

## Reconsidering the Final Scene of the *Aeneid*\*

Hiroyuki Takahashi

### Questions to be asked about the final scene

There has been much controversy about the final scene of the *Aeneid*,<sup>1</sup> but it sometimes happens that the more heated some discussions get, the more overshadowed others become. This paper attempts an approach from a different angle. I intend to argue that just as Book Twelve begins with Turnus seeing his present adversity and rising to the occasion as he becomes aware that his men are watching him (12.1-4), so it ends at the moment of his death when his eyes are robbed of the light of life (*corpus spoliatum lumine* 935, *uita fugit in umbras* 952). The finality of death thus expressed suggests the absolute uncertainty of the future, including that of Rome herself.

For this approach and argument the following questions are relevant.

Q1. Is there any significance in the hesitations on both Turnus' (*cunctatur* 916, *cunctanti* 919) and Aeneas' part (*cunctantem* 940)? Tarrant takes them as a variation on the 'delay' (*mora*) motif.<sup>2</sup> If so, how are they linked to the pivotal theme of *mora* in the second half of the poem? As will be seen in more detail later, Juno's purpose in starting the war is not to win (she knows she cannot), but to 'delay' its end to let both the Trojans and the Rutulians shed so much of their blood that both peoples become extinct (7.313-19). What meaning does the death of Turnus as the last bloodshed depicted hold in this regard?

Q2. Why did not the spear thrown by Aeneas finish off Turnus despite being said to be *fatale telum* (919) and *exitium dirum hasta ferens* (924)?<sup>3</sup> With a momentum and a shock wave surpassing any wall catapult or a thunderbolt (*murali concita numquam tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti dissultant crepitus*

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\* This is an integrated version of three articles originally written in Japanese and published at different times: *Journal of Classical Studies* 51 (2003), 94-106 (English abstract, 184-86), *Philologica* 6 (2011), 13-33, 8 (2013), 1-24, mainly discussing *saevitia* and *mora*, *fortuna*, and funeral honors respectively.

<sup>1</sup> For the survey of the controversy I only refer to Horsfall, N. (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*. Leiden 1995, 192-216, and Tarrant, R., *Virgil Aeneid Book XII*. Cambridge 2012, 16-30.

<sup>2</sup> Tarrant (n.1), 326, 327, 334.

<sup>3</sup> The oddity has not been questioned apparently because Turnus eventually dies and the spear is involved in the process, 'bringing death' or 'appointed by fate' (Tarrant (n.1), 328), but, there seems to be a compromise in this understanding, because, if so understood, it remains that the spear does not cause death *per se*.

921-23), it flies like a black tornado (*uolat atri turbinis instar* 923) and pierces the middle of his thigh (*per medium transit femur* 926) – a kind of wound which can cause fatal blood loss within a minute in the worst-case scenario.<sup>4</sup> Seeing Turnus collapse on the ground, the Rutulians' deep groans echo over the surrounding mountain and woodlands (*consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit/ mons circum et uocem late nemora alta remittunt* 928f.). It is as if they thought Turnus was already dead. So far, he appears to be just about to die. Nevertheless, the final blow was struck, which ended both the poem and Turnus' life. Why was it deemed necessary?

Q3. What lucky chance does Aeneas see when he brandishes his spear (*telum Aeneas fatale coruscat, sortitus fortunam oculis* 919f.)? If the wound was not fatal, either the lucky chance was not decisively lucky, or Aeneas' attempt failed to seize it fully. Interesting in this regard is the motif of *fortuna* at work throughout the poem: fortune is fleeting and deceptive, as will be discussed later. If this motif could be invoked here, there might be a possibility of ignorance, disappointment, misjudgment, or other cognitive fault involved on Aeneas' part.

Q4. With what intent did Turnus plead with Aeneas? 'To have his life spared' is seemingly the obvious answer. At least Aeneas thought so, and that is why he, after a moment of hesitation, delivered the finishing blow with his sword. And, concerning the alternative, '*seu corpus spoliatum lumine mauis*' (12.935), recent commentators seem to agree with Servius' comment, '*ne ex aperto rem viro forti pudendam peteret, interpositione usus est.*'<sup>5</sup> Returning a dead body to the bereaved family for a funeral is one of the central motifs in the *Iliad*, especially as regards Hector, who, with his death imminent, desperately pleaded for his body to be returned and buried.<sup>6</sup> Achilles was unmoved and only after nine days of dragging Hector's corpse around does he relent and return his body to Priam. The king held the funeral for his son, which marks the end of the poem and gives it a sense of closure. Now, if Servius is right, did Vergil just suggest this motif without fleshing it out at this crucial moment? But, funeral honor is no less important in the *Aeneid*

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<sup>4</sup> The wound of Lucagus, who had his left groin pierced by Aeneas's spear coming through the lowest rim of the shield, was obviously fatal (10. 588-90), and so were those of Areilykos and Amphiklos in the *Iliad* 16.307-11. Not fatal, but the reason is explained in the cases of Mezentius (10.783-86) and Sarpedon (*Il.* 5.660-62). Cf. Barnes, W. R., Seeing Things: Ancient Commentary on the *Iliad* at the End of the *Aeneid*. In S. M. Braund and R. Mayer(ed.), *Roma, Love and Latin Literature*. PCPS Suppl. 22 (1999), 63.

<sup>5</sup> Tarrant (n.1), 332.

<sup>6</sup> A critical difference from the *Aeneid* is that the wound of Hector is clearly specified as fatal (*Il.* 22.324ff.), so that his pleading, bluntly rejected by Achilles, is focused on having his body returned to his family for the funeral (338-60).

than in its Homeric model, as will be discussed shortly. And if the spear had inflicted the fatal wound on Turnus, the possibility of which has been considered at Q2, and Turnus was aware of that, it would be almost unthinkable that he should plead for his life.

Q5. When the sword belt of Pallas is called the memorial of cruel pain, the phrase *saeui doloris* (12.945) reminds us of Juno's *saeui dolores* (1.25) in the poem.<sup>7</sup> Is there a thematic link implied here? Interesting in this regard is that Aeneas is also called *saeuus* in the sense of 'so cruel as not to spare life' in battle, as will be observed later.

Q6. Why does the same line depict the deaths of Camilla (11.831) and Turnus (12.952)? This question brings us back to the motif of funeral honors, because Camilla is granted the honors by Diana, who herself takes the woman warrior's body to her homeland to be buried and tells Opis to avenge her death, as will be discussed later in more detail. It may be asked why Vergil did not portray Turnus' funeral, but, instead, closed the poem at the moment of his death.

These questions suggest that we should consider how the motifs of *fortuna*, *mora*, *saeuitia*, and funeral honors are used throughout the poem, and how they are incorporated to work in the final scene.

### *fortuna*

In Book One Venus complains to Jupiter that the same bad fortune is still following the Trojans after all their sufferings. When does he plan to put a stop to their toils, she asks (*nunc eadem fortuna uiros tot casibus actos/ insequitur. quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?* 1.240-241). Here we may be able to see two characteristics of *fortuna* set up for the whole poem: it is both harassing and deceptive. If there is a correspondence between this place and the final scene, it may be that *fortuna* keeps pursuing Aeneas and the Trojans (1.517, 2.350, 6.62, 6.533) until the hero finally sees her coming his way. At the same time, however, it is not just the Trojans that fortune hounds; she also drives Dido hard (1.628, 4.434) and oppresses the warriors in the second half of the poem (7.559, 10.107, 11.2, 12.593). In the latter case, it makes no difference whether it be a Trojan or a Rutulian, as Jupiter says at the council of the gods (*quae cuique est fortuna hodie, ... Tros*

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Grummond, W. W. de, *Saeuus dolor. The opening and the closing of the Aeneid. Vergilius* 27 (1981), 48-52, Tarrant (n.1), 336.

*Rutuluse fuit, nullo discrimine habeo. 10.107f., sua cuique exorsa laborem fortunamque ferent. rex Iuppiter omnibus idem. 111f.).*<sup>8</sup>

According to Jupiter's promise, the Trojans' luck should have changed by now, which is the reason for Venus' frustration, and in this regard the fortune is disappointingly deceptive. Deception or elusiveness of fortune is proverbial,<sup>9</sup> and one of its explicit examples is found in Book Five: just after the boys' performance on the horses led by Iulus has given a glimpse of the bright future to come, there comes a sudden reversal (*Fortuna fidem mutata nouauit 5.604*), and women tired of wandering set the ships on fire. Another example is in Book Two: with the Greeks already all over Troy, *fortuna* favors the first effort of Aeneas and his comrades (*aspirat primo Fortuna labori 2.385*), and they put on their opponents' armors as Coroebus cries '*qua prima Fortuna salutis monstrat iter, sequamur*' (2.388f.), but this move ends in an ironical disaster: attacked even by the Trojans, all but Aeneas are exterminated by the Danaans.

So, it was wise of Aeneas, when departing from the camp in search of allies, to give the cautious instruction against *fortuna* in Book Nine: never daringly proceed to the battlefield, if they see an opportunity (*si qua interea fortuna fuisset, neu struere auderent aciem, neu credere campo. 9.42-43*). In fact, as a result of defying this instruction, Nisus' and Euryalus' audacious attempt is dealt a tragic blow. When they ask for the permission to take their chances and go through the enemy line to bring back Aeneas (*si fortuna permittitis uti quaesitum Aenean 9.240f.*), Iulus places all his trust and fortune in them (*quaecumque mihi fortuna fidesque est, in uestris pono gremiis 9.260f.*), and for the success of his bold attempt Euryalus prays that only the good fortune come his way (*tantum fortuna secunda haud aduersa cadat. 9.282f.*). Their bravery (*fortibus ausis 9.281, audentior ibo in causas omnis 9.293f., audendum dextra 9.320*), however, cost them their lives.

Facing Turnus, Pallas put his trust in his valor (*si qua fors adiuuet ausum uiribus imparibus 10.4558f.*), but to no avail. Mourning his death, Aeneas cries,

'tene,' inquit 'miserande puer, cum laeta ueniret,  
inuidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna uideres

<sup>8</sup> If this *fortuna* refers to the result of the war, '*nullo discrimine*'(108) and '*rex Iuppiter omnibus idem*'(112) is incongruent with the will of the god, since it is fated that the Trojans will be victorious (cf. Harrison, S. J., *Vergil: Aeneid 10*. Oxford 1991, 90). What is meant here seems to be that death comes to anybody on the field whom fortune picks out, regardless on which side he is.

<sup>9</sup> E. g. Cic. *Amic.* 54, *eos efficit caecos quos complexa est*; Liv. 30.30.18, *maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est*; Publil. Syr. 295 (sentent. L 4), *fortuna cito reposcit quod dedit*. Cf. Otto, A., *Die Sprichwörter der Römer*. Leipzig 1890 (Hildesheim/ New York 1971), 141ff.

nostra neque ad sedes uictor ueherere paternas?  
non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti  
discedens dederam' (11.42-46)

Here again as in the case of Venus' complaint, *fortuna* is very frustrative, breaking up what Aeneas had thought promised.

In Book Twelve, just prior to returning to the battle Aeneas tells Ascanius to learn valor and true toil from him, and fortune from others (*disce uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, / fortunam ex aliis* 12.435f.), as if to say that fortune is something alien to him because she is false and unreliable.

This deceptive aspect of *fortuna* is found most elaborately at work around Turnus. In contrast with Aeneas, he is so bold that even the miracle of the Trojan ships transforming themselves into dolphins does not shake up his confidence a bit (*non audaci Turno fiducia cessit* 9.126; cf. 9.3), and he believes that fortune helps the brave (*audentis Fortuna iuuat* 10.284).<sup>10</sup> Even after suffering defeat, and in reply to Drances, who points out that it is all clear what course the fortune of the people should take (*cuncti se scire fatentur quid fortuna ferat populi* 11.344f.), he never doubts that good fortune will favor him again; arguing for the continuation of the war, he says,

si tam deserti sumus et semel agmine uerso  
funditus occidimus neque habet Fortuna regressum,  
oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertis.  
quamquam o si solitae quicquam uirtutis adesset!  
...  
multa dies uariique labor mutabilis aeu  
rettulit in melius, multos alterna reuisens  
lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locauit. (11.412-14, 425-427).

Here we should note that there is a twist from the usual proverbial expressions 'luck before hard luck',<sup>11</sup> and Turnus' argument eventually turns out to be false. He certainly knows that *fortuna* is elusive, but, ironically, he is deluded to think that she will change her course in his favor. It seems that *fortuna* is deceptive to him in terms both of his beliefs and his sufferings.

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<sup>10</sup> This also is proverbial; cf. Otto (n.9), 144.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. note 9.

Still, Turnus comes to realize his mistake in time. Having witnessed so many casualties among his men, he says to Iuturna that he now understands what she is doing (*nunc nequiquam fallis dea* 12.634), and he does not believe in fortune favoring him anymore, not even enough to grant him safety (*quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?* 12.637). Hearing the news of Amata's suicide, which was 'fortuna *quae totum luctu concussit funditus urbem*' (12.593f.), and looking back at the city in flames, he decides to follow where fortune may lead, that is, to fight with Aeneas, to suffer in death all its bitterness (*quo dura uocat Fortuna sequamur. stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat quidquid acerbi est morte pati* 12.677-79). When he announces his resolve to the Rutulians, he is ready to accept any *fortuna* whatsoever as his own (*quaecumque est fortuna, mea est* 12.694).<sup>12</sup> Therefore, while in the cases of Nisus, Euryalus, and Pallas, it is their reckless reliance on *fortuna* that cost them their lives, in the case of Turnus, it is his acceptance and understanding of *fortuna* that makes him fight a duel with Aeneas, in which he is destined to be killed.

In the light of the above observations, it may be safe to say that the attitudes of Aeneas and Turnus toward *fortuna* is chiasmatically presented: Aeneas, who, knowing the nature of *fortuna*, had always been cautious, now eagerly tries to seize her as she shows herself before his eyes, while Turnus, who had been mistaken about *fortuna*, is now ready to accept her in whatever form she may come to him. Again, what *fortuna* is this? We will return to this question after considering other motifs first.<sup>13</sup>

### ***saeuitia* and *mora***

In the proem, *saeua* is used as if it is Juno's epithet to portray Juno (*saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram* 1.4, *nequid etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores* 1.25). With her *saeuitia* she harasses exclusively Aeneas and the Trojans in the first half of the poem, and the hero himself calls her *saeuissima*, when she is at the forefront of the gods tearing down Troy (2.612).

In the second half, however, it is much more complicated. First, Juno's *saeuitia* pursues not just the Trojans, but also the Latins, and takes the form of *mora*. When

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<sup>12</sup> It might be suggestive of the importance of these words that this is one of only three examples where *fortuna* has a possessive; the other two are 6.96 (Aeneas) and 4.434 (Dido).

<sup>13</sup> Beside the citations above, the following are worth mentioning here: the day after the fierce battle, when the legates from Latinus arrived about the treaty concerning the burial of the corpses, Aeneas indignantly reprimands them, '*quaenam uos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini, implicuit bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos?*' (11.108-111); refusing to help the Latins, Diomedes asks the legates, '*o fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna, antiqui Ausonii, quae uos fortuna quietos sollicitat suadetque ignota lacerare bella?*' (11.252-254). In these examples, *fortuna* is used almost as a synonym for *furor*, making people reckless.

the goddess comes back to break up the union almost secured between the Trojans and the Latins, she is called *saeva Iouis coniunx* (7.287), and she says,

non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,  
atque immota manet fati Lauinia coniunx:  
at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus,  
at licet amborum populos exscindere regum.  
hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum: (7.313-17)

The longer the war continues, the more victims there are on both sides, which is what the goddess intends to achieve. She is called *saeva* again, when all goes as she wishes (7.592) after Allecto, also said to be *saeva* (7.511; cf. 7.329) as Juno's agent, and the goddess herself have brought about discord between both peoples.

Secondly, Aeneas is not just the one being harassed, but he himself is most appropriately called *saevus*. In battle, none among the Latins can match him, therefore *saevus* is frequently attached to him in the sense of "so merciless as to deprive of life". Fierce wrath rises in the hero's heart, when he slays Lausus (*saeuae iamque altius irae Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso Parcae fila legunt* 10.813-15). Mezentius, deprived of his son by Aeneas, calls him *saevissime* (10.878). The news of Camilla's death, which forced Turnus to leave the place of ambush and thereby miss a chance at striking Aeneas, is said to be *saevissimus* (11.896), and that was what Jupiter's relentless will demanded (*saeua Iouis sic numina poscunt* 11.901). Aeneas in arms is *saevus* in the eyes of Turnus (*saeuum Aenean agnouit Turnus in armis* 11.910). Just before the final scene, Aeneas rebukes Turnus with his fierce spirit (*saeuo pectore* 12.888) that they should contend hand to hand in relentless arms (*saeuis certandum est comminus armis* 12.890).

Thirdly, while the hero's *saevitia* can be regarded as coming to a climax in the final scene, where, reminded of *saevi doloris* (12.945) he kills Turnus, to be killed is not necessarily *res saeva* for Turnus. Rather he seems to see it in a delay, *mora*, with which Juno forces him to prolong his life in disgrace. In Book Ten, taken away from the battlefield by Juno's trick, which Jupiter puts as '*mora praesentis leti tempusue caduco iuueni*' (10.622f.), and looking back to see his comrades battered and hear their groans, he cries to Jupiter, feeling as if he had been punished for some crime (*omnipotens genitor, tanton me crimine dignum duxisti et talis uoluisti expendere poenas?* 10.669f.). When he asks the winds to drive his ship onto a cruel shoal, he just wishes to avert disgrace (*ratem saeuis uadis immittite, quo nec me Rutuli nec*

*conscia fama sequatur*. 10.678f.). Replying to Drances' accusation of his cowardness (*fugae fidens* 11.351; *me timoris argue tu* 11.383f.), he states that the most blessed in his toil is the man who died on the battlefield before seeing the ultimate miseries (*ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum/ egregiusque animi, qui, ne quid tale uideret,/ procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit*. 11.416-18), and that he has devoted his life to Latinus and the Latins, because it is not Drances, but Turnus himself who would appease the wrath of the gods by his death (*uobis animam hanc soceroque Latino Turnus ego, ... nec Drances potius, siue est haec ira deorum, morte luat* 11.440-44). In Book Twelve, determined to go on with the duel with Aeneas, he urges Latinus to let him trade death for fame (*letum sinas pro laude pacisci* 12.49). With his violent nature (*uiolentia* 11.354, 376, 12.9, 45), he is eager to avoid dilly-dallying, just as Iris admonished him to (*rumpe moras* 9.13) at the beginning of the war, urging him to take the Trojans' camp while Aeneas is absent. After this attempt fails and Aeneas has time to come back with the Arcadians and the Etruscans, he does not hesitate to attack them (*Nec Turnum segnīs retinet mora, sed rapit acer totam aciem in Teucros et contra in litore sistit* 10.308-09). In reply to Latinus and Amata who dissuade him from taking part in the duel, he emphatically claims that he will not procrastinate (*nulla mora in Turno* 12.11, *neque Turno mora libera mortis* 74).

A paradox may be noticed here: whereas it seems as if Juno and Iuturna are helping Turnus by giving him some reprieve (*mora*), Turnus himself does not feel helped, but rather almost tormented.<sup>14</sup>

Fourthly, Aeneas also tries to avoid delays with as much eagerness as Turnus, especially after a spear thrown by Messapus hit his helmet and he started the relentless, indiscriminate killing, unleashing his anger (*saeuam nullo discrimine caedem suscitāt, irarumque omnis effundit habenas* 12.498-99). There is no shield capable of slowing down his spear (*nec clipei mora profuit aerei* 12.541), and no delay nor break (*nec mora nec requies* 12.553) where he goes through with his arms. When he has decided to besiege the city, he tells his men that there should be no delay (*ne qua meis esto dictis mora, Iuppiter hac stat, neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito* 12.565-66), and he just cannot wait until Turnus bothers to fight him (*scilicet exspectem libeat dum proelia Turno nostra pati rursusque uelit concurrere uictus?* 12.570-71). When finally Turnus comes up for the duel, Aeneas immediately puts everything aside (*praecipitat moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit*

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<sup>14</sup> Interesting in this regard is Servius' comment on 1.4: *cum a iuuando dicta sit Iuno, quaerunt multi, cur eam dixerit saeuam*.



12.699) to face him. As Dira has deprived Turnus of his strength, and even Iuturna leaves him on his own, despairing of ever finding a way to help her brother live (*qua tibi lucem arte morer?* 12.873f.), Aeneas chases Turnus, rebuking him from his cruel heart 'why delays?' (*quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?* 12.889).

To be noted here is that it was Juno, together with Iuturna as her *administratrix*, who contrived these *morae*. Turnus was eager to do away with them but, ironically, Aeneas thinks him responsible for all the delay. Then, what to do with the hesitations on both of their parts in the final scene? How are they linked? We will return to this shortly.

### funeral honors

Unlike Homer with Hector, Vergil did not depict Turnus' funeral, but the final scene brings to the foreground the Rutulians whose responsibility it is to provide him with one. In fact, they stand up together (*consurgunt* 12.928) at the sight of collapsing Turnus (*incidit ad terram* 926f., *humilis* 930) with groaning (*gemitu* 928), which seemingly anticipates Turnus' groan at his death (*cum gemitu* 952).<sup>15</sup> When Turnus says to Aeneas,

uicisti et uictum tendere palmas  
Ausonii uidere; tua est Lauinia coniunx, (12.936f.)

the words remind us of those spoken to the Latins at the beginning of the book:

aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam  
desertorem Asiae (sedeant spectentque Latini),  
...  
aut habeat uictos, cedat Lauinia coniunx. (12.14-15, 17)

They have just witnessed his defeat, and if his dead body were to be returned to them, they would certainly hold a funeral for him.<sup>16</sup> Now let us consider how the motif of funeral honor is used throughout the poem.

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<sup>15</sup> Of 39 examples of *gemo* and *gemitus*, four are used at the moment of death (10.674, 11.633, 831, 12.952), and 11 of the mourning for the dead (1.221, 1.485 (Hector), 4.667, 687 (Dido), 6.209 (Misenus), 9.499 (Euryalus), 10.465, 505, 843, 11.37, 95 (Pallas); cf. 2.323, 486.

<sup>16</sup> In fact, Maffeo Vegio (Maphaeus Vegius, 1407-58) depicted the transfer of Turnus' corpse to Ardea and the funeral held there by the Rutulians in the so-called *Thirteenth Book* 125-301.

When Aeneas met Palinurus at this side of the river Styx, the helmsman asked the hero for the burial of his body so that his soul could cross the river Styx to rest in peace (*tu mihi terram inice ... sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam* 6.365f., 371). Thinking of the deceased as resting in peace can console those left behind. After slaying Pallas, Turnus tells the Arcadians to pay him whatever funeral honors they would choose for consolation (*quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est, largior.* 10.493f.), and Aeneas addresses Lausus, whom he has just killed, saying that he would return his corpse to his ancestors' souls and bones (*teque parentum manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto* 10.827f.). And a funeral is the place for bidding the last farewell to the dead. Along with these examples, which may be categorized as conventional or traditional, the following are of a particular kind, seemingly linked to the main theme of the poem.

### **funeral honors for eternal commemoration**

Before the Trojans' arrival at Cumae, Neptunus told Venus that there would be only one to be sacrificed for many (*unum pro multis dabitur caput* 5.815), and Palinurus was the sacrifice. A prerequisite on the path to reaching Rome, his death deserves not just a burial, but also a monument commemorating his name in Roman history. Sibylla makes him a promise that the place of his tomb will bear his name for all eternity (*aeternum locus Palinuri nomen habebit* 6.381).

In the same way, the high mound under which Misenus was buried with his gear is said to keep his name eternal over the centuries (*qui (sc. mons) nunc Misenus ab illo dicitur aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen* 6.234f.).

And the poet, with an address to Caieta, Aeneas' nurse, speaks of her eternal name preserved at her burial place as the funeral honors given to her:

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,  
 aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;  
 et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen  
 Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat. (7.1-4)<sup>17</sup>

This aspect of funeral honors is most prominent in the case of Nisus and Euryalus. Vergil does not tell us of their funeral, but commemorates them with his own voice:

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<sup>17</sup> The position of this passage itself suggests its importance: while placed at the beginning of Book Seven the death of Caieta appears to have a link with that of Turnus, the passage, bridging Books Six and Seven, blurs the line separating the first half from the second; the latter formally begins with its delayed proem (7.37-45), so that both the beginning and the end of the second half look obscure.

Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,  
nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo,  
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum  
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit. (9.446-49)

### **rejection of a funeral caused by interminable anger and pain**

In a rejection of a funeral we find an expression of unfathomable ire and indignation. In case of Achilles, his wrath, however fierce and relentless, eventually gave in to Priam's pleading, and the ensuing funeral gives an impression of an end. In contrast, when Dido curses Aeneas that he may die before his due day and lie unburied in the middle of a beach (*cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena* 4.620), her rage does not stop with him but goes beyond, through generations of his offspring to Rome, and such unending hatred and opposition is the kind of funeral honors she wants to have from her descendants.

o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum  
exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro munera  
...  
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore uires.  
... pugnent ipsique nepotesque. (4.622f., 627, 629)

Compare also Arruns at the moment of his last breath, whom his companions obliviously left in the nameless dust somewhere in the fields (*illum expirantem socii ... obliti ignoto camporum in puluere linquunt* 11. 865f.). Here it may be suggested that Arruns will never be given a burial, since this is the consequence of the anger of Diana, an eternal being.

### **revenge/vengeance as funeral honors**

Anger and pain felt for the deceased naturally stimulate those close to them to exact revenge, in an act that brings them due honor and respect. This aspect of funeral honor is evident in Dido's case just seen; she wishes that an avenger may arise from her bones (*exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor* 4.625).

Another example is found in Diana avenging Camilla. While giving Opis the instructions (*ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam: ... mihi det sanguine poenas.* 11.590, 592), the goddess says that she herself will take Camilla's body to her

homeland for burial (*miserandae corpus feram tumulo patriaeque reponam*. 11.591f.). Here we see the vengeance and the funeral honors closely connected, and this notion may be corroborated by comparing the Homeric model at the *Iliad* 16.644-83: to avenge Sarpedon, Zeus at once thinks of having Hector slay Patroclus on the spot, but eventually refrains from it (646ff.) and does not himself take his son's body to Lykia, but rather assigns the task to Apollo (666-83). Vergil seems to emphasize Diana's passionate affection for Camilla: the goddess cannot restrain herself from avenging her immediately and honoring her with her own hands.

A third example is in Evander's message to Aeneas, given when he stands before his son's dead body:

quod uitam moror inuisam Pallante perempto  
dextra causa tua est, Turnum gnotoque patrique  
quam debere uides, meritis uacat hic tibi solus  
fortunae locus. non uitae gaudia quaero,  
nec fas, sed gnato manis perferre sub imos. (11.177-81)

For him, due funeral honors will never have been paid until Aeneas has avenged Pallas, and he himself passes the news to his son.

### **funeral honors in the final scene**

It would not be too difficult to see that the aspects of funeral honors discussed above, i.e., eternal memory, anger and pain, and vengeance, are also essential constituents of the whole structure of the *Aeneid*. The proem proclaims that the cause of Aeneas' toils is fierce Juno's unforgetting wrath (*saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram* 1.4), and the cause of her wrath and her cruel indignation had not yet faded away (*necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores exciderant animo* 1.25f.). She nurses in her heart a wound lasting an eternity (*aeternum seruans sub pectore uulnus* 1.35).

Now, in the light of what has been considered, it is worth noting that the final blow to Turnus can be regarded as funeral honors for Pallas, because it is triggered by cruel pain (*saeui doloris* 12.945) and anger (*furiis accensus et ira terribilis* 12.946f.) to avenge his protégé (*Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas immolat* 12.947f.), which is exactly what Evander wanted as the funeral honors for his son.

In this context, then, how could the words of Turnus implying funeral honors (*me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mauis, redde meis* 12.935f.) be understood?

A comparison with Camilla may help here. Starting from the identical lines used of the deaths of Camilla and Turnus, Kepple has pointed out similarities between Camilla-Arruns and Turnus-Aeneas in some detail.<sup>18</sup> He did not notice the seemingly more important parallel between the divine supporters. Just as Camilla was dearly loved by the goddess Diana, and Opis, a nymph in her company, so Turnus was Juno's protégé, and nobody loved him more than Iuturna.

Now let us hypothesize that Aeneas' anger and pain was so fierce as to reject the return of Turnus' corpse for burial. This hypothesis is not quite far-fetched, because the hero rejected the plea ending with the words *ulterius ne tende odiis* (12.938), which suggests the wrath of Achilles, who kept harming Hector's corpse, as Tarrant has noted.<sup>19</sup> If Turnus were deprived of due funeral honors, how would Iuturna and Juno react?

Iuturna lamented that she would have to mourn her brother's death for ever, because Jupiter had granted her an eternal life for her virginity.

haec pro uirginitate reponit?  
quo uitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est  
condicio? possem tantos finire dolores  
nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras! (12.878-81)

Now, she would have to bear not just his death, but a disgraceful death at that. Little wonder then, if she just could not stand the pain any more, and took some action.

Juno certainly left the battlefield, abandoning Turnus (*et Turnum et terras reliqui* 12.809, *pugnas relinquo* 818), but it was on the condition of preserving the Latin name: their speech and traditions should never change (12.823-25; cf. 834-37). Since Turnus was sacrificed for negotiating this condition, he should be deservedly paid respect and honor. Indeed, Palinurus and others who sacrificed themselves on the road leading to the foundation of Rome deserved to have their names memorialized in various place names, and the poet himself commemorated Nisus and Euryalus with his verses. Therefore, it should not be surprising if the Latin names to be preserved should include Turnus'. This would mean that refusing him funeral honors would represent a direct defiance of gods' wishes. The said parallel, that is, between Juno-Iuturna-Turnus and Diana-Opis-Camilla, suggests that Juno would not let it pass, but attempt an act of vengeance, just as Diana did for Camilla.

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<sup>18</sup> Kepple, L. R., Arruns and the Death of Aeneas. *AJP* 97 (1976), 344-360.

<sup>19</sup> Tarrant (n.1), 333.

In Book One, the goddess indignantly wondered why she could not turn away Aeneas from Italy, just as Pallas punished Ajax, son of Oileus (1.39-49), and went on to tell Aeolus to sink the ships and scatter the bodies of the Trojans in the sea (1.65-75). Again in Book Seven, she was vehemently upset that, whereas Mars and Diana could destroy the Lapiths and Calydon respectively, her powers were not strong enough to defeat Aeneas, and decided to have recourse to the forces of Hell (7.304-12). Judging from these passages, it is almost predictable that Juno would tell Iuturna to take retribution from Aeneas for the severe humiliation of Turnus. And, if its consequence was similar to the case of Arruns, that is, dying ignominiously and forgotten in the dust (11.865f.), Dido's curse that Aeneas may lie unburied on a sandy beach (4.620) would gain more of a reality.

All this is, of course, merely a possible scenario based on a sheer hypothesis, and it is not unlikely that Aeneas would return the body of Turnus, just as Achilles eventually did that of Hector. We just cannot tell which way things will go, since Vergil did not write anything about it. Therefore, it would be pointless to ask whether Turnus' corpse was returned or not. The problem lies in that although the motif of funeral honor seems to play an important role in the final scene as well as throughout the poem, and there are implicit indications that Aeneas' rejection of funeral honors for Turnus might mean serious consequences for the hero himself, as well as for the task of building Rome due to Dido's curse, nevertheless, the poet left whatever would follow after the end of the poem untold and ambiguous. It should be asked why or for what purpose Vergil presented funeral honors in such an ambiguous way in the final scene. And ambiguity is noticed not just regarding the funeral honors, but also the spear and the wound it inflicted on Turnus, and the intent of his plea, as discussed above at Q2 and Q4. Also, the questions about *fortuna*, *saeuitia*, and *mora* will be linked here. Let us look into this next.

### **ambiguity of the final scene**

To be noted first is that the main cause for this ambiguity lies in the abrupt ending: as seen above, it excludes Turnus' funeral, which is why there is no telling what will happen after his death. In addition, the final blow eliminated Turnus, the only person who should be aware of the nature of the wound by the spear.

Why, then, did Aeneas rush to strike the blow? While a direct factor is found in *saeui monumenta doloris* (12.945), which made the hero *furiis accensus et ira terribilis* (12.946f.), additional factors may be pointed out based on what has been observed above about *fortuna* and *mora*. Aeneas had been impatiently trying to

bring about this scene without any delays, and now he finally had the opportunity to put a definite end to procrastinating, with the opponent, however, hesitating. After Turnus' pleading, however, it was Aeneas' turn to hesitate; then it was his *saevus dolor* that reminded him of what he would have to do: terminate *mora* by killing Turnus. It should be noted that the hesitation on Aeneas' part makes his act of killing look more rushing. Paradoxically, it is as if he became all the more impatient with *mora* for his own hesitation. And it should be taken into consideration that it is Turnus who Aeneas seems to have thought of as responsible for *mora*, not Juno or Iuturna, as seen above. Seeing another delay caused by Turnus, Aeneas decided that his pleading must be another trick: to survive only this moment, then to be defiant later. This could be the reason why the hero rushed on: he had to do it right away, otherwise he would risk another delay and potentially more victims like Pallas – it should be noted that Juno tried the same thing just when Aeneas, hearing the news of Pallas' death, began to cut through the enemy line to face Turnus (10.510ff.).

If this is what revolved in Aeneas' mind when rushing to strike the final blow, we may find that the hero has embraced an ironical misconception, since it was Juno and Iuturna who contrived the delaying tactics, not Turnus, who was actually eager to avoid delays from the beginning of the war, just as Iris admonished him (*rumpe moras omnis* 9.13). And, with regard to the irony, it would not be pointless here to see it connected with the deceptive motif of *fortuna*, which is, as discussed above, chiasmatically presented between Aeneas and Turnus: while Turnus, who had mistakenly believed in *fortuna* favoring him, is now ready to accept whatever *fortuna* comes to him, Aeneas, who had been wisely cautious about *fortuna*, now eagerly tries to seize her. The chiasmic pattern seems to suggest some misapprehension on Aeneas' part in the final scene, rushing to strike the finishing blow. Now, Aeneas delivered the blow obviously because he thought that the spear had not been strong enough to finish off the enemy, who, consequently, was pleading for his life, but, these are the very points of ambiguity we have been considering. In addition, at a few key moments in the poem, Aeneas is presented as very limited in his knowledge or perception. When Troy was being destroyed, he did not realize that there was nothing left for him to do but to escape until his goddess mother sharpened his mortal vision so that he could clearly see the gods destroying the city (2.589-625). He did not know that he had hurt Dido so much that she committed suicide (6.463f.; cf. 4.69-73, 438-49), nor did he recognize the deeds depicted on Vulcan's shield (8.730).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Anderson, W. S., *Pastor Aeneas: on Pastoral Themes in the Aeneid*. *TAPA* 99 (1968), 7ff.

Therefore, it is not unthinkable that Aeneas made the wrong decision here based on an incomplete understanding of the situation, and this cognitive fault may be connected with the ambiguity in the final scene: if you choose to present what the protagonist, usually a focalizer of the narrative, grasps improperly, you probably have to present it in ambiguous terms. Why, then, did Vergil give us such a picture of the hero? A possible answer would be to emphasize his human side; as a mortal being, he is just unable to know everything, and however sound the reasoning he is capable of, he cannot always make the most informed judgment because it is almost impossible for all the required pieces of information to be available to him. The irony in the case of Aeneas rushing to strike the blow is that his very act of killing made the situation less solvable, for it eliminated Turnus, the only person who had been probably conscious of the nature of the wound by the spear and, needless to say, of the real intent of his pleading. Therefore, here is a paradox that the mortality of the hero almost flagrantly stands out by the death of his opponent.

And in this respect, it seems highly important that a death, an end to a life (*uita fugit* 12.952), also marks the end of the epic. It has been regarded as abrupt, but, considering that everything is suddenly shut with sheer blackness the instant death has taken over, it would be this abruptness that is needed to express the finality of death.

With Turnus' life ending and fleeing among shadows (*uita fugit sub umbras* 12.952) at the closure, let us look back at the opening of Book Twelve now. It begins with Turnus seeing adversity surround him (*Turnus ut infractos aduerso Marte Latinos defecisse, sua nunc promissa reposci, se signari oculis* 12.1-3). And similar expressions repeatedly appear throughout the book: to dissuade Turnus from the duel with Aeneas Latinus says, '*qui me casus, quae, Turne, sequeantur bella, uides, quantos primus patiare labores.*' (12.32-33); when Aeneas, as his wound healed with the divine medication, returned to the battlefield, the immediate impact is reflected in the eyes of his opponents (*uidit ab aduerso uenientis aggere Turnus, uidere Ausonii, gelidusque per ima cucurrit ossa tremor* 12.446-48); while Iuturna attempts to get Turnus to avoid the duel with Aeneas, who now has begun besieging the city, he tells her that he has seen enough of the suffering undergone by his companions, '*uidi oculos ante ipse meos me uoce uocantem Murratum, quo non superat mihi carior alter, oppetere ingentem atque ingenti uulnere uictum.*' (12.638-40); and finally, deprived of his power by Dira, and with no helping hand in sight, Turnus sees nothing but death coming (*Rutulos aspectat et urbem cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit, nec quo se eripiat, nec qua ui tendat in hostem, nec*



*currus usquam uidet aurigamue sororem.* 12.915-18). On the other hand, death is frequently expressed as a state of being deprived of light or vision: Amata's determination to die at the same time as Turnus dies is worded as '*simul haec inuisa relinquam lumina nec generum Aenean captiua uidebo.*' (12.62f.); the death of Podalirius, one of the first victims after the sacrament for the duel turned into chaos, is presented as *olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget somnus, in aeternam conduntur lumina noctem* (12.309f.); informing Turnus of Amata's suicide, Saces says, '*regina, tui fidissima, dextra occidit ipsa sua lucemque exterrita fugit.*' (12.659f.); and lastly, in his plea Turnus speaks of his own corpse after death as *corpus spoliatum lumine* (12.935).

In the light of these expressions it seems safe to say that the end of the epic is presented in such a way that the same time Turnus' vision blacks out at the moment of his death, the world of the poem also comes to an end, giving the impression of the hard reality that there is no link to this world left after death.

Considering the finality of death thus expressed, we may notice that it is also closely connected with the main theme of the epic: building Rome. The city is eternal, as Jupiter promised (*nec metas nec tempora pono: imperium sine fine dedi* 1.278f.), but it means that, as far as there is nothing perfect in the human world, the task of building Rome has to be continued, handed down from generation to generation, so that she can simply get better or overcome the crises she is destined to face in the course of history, as may be indicated in the so-called catalogue of the Roman heroes in Book Six.<sup>21</sup> These heroes have kept coming so far, with Aeneas as the first of them and Augustus the latest, but there is always a problem that all of them are mortal, and it is uncertain whether someone competent will step up in time as successor. Or, an heir might happen to be gone prior even to his succession, as was the case with the young Marcellus. Paradoxically, the certainty of death makes the future of Rome uncertain.

Also of relevance here is *pietas*, a virtue which obliges a person to regard and care due to those closest to him or her or to those in an urgent need of his/her help. A *pious* like Aeneas would respect the achievements of his predecessors and try his best to advance what they have left unfinished. In this respect, it may be significant that Aeneas is said to be the source of the Roman stock (*Romanae stirpis origo*

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<sup>21</sup> Also in Book Two of Cic. *Rep.* (esp., 2.2, 37, 45), where the history of Rome is surveyed from a similar point of view, namely that she was not founded by one man, but a mass of different talents from one generation to the next, and this view is taken up by Livy (cf. Miles, G. B., *Livy: Reconstructing Early Rome*. Ithaca/London 1995, 88ff.).

12.166)<sup>22</sup> and Ascanius a second hope of great Rome (*magnae spes altera Romae* 12.168) at the sacrament before the duel. Aeneas left Dido on Mercury's urging to have regard for the growing Ascanius and the hopes of Iulus as his heir (*Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli respice* 4.276f.), so when the fate forces him to hand over his task, he will do so, it may be assumed, in the hope that his son will be in alignment with those heroes. However, it is just a hope, yet to be realized, and, in fact, Hector, Pallas and Turnus, three other men spoken of as hopes for their relatives, ended up frustrating hopes placed in them. When Hector's ghost appeared at his pillow, Aeneas addressed him '*spes o fidissima Teucrum*' (2.281), but, ironically, that hope had already been shattered completely by then. Pallas was *spes et solacia* (8.514) for Evander, but, as the father himself says, hope is unsure of the future (*spes incerta futuri* 8.580), and his son returned to him in a different way than he had promised (*non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti* 11.152; cf. 11.45f.). Again, Turnus was the only hope for Amata (*spes tu nunc una* 12.57), but he was not destined to meet her expectations. These examples suggest that the hope of Iulus could face adversities as well, which would be very hard to overcome, and the uncertainty might deepen when we consider that Ascanius gave Nisus and Euryalus permission to go on with their audacious attempt in defiance of Aeneas' cautious instruction to the contrary, only to cost them their young lives, as seen above. In any case, the hero will never witness the final outcome, and in this sense the future will remain in the dark for those who have to pass on the fruits of their efforts to their followers.

Can they then avoid feeling apprehensive about the future? If there is any way to alleviate the feeling, it should be found in the funeral, because the funeral honors paid by those left behind would represent the regard for the deceased, confirming continuity of their legacy. Now, it should be noted that a characteristic aspect of funeral honors in the *Aeneid* is beyond time: either those who have devoted themselves to the cause of building Rome are memorialized for all eternity, or they are forever subjected to pain, anger and hatred by people they crossed, such as Dido. There seems to be little doubt that this polarity is related to the ambiguity in the final scene. If Turnus should be denied his due funeral honors, the pain and indignation could drive Iuturna, who has already been doomed to suffer for all eternity, to attempt an act of vengeance with Juno's help. On the other hand, if the wrath of Aeneas becomes assuaged enough to return Turnus' body to his men for funeral,

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<sup>22</sup> And the first (*primus* 1.1) to reach the Lavine shores in the proem. This certainly does not mean 'the first to come to Italy', but 'the first to take up the task of building Rome'. Cf. Austin, R. G., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*. Oxford 1971, 28.

then the union of the Trojans and the Latins, the two peoples destined to be unconquered and bound by the same laws (*paribus se legibus ambae inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant* 12.192) so as to live in eternal peace (*aeterna gentis in pace futuras* 12.505), is likely to be put together with ease, as the Rutulians cease to bear hatred against the Romans, accepting the last words of Turnus '*ulterius ne tende odiis*' (12.938) as spoken not just to Aeneas but to themselves.

### **conclusion**

*Pietas*, in which Aeneas is said to excel (1.10), requires judgment and choice, and forces one to make an often impossible decision about what to prioritize. Besides, it is extremely hard to possess all the necessary information to arrive at a sound judgment and make a positive choice. Decisions thus reached often bring about serious consequences. The higher the rank and position of the person who makes the decision, the bigger the extent and significance of its consequences, for which those at the top are solely responsible. Every decision carries with it a potential crisis. No matter what decisions Aeneas makes and what consequences arise from them, 'the fate will find its way' (*fata uiam inueniunt* 3.395, 10.113), even through generations of his successors, eventually leading to Augustus' reign, but it is as uncertain as it is certain that he is as mortal as Turnus, with no way of involvement in this world after the moment of his death. This seems to be what is presented in the final scene.

Kyoto University  
hiroyuki.takahashi@bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp