NISUS' CHOICE: BOVILLAE AT *AENEID* 9.387-8

At the climax of the night episode of *Aeneid* 9 Nisus and Euryalus, sneaking behind enemy lines by night to deliver a message to Aeneas, are discovered by the enemy and take flight. Euryalus, weighed down by plunder and losing his way, falls behind, while Nisus, the fleetest in the foot-races of *Aeneid* 5, quickly escapes. Virgil specifies the place where Nisus stops to look back for his companion:

> Nisus abit; iamque imprudens evaserat hostis
> atque locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti
> Albani (tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat),
> ut stetit et frustra absentem respexit amicum.   (*Aeneid* 9.386–9)

Nisus got away; and already without thinking he had escaped the enemy and, indeed, the places which afterwards were called Alban from the name of Alba (at that time King Latinus held them as lofty stables), as he stood and vainly looked back for his missing friend.

The topographical detail in lines 387–8 is marked, yet critics are unsure of the exact identity of the site and of its significance in these verses. Philip Hardie comments:

At the point of greatest suspense V. briefly distracts the reader with one of the geographical and etymological details so frequent in the *Aen.*, contrasting past and present. . . . The formula *de nomine dicti* is normally used to explain proper names . . ., but *loci Albani* is not otherwise known as the specific designation of a region. Some ninth-century MSS read *lucos* (cf. Cic. *Pro Mil.* 85 *Albani tumuli atque luci*), which may be accommodated metrically by reading *ac* for *atque*; others emend to *lacus* (for the plural cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.19); but the *lacus Albanus, mons Albanus*, and the site of Alba Longa, are all an improbably long way for Nisus to have run.[1]

O'Hara includes *Aeneid* 9.386–8 in his list of etymological word-plays in the *Aeneid*, but marks it with a question mark, and comments: 'Why this detail? . . . And what are these *loci Albani*, Alban places? . . . The etymological signpost suggests that the answer must somehow involve the significance of the name Alba.'[2] Both Hardie and O'Hara are right to point to the pronounced language of etymologizing and topo-nymy in *Aeneid* 9.387–8. The significant clue to the etymological wordplay, however, lies not in the name Alba, but in the seemingly unnecessary detail of line 388: *tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat*. The word *stabula* explains the exact location of Nisus' turning-point; *stabula* is an etymological pun on the toponym Bovillae. The word *bovilla*, formed from the noun *bovile, bovilis*, n., plural *bovilia* (-*illa* trad.), is glossed in ancient glossaries as *boustasia* (*TLL* 2.2151.22–38); in other words: *stabula*. Virgil's etymological pun locates Nisus' turning-point at Bovillae.

This etymological word-play on Bovillae is further signalled by the verb *habebat* in line 388, which permits two meanings. In addition to its generic meaning 'to possess', the verb can have the connotation 'to account, consider, regard, to think or believe'. Thus line 388 can be construed as follows: '. . . at that time King Latinus regarded [them] as Stabula Alta', that is: '. . . even at that time King Latinus thought of them as lofty Bovillae'. This connotation of *habebat* is assisted by the precise parallel between the two clauses in lines 387–8. Each clause begins with a temporal adverb, and the verb of each appears in final position. The verb *habebat* is in fact exactly parallel to *dicti* in

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[1] P. Hardie, *Virgil Aeneid Book IX* (Cambridge, 1994), 142–3.
[2] J. J. O'Hara, *True Names. Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 218–19.

the preceding line; the two verbs are parallel in sense, as well as position. The statement in line 388 is far from parenthetical; it is as much a naming construction as the clause that precedes it. Virgil's stress on the Alban nature of the place (*Albae de nomine*, line 387; *Albani*, line 388) helps to signal his etymological word-play on Bovillae, for tradition held that the town, in the *ager Albanus*, had been a colony of Alba Longa (*Orig. Gent. Rom.* 17.6; Diod. 7.5.9; Dion. Hal. 5.61.3; cf. 6.20.3), and its inhabitants still styled themselves *Albani Longani Bovillenses* in inscriptions of the imperial period (*ILS* 6188–9). Virgil carefully refers to the site in the plural (the striking masculine plural form *locos* in line 387) rather than the singular, for Bovillae is, of course, a plural form. The etymologizing wordplay *stabula*, appearing with marked naming signposts, in an emphatic Alban context, along with the deliberate plural of *locos*, glosses the exact location where Nisus turned back for Euryalus: Bovillae.[3]

Various attempts have been made to identify Nisus' turning-point as a site within a plausible running distance of the Trojan camp. Carcopino, Rehm, and Della Corte have proposed a site near Fosso di Malafede; Tilly has suggested a salt-marsh to the east of Ostia.[4] But these topographical identifications ignore Virgil's deliberate stress on Alba and Albani; none of the sites previously proposed are Alban. The fact remains that Virgil has specifically designated the Alban territory, an area that is an impossible distance for Nisus to have run, and is in a completely different direction from the one in which Nisus and Euryalus have presumably been travelling. Scholarship on the location of Nisus' turning-point has operated on the assumption that Virgil's text realistically represents the Italian terrain. Plausibility and realism, however, are not high priorities in Virgil's topographical references. Virgilian topography frequently juxtaposes distant landscape features, with a concern for ideological relationships rather than realistic description. Horsfall is right to insist on the importance of the demands of dramatic narrative, as well as literary form and antecedents, in Latin topographical writing:

> What students of topographic texts should more often bear in mind is that between the objectively real world and the written word there operate considerations of language and thought . . . productive of illusion and indeterminacy.[5]

Although Virgil's topographical reference seems to interrupt the dramatic flow of the narrative, it in fact greatly enhances the sense of what is at stake in Nisus' choice. Horsfall has argued that Virgil is not concerned with the accurate depiction of the Italian terrain. I argue, however, that Virgil's disruption of Italian topography is not accidental or incidental, but deliberate, calculated to surprise and puzzle the reader. Virgil's topography frequently creates a sense of dislocation and disorientation that encourages his audience to re-engage with the text on a deeper level. It is just where

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[3] The etymology of Bovillae from *stabula* may be compared to that of Bauli from *boum aulae*, although the origin of Bauli was attributed to Hercules' march through Italy with the cattle of Geryon (Servius at *Aen.* 7.662, cf. Sil. *Pun.* 12.156 and Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.109), and Bovillae, perhaps surprisingly, has no such Herculean connection. I owe this point to the *CQ* referee.

[4] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1968²), 471–2 and 286–7. B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*. Philologus Suppl. 24, Heft 2 (Leipzig, 1932), 54. F. Della Corte, 'Commento topografico all' IX dell'Eneide', *Vergiliana*, ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière (Leiden, 1971), 151–4; *La Mappa dell'Eneide* (Florence, 1972), 190 and 194; and 'La valle del Tevere', *Itinerari Virgiliani*, ed. E. Paratore (Milan, 1981), 69–70. B. Tilly 'The topography of *Aeneid* IX with reference to the way taken by Nisus and Euryalus', *Arch. Class.* 8 (1956), 164–72. See also F. Castagnoli, 'Albani loci', *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1, ed. F. Della Corte (Rome, 1984), 80.

[5] N. Horsfall, 'Illusion and reality in Latin topographical writing', *G&R* 32 (1985), 206.

Virgil seems most arbitrary, where his depiction most radically violates the reality of the terrain, that Virgil is most actively concerned with the significance of Italian places. Virgil is not indifferent to topographical reality, nor is he ignorant of the geographical distance that separates Bovillae from Rome and the *ager Laurentinus*. At *Aeneid* 9.386–8 Virgil deliberately disrupts logical spatial relationships in order to create more powerful figurative associations.

Bovillae was a small but ancient town in Latium about ten and a half miles (17 km) outside of Rome; it was the first town outside the *urbs* on the Appian way. Although at the time Virgil was writing Bovillae had a small population and was of minor economic importance,[6] it remained a site of great ideological significance for the Julian family. A member of the Julian *gens* was always in charge of the public cults in and around Bovillae. An inscription found on an altar at Bovillae dating to the end of the second century B.C. affirms a close relationship between the Iulii, Alba, and Bovillae; the altar declares it was dedicated to *Vediovis pater* by the Julian *gens* in accordance with the laws of Alba.[7] Weinstock argues that the importance of Bovillae to the Julians must not be underestimated: '. . . Caesar was attached to both Alba and Bovillae, but . . . the family had stronger roots in Bovillae than in Alba'.[8] After Augustus' death his body was carried to Bovillae, and there met by an equestrian honour guard which bore it into Rome (Suet. *Aug.* 100.2); the choice of Bovillae as starting-point for the funeral cortège seems to have been not purely one of convenience, but calculated to honour Augustus' Julian ancestry. Bovillae continued to be revered as the home of the Julian *gens*; Tiberius dedicated a *sacrarium* of the Iulii at Bovillae in A.D. 16, and set up a statue of Augustus in it; the *sodales Augustales* had their headquarters there (Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.1; *CIL* 14.2388ff.).[9] And Bovillae was the site of special festivals and games celebrated by the Iulii (Macrob. 1.16.7; Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.3).[10] In making his punning etymology of Bovillae Virgil is not simply playing a scholarly word-game; the reference has a much deeper significance for Virgil's narrative, which depends on the audience's familiarity with Julian genealogical history.

Horsfall has kindly communicated to me his scepticism regarding an identification of the *stabula* in *Aeneid* 9.388 as Bovillae. He points out that Latinus' stables have already been roughly located in Virgil's narrative, for *Aeneid* 7.500–501 *(successitque gemens stabulis)* and 512 *(At saeva . . . dea ardua tecta petit stabuli)* locate Latinus' stables at the Laurentes' settlement, nowhere near Bovillae.[11] But it is not far-fetched to assume that Latinus would have two stables, for ancient Italian animal husbandry depended on seasonal movement between coastal and mountain pastures.[12] Virgil's

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[6] Bovillae had become a Roman *municipium*, probably under Sulla, but by the time of Cicero, Bovillae's population was in decline (*Pro Planc.* 9).

[7] *ILS* 2988: *Vediovei patrei genteiles Iuliei; Vedi[ovei] aara; leege Albana dicata.* Cf. S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), 8.

[8] Weinstock (n. 7), 6. The cult of the Julian *gens* was celebrated only at Bovillae, not at Alba. Connecting the bull featured on Julius Caesar's military standards to the legend of Bovillae's foundation, Weinstock (n. 7), 6–12 argues that Julius Caesar consciously exploited his Bovillan ancestry, using the bull of Bovillae to interpret favourably the omen that occurred before the battle of Pharsalus, when a bull destined for the altar escaped and swam across a lake. Weinstock further argues that the youthful god Vediovis, worshipped as the Julian ancestral god at Bovillae and later enshrined on the Capitol in Rome, was identified with Iulus himself.

[9] Weinstock (n. 7), 7, n. 4 argues that the Julian *sacrarium* was already established at Bovillae before A.D. 16: 'The shrine is to be inferred from Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.1.'

[10] Weinstock (n. 7), 7.   [11] N. Horsfall, private correspondence.

[12] See Columella 6.22–3; Varro, *De Agri.* 2.5.11, 2.5.14–16. Thus Virgil's description of antiquity reflects the Italian farming practices of his own time. N. Horsfall (*Virgil, Aeneid 7, A*

audience would in fact expect that Latinus had two steadings for his cattle: one along the coast, and another in the hills for the late summer, after the coastal pasturage was burnt.

In *Aeneid* 9.388 the adjective *alta*, 'high, lofty,' seems an odd descriptor of stables; many commentators feel the need to gloss the phrase. These references to *stabula alta* have been construed as 'a lair or den (of wild animals)' (*OLD* 1813, col. 1, and cf. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, 1750, col. 1). Norden (commentary on *Aen.* 6.179) argues that the phrase *stabula alta*, used three times in Virgil's text—6.179, 9.388, and 10.723—is formulaic, and suggests that Virgil inherited it from archaic Latin poetry.[13] I think it is likely that in all three instances, however, Virgil deliberately uses the phrase *stabula alta* to designate summer cattle pastures in the mountains. A recognition of this specific use of *stabula alta* alleviates the seeming oddness of all three of these passages. In *Aeneid* 6.179 the phrase *stabula alta* occurs in a specifically mountainous context as shepherds fell a tree on the mountains. At *Aeneid* 10.723 the phrase occurs in a simile, describing a lion hunting the herds, in which deer are intermingled. Both lions and deer are more likely to be found in mountain pastures than in coastal sites. At *Aeneid* 9.388 the phrase *stabula alta* occurs in a markedly Alban context, and puns on Bovillae on the Alban Mount.

In the context of *Aeneid* 9 Virgil's choice of the adjective *alta* to describe Latinus' stables seems overdetermined, for the paradox of stately stables also alludes to the prestige of Bovillae as home of the Julian *gens*. Virgil's text asserts the lofty status of Bovillae as already manifest, even at the time of Latinus. The contrast between *post* and *tum* in lines 387–8 reveals an emphasis that has heretofore been missed. These verses assert that although Bovillae later came to be called Alban, it was already known to King Latinus, already in existence long before the founding of Alba Longa, and already a place of high status. '. . . The places which afterwards were called Alban, from the name of Alba—*but even at that time* King Latinus regarded them as lofty Bovillae.' The seeming contrast between *post* and *tum* conveys a deeper sense of continuity.[14] *Aeneid* 9.386–9 provides another illustration of what Martindale has called the 'shuttle between the aspect of time and the aspect of the timeless' in the *Aeneid*.[15]

Ironically, Virgil chooses to pinpoint Bovillae at the precise moment when the Aeneadae are most at risk, when the Trojan camp is besieged, and Aeneas is away and unaware.[16] Nisus has escaped the enemy, and has a chance to break through to Pallanteum and get his message to Aeneas. But his window of opportunity is small; he has only a few hours of darkness left (line 355), and the enemy have been alerted to his presence and have encircled the forest with guards (line 380). Nisus' decision to turn back for Euryalus rather than immediately press on with his mission jeopardizes the

Commentary [Leiden, 2000], 341) comments on the anachronism of the *ardua tecta* in *Aeneid* 7.512: 'V. is likely to be writing of contemporary farm-buildings, and perhaps not so much the humble cottages of *Buc.* 1.68, 82 as the ample structures of Colum. 1.6.4 f.' See also Horsfall's note on *Aeneid* 7.502.

[13] E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI* (Stuttgart, 1957⁴), 188

[14] A better recognized use of this trope appears in *Aeneid* 8.347–50, where the narrator juxtaposes contrast with continuity: *nunc olim/iam tum*. See the discussions of C. Martindale and J. Zetzel in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge, 1997), 4–6 and 196.

[15] Martindale (n. 14), 4.

[16] P. G. Lennox, 'Virgil's night-episode re-examined (*Aeneid* IX, 176–449)', *Hermes* 105 (1977), 331–42, at 142, remarks that the narrative parallels with the *presbeia* in *Iliad* 9, at a critical juncture in the fortunes of the Greeks at Troy, underscore the dangers the Trojans are facing: 'the absence of Aeneas is as serious for the Aeneadae as was that of Achilles for the Greeks'.

safety and welfare of Iulus, the Julian *gens*, and Rome. The ideological significance of Bovillae for the Julian clan throws Nisus' choice into sharp relief. He is caught in 'a tragic situation of irreconcilable duties'; a dilemma repeated again and again in Virgil's epic.[17] Nisus does not hesitate or deliberate; he immediately turns back to find his beloved, and then, once he sees that Euryalus has been captured, charges into the enemy, to rescue or die in the attempt. Thus it is twice that Nisus unhesitatingly chooses his duty to Euryalus over his duty to his leader and to the welfare of the Aeneadae.[18] On the second occasion, Virgil actually represents Nisus' thoughts; it is telling that neither Aeneas nor Iulus feature in Nisus' internal deliberations:

> quid faciat? qua vi iuvenem, quibus audeat armis
> eripere? an sese medios moriturus in enses
> inferat et pulchram properet per vulnera mortem?   (*Aeneid* 9.399–401)

What should he do? With what attack, with what weapons should he dare to rescue the youth? Or should he throw himself, sure to die, into the thick of their swords and rush through his wounds to a glorious death?

Nisus does not think about his mission; the alternatives he considers are whether to attempt a rescue (and how), or to rush straightaway to his own death.[19] The other tactical option, clear to Virgil's audience, never occurs to him: to give Euryalus up for lost and complete his mission, getting a message through to Aeneas at Pallanteum. The first time Nisus privileges his duty to Euryalus over his duty to his people, Bovillae is carefully chosen as the *mise-en-scène*. By setting this dramatic turning-point at Bovillae Virgil makes it clear what is at stake in Nisus' choice.[20]

Nisus is, in many ways, a type and anti-type of Aeneas; his return into danger to seek Euryalus parallels and alludes to Aeneas' journey back through burning Troy to save Creusa, and to Orpheus' journey through the Underworld to rescue Eurydice.[21]

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[17] I borrow the phrase of Lennox (n. 16), 340, who notes that Nisus, faced with the same situation that Aeneas had faced at the fall of Troy, responds in like manner, and privileges the bonds of affection over his duty to his people.

[18] In this interpretation I differ from Lennox (n. 15), 340, who argues that 'until Volcens draws his sword on Euryalus Nisus tries both to save his friend and to leave open the possibility of completing the mission. But when he sees his friend about to die he has no thought but to make the ultimate sacrifice of his own life in a last hope of preserving that of his friend.' I argue that Nisus, by his very decision to turn back for Euryalus, puts the mission in jeopardy, and in fact seems not to think of Iulus or Aeneas.

[19] An allusion to *Georgics* 4 at *Aeneid* 9.401 sheds light on Nisus' choice. As Nisus deliberates, Virgil ironically echoes the battling bees of *Georgics* 4.217–18: *et saepe attollunt umeris et corpora bello / obiectant pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem*: 'and often they lift up arms and hurl their bodies into war and seek through their wounds a glorious death'. Whereas the bees seek a glorious death on behalf of their king and their collective, Nisus puts the welfare of his leader and his community at hazard, rushing to his death on behalf of his beloved. B. Pavlock ('Epic and tragedy in Vergil's Nisus and Euryalus episode', *TAPhA* 115 [1985], 207–24) argues that the allusion to the *Georgics* reveals Nisus' error in thinking that he has achieved a glorious death by dying for his friend rather than serving his country.

[20] J. Farrell (*The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* [Cambridge, 1997], 234) notes Virgil's use of the patronymic *Aeneadae* in the Nisus and Euryalus episode (*Aeneadum*, *Aen.* 9.180 and 235); he argues that it mobilizes a Lucretian allusion. I would argue further that Virgil's use of the patronymic *Aeneadae* in this episode underscores what hangs in the balance as Nisus makes his choice.

[21] M. C. J. Putnam (*Poetry of the Aeneid* [Cambridge, MA, 1965], 53–5) has analysed the many echoes of *Aeneid* 2 in *Aeneid* 9. The phrase *regione viarum* at 9.385 echoes 2.737: *dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum*. The transitive use of the verb *evadere* in *Aeneid* 9.386 appears in *Aeneid* 2.731, of Aeneas: *omnem videbar / evasisse viam*, and again in *Georgics* 4.485, of Orpheus:

Like Aeneas in Book 2, Nisus forgets his Roman mission, instead privileging a personal bond and a private duty. Nisus significantly diverges from Virgil's Aeneas and Orpheus, however, in choosing to join his beloved in death rather than go on living. Aeneas, of course, is not free to embrace death for any cause, public or private, although it seems to be his constant desire. This may be one reason why Nisus and Euryalus are called fortunate in Virgil's enigmatic apostrophe:

> Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
> nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
> dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
> accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.   (*Aeneid* 9.446–9)

Fortunate pair! If there is any power in my poetry, the day will never come when you are erased from the remembering ages, while the house of Aeneas dwells on the immovable rock of the Capitol and the Father of the Romans holds power.

These lines, the epitaph and *sphragis* of the Nisus and Euryalus episode, are profoundly ironic.[22] Here the *Aeneid* turns itself inside out, for Virgil's epic, which ostensibly commemorates Aeneas and his successors, becomes the panegyric of two youths whose focus on individual glory and personal bonds placed the collective in danger. Otis comments on the *fortunati ambo* epitaph: 'In the end the episode is assimilated to Roman history, to the ideology of Roman patriotism.'[23] In fact, the situation in the epic is quite the reverse. The Aeneadae, the Capitoline, Roman *imperium*, and the power of epic poetry are all subordinated; they become merely conditions to be fulfilled in order to perpetuate the fame of Nisus and Euryalus. These two, whose individualism jeopardized the house of Aeneas, the stability of the Capitoline, the perpetuity of Roman *imperium*, and even the collectivist ethos of Roman epic itself, shall be eternally praised at Rome, the place on which Nisus had turned his back. The fact that Nisus' choice was made at Bovillae, the hoary home of the Julian *gens*, the genesis of the *domus Aeneadum* and the *pater Romanus*, sheds further light on the pathos and irony of the Nisus and Euryalus episode.

There is a further level of irony and sophistication in the close of the Nisus and Euryalus episode. Even as the *fortunati ambo* apostrophe inverts the ideology of

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casus evaserat omnis. Likewise the verb *stetit* in *Aeneid* 9.389 appears as *restitit* in *Georgics* 4.490 and *substitit* in *Aeneid* 2.739, and in all three passages, the verb *stare* is juxtaposed with *respicere*: *Aeneid* 9.389, *Georgics* 4.491, *Aeneid* 2.741. The phrase *et vestigia retro / òbservata* in *Aeneid* 9.392–3 closely echoes *Aeneid* 2.753–4: *repeto et vestigia retro / observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro.* Putnam remarks that silence is important to the mood of both Aeneas' and Nisus' searches: *silentibus* in *Aeneid* 9.393, *silentia* in *Aeneid* 2.755; I would add that when the silence of the woods in *Aeneid* 9 is suddenly broken by the noise of Euryalus' capture the phrase *cum clamor ad auris* at line-end in *Aeneid* 9.395 echoes *subito cum creber ad auris*, the close of *Aeneid* 2.731, when Aeneas and Anchises first hear the sound of the enemy approaching. P. Hardie (*Virgil Aeneid Book IX* [Cambridge, 1994], 142, on line 386) notes the evocative similarity of the two names Euryalus and Eurydice; the similarity encourages parallels between Nisus and Orpheus. There is also, of course, the tradition that Aeneas' wife was named Eurydice (Pausan. 10.26.1; *Cypria* fr. 23 Davies; Ennius, *Ann.* 37). Thus Nisus' return for Euryalus, in both overall structure and individual verbal echoes, recalls Aeneas' return for Creusa in *Aeneid* 2, and echoes Orpheus' loss of Eurydice in *Georgics* 4.

[22] E. Potz ('Fortunati ambo. Funktion und Bedeutung der Nisus/Euryalus-Episode in Vergils *Aeneis*', *Hermes* 121 [1993], 325–34, at 332–4) argues against irony in these lines, finding in the Nisus and Euryalus episode a validation of *pietas* that accords well with Augustan virtues. This interpretation overlooks the possibility of conflicting *pietates*, a concept upon which much of the *Aeneid* depends.

[23] B. Otis, *Vergil. A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Norman, OK, 1995), 389.

Roman epic heroism, it also reassures Virgil's audience that Nisus' choice did not in fact prevent the rise of Rome. Virgil's commemoration of Nisus and Euryalus asserts a Rome that is alive and well, so much so that the individualism and passion of these two heroes poses no threat to the city, now, or at any time in the future. The apostrophe also expresses great confidence in the power of Virgil's epic song. The surprisingly happy result of Nisus' and Euryalus' choices in *Aeneid* 9 closely resembles the surprisingly happy result of their choices in *Aeneid* 5. In the course of the footrace the fallen Nisus trips another racer, in order that Euryalus might win. In *Aeneid* 5 Nisus' choice threatens to undermine the social fabric, but since Aeneas can provide prizes for all the competitors, the Trojan community is able to accommodate the individualism of Nisus and Euryalus. So, too, in *Aeneid* 9, even at a time of seeming crisis, Virgil can provide the prize of undying praise for everyone, and Rome makes room for Nisus and Euryalus.[24]

Boston University   PAMELA R. BLEISCH
                                                       pbleisch@bu.edu