

INTRODUCTION

1 SUMMARY OF *AENEID* 11

Aen. 11 divides into three sections.¹ It opens in the calm after the storm, on the morning after the ferocious fighting in *Aen.* 10 between the Trojans and the Latin forces. That clash saw Turnus killing Pallas, Aeneas' furious rampage on the battlefield in response to Pallas' demise, and the deaths of Lausus and his father, the exiled Etruscan tyrant Mezentius. The first section of book 11 centres on the funerals for the dead on both sides of the war (1–212); Aeneas agrees to a twelve-day truce to allow for preparations and for burial. Pallas is a principal figure: Aeneas mourns over him and prepares a cortège that returns him to his native Pallanteum and his father, the king Evander. The second section (225–444) comprises a Latin council. Venulus first reports to the assembly, which includes King Latinus and Turnus, on the failure of his mission to convince Diomedes, now settled in Italy, to join with the Latins and fight the Trojans.² In the wake of that bad news, Latinus, a Latin demagogue named Drances, and Turnus give speeches presenting very different visions for how to proceed with the war. The third section finds the Trojans and Italians resuming hostilities after the truce has ended (445–915). Neither Aeneas nor Turnus figures in the fighting. Instead, the predominant warrior is a woman in the Latin forces, the Volscian Camilla.

An outline of the action in *Aen.* 11 will help to orient readers by filling out the above summary:

1. Funerals

- i. At dawn, Aeneas erects a trophy to Mars from Mezentius' spoils (1–11), encourages his lieutenants (12–21), and calls for funeral rites for his fallen soldiers, with an emphasis on Pallas (22–8)
- ii. Aeneas mourns Pallas (29–58)
- iii. Aeneas leads the preparation of Pallas' cortège and bids him a final farewell (59–99)
- iv. Latin envoys, led by Drances, seek a truce to bury the dead, which Aeneas grants (100–32)
- v. Trojans and Latins prepare pyres (133–8)
- vi. Pallas' cortège arrives in Pallanteum; Evander laments over him and calls upon Aeneas to avenge his death (139–81)

¹ Virgil was partial to triadic divisions within books and in the overall structure of *Aen.*; see Gransden, *Aen.* 8, Intro. pp. 6–7 and Hardie, Intro. p. 9.

² Lines 213–24 form a brief pendant to the Latin funerals; the passage describes the suffering and unrest in Latinus' city that follows upon them.

- vii. The Trojan funerals (182–202)
 - viii. The Latin funerals (203–12)
 - ix. The inhabitants of Latinus' city grieve over the dead. Some criticise the war and Turnus; fanned by Drances, sentiment rises for him to fight Aeneas in single combat. Others defend Turnus, laying bare divisions in the city (213–24)
2. The Latin Council
- i. News comes that Diomedes will not join the Latin war effort. Latinus summons a council, at which Venulus reports on the mission to Diomedes (225–95)
 - ii. Latinus proposes seeking a peace treaty with the Trojans and lays out possible terms (296–335)
 - iii. Drances advises peace in a polemic against Turnus (336–75)
 - iv. Turnus answers Drances' attack and counters Latinus' proposal (376–444)
3. Battle
- i. Word reaches the Latins that the Trojans have mobilised for battle; the unprepared Latins prepare hastily and chaotically; Turnus eagerly leaves the council and takes command (445–97)
 - ii. Camilla approaches Turnus with a battle plan; Turnus gives her command of the cavalry and departs to set an ambush (498–531)
 - iii. The goddess Diana tells the nymph Opis the story of Camilla's early life, including how the girl entered into her service, laments Camilla's entry into war, and sends Opis to avenge her death (532–96)
 - iv. The cavalry fight is joined (597–647)
 - v. Camilla's *aristeia* (648–724)
 - vi. Jupiter stirs the Etruscan Tarchon to resist; Tarchon exhorts his troops and charges; they follow his example; Arruns stalks Camilla (725–67)
 - vii. Camilla blindly pursues the spoils of the Trojan fighter Chloreus; Arruns fatally strikes her with a spear-throw; with her death, the battle begins to turn in favour of the Trojan side (768–835)
 - viii. Opis kills Arruns (836–67)
 - ix. The Trojans/Etruscans rout the Latins, who are slaughtered at the gates of Latinus' city (837–95)
 - x. At the news of the cavalry disaster, Turnus leaves his place of ambush, barely missing his chance to attack Aeneas and the Trojans; night falls before Turnus and Aeneas can join battle (896–915)

2 BOOK 11 WITHIN THE AENEID

Content in *Aen.* 11 connects it to *Aen.* 5. Both books prominently feature funeral rites; in the fifth book, Aeneas puts on funeral games for his father Anchises (5.104–603). As part of those games, the Trojan youth, led by Aeneas' son Ascanius, perform *the lusus Troiae* (5.545–603), a quasi-military exercise on horseback (cf. 5.585 *pugnae . . . simulacra*). This anticipates the cavalry fight in *Aen.* 11, the only such fight in the poem. Other smaller correspondences further connect the books.³ The parallels between books 5 and 11 create symmetry in the architecture of the poem; Virgil aligns the penultimate book of his epic with the penultimate book of its first half.

Symmetrical, too, are the deaths at or very near the conclusions of *Aen.* 10, 11, and 12. In each one, a prominent warrior on the Italian side falls – Mezentius in the tenth book, Camilla in the eleventh, and Turnus in the twelfth. These are major events in the narrative arc of *Aen.* 10–12; over the course of the books, the Trojans move inexorably, though not easily and without cost, towards victory in their war against the Italians. With the first two deaths, Trojan victory grows that much more inevitable; with Turnus', it is assured. The triumph completes the re-enactment and reversal of the Trojan War that is essential to 'Virgil's *Iliad*', the story of the war in Italy in the second half of the *Aeneid*.⁴ The Trojans turn from vanquished to victors, thus escaping from their past of defeat, trauma, and dislocation, and remake themselves by fighting and winning a new war. In doing so, they refute the stigma of eastern softness and prove themselves strong enough to defeat hardy Italians.⁵ This makes them worthy westerners, back on their truly native Italian soil,⁶ and with a future as Italians rather than as Trojans (12.821–40).

Virgil evokes the Trojan War recurrently in *Aen.* 7–12, thereby creating a complex web of associations with Homer. In book 11, Pallas corresponds to Patroclus, Achilles' dear companion whom Hector kills and strips of armour (*Il.* 16.818–63). Achilles calls for Patroclus' funeral at *Il.* 22.378–94; he then commands his Myrmidons to join with him in mourning the dead man at *Il.* 23.1–34, and he arranges and takes part in Patroclus' funeral at *Il.* 23.108–257. Hence Aeneas, who sees to Pallas'

³ Thus Latinus' convening of the Latin council parallels 5.42–71, where Aeneas summons men to a meeting and addresses them. Both books also feature gifts from Dido (5.571–2, 11.72–5), and they open with transitional *interea* in their first line (as does *Aen.* 10).

⁴ Gransden 1984, Anderson 1990, Quint 1993: 65–83.

⁵ On the cultural stereotype of the Trojans' eastern weakness and effeminacy, voiced by their enemies in *Aen.*, see 145n., 9.598–620 with Hardie's note, and Thomas 1982: 98–9.

⁶ See 353n., 7.122, 8.36–9.

funeral and mourns over him, stands as another Achilles. This is part of the process in the second half of *Aen.* through which Aeneas wrests the identity of Achilles away from Turnus, an *alius Achilles* at 6.742 and 9.742. Virgil is too rich a poet and thinker, and too creative with Homer, to limit things to a one-to-one correspondence between Aeneas and Achilles; Aeneas takes on other Homeric identities both from the vantage points of other characters in *Aen.* and in the third-person narrative, via intertextual engagement with Homer.⁷ But his identification with Achilles is a driving feature of the second half of the poem, and book 11 contributes significantly to that.⁸ Aeneas, the defeated, exiled wanderer of the first half of the epic, turns into Aeneas, an invincible and vengeful Achilles-like warrior on ancestral land, in the second half.⁹

Aeneas' identification with Achilles adds resonance when Evander, mourning over his son upon the arrival of the cortège in Pallanteum, lays upon Aeneas the obligation to meet and kill Turnus in order to avenge Pallas (11.176–80). The prospect of Turnus' death is the only thing that keeps the king alive now that his darkest fears for his son have been realised (cf. 8.578–83). The established connection between Aeneas and Achilles implies that Aeneas will succeed in killing Turnus, as Achilles kills Hector to avenge Patroclus' death. This foreshadows the concluding climax of the poem, where Aeneas is finally able to slay Turnus (12.940–52). At the same time, Evander's words are a hinge point in the development of the revenge theme that begins with Turnus' killing of Pallas and ends with the poem. When Aeneas hears of Pallas' death in *Aen.* 10, he thinks of Evander, his hospitality, and the pledge of alliance and good faith that the king and he made (10.515–17).¹⁰ It becomes immediately clear that Aeneas feels in the death of Pallas the sting and shame of having failed to honour his bond with Evander and his duty to him to look after his son, and that this fuels his rage at Pallas' killing. (Aeneas makes this still more evident in his lament over Pallas at 11.42–58, to which we will return below.) The obligation that Evander then places on Aeneas in book 11 is a way for him to atone for that failure, at least partly.

⁷ Thus in *Aen.* 11, Latin maidens liken Aeneas to Paris (see 484n.), while in the third-person narrative, he is equated with Diomedes (see 477–85n.).

⁸ Along with the correspondences between Aeneas' response to Pallas' death and Achilles' to Patroclus', other major parallels are that Aeneas and Achilles both possess divinely crafted armour (see 8.370–453, 608–731), including shields that are the subjects of lengthy ephrases, and that both are absent from battle for a period (for Aeneas, in *Aen.* 9).

⁹ This means that Turnus becomes a Hector figure. Like Aeneas, however, Turnus contains other Homeric identities; in book 11, a major one is Paris (see 355–6n., 359n., 442n., 486–91n., 492–7n., 494n.).

¹⁰ See Harrison's note on 10.516–17.

Evander is not the only person in *Aen.* 11 to call for Aeneas and Turnus to face off. At 11.220–1, Drances declares among the people of Latinus' city that 'Turnus alone is challenged, alone is summoned to battle' (*solum-que uocari | . . . solum posci in certamina Turnum*) by Aeneas. This misrepresents Aeneas' words as he addressed the Italian embassy that came to him to seek a truce: Aeneas spoke in hypothetical terms and said that Turnus ought to have challenged him in single combat to settle the Italian conflict with the Trojans (11.116–18). Drances seeks to make the hypothetical real: members of the Latin public, unhappy with Turnus, bitterly complained that he should fight on his own to decide the war (11.218–19), and Drances, inveterately hostile to Turnus (see 11.12–13 and 11.336), fans the sentiment so that support for it grows and pressure on Turnus mounts. In the subsequent Latin council, Drances challenges Turnus directly to take on Aeneas in single combat (11.370, 374–6). In response, Turnus partly takes the bait, claiming that he would gladly fight Aeneas singly (11.438–42).

Because it introduces and advances the idea that Aeneas and Turnus should wage single combat, *Aen.* 11 plays a pivotal role in advancing the epic towards its climax. As the book progresses, the duel moves from the realm of the hypothetical and ever closer to reality. The action in the book is also decisive in the progress of the war towards the Latin defeat that Turnus' death seals. It opens in the aftermath of a major Trojan victory in *Aen.* 10; it closes with the Trojan forces routing the Latins and with Turnus squandering any chance for victory by leaving his place of ambush. Italian fortunes go from bad to worse over the course of book 11, and the situation at its conclusion is so dire that, at the start of *Aen.* 12, Turnus is left with no choice but to propose that he fight Aeneas alone to settle the conflict.

3 AENEAS

Aeneas appears only in the first scenes of book 11 up to 121 and at the very end of the poem, when he and his forces pass by Turnus' place of ambush.¹¹ At his first appearance in the book, he is very different from the Aeneas in *Aen.* 10. Upon receiving news of Pallas' death, he savagely rages on the battlefield, and as book 10 closes, he taunts the stricken Mezentius before plunging his sword into Mezentius' throat. Now, at the start of book 11, Aeneas no longer storms in fighting fury. The battle of

¹¹ His actions are also briefly reported (446), and other characters refer to him, notably Evander in his lament over Pallas (170–1, 176–80), Diomedes in his speech to the Latin embassy (282–92), and Drances and Turnus in their speeches to the Latin council (355, 374–5, 399–400, 438–40, 442). Drances addresses him, moreover, at 122–31.

Aen. 10 is over. At dawn on the next day, Aeneas grieves silently for the dead, especially Pallas, as he displays characteristic *pietas* – dutifulness to family, country, and the gods – by offering a trophy to Mars, or a tree trunk decked with Mezentius’ spoils.¹² *Aen.* 11 is the only book to open with the start of a new day. This creates a break with the previous book that is appropriate to the sharp change in mood and the sharp change in Aeneas, now quite unlike the berserker he had been in *Aen.* 10. His are the responsibilities that follow after the fight, and, as a good general, he solemnly shows concern for his fallen troops and for his religious duty to give thanks for victory. At the same time, Aeneas’ responsibilities necessarily include the continuing war effort. Hence, when addressing his lieutenants after erecting his trophy (11.14–28), he exhorts them to prepare materially and psychologically for the next stage in the conflict, while also ordering them to see to funerals for the dead, starting with Pallas.

Aeneas’ pious handling of Mezentius’ spoils pointedly contrasts with Turnus’ handling of Pallas’: after killing the boy, Turnus strips him of his baldric and wears it himself (10.496–500). There is also a contrast with Mezentius, who at 10.774–6 impiously vows his son Lausus as a living trophy of Aeneas – i.e. he will strip Aeneas and have Lausus don his armour. Wearing, or even wanting to wear, enemy spoils constitutes sacrilege in *Aen.*, and those who do so meet bad ends.¹³

While Aeneas at the start of book 11, piously honouring Mars in the quiet of dawn, differs from the enraged Aeneas on the previous day’s battlefield, traces of the fighter remain. A material reminder are the spoils of Mezentius; they drip with blood, and the breastplate is pierced twelve times (11.8–10). The condition of the breastplate raises an important question: did Aeneas honour the dying Mezentius’ plea to guard his body from the fury of his former subjects (10.903–6)? Because Aeneas stabbed Mezentius in the throat (10.907), and because Virgil gives no sign that the numerous blows to the breastplate came from an opponent in battle, the indication is that Aeneas refused Mezentius’ suppliant appeal and allowed the Etruscans to abuse the corpse.¹⁴ An intertextual clue points to the same conclusion. Virgil models Aeneas’ subsequent speech (11.14–28) on

¹² I find no signs of tree violation, and hence of impiety, in Aeneas’ erection of the trophy; see 5n.

¹³ Katz, *VE* III.1212. Aeneas not only erects a trophy here but also at 10.541–2 has Serestus carry away the armour from the fallen Haemonides for a trophy to Mars. Pallas, meanwhile, vows a trophy to Father Tiber from the spoils of Halaesus (10.423). Trophies decked with the arms of Pallas’ victims are carried in his cortège (11.83–4). We can reasonably imagine that these were later dedicated to a god or gods.

¹⁴ Lyne 1989: 113, Anderson 1999: 198–9.

Il. 22.378–94. Just before that passage in Homer (22.371), it is said of the Greeks, ‘No one drew near to him [Hector] without dealing him a wound’ (οὐδ’ ἄρα οἷ τις ἀνουτητί γε παρέστη). If this interpretation is correct, it colours the picture of Aeneas in the scene. As he displays quiet piety at the coming of the new day, he handles enemy arms that forcefully recall the unpitying warrior of *Aen.* 10. The rejection of Mezentius’ appeal is itself no surprise.¹⁵ But the harm done to Mezentius’ corpse still lends his death a viciousness that extends to Aeneas, who allows the violence. This, in turn, serves as a reminder of the bitter harshness with which Aeneas treated Mezentius as he prepared to kill him (cf. 10.900 (Mezentius to Aeneas) *hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris?*). Aeneas’ asperity there is part of his wider demonstration of raw Achillean μῆνις, ‘wrath’, in *Aen.* 10 after the death of Pallas.

That Aeneas remains, in part, the ferocious warrior of *Aen.* 10 is more apparent during the preparations for Pallas’ cortège. Aeneas adds to the procession bound men, to kill them as offerings to Pallas’ shades: *uinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris | inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis* (11.81–2). These are the eight men that Aeneas had captured at 10.517–20 in his first flush of rage at Pallas’ death for the purpose of sacrificing them to the boy. The human sacrifices derive from *Il.* 21.26–32 and 23.175–83; in the first passage, Achilles takes twelve men as blood-price (ποινὴ) for Patroclus, and in the second he kills them. Aeneas’ dedication of human sacrifices constitutes a moment of atavistic violence, where he matches Achilles in his primal desire for retribution. The contrast with his dedication of spoils, his concern for his fallen soldiers’ funerals, and his words to his men at the opening of the book shows vividly that piety and savagery coexist in him. He is at once an ideal Roman general, observant to the gods and full of sympathetic care for his troops, and a raging, vengeful Homeric warrior pursuing a non-Roman form of violence – for human sacrifice was not an accepted practice in Virgil’s Rome.¹⁶ Virgil makes his hero no ‘pale paragon’,¹⁷ but rather a complicated character with unsettling traits to go along with his exemplary, proto-Roman features.

¹⁵ Aeneas rejects all suppliant appeals on the battlefield in *Aen.* 10 (10.523–36, 554–60, 595–601); such rejections are conventional in epic. A further question is whether Aeneas granted the other part of Mezentius’ plea at 10.904 and 906, that Aeneas allow him to be buried with his son Lausus. Given Aeneas’ apparent rejection of Mezentius’ plea to protect his corpse from the Etruscans, and given his behaviour with other suppliants in *Aen.* 10, we can plausibly assume that he did not. This would depart from the *Iliad*, since Achilles ultimately returns the body of Hector to Priam and Troy.

¹⁶ See 81–2n. See also Panoussi 2009: 34 on Aeneas’ human sacrifice as a perversion of proper ritual.

¹⁷ Harrison on 10.510–605.

The interpretation of Aeneas' turn to human sacrifice grows more complicated because of his relationship to Augustus. As Richard Tarrant writes, 'Although Aeneas is an independent character and not an allegorical substitute for Augustus, the connections between the two are so strong that the view taken of one must inevitably colour one's view of the other.'¹⁸ In this case, the urge to connect Aeneas' behaviour to Augustus is strong because Augustus (when still Octavian) was said to have performed human sacrifices to the shade of Julius Caesar after the siege of Perugia in 41–40 BCE.¹⁹ The story clearly originates from hostile sources and is unlikely to be true.²⁰ But it is altogether plausible that Virgil knew it when he wrote the *Aeneid* in the 20s BCE, since it presumably emerged in the immediate aftermath of the Perusine War and circulated as a piece of anti-Octavian slander in the contentious years of the 30s. Therefore, Virgil could have wanted Aeneas, who pursues atavistic violence, to call to mind Octavian, who, according to rumour, did the same.²¹ At the very least, because Aeneas is so identified with Augustus, it is difficult to separate his savagery from the emperor; certainly it would be intellectually dishonest to identify only Aeneas' good traits (e.g. *pietas*, *iustitia*, *uirtus*) with Augustus and none of his problematic ones.

But even though Aeneas' human sacrifice casts some shadow over him and Augustus, the reason for it partly relieves the savagery.²² Aeneas' relationship with Pallas is assimilated to the *contubernium*, in which an aristocratic father placed his son in the care of an army commander on active service; the commander acted *in loco parentis* and instructed his charge in the business of war.²³ To restate an earlier point, Aeneas' rage at Pallas' death comes from his sorrow and shame at his inability to meet his responsibility towards his *contubernalis*. Because of this, he fails to live up to *fides*, his good-faith obligation to Pallas' father Evander.²⁴ *Fides* was a cardinal element in social and political affairs in Virgil's Rome.

¹⁸ Tarrant, Intro. p. 24.

¹⁹ See Suet. *Aug.* 15, Dio 48.14.4, and App. *Civ.* 1.541–2, with Alessio 1993: 168–9.

²⁰ At least literally; it is entirely possible that the story about human sacrifice distorts how Octavian killed ring-leaders of the war and prisoners.

²¹ So Farron 1985. This implies that Virgil claimed the freedom to allude to a topic that was controversial to Augustus, and hence that the poet did not think himself limited to panegyric praise, despite his ties to the emperor, including via the patronage of Maecenas. It would not necessarily have required defiant or subversive bravery to do so; to judge by other evidence (Suet. *Aug.* 51 and 54–5), Augustus tolerated independence of thought in the 20s.

²² So Tarrant, Intro. p. 26–7.

²³ Cf. 8.515–17, and see Serv. ad 5.546, Williams 1983: 104.

²⁴ See, further, pp. 10–11 below.

It signalled both ‘trust’ and ‘trustworthiness’, and it implied privileges and responsibilities for both parties in a relationship. Failure to honour *fides* was a serious offence, because of the concept’s moral and even religious character.²⁵ While Aeneas is un-Roman in offering up human sacrifices, therefore, he is deeply Roman in his motivation for that act. The picture is double-sided, as Aeneas succumbs to problematic rage and violence, but is driven to do so because he fails to live up to Roman ideals that he (anachronistically) values.²⁶

Upon seeing off Pallas’ cortège, with its human sacrifices, Aeneas receives the Latin embassy led by Drances (11.100–21). Not only does Aeneas grant the Latins the truce that they were seeking, but he also deplors the war and wishes that hostilities had never begun, preferring instead, as mentioned above, that he and Turnus had fought singly. For Aeneas, peace – i.e. an advantageous political settlement – is the aim and end of war.²⁷ Even more, he wishes that the Trojans and Latins could have arrived at peace without going to war in the first place. He bemoans the bloodshed and suffering, and he would like to undo it all.

Yet Aeneas’ response to the embassy is not simply an expression of humane regret at the war. He also justifies the Trojan presence in Italy, stating that it is the work of Fate, and says that his fight is not with the Latin people but with Latinus, who created hostilities, because he left an alliance with the Trojans and joined with Turnus. Aeneas is correct about Fate; his comments on Latinus, meanwhile, are only partly true, since the king wanted to forge an alliance with the Trojans but was compelled to go to war.²⁸ Aeneas himself no doubt believes what he says. But he also speaks rhetorically, to persuade his listeners to see the conflict as he did. An overarching aim is to make the embassy sympathetic to Aeneas and the Trojans and to drive a wedge between it and its leadership, as well as to induce its members to go back and agitate to end the war and settle with the Trojans. This would be to the Trojans’ benefit, since, having the upper hand in the war, they would be able to negotiate a favourable agreement. Still, Aeneas presumably does not view the matter as a zero-sum game and

²⁵ Fraenkel 1916, Hellegouarc’h 1963: 23–40, 275–6, Hölkeskamp 2004: 105–34, Burton 2011: 40–1.

²⁶ Something similar is observable in Octavian’s human sacrifices: as offerings to Octavian’s adoptive father Julius Caesar, the sacrifices become expressions of *pietas*, however misplaced. Cf. Tarrant, Intro. pp. 26–7: ‘To the extent, therefore, that [Aeneas] provides a prism through which the actions of Octavian can be assessed, Virgil’s characterization offers a way for even the horrors of the Perusine siege to be subsumed under the heading of *pietas*.’

²⁷ Bowra 1990: 375, Nisbet 1990: 388.

²⁸ See 114n.

has in mind a mutually satisfactory pact.²⁹ That would create conditions for the peace that he desires to take lasting hold.

4 AENEAS, PALLAS, AND EVANDER

The Latin embassy comes to Aeneas at an opportune moment for their request. Not only did he himself want to bury the Trojan dead, but he also had just come from Pallas' cortège; his grief must have made him sympathetic to their wish to prepare funerals for their own. Aeneas had been occupied with Pallas' death from the moment when, after addressing his lieutenants, he entered his tent and found Pallas' body laid out, surrounded by mourners. There he delivers a lament over the boy (11.42–58). The principal model for the passage is *Il.* 18.324–42, where Achilles grieves over the death of Patroclus. Comparison with that passage is instructive. Achilles begins with Patroclus' father Menoetius, stating that his promise to him to return Patroclus safe from the war had been in vain (*Il.* 18.324–7). He continues that he and Patroclus will share the fate of dying in Troy (*Il.* 18.328–32), and then devotes the rest of his speech to his plans for Patroclus' funeral. By contrast, Aeneas begins by briefly addressing Pallas (11.42–4) before turning to his father Evander for nearly the remainder of his lament (11.45–57). Aeneas feels affection for Pallas, although it could not have been especially deep, since he had only known him for a few days. He also recognises the boy's youth and beauty and registers the sadness of how death has swept them away.³⁰ But Pallas is secondary to Evander in Aeneas' attention and even in his grief.

As a quasi-father to Pallas in the *contubernium*, and as a father himself, Aeneas identifies with Evander and feels profound sympathy for him. But what really fuels his mourning is his aforementioned guilty sense that he has violated *fides* and failed to live up to his duty to the king. This is made explicit at 11.55, where Aeneas asks the rueful rhetorical question *haec mea magna fides?* – i.e. he bitterly suggests that by letting Pallas die, he failed to honour the pledge of *fides* that he made to Evander.

Does Aeneas really violate *fides*, or is this just his own guilt-ridden interpretation of events? At 8.169, Evander states that he joins with the Trojans in a *foedus*, or divinely sanctioned binding agreement (*iuncta est mihi foedere dextra*); Aeneas recalls this when he hears of Pallas' death at 10.517

²⁹ This view is supported by *Aen.* 12.187–91, where Aeneas lays out the terms he will seek should he defeat Turnus in single combat: *sin nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem* | . . . | *non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo* | *nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae* | *inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.*

³⁰ See 29–41n.