prompt a consideration of what these epic verses communicate about Vergil’s corpus.

The article’s final section argues that A. 12.945–52, having been cast as a *sphragis*, sets grief, distance and death as a lens for viewing the *Aeneid* as well as the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Representing a substantial shift from the association of Vergilian poetry with the “little basket” (*fiscellam*, 10.71), the phrase “monument of savage grief” (*saevi monimenta doloris*) marks the *Aeneid* as a piece of art characterized by destructive passion. In a like manner, Aeneas’ invocations of Pallas highlight the frustration and distance typical of the hero’s personal relationships, feelings that accelerate the trend toward separation in the shift from Gallus (*Eclogues*) to Octavian (*Georgics*). Lastly, the position of “shades” (*umbras*) as the *Aeneid*’s final word renders the epic’s end coincident with the end of a life, suggesting a link between artistic closure and mortal finality. Through its allusion to Eclogue 1, *umbras* destabilizes the associations of shade in Vergil’s pastoral work and moves the closing verses of his earlier poems toward the ultimate end of death. The article’s conclusion situates the *Aeneid*’s *sphragis* within the tension between opposites that characterizes Vergil’s corpus. The emphasis on grief, distance and death in A. 12.945–52 points toward the irresolvable opposition between the necessity of Turnus’ death and the costly emotions associated with it, while, from a larger perspective, this *sphragis* highlights the futile yet courageous attempts at human relationships in Vergil’s poetic worlds.

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Thomas (1988) II.239 notes, the *Georgics* is Vergil’s only work that ends with an explicit *sphragis*, but the *Eclogues*’ last verse can be termed “a coda, if not a *sphragis*.” For Late Republican and Augustan examples, see Hor. *Carm.* 3.30, *Sat.* 1.10, and *Epod.* 1.20; Prop. 1.22; and Ov. *Am.* 1.15 and *Met.* 15.871–9. More generally, Oliensis (2014) 208 elucidates how the border of a work creates meaning and Jansen (2014b) 5–8 discusses how “paratexts,” namely passages at the semantic, physical and / or structural threshold of their works, often prompt the reader to consider the work’s meaning as well as their own and the author’s positions.
Closural Tendencies: Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66

The Eclogues and Georgics’ last lines position themselves as the reflective conclusions to an ever-growing body of poetry. In Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66, Vergil characterizes each work by invoking the poetry book that is coming to a close, focusing on a personal relationship and recalling Eclogue 1. In doing so, he sets Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66 as sphragides for an expanding poetic corpus.

In and of itself, the presence of a sphragis at the end of either poem is not revolutionary, as Greek and Hellenistic poets often comment on their work at its conclusion. What is innovative is how these Vergilian endings incorporate other, seemingly closed, units of poetry within their orbit. By superseding earlier moments of closure, these passages destabilize the boundaries between individual poems and mold Vergil’s distinct works into a single corpus. At the same time, their shared thematic and structural characteristics link the two passages.

At the end of Eclogue 10, Vergil comments on the nature of his pastoral poetry and looks back to his book’s beginning. The poem’s final eight verses address the Muses (Ecl. 10.70–7):

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haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,
Pierides: vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,
Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas
quantum vere novo viridis se subicit alnus.
surgamus: solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra,
juniperi gravis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.
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It will be enough, divine Pierians, for your poet to have sung these songs, while he sits and weaves a little basket of slender willow: you will make these songs the greatest for Gallus, for Gallus, for whom my love grows as much by the hour as a green alder tree shoots up in a new spring. Let us rise: shade is often burdensome for singers, the juniper’s shade is burdensome; shades also damage the crops. Go home full, my she-goats, go home, the evening star is coming.

Two repetitions open this passage: haec in lines 70 and 72 and Gallo in lines 72 and 73. Placed emphatically at the beginning of line 70 and just before the...
caesura in line 72, *haec* frames the temporal link between Vergil’s singing and his weaving. This metaphor for poetic creation draws attention to the refined style of the *Eclogues* and the temporal link between Vergil’s singing and his weaving. This metaphor for poetic creation draws attention to the refined style of the *Eclogues*, a collection that *haec* invokes in its entirety and that “Pierides” (*Pierides* 10.72), Vergil’s epithet for the Muses, designates as pastoral.9

The repetition of Gallus’ name as the last and first word of successive verses situates Vergil’s bond with his fellow poet as a central aspect of his poetry. *Eclogue* 10 details Gallus’ unsuccessful efforts to leave love elegy behind for pastoral,10 and Vergil now expresses his own strong attachment in an act of homage.11 The repetition of Gallus’ name “suggests an urgent intensity of emotion,”12 while the comparison of the development of Vergil’s feelings for Gallus to the growth of an alder tree brings love, earlier associated with elegy, within the realm of pastoral.13 The verb that describes this passion, *crescit*, further amplifies their connection: it looks back to Gallus’ application of the same word to his poetry and love,14 while its present tense asserts that Vergil and Gallus’ passion continues to flourish. Furthermore, the association between pastoral poetry and Vergil’s love for Gallus connects that genre with personal attachment.

Vergil’s closing declarations highlight the coda’s poetic significance while also opening a dialogue with his collection’s first poem. Claiming that shadows are heavy for singers and that evening has come, Vergil ends *Eclogue* 10 with a call to rise, a suggestion that signals literal movement as well as metaphorical generic ascension.15 The focus on “shade” (*umbra(e)*, *Ecl.* 10.75 and 76) and the day’s end recalls *Eclogue* 1, a poem whose final lines also coincide with evening.16

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8 Servius *ad Ecl.* 10.71 and Clausen (1994) 311.
9 Vergil uses *Pierides* only in the *Eclogues*: On the epithet’s possible generic significance and/or link with Gallus, see Coleman (1977) 121–2 and 293; Clausen (1994) 111 and 311; and Knox (2014) 857–8.
10 See *Ecl.* 10.9–69; Williams (1968) 236; Leach (1974) 166; Perkell (1996); Lightfoot (1999) 64; and Lindheim (2000) 86.
12 Coleman (1977) 294.
14 See *Ecl.* 10.54 and Coleman (1977) 276–7 and 294.
16 Although *umbra* appears 15 times in the *Eclogues* (1.4, 83; 2.8, 67; 5.5, 40, 70; 7.10, 46, 58; 8.14; 9.20; and 10.75, 76, 76; see Wacht (1996) for these references), it is only in *Eclogues* 1, 2, and 10 that it stands near the end of a poem and refers to evening shadows. Of these three poems, the uses of *umbra* in *Eclogues* 1 and 10 are the most closely connected. While *umbra* in *Eclogue* 2...
Here, as the sun sets, "greater shadows" (*maiores ... umbrae*, 1.83) fall from mountains. The injunction *ite ... ite capellae* (*Ecl*. 10.77) further links the compositions, as the shepherd Meliboeus uses the same phrase in the same metrical seat to hurry his goats along their path into exile in *Eclogue* 1 (*Ecl*. 1.74). Eclogue 1 had been marked as complete by the coincidence between the end of the day and the end of its lines, but *Ecl*. 10.70–7 recalls this earlier moment of closure and, in doing so, reframes it from this new perspective. Meliboeus’ exile, from both the land and his role as a singer, now presages Vergil’s departure from pastoral. While Vergil’s well-fed goats are better off than Meliboeus’ ill-starred flock, the poet’s exit takes on a hint of compulsion as well. *gravis* (*Ecl*. 10.75, 76) twice emphasizes the heavy shadows that fall on the singer; *nocent* (*Ecl*. 10.76) renders these implications more apparent: shadows harm crops, an effect portended for the poet as well, given singers’ association with the pastoral landscape. The link between *Eclogue* 1 and 10 showcases how personal attachment alone may not enable pastoral’s inhabitants to remain within that landscape. Tityrus, a fellow shepherd, lets Meliboeus spend one night in his shelter, but Meliboeus still must leave the next morning. Tityrus’ generosity offers only a semblance of Gallus and Vergil’s love, but just as pastoral was not capacious enough for Gallus, Vergil too must leave the genre behind.

In a similar manner, the last lines of *Georgics* 4 characterize the work they end while gathering all of Vergil’s poems (so far) into a single corpus. In *G*. 4.559–66, Vergil invokes the entirety of his didactic poem, juxtaposes his activities with Octavian’s and echoes the *Eclogues*’ first line:**

occurs seven verses before the poem’s end and is followed by a description of potential future activities, in *Eclogues* 1 and 10 *umbra* appears much closer to its poem’s end (in the final verse in *Eclogue* 1 and in the antepenultimate and penultimate verses in *Eclogue* 10) and is linked with the notion of retiring for the night. (Clausen (1994) xxv likewise notes the same use of "shadows for an effect of cadence" at the end of *Eclogues* 1 and 10).

**Leach (1974) 276; Coleman (1977) 294; and Clausen (1994) xxvi discuss this allusion.

**See *Ecld*. 1.77; Coleman (1977) 75 and 88; and Clausen (1994) 32.

**See *Ecld*. 1.49 and 77–8 and Coleman (1977) 82 and 88.

**See *OLD s.v.* *gravis* 1 and 6 and Coleman (1977) 294 as well as Lucr. 6.783–5 and Leonard and Smith (1942) 830.

**See Comington (1884) 1.125 and Coleman (1977) 294.

I was singing these things about the care of fields and animals and about trees, while great Caesar was thundering in war by the deep Euphrates and, victorious, giving laws to willing nations and attempting a journey to Olympus. At that time sweet Naples was nursing me, Vergil, as I was rejoicing in the pursuit of undistinguished leisure, I who played at shepherds' songs and, daring in my youth, sang of you, Tityrus, under the canopy of a spreading beech.

In this sphragis, Vergil shifts his focus from his didactic project to his poetic career. Lines 559–60 invoke *Georgics* 1 (arvorum/crops), 2 (arboribus/trees), and 3 (pecorum/cattle), while haec may refer to the entirety of the *Georgics* or specifically to Book 4 with its focus on bees.\(^{23}\) In either case, the couplet asserts Vergil’s authorship of the *Georgics* and calls attention to his poem’s close.

Unlike his bond with Gallus, which centers on emotional intimacy, the poet’s relationship with Octavian is structured by a combination of likeness and opposition. The temporal markers “while” (dum, 4.560) and “at that time” (illo tempore, 4.563) join Vergil’s writing with Octavian’s military campaigns, but their temporally coincidental activities offer contrasts rather than similarities.\(^{24}\) Two words associated with Octavian, “he was thundering” (fulminat, 4.561) and “Euphrates” (Euphraten, 4.561), allude to a set of negative literary qualities adumbrated in Callimachus’ *Aetia* and *Hymn to Apollo*, where the Hellenistic poet contrasts his short and polished compositions with lengthy and unoriginal poetry.\(^{25}\) Vergil’s allusions invoke the sort of unsophisticated writing that might

\(^{23}\) In the former case super would be translated as above (see *OLD* s.v. 11), while in the latter it would be interpreted as “in addition to” or “over and above” (see *OLD* s.v. 12b). Thomas (1988) II.240 discusses both possible meanings.

\(^{24}\) Conington (1884) I.400-1.

celebrate Octavian, an imagined encomium that highlights the refined nature of his didactic.

This *sphragis* supersedes earlier endings in Vergil’s corpus. While *Ecl.* 10.70–7 associates the close of a poem with the close of a day, the language of epitaph in *G.* 4.559–66 evokes a more permanent conclusion. As Peirano notes, the specification that Naples “was nursing Vergil” (*Vergilium ... alebat, G.* 4.563) alludes to “a metaphor of the land as a nurse ... typically found in Greek and Roman epitaphs.” The designation of Naples with *Parthenope* furthers this effect, as the epithet recalls that the city was founded near the burial place of the eponymous siren. Evoking the end of both the siren’s life and song, *Parthenope* generates additional closural momentum for the *Georgics*’ final lines. This force helps the poem’s last verses set *G.* 4.559–66 as the ending to a new and larger corpus of poetry. *G.* 4.566 almost exactly repeats the opening words of *Eclogue* 1: “You, Tityrus, reclining under the canopy of a spreading beech” (*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi, Ecl. 1.1*). By recalling his first work’s first line, Vergil creates a ring composition that positions *G.* 4.559–66 as the ending not only to the *Georgics*, but to the *Eclogues* as well. Just as *Ecl.* 10.75–77 alludes to *Eclogue* 1 and sets it within the larger structure of the *Eclogue* book, *G.* 4.566 shifts the interpretation of these earlier poems. In this case, *G.* 4.566 puts a distance between Vergil and the pastoral world. By proclaiming how he once sang of Tityrus, Vergil asserts his authorship of the *Eclogues*; he is the creator of its poetic landscape, not its inhabitant. Moreover, through its allusion to *Eclogue* 1, *G.* 4.556 also recalls the end of *Eclogue* 10, which contains a similar intertextuality. Viewed from this perspective, the exhortation to rise in *Ecl.* 10.75 is no longer figured as an ending, but as a transition to a new beginning.

The structural details of *Ecl.* 10.70–7 and *G.* 4.559–66 further connect these poems’ closural strategies and suggest that the location of their reflections is determinative rather than coincidental. As Thomas points out, *Ecl.* 10.70–7 and *G.* 4.559–66 share three characteristics: each passage is eight lines long, each begins with *haec* and, in each case, *haec* refers to the entire poetry book in which

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27 Conington (1884) I.401; Thomas (1988) II.240; Cassella (2014); and Peirano (2014) 230–1 discuss this aetiological story.

28 Two words are changed between *Ecl.* 1.1 and *G.*4.566: *tutum* to *recubans* to *ceci.*

29 Katz (2014b) notes this ring-composition, and Kennedy (2014) 31 n. 38 records how an anonymous reader remarks how, at this moment in the *Georgics*, “authoriality is set above the level of the individual publications.”
it appears. Moreover, *haec* is both times the object of a form of *cano*. Other patterns in Vergil’s corpus confirm these details’ significance. From a larger perspective, Vergil’s most explicitly reflective passages occur at the beginning and middle of his three works, and the ending of poems offers a similarly charged location for commentary. On a more granular level, the importance of verse placement throughout Vergil’s poems implies that the identical length of *Ecl. 10.70–7* and *G. 4.559–66* is no chance product. The poet’s treatment of the Euphrates offers a relevant example. Named three times, the river always appears six lines from the end of its individual book (*G. 1.509, G. 4.561* and *A. 8.726*). Considered over the course of Vergil’s poems, these references show the Euphrates in a “progressively submissive light.” This evidence of line arrangement as a mechanism for producing meaning, exemplified in other patterns as well, only bolsters the connection between *Ecl. 10.70–7* and *G. 4.559–66*.

**Similar Elements: Prompts for Reflection in A. 12.945–52**

Three aspects of A. 12.945–52 recall *Ecl. 10.70–7* and *G. 4.559–66*: a reference to the entire poem in the phrase *saevi monimenta doloris*, a focus on Aeneas’ relationship with Pallas and an allusion to *Eclogue 1* via *umbras*. Even as A. 12.945–52 describes Aeneas’ killing of Turnus, these details position the passage as a *sphragis* for Vergil’s corpus:

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ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
exuviasque hausit, furis accensus et ira
terribilis: “tune hinc spoliis induce miorem
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.”
hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
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50 Vergil announces the genre and content of his poetry in the opening lines of all his works (*Ecl. 1.1–5; G. 1.1–42*; and *A. 1.1–11*) and explores these topics in his “proems in the middle” (*Ecl. 6.1–12; G. 3.1–48*; and *A. 7.37–45*). The phrase “proems in the middle” comes from Conte (1992), who notes that their “regular recurrence … allows us to recognize in [them] a function of a systematic character” (153) (see also Thomas (1986) on these passages). Katz likewise advances arguments (2008) 111 and (2012) 90–3 that draw on patterns spanning Vergil’s three works.


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fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

After Aeneas drunk in the monument of savage grief and the spoils with his eyes, he burned with fury and was terrible in his wrath: “Are you to escape from me, clad in the spoils of my own?” Pallas sacrifices you with this wound, Pallas exacts punishment from your accursed blood.” Saying this Aeneas buries his sword into his enemy’s chest, raging; and then Turnus’ limbs go slack with cold and his soul, indignant, flees with a groan to the shades.

Unlike Ec 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66, no explicit reflection graces the end of the Aeneid. This absence is at least partly due to epic’s generic constraints on the narrator as well as Vergil’s predilection for variatio. Yet even though this passage’s narrative focus differs from that of the end of the Eclogues and Georgics, its diction, themes and structure continue their closural modes of reflection.

Like haec in Ec 10.70 and G. 4.559, monimenta appears eight lines before the end of its poem and recalls the entirety of the work that now comes to a close. A survey of monimenta in the Aeneid reveals its consistent use to describe items that commemorate people, events and emotions. Each of the noun’s ten appearances in the epic designates something that prompts the remembrance of someone or something connected with it in the past. This is the case, for instance, when Andromache labels her gifts to Ascanius “monuments of my hands” (manuum … monimenta mearum, 3.486), a description that renders the

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35 Kofler (2003) 140–1 notes in general that the presence of self-reflection in the Eclogues and Georgics implies it will continue in the Aeneid.
36 In addition to A 12.345, the noun also appears at A 3.102, 486; 4.498; 5.538, 572; 6.26, 512; 8.312, and 356. These references are based on a survey of Wacht (1996). On the word’s connection with memory and “the process of bringing something that would otherwise be absent to the forefront of a person’s mind,” see Seider (2013) 6.
clothing she Bestows a marker of her identity and emotions.\textsuperscript{37} While most scholars interpret saevi monimenta doloris as solely describing Pallas’ baldric and designating it as a reminder of Turnus’ slaughter of that youth and the emotions prompted by his death, Tarrant wonders if the phrase might refer to the Aeneid. As he explores the power of visual and literary art to influence passions in the epic, Tarrant asks, might saevi monimenta doloris also describe the Aeneid itself and its memorializing of cruel grief?\textsuperscript{38} Along with evidence from other Late Republican authors, three factors in Vergil’s poetry support an affirmative answer: the baldric’s status as a piece of art, its allusion to the epic’s beginning and its parallel with an object that evokes Vergil’s poetry in Eclogue 10.

Pallas’ baldric invites metapoetic interpretations through its status as a fashioned object of commemoration. Vergil’s initial description of the baldric focuses on its contents and creation (A. 10.497–9):

\begin{center}
\begin{flushright}
una sub nocte iugali
caes\textsuperscript{a} manus iu\textsuperscript{v}enum foede thalamique cruenti,
quae Clonus Eurytides multo caela\textsuperscript{v}erat auro
\end{flushright}
\end{center}

On a single night of marriage, the band of young men foully slaughtered and the bloody marriage chambers, which Clonus son of Eurytus had engraved with much gold

The first line and a half obliquely evokes the wedding-night slaughter of Aegyptus’ sons by Danaus’ daughters, while the third verse is entirely devoted to the work of the artist. The mere presence of a piece of art in the Aeneid’s narrative invites reflection on any parallels between that artifact and Vergil’s poem; moreover, thematic connections between the deeds engraved on the baldric and the actions that end the Aeneid further this comparison. As Putnam remarks, when the baldric appears at A. 12.945, it “brings with it another uncompleted, uncompletable tragic plot, stopped yet again, like the poem itself, at a moment of violent, unforgiving action.”\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{37} See Seider (2013) 88. Aeneid 4 offers a similar example. When Dido, having built a pyre of Aeneas’ belongings, mentions how “It helps to destroy all the monuments of that wicked man” (abolere nef\textsuperscript{a}ndi / cuncta viri monimenta iuvat, 4.497–8), her statement shows how items associated with Aeneas prompt a recollection of the man himself. See Seider (2013) 119–20 on this episode.

\textsuperscript{38} Tarrant (2004) 127.

\textsuperscript{39} Putnam (1998) 207. Harrison (1991) 198 also discusses how the baldric may foreshadow events in the poem.
Links between the baldric's description and the *Aeneid*'s opening further situate this piece of armor as a mnemonic marker of the epic. Most significantly, the phrase *saevi ... doloris* (*A. 12.945*) recalls *saevi ... dolores* (*A. 1.25*), the only other place in the poem where these words appear together. In *Aeneid* 1, this phrase describes Juno’s violent resentment on account of her memory of past wrongs that are linked with the Trojans, an emotion that drives her opposition to Aeneas.40 This connection with the poem’s beginning is reinforced by other allusions, and together they situate *saevi monimenta doloris* as a description of the entire epic. The words *saevi, monimenta* and *ira* in *A. 12.945–6* recall a similar juxtaposition of cruelty, memory and anger in the phrase “on account of the unforgetting anger of savage Juno” (*saevae memorem lunonis ob iram, A. 1.4*).41 Even the narrator’s invocation of the Muse, “Muse, tell me the causes ...” (*Musa, mihi causas memora ..., A. 1.8*), emphasizes memory’s centrality to the poem at its beginning, just as *saevi monimenta doloris* does at its end.42

Linked with the epic’s beginning by these allusions and endowed with metapoetic potential as a piece of art in a crucial narrative role, the baldric is further positioned as a representation of the *Aeneid* through a parallel with the *Eclogues*. At the end of his pastoral work, Vergil uses a physical artifact to reflect on his poetry. Here, the temporal coincidence between his singing and weaving links his song with “the little basket of slender willow” (*gracili fiscellam ... hibisco, Ecl. 10.71*) he crafts. While the parallels between the last eight lines of Vergil’s works are not perfect,43 the phrase *saevi monimenta doloris*, given the

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41 See Tarrant (2012) 336 on this allusion. One other phrase at the *Aeneid*'s end also recalls a scene early in its first book, as *solvuntur fügore membra* describes Aeneas in his first appearance (*A. 1.92*) and Turnus in his last (*A. 12.951*). See Putnam (1965) 200–1; Thomas (1998) 275–8; and Reed (2007) 54.

42 See Seider (2013) 1 and 127 on the importance of memory at the beginning and end of the epic as well as on the links created between memory and causality in this opening invocation. Schiesaro (2015) 167 notes how this initial depiction of memory emphasizes its capacity to preserve the past through time and that the end of the epic likewise connects memory with anger once again.

43 *ille* (*A. 12.945*) is equivalent to *haec* (*Ecl. 10.70* and *G. 4.559*) in neither form nor function, although some similarities between the two words may create a link. Most significantly, perhaps, while *ille* and *haec* play different surface roles in their poems, they are linked by their status as demonstrative pronouns and by their common location at the start of the eighth verse from the poem’s end. Moreover, *ille* may gain a bit more force from the frequency with which it shifts the narrative in the *Aeneid* as it does so 120 of the 124 times it begins a line in the epic. These statistics are based on a survey of Wacht (1996) and of the punctuation at the end of each verse directly
resonance of monimenta in the Aeneid the baldric’s connection with the poem’s opening and the Eclogues’ similar use of an artifact as a prompt for poetic reflection, introduces the idea that A. 12.945–52 may stand as a sphragis in the same manner as Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.559–66.

Further evidence for interpreting saevi monimenta doloris as a description of the Aeneid comes from Varro, Horace and Livy, each of whom associates monimenta with literature.44 In his discussion of monere, Varro links the noun with tombs and written work (L 6.49):

ab eodem monere, quod is qui monet, proinde sit ac memoria; sic monimenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis, ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta.

“To remind” is derived from the same word [i.e., “memory”], because he who reminds is just like a memory; the same is true for monuments, which are on graves and, for this reason, along streets, so that they might remind those going by that they themselves were mortal and so are the readers. For this reason, the other things which are written and done to preserve their memory are called monuments.45

According to Varro, monuments are like a memory because they remind: gravestones tell passersby that they, like those buried in the ground, will also die.46 Varro next describes how monimenta may be used as a term for writings as well, due to the fact that written words can preserve the memory of the dead.

44 For additional examples, see Cat. 95.9; Cic. Cons fr. 2.47; Phil. 2.20; and Fam. 13.28a.2; and Prop. 3.2.18, as well as OLD s.v. monumentum 5 and Peirano (2014) 231 n. 22.

45 Translation adapted from Kent (1938).

explaining why material and literary artifacts are designated as *monimenta*, this Varronian passage confirms the possibility that *saevi monimenta doloris* may describe the *Aeneid* as a commemoration of its dead characters.

Additional support for reading *monimenta* as referring to the *Aeneid* comes from Livy and Horace, each of whom explicitly links *monimentum* with his writings.\(^{47}\) In the preface to his work, Livy likens his *History* to a monument from which his audience may gather examples to imitate and avoid: “In the study of history it is an especially salutary and beneficial practice for you to consider examples of every sort of behavior, examples set out on a clear monument” (*hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiérum, omnis te exempli documenta in industri posta monumento intueri, praef.*).\(^{48}\) Horace makes the same comparison in his *sphragis* for *Odes* 1–3: “I have perfected a monument more lasting than bronze” (*exegi monumentum aere perennius*, *Carm.* 3.30.1).\(^{49}\) As Nisbet and Rudd remark, *monimentum* often describes “works of literature that preserve an author’s memory,” and Horace’s claim of permanence plays on the word’s memorializing implications.\(^{50}\) Remarkably, the very function *Livy* 47 Kraus (1994) 5–6 posits a date between 27 and 25 BCE for the publication of Livy’s *Preface* and first Pentad, and Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xxxvi–xxxvii offer evidence for 23 BCE as a publication date for *Odes* 1–3. *Lowrie* (2009) 121 comments on *monimentum* “as an implied metaphor for his work,” and as Kraus (1997) 54–6 and Chaplin (2000) 1–5 note, this statement prompts readers to think about how both they and the characters in Livy’s *History* look to the past. *49* Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 367 discuss this meaning of *exegi* See also Suerbaum (1968) 166–7 on the word’s range of literal and metaphorical meanings. In her discussion of this passage, Lowrie (2009) 117 notes how “The *monimentum* is a complex and pervasive figure for literary works, both poetry and prose, in Latin literature.” *50* Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 368. It is possible that *monimenta* in *A* 12.945 may allude to *C*. 3.30.1, particularly in light of the passages’ similar locations. This allusion would honor Horace’s transformative accomplishment while characterizing the ending of the *Aeneid* as Vergil’s own literary signature. The *Aeneid’s* other allusions to the *Odes* set up a relationship between the two poems (see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 145 and 149; Basto (1984); Tarrant (2012) 285; Horsfall (2013) II.276–7 and 517; and Schafer (2016)), and the possibility of an allusion here is buttressed by the fact that *monimentum* appears only one other time in *Odes* 1–3, where it describes Numa’s buildings that are washed away by the Tiber’s flood (see *Carm* 1.2.15 and Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 26). Lastly, further evidence that Vergil may allude to Horace comes from Ovid’s reference to Horace’s *sphragis* at the end of his own epic, where he leverages Horace’s lyric claim to highlight his creation. The pronouncement “And now I have perfected a work” (*iamque opus exegi*, *Met.* 15.871) recalls *exegi* at *Hor. Carm.* 3.30.1 (see Bomer (1986) 488–9 and Wickkiser (1999) 113 n. 2). This allusion may signal that Ovid regards *monimenta* (*A*. 12.945) as Vergil’s restrained allusion to *Carm.* 3.30.1, especially given that Ovid often explores subtle features of the *Aeneid* in more open ways and that the *Aeneid* is close to the fore of Ovid’s epic here, as *Metamorphoses* 13–15 recall both specific scenes and larger thematic questions from the Vergil’s epic (on this latter
and Horace ascribe to their literary monuments are associated with *monimenta* in *Aeneid* 8, when Aeneas seeks an alliance at Pallanteum. As Evander, Pallanteum’s ruler, shows his guest the city, he remarks how “you see the monuments of ancient men” (*veterum ... vides monimenta virorum*, A. 8.356). Lowrie points out how the “honour, the preservation of memory, [and] warning through exemplarity” linked with *monimenta* in this passage and its context are “literature’s canonical functions,” and the association of *monimenta* with these functions increases the possibility that the noun may invoke Vergil’s writing at A. 12.945.\(^{51}\)

The repetition of Pallas’ name in A. 12.948 further portrays the *Aeneids* last eight verses as a *sphragis*. Personal bonds inscribed within *Ecl*. 10.70–7 and G. 4.599–66 characterize the quality of those poems, and Aeneas’ invocation of Pallas draws the focus to their relationship. More specifically, the repetition of *Pallas* recalls the end of the *Eclogues* due to its sound, position and introduction with a second person pronoun: \(^{52}\)

\begin{verbatim}
   terribilis: “tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.” (A 12.947–9)

Pierides: vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,
Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas
quantum vere nouo viridis se subicit alnus. (Ecl. 10.72–4)
\end{verbatim}

The repetitions of *Pallas* and *Gallo* are set within passages of identical length and location. Each begins with a second person pronoun in the same metrical seat in the sixth line from its poem’s conclusion. Further parallels tie these repetitions together. Beyond being a proper name like *Gallo, Pallas* is also repeated in the

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\(^{51}\) Lowrie (2009) 171. See *OLD* s.v. 5 on the plural *monimenta*.

\(^{52}\) Three factors emphasize this repetition: it is the last one of the epic; it appears in an unusual metrical pattern; and its verse is more typical of an introduction of a new character than a reference to a known figure (Wills (1996) 71–2). Noting the link between A. 12.948 and *Ecl*. 10.72–3, Theodorakopoulos (1997) 164 argues that it marks A. 12.948 as an “act of memory” on the poet’s behalf.
same case and its second appearance is also syntactically unnecessary. An earlier repetition of Pallas’ name adds complexity to this connection. In Vergil’s corpus, twelve names with the sound pattern –all– appear a total of 83 times. Out of these instances, only four times is the same name repeated within a two-line span: Gallo /… / Gallo (Ecl. 10.2–3); Gallo / Gallo (Ecl. 10.72–3); Pallanta … Pallas (10.442); and Pallas … Pallas (A. 12.948). The rarity of these repetitions links Ecl. 10.2–3 and 72–3 with A. 10.442 and 12.948. Each pair of repetitions bookends an individual’s failed venture into a new realm. Ecl. 10.1–3 designates Gallus as the recipient of Vergil’s songs:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem:
pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris,
carmina sunt dicenda; neget quis carmina Gallo?

Yield, Arethusa, this final labor for me: a few songs must be sung for my Gallus, but the sort that Lycoris might read; who could deny songs for Gallus?

The repetitions of Gallus’ name in Ecl. 10.2–3 and 72–3 circumscribe his pastoral misadventures while also calling attention to the songs he receives from Vergil. Even as success eludes Gallus, Vergil completes his literary task with brio.


54 In regard to epanalepsis, a term that denotes “the repetition of a word from a marked position in a line (at the beginning, at the end, or after the bucolic diaeresis) to a position at or near the beginning of the next” (Wills (1996) 124), Wills (1996) 146 notes that Vergil “preferred disyllabics” and that “a high proportion of these examples involve proper nouns.” Technically speaking, out of the four examples discussed above, only Ecl. 10.72–3 is an example of epanalepsis, yet all four repetitions are of disyllabic proper nouns. Wills (1996) 155 observes how Vergil’s “epanalepses … often come in pairs,” a remark germane to Ecl 10.72–3.

55 The 12 names are listed here with their number of occurrences and other pertinent information in parentheses: Allecto (7); Calliope (2); Gallus (3 – the Gallic people); Gallus (8 – C. Cornelius Gallus); Palladium (3); Palladius (1); Pallanteum (1); Pallanteus (3); Pallas (41 – Evander’s son); Pallas (2 – Evander’s grandfather); Pallas (11 – Minerva); and Pallene (1). These numbers are from Wacht (1996).

56 Wills (1996) 148 n. 55 writes that the “addition of gemination in this passage at the end of the Aeneid may suggest a comparison of the unfortunate Pallas with the rhyming name Gallus at the end of the Eclogues (both repetitions appear five lines form the end of their respective poems).” Wills (1996) 71–2 and Tarrant (2012) 338 remark on the link between the two passages in the Aeneid.
captured by the progression of *pauca ... / carmina* (*Ecl. 10.2–3*) to *maxima* (*Ecl. 10.72*).  

Displaying much the same relationship as *Ecl. 10.2–3* and *72–3*, *A. 10.442* and *12.948* encompass a new endeavor that ends in failure. Turnus offers the first repetition of Pallas’ name: “I alone am carried against Pallas, Pallas is owed to me alone; if only his father himself were here as a spectator” (*solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas / debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset*, *A. 10.442–3*). Turnus’ pronouncement calls attention to his fight with Pallas, a duel whose repercussions extend all the way to Aeneas’ repetition of Pallas’ name at *A. 12.948*. Just as Gallus must forgo his attempt to enter pastoral in *Eclogue* 10, *Aeneid* 10–12 shows Pallas’ doomed entrance into epic. Given how Vergil’s relationship with Gallus helps to define his poetry at the end of *Eclogue* 10, these thematic parallels with the close of the *Eclogues* situate Aeneas’ relationship with Pallas as a reflection on the *Aeneid*.

The epic’s concluding verse offers one more cue for interpreting *A. 12.945–52* as a *sphragis*. Its last word, *umbras* (*A. 12.952*), recalls the last word of *Eclogue* 1 (*umbrae Ecl. 1.83*) and completes a ring-composition that stretches over Vergil’s entire corpus.  

This mimics the effect of *Ecl. 10.75–6*, where *umbra(e)* invokes *umbrae in Ecl. 1.83*, and of *G. 4.566*, which almost exactly repeats *Ecl. 1.1*. With *umbras* (*A. 12.952*) making its verse parallel to the close of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, this structure sets up *A. 12.945–52* to offer the same sort of reflection conveyed by those earlier passages.

**Grief, Distance and Death: A Vergilian Sphragis**

Marked as a *sphragis* by its connections with *Ecl. 10.70–7* and *G. 4.599–66*, *A. 12.945–52* stamps grief as one of the *Aeneid’s* dominant emotions and

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57 Wills (1996) 147 n. 52 notes this growth as well.


59 This is not to say that “grief” (dolor) is the epic’s primary passion, as “anger” (ira) and “love” (amor) certainly play large roles. The *Aeneid* though, often connects “grief” with failed love or excessive anger, such as when Dido learns that Aeneas is set to leave (*A. 4.419, 474, 547, 679, 693*), Amata commits suicide (*A. 12.599*) or Juturna confronts her brother’s fate (*A. 12.146, 880*), and it is this emotion, more than any other, which is highlighted in the poem’s last eight lines. See Barchiesi (1995) on grief’s role in the epic and Uden (2014) on the only time Aeneas smiles (*A. 5.358–60*), an example that emphasizes just how different the world of the *Aeneid* is from the ludic interlude offered by the Trojan games in *Aeneid*.  

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positions its focus on distance and death as a terminal point for the Eclogues and Georgics as well. Vergilian endings build their literary reflection through a portrait of the poem that comes to a close, a focus on a personal relationship and an allusion to Eclogue 1. These aspects of A. 12.945–52 evoke grief, frustration and loss. The description of Pallas’ baldric as “a monument of savage grief” (saevi monimenta doloris, A. 12.945) opposes the delicate artistry of Vergil’s basket in Eclogue 10 and the playful erudition of G. 4.599–66. Meanwhile, Aeneas’ evocation of Pallas renders that youth a point of contrast in two ways. On an emotional level, the distance that marks Aeneas’ relationship with Pallas stands against the closeness of Vergil’s friendship with Gallus, while from a poetic perspective Pallas’ martial beliefs define the costs of war in the Aeneid’s world. Lastly, by recalling Eclogue 1, umbras positions A. 12.945–52 as the finale of a single corpus. As such, this sphragis is at once terminal and disruptive: A. 12.945–52 offers an absolute end that supersedes previous moments of closure even as it filters their significance through its epic verses. In light of the tensions between oppositions that animate Vergil’s poetry, these final verses reframe the ending of the Aeneid as well as moments in the Eclogues and Georgics. For the Aeneid’s last scene, this sphragis accentuates the human cost of Aeneas’ actions without undoing its possible justifications, while, in regard to Vergil’s corpus, this ending of grief, distance and death characterizes earlier human bonds as simultaneously brave and fragile.

The phrase saevi monimenta doloris (A. 12.945) focuses the emotions of the epic and its readers on grief. Within the poem’s narrative, Pallas’ baldric recalls and prompts that passion in a variety of viewers. The scene carved on the sword belt (the Danaids’ wedding-night murder of their husbands) already invokes this emotion, and the end of the epic overlays this inscribed tale with new stories of grief. ille (A. 12.945) emphasizes Aeneas’ perspective. The baldric both reminds him of his earlier grief over Pallas’ death and overwhelms him with a fresh wave of fury, directed as much at Turnus as at himself “for having let Pallas fade from his mind.” Moreover, the belt

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foreshadows the potential for sorrow over Turnus’ death, a feeling conjured by the Rutulian’s earlier imagination of his father’s viewing of his “despoiled corpse” (corpus spoliatum, A. 12.935). Even the poem’s audience, recently linked with Turnus in a simile illustrating his helplessness (A. 12.908–12), may sympathize with him. Memorializing different deaths for different viewers, the belt commemorates losses that all prompt the same emotion.

The specification of the baldric with monimenta transfers these associations to Vergil’s epic. This conceptualization of the Aeneid as a “monument of savage grief” contrasts with depictions of Vergil’s poems in earlier sphragides. In G. 4.599–66, Vergil concentrates on the Georgics’ didactic content and Callimachean form. At the end of Eclogue 10, meanwhile, he describes how while he sings “he weaves a little basket of slender willow” (gracili fiscellam texit hisbisco, Ecl. 10.71), and the basket’s artistry emblematises his finely-crafted poetry. A tonal gulf divides these pastoral and epic objects: one is an aesthetically pleasing piece of art, while the other is a polysemous signifier of death and grief. As a description of the Aeneid, saevi monimenta doloris functions as an enjoinder for its audience. In much the same way as the baldric, Vergil’s poem confronts its readers with a commemoration of a multiplicity of losses, a characterization that leaves the epic in a tension between closure and continuation. monimenta implies that every action in the Aeneid is commemorated and therefore complete, yet any sense of finality is undermined by the audience’s imagined emotional reaction to the poem’s deaths.

This characterization is elaborated when Aeneas’ invocation of Pallas emphasizes distance and frustration. Aeneas acts because Turnus wears the

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62 Turnus refers to his “corpse” as being “deprived of life” (corpus spoliatum lumine), but spolio can also refer to the stripping of an enemy’s arms (OLD s.v. 2). Niehl (2002) 119 and Putnam (2011) 96–7 explore how sympathy shifts toward Turnus in this encounter, and Tarrant (2012) 20–4 notes the tensions that arise from the description of Aeneas’ killing of Turnus.

63 See Tarrant (2012) 324–5 on this simile.

64 See Servius ad loc.; Coleman (1977) 293; and Clausen (1994) 311.

65 The details of Aeneas and Turnus’ battle heighten this tension (Rimell (2013) 106–7). Tension often marks the end of a book in the Aeneid (Nagle (1983) on Aeneid 2; and Hinds (1998) 109; Kyriakidis (1998) 21–44; and Seidel (2013) 138–9 on Aeneid 6) and the endings of epic in general (see Hardie (1997a) 139–42). Theodorakopoulos (1997) 164 shows how a similar energy is fostered on a literary level, as the passage’s intertextual links send the audience back “to the impossible pastoral of the first and last Eclogues, at the very moment when we might expect the triumph of epic and empire.”

66 Aeneas and Pallas’ relationship is certainly not the only pairing invoked by the Aeneid’s end, as these verses also bring together Aeneas and Turnus as well as other possible combinations. Given Aeneas’ invocations of Pallas, though, I concentrate here on this pair.
baldric he stripped from Pallas, and he repeats Pallas’ name as he kills his foe. His effort to give Pallas agency is futile.67 While Aeneas claims Pallas is the one who sacrifices Turnus, this attribution recalls the Trojan’s inability to keep the youth alive. His failure becomes more grievous in light of a comparison with his father Anchises’ relationship with Evander. When Aeneas seeks an alliance in *Aeneid* 8, Evander remembers his encounter with Anchises.68 The benefits of this meeting, both in the material gifts Anchises bestowed and the high regard Evander gained for the Trojans, persevere through the generations, and they motivate Evander’s decision to entrust Aeneas with his army and son. Aeneas’ bond with Pallas has the opposite effect: it results in the end of that youth’s life and Evander’s family line. This contrasts with the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*’ endings. In *Eclogue* 10, Vergil honors Gallus with songs and describes their love. Even as Aeneas accomplishes the revenge Evander demanded (*A.* 11.177–81), he emphasizes the untimely and unsatisfactory end of Pallas’ life. His words look back, not forward, and link his actions with frustration, not fulfillment.69 Moreover, the poet’s relationship with Octavian in *Georgics* 4, although it lacks closeness, is marked by the temporal coincidence of their successful activities. For Aeneas and Pallas, though, any temporal link is impossible: Pallas will remain dead, even while a new task demands Aeneas’ attention. As Vergil’s *sphragides* build on one another, the human relationships described therein move toward distance and frustration. Vergil’s bond with Gallus offers mutual love and his link with Octavian a productive temporal coincidence, and Aeneas’ words make the positive nature of those relationships appear all the more fragile.

In addition to casting a pall over the relationships that end Vergil’s poems, the focus on Pallas elaborates the price of war in the *Aeneid*. At the end of *Eclogue* 10 and *Georgics* 4, Vergil defines his craft through comparison: in his first coda Gallus’ inability to enter the pastoral world contrasts with Vergil’s accomplishment in that genre, while in his didactic *sphragides* allusions to less refined sorts of poetry emphasize his composition’s originality. Now, the end of *Aeneid* 12 focuses on Aeneas’ relationship with Pallas, and a link with *Eclogue* 10 helps establish the themes associated with that youth. As argued above, the repetitions of Pallas’ name at *A.* 10.442–3 and *A.* 12.948 recall the repetitions of Gallus’ name at *Ecl.* 10.2–3 and 72–3. These verses frame Gallus’ pastoral failure

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68 See *A.* 8.155–6, 163–4, and 166–9 and Seider (2013) 52 and 153 on these passages.
69 This speech is representative of the isolation and frustration that, as Feeney (1983) points out, mark many of Aeneas’ utterances in the epic.
and, in doing so, highlight Vergil’s success. The lines between A. 10.442 and A. 12.948 have a similar effect. Just a few verses after A. 10.442, Pallas asserts “I will be praised either for already carrying off the supreme spoils or for a distinguished death: my father is equal to either fate” (aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis / aut leto insigni: sorti pater aequus utrique est, A. 10.449–50). According to Pallas, his duel with Turnus will bring glory regardless of its result. When the remainder of the epic reveals the errors in his assumptions about the aftermath of combat, it clarifies the cost of war for victor and vanquished alike in the Aeneid.

The rest of the epic proves Pallas’ assumption wrong: rage, grief and regret dominate the responses to his death, and even despoliation’s imagined benefit is undermined as well.70 The narrator figures Pallas’ day in battle as equal parts accomplishment and loss (A. 10.507–9). Aeneas’ initial reaction, a slaughter and sacrifice of soldiers and civilians alike, shows a focus on retribution (A. 10.515–7),71 and his subsequent words memorialize Pallas’ death as a cruel toll for Italy (A. 11.55–8). Moreover, when Evander buries Pallas, he views the corpse as a call for Aeneas to kill Turnus (A. 11.176–81). The final description of the baldric as a “monument of savage grief” (saevi monimenta doloris, A. 12.945) confirms how mistaken Pallas was, and Aeneas’ killing of Turnus reveals how anger overpowers him when he sees the sword-belt. As for Pallas’ prediction that he would garner praise for stripping Turnus, the narrator states that Turnus will regret his despoliation of Pallas (A. 10.501–5), and, while Aeneas will presumably retrieve Pallas’ baldric after killing Turnus, the glory from his victory is diminished by the fury that envelops him and the pronounced absence of any Trojan celebration. These reflections on death and despoliation cast Pallas’ beliefs as fundamentally misguided. Due to his intertextual association with Gallus, Pallas’ conception of war’s glory takes on a literary significance of its own. Moreover, given his close link with Aeneas, a figure often associated with the Aeneid’s narrator,72 Pallas’

70 Jupiter offers the only somewhat sanguine response to Pallas’ death, as he foregrounds the idea that Pallas has extended his fame through his deeds (A. 10.467–9). This speech, though, is from one god to another, and Barchiesi (1995) illustrates how the perception of suffering in the Aeneid differs vastly between mortals and gods. The analysis in the paragraph above offers a brief summary of the dominant emotions of the different responses to Pallas’ death in Aeneid 10 and 11. See Harrison (1991) and Horsfall (2003) for extensive discussion and references.

71 Gladhill (2013) 240 analyzes the “subtle and complex” factors, largely related to Aeneas’ visit to Pallanteum, that motivate his actions; Putnam (1985) 6 remarks on the “deeper emotionality” that binds Pallas and Aeneas in Aeneid 8. See also Reed (2007) 34–40 and 53–5 on Aeneas’ relationship with Pallas and his killing of Turnus.

ideas stand as a counterpoint to Vergil’s epic. The contrast between Pallas’ beliefs and the subsequent narrative emphasizes how pain attaches itself to both conquerors and defeated and how epic battles and, by extension, this epic poem give rise to cruel grief.

The Aeneid’s last word, umbras, sets the epic as the capstone to Vergil’s corpus and moves his earlier poems’ endings toward the frustrating finality of death. As Turnus’ soul flees, umbras denotes the underworld as well as the shades that inhabit it.73 indignata expresses the idea that Turnus’ early death is unfair, a specification all the more powerful due to its allusion to passages in the Aeneid and Iliad. A. 12.952 exactly repeats the description of Camilla’s death in A. 11.831. The unfairness of the deaths of these two young warriors, expressed by the same words, alludes to the repetition of a similar verse after Patroclus’ and Hector’s deaths in the Iliad: “[the soul] lamenting her fate, leaving behind manhood and vigor” (ὦ πότμων γούωσα, λεποῦσ’ ἄνδρῳτα καὶ ἱμῆν, Il. 16.857=22.363).74 A. 12.952 recalls these descriptions of Camilla, Patroclus, and Hector’s death. Each ending, from the perspective of the one who perishes, comes too soon, and these similar expressions of indignation by souls belonging to different sexes and different sides characterizes the complaint as universal. Through its allusions, A. 12.952 emphasizes the unfair nature of Turnus’ death and attaches this sentiment to umbras, a word which in turn looks back to the Eclogues and Georgics.

Like Ecl. 10.70–7 and G. 4.599–66, the close of the Aeneid recalls Eclogue 1, and in doing so it reshapes the view of these earlier passages. The ring compositions in Vergil’s poems build a progressively larger corpus whose conclusion is created anew with each ending. Eclogue 1 offers the corpus’ first ring composition. Shade is at first a necessity for pastoral song (Ecl. 1.4), but it is later associated with the close of day, a forbidding darkness because the following dawn will bring exile (Ecl. 1.83). The noun’s meaning shifts once more in Eclogue 10: shadows threaten singer and crop alike, and Vergil’s call to rise implies that pastoral has become a deleterious mode for the poet and that, for

62; 75–93 and 105–41; and Goldschmidt (2013) 167–8 discuss examples from the Aeneid. Laird (2009) 6 explores how the pre-proemium, even if its authenticity is not accepted, offers early evidence for the idea of a parallel between Aeneas and Vergil (Farrell (2004) 54–5 demonstrates that these verses were current within about thirty years of Vergil’s death). Hor. Sat. 2 offers another Late Republican example of authorial self-reflection via a poem’s character (Harrison (2013) 153 and 155). See Martin (1989) for arguments about the association between Achilles and Homer in the Iliad.

73 See OLD s.v. umbra7.

74 See Tarrant (2012) 341 on these allusions.
hims, the genre comes to a close (Ecl. 10.75–6). The significance of *umbra* evolves again at the *Aeneid* end: associated with frustration, it marks the end of a life and a poetic world. From this perspective, the word takes on a heavier danger in Ecl. 10.75–6 as the harm attributed to shade is linked with death. The relationship between the endings of the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* shows a similar effect. The close of the *Aeneid* highlights the elements of G. 4.599–66 that mimic the language of epitaph and sets these didactic verses, which here mark the end of Vergil’s work in that genre, as a prelude to the actual death of A. 12.945–52. Considered cumulatively, Vergil’s ring compositions advance in the direction of a more permanent ending. The idea of closure moves from the end of days (Ecl. 1.83) and from the end of genres (Ecl. 10.74 and G. 4.599–66) to the end of lives (A. 12.952), a progression that sets earlier endings as steps toward a darker conclusion.

Viewing A. 12.945–52 as a *sphragis* for Vergil’s corpus, this article’s conclusion argues that these verses increase the tension between opposites that characterizes Vergilian poetry. In the introduction to his commentary on *Aeneid* 12, Tarrant elucidates how the poem’s final scene justly prompts a range of reactions: it showcases, for instance, the necessity of Turnus’ death as well as “the terrifying way” in which Aeneas effects it. Writing in regard to interpretations of the *Aeneid* as well as its general implications, Tarrant advocates “an ‘ambivalent’ reading of the poem, in which ambivalence is to be understood neither as a gentler name for pessimism nor as a compromise position, but rather as a continuing tension of opposites” (17). In my interpretation, this *sphragis* does not reduce the *Aeneid* complexity into a simple illustration of the dehumanizing effect of empire, just as it does not overwhelm the *Eclogues*’ moments of friendship or undermine the *Georgics*’ praise of rural life. Rather, A. 12.945–52 increases the tension of opposites that runs throughout Vergil’s three poems.

For the *Aeneid*’s last scene, A. 12.945–52 emphasizes the frustrating causes, emotions and results of Aeneas’s action without erasing the factors that justify it, such as ‘Turnus’ choice to enter into single combat with Aeneas or Evander’s...
demand that Aeneas avenge Pallas’ death.\textsuperscript{78} The \textit{Aeneid}’s \textit{sphragis} increases the tension between the necessity of Turnus’ death and the emotional toll it entails, as \textit{A.} 12.945–52 highlights the grief that prompts Aeneas’ deed as well as the distance he feels in his relationship with Pallas. Instead of offering Aeneas glory for the victory he had to win, the \textit{Aeneid}’s final lines show him bringing about a death marked by frustration. On the surface, this indignation belongs to Turnus alone, but the \textit{sphragis} already shines a spotlight on the frustration that envelops Aeneas in his repeated invocation of Pallas. Moreover, just as \textit{umbras} relates specifically to Turnus’ death, the reflective nature of these verses, along with their allusion to the deaths of Camilla, Patroclus and Hector, invokes the frustrating death that may come for all warriors, including Aeneas.\textsuperscript{79} Considered from this vantage point, the epic’s final verses oppose the necessity of Turnus’ death to its potential impact on Aeneas.

Beginning with \textit{monimenta}, which already implies the end, and finishing with \textit{umbras}, which denotes death, \textit{A.} 12.945–52 figures itself as the ultimate and only conclusion for Vergil’s career. Yet instead of rising higher, like Horace’s \textit{monumentum} in \textit{Carm.} 3.30,\textsuperscript{80} the \textit{Aeneid} descends to the underworld. Its contrast with the last verses of \textit{Eclogue} 10 is telling. There, the injunction “Let us rise” (\textit{surgamus}, \textit{Ecl.} 10.75) intimates an upward direction for Vergil and his poetry, while the \textit{Aeneid}’s end offers not a peak but rather the deepest valley. In regard to his corpus, these eight lines’ focus on grief, distance and death highlights the tension between the fragility of human bonds and the courage of those who attempt to forge them. This is not to say that the shepherds’ ribald jokes or the farmers’ triumphs are forgotten, but rather that \textit{A.} 12.945–52 frames aspects of Vergil’s poetry that center on relationships. As this \textit{sphragis} offers a perspective, for instance, on Meliboeus’ conversation with Tityrus, Orpheus’ loss of Eurydice or Dido’s love for Aeneas, it sets the attempts to forge such personal bonds as both brave and doomed.

Tityrus and Meliboeus’ dialogue in \textit{Eclogue} 1, a poem recalled by the endings of \textit{Eclogue} 10, \textit{Georgics} 4 and \textit{Aeneid} 12, offers an example of a relationship whose tension becomes greater when viewed from the perspective of \textit{A.} 12.945–52. In the fits and starts of their attempts at communication, in their cumbersome progress toward understanding and in their ephemeral yet concluding

\textsuperscript{78} Tarrant (2012) 17–19 discusses these and other potential justifications for Turnus’ death.

\textsuperscript{79} Dyson (2001) considers the cyclical nature of violence in the \textit{Aeneid} and its implications for Aeneas.

\textsuperscript{80} Peirano (2014) 226 and 230–4 remarks on how the \textit{sphragis} in Horace’s \textit{Odes} creates a tension between the author’s death and his work’s immortality.
togetherness, Tityrus and Meliboeus’ words accentuate the opposition in this poem between misapprehension and connection, disregard and empathy, and distance and closeness. The Aeneid’s sphragis casts Meliboeus’ fate of exile as a metaphorical and unfair death that looms over the shepherd, yet, just as this makes the darkness of his plight all the more visible, it also magnifies Tityrus’ generosity. The grief, distance and death that mark the Aeneid’s close are present in the last verses of Eclogue 1, but their weight inspires Tityrus’ offer to stay the night and share in his “ripe fruit, soft chestnuts and plenty of pressed milk” (mitia poma, / castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis, Ecl. 1.80–1). This vision of pastoral abundance, afforded only for a single evening in the face of a lifelong exile, generates the sort of tension that animates Vergil’s poetry through to its final verse, as his poem’s multiple perspectives do not resolve, but rather define each other through their differences.

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WORKS CITED


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