

IMAGINARY IDENTITY: AENEAS' SEARCH FOR A HOME IN *AENEID* 3

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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This thesis examines Aeneas' changing sense of cultural identity in Book 3 of the *Aeneid*. Although he begins his journey as a Trojan intending to re-found Troy, Aeneas must give up his identity and his desire to recreate Troy so that he can eventually found Rome. This thesis will take a literary psychoanalytic approach to the topic of Aeneas' shifting sense of cultural identity, by applying the theories of Freud and Lacan to scenes in Book 3 where Aeneas is forced to confront the loss of Troy.

In the first chapter, I will explain my critical methodology and lay the theoretical foundation for my analysis of Book 3. This chapter will introduce Freud's theory of repetition compulsion as it applies to Aeneas' repeated attempts to re-found Troy in Book 3. Aeneas' Trojan identity is constructed by his desire to rebuild Troy, thereby rescuing the city and mastering the past. Since all his Trojan cities fail, Aeneas ceases from trying to re-establish Troy. By no longer trying to rescue Troy, Aeneas forfeits his Trojan identity, thus excluding him from other Trojans who still intend to recreate Troy. Aeneas' exclusion makes him an Other as defined by Lacanian and post-colonial theory,

which considers the “Other” to be defined by a point of reference that is opposite or outside of the “Self.” This work is a departure from prior psychoanalytic readings of the *Aeneid* because it treats Aeneas as an excluded person who is the Other, rather than treating him as the Self.

The second chapter of this thesis will examine both how in Book 3 Aeneas compulsively repeats the past as well as how he is made aware of his Otherness. Aeneas’ initial attempts to re-found Troy or Troy-like settlements are his way of rescuing his fallen city. After the Penates order Aeneas to sail to Italy, Aeneas becomes disassociated from the recent Trojan past, thus breaking his cycle of repetition compulsion. His disassociation from the fall of Troy separates Aeneas from other Trojans, particularly Helenus and Andromache. Aeneas’ encounter with these two Trojans in Buthrotum, which is an exact replica of Troy, forces him to recognize his own Otherness as well as the futility of rebuilding Troy.

The third chapter will examine how Aeneas reconstructs his identity in terms of Dardanus’ story as it is presented within the *Aeneid*. Vergil highlights corresponding details in the stories of Aeneas and Dardanus. By identifying himself with Dardanus, Aeneas creates a new identity and legitimacy for his arrival in Italy. This new identity is one that is based upon his kinship with a legendary ancestor, rather than immediate culture. Through his descent, Aeneas will link Greeks, Trojans, and Italians into a single, interrelated community that is perceived in the collective imagination of the entire group.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis will evaluate the way in which Aeneas copes with the loss of his homeland. At first, Aeneas only wishes to re-found Troy, but his intention is stymied by a greater plan, to begin the foundation of Rome. Aeneas hears many prophecies that he does not understand, but he follows them despite his desire to return to the Troad. Aeneas tries repeatedly to construct simulated Trojan cities, but to imitate Troy is to imitate its fall. What allows him to persevere is the necessity of his journey; he cannot return to Troy, nor can he rebuild it, since to do so would condemn him to compulsively repeat the past. Thus, all Aeneas' attempts to re-found in Book 3 fail. Eventually, each of Aeneas' failures forces him to turn away from his compulsive intention to rebuild Troy.

Aeneas' long physical journey from Asia Minor to Italy is paralleled by an equally arduous psychological one. Aeneas must exist outside of his own culture, becoming an Other, who is displaced and excluded from the Trojan community. Through his Otherness that Aeneas, be able to integrate himself into the Italian community, thus completing his journey. If he were not excluded from the Trojan diaspora, his only aspiration would be to remain with Trojans and to re-found Troy. Aeneas is given the directive to journey to Italy.

Upon his arrival in Italy, Aeneas collects his allies by tracing his genealogy through Dardanus to both Greeks and Italians alike. Ultimately, Aeneas will mix his own group of Trojans with the different peoples present in Italy, creating a mixed race, one whose

viability Jupiter ensures. By affiliating himself with his ancestor Dardanus, Aeneas then embarks upon a new method of reconstructing a community, one based on imagined genealogies which will connect formerly incompatible groups, such as Greeks, Trojans, and Italians. These imagined genealogies, which are created from traditions and stories about the mythic past, are propagated and revitalized by foundation stories. By sharing in the same foundation stories, disparate communities can consolidate themselves and re-evaluate their own self-identities.

Aeneas' own story will serve as a touchstone for the Romans to consolidate their own identity. In the first century BCE, a time of civil wars and imperial expansion, Rome was forced to manage the integration of many different cultures under a single identity. The *Aeneid*, a new version developed from many different traditional foundation stories, will aid in the incorporation of these new peoples by reinventing more inclusive genealogies. Aeneas' reinvention of his identity in accordance with Dardanus' story will provide an exemplar for the way in which the Romans should reconsider their own collective identity.

This thesis analyzes the above issues in the following way. The first chapter will be devoted to an explanation of Freud's theory of repetitive compulsion and Lacan's theory of the Other, both as applied to the *Aeneid*. The second chapter of this thesis will evaluate two things: Aeneas' changing identity in terms of the Other, which will be defined subsequently, and his compulsive resistance to his destiny. The third chapter of this thesis will then show how Aeneas reconstructs his identity by turning toward his own culture's foundation story, the story of Dardanus.

CHAPTER 2 THE THEORETICAL APPROACH TO *AENEID* BOOK 3

Book 3 of the *Aeneid* has interested scholars for its portrayal of city-founding, for its references to locations of historical significance for Vergil's contemporaries, for Aeneas' subordinate relationship to Anchises, and for the further development of Aeneas' *pietas*.¹ This book constitutes one-half of Aeneas' narrative to Dido, which itself is an extended allusion to the wanderings of Odysseus.² Furthermore, this book has intrigued many scholars because of its unfinished state and its structural relationship to the *Aeneid* as a whole.³ This thesis, however, will be a departure from these traditional methods of approaching Book 3. Here, the approach taken will be a psychological assessment of Aeneas' identity as his relationships to both his culture and his past change. This chapter will set the theoretical ground work upon which the evaluation of Aeneas' identity will be based, which I will explore thoroughly in the second and third chapters.

While the theories explained in this chapter seem unrelated, they share a common thread by being important to identity formation. In order to evaluate Aeneas' identity as

¹ For the theme of city foundation, see Morwood (1991), "Aeneas, Augustus, and the Theme of the City." For allusions to places of historical significances, see Stahl (1998), "Political Stop-Overs on a Mythological Travel Route: From Battling Harpies to the Battle of Actium: *Aeneid* 3.268-93" and Cairns (1989), *Virgil's Augustan Epic*. For Anchises as the leading figure of Book 3 see Lloyd (1957b), "Aeneid III: A New Approach." For an interpretation of how Aeneas' *pietas* is manifested see Mackie (1988), *The Characterization of Aeneas*, Nethercut (1968), "Invasion in the '*Aeneid*,'" and Otis (1964), *A Study in Civilized Poetry*.

² For the relationship of Book 3 to Odysseus' narrative to the Phaeacians, see Knauer (1990) "Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer" and Anderson (2005) *The Art of the Aeneid*.

³ For a structural analysis of Book 3 as related to the overarching structure of the *Aeneid* see Lloyd (1957b) "Aeneid III: A New Approach" and Hershkowitz (1991) "The *Aeneid* in *Aeneid* 3." For the unfinished state of Book 3 see Heinze (1993) *Virgil's Epic Technique* and Otis (1964) *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*.

it shifts from the beginning of Book 3 to his visit to Buthrotum, I will employ two concepts from literary psychoanalysis: the “Other,” and “repetition compulsion.” Aeneas will lose his Trojan identity and become the “Other” in order to avoid compulsively repeating the past. After his loss of identity, Aeneas will overcome his compulsion by reforming his identity in relation to the foundation story of Dardanus. This foundation story’s effect is twofold; from it, Aeneas will receive a sense of purpose and eventually it will help him reintegrate himself into a community. These ideas of reintegration and re-evaluation of traditional foundation stories become important to Vergil’s contemporary Romans, who after long periods of upheaval must restore a sense of national unity.

First of all, the term “Other,” in its various permutations, requires some definition, since it is used by many schools of thought to mean different things.⁴ One use of the term, that of J. Lacan, applies specifically to identity formation. The Lacanian usage of Other, as explained by D. Macey, indicates the thing that is desired by the Self, also known as the “subject” or one’s sense of personal identity.⁵ The Self articulates its own identity through the desire for and the recognition of the Other. This then presumes both that the Self and the Other are separate entities, and that the space between them is irreconcilable. A later development of Lacan’s idea helps to define the Other as the opposite, or the thing which the subject is *not*, as it is used in the scope of this thesis.⁶

The post-colonial theorist H. Bhabha uses Lacan’s ideas to discuss the use of visual

⁴ The term itself can be rendered in the following ways: other, “other,” Other, and “Other” based on stylistic preference. I give preference to Other because it denotes a concept and because I use the common, adjectival other.

⁵ Macey (2000b) 368.

⁶ Macey (2000a) 286: The Other refers to things which “are quite alien to and inassimilable by the subject.”

stereotypes: “The visibility of the racial/colonial Other is at once a *point* of identity . . . and at the same time a *problem* for the attempted closure within discourse.”⁷ If the Other is an opposed “point of identity,” then it must both exist outside of and be different from the Self.⁸ The Other then is indicative both of difference and of separation from the Self.⁹

It is within this modified Lacanian definition of the Other as the opposite that critics in classical studies have applied the term. The idea that one people’s self-identity is constructed only by comparison to what it is not, has already been applied to the ancient history, material culture, and archaeology of Greece, due to the influence of E. Hall’s *Inventing the Barbarian*. Identity studies in Greek colonization in terms of the Self and the Other followed. Then these Self/Other constructions were similarly applied to Roman history, material culture, and archeology.¹⁰ Two scholars—one of Roman history, the other of Roman literature—employ concise definitions of the Other that will be of particular use here. E. Marshall, in her work on the cultural conflict between Cyrenaica and Libya, uses the following definition:

The other is, therefore, defined through the self because it is the reverse self. Conversely, the other serves to unite a group, or a number of groups, because it defines the group’s self, and in other words, defines who the group is.¹¹

⁷ Bhabha (2002) 81. Original emphasis.

⁸ Macey (2000a) 286. This is in opposition to Lacan’s idea that the Other is a projection of the Self into a mirror.

⁹ Bhabha (2002) 86.

¹⁰ For these historical approaches to cultural identity formation see both Gruen (1992) *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* and Lawrence (1998) *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*.

¹¹ Marshall (1998) 89.

A similar idea of the Other has been applied to the *Aeneid* by J. Evans, whose definition helps to dispel the idea that the Other is a fixed concept:

‘Self’ and ‘other’ are interdependent concepts. The ‘other’ is what we are not, and in turn, what we are not serves to define ourselves. It may be hostile, or friendly, or something in between: different, but willing to interact with us.¹²

My analysis of the *Aeneid* will approach the Other and Otherness as mutable constructions, while the Self remains static. Thus I will focus on the Otherness exhibited by Aeneas, rather than approach Aeneas as the Self which is the focus of Evans’ work. For my purposes, Otherness will be defined as the difference and separation which are caused by Aeneas’ exclusion from his own cultural group, the Trojans. It is commonly agreed by scholars that Aeneas must lose or leave behind his Trojan identity—this is indicative of Aeneas’ Otherness because he no longer is a member of that group.¹³

To evaluate why Aeneas’ identity changes, I will apply another theory propagated in psychoanalysis, that of Freud’s “repetition compulsion” as it is used by D. Quint.¹⁴ Freud determines that suffering (a loss or a traumatic event) leaves “a permanent injury to self-regard in the form of a narcissistic scar.”¹⁵ Those who suffer this sort of traumatic event may become “neurotics” who compulsively repeat their own traumas either to elicit some pleasure from the experiences or to master them.¹⁶ The motivation for repetition is

¹² Evans (2003) 45.

¹³ For the development of Aeneas’ character see Otis (1964) *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Di Cesare (1974) *The Altar and the City*, and Furher (1989) “Aeneas: A Study in Character Development.”

¹⁴ Quint (1999) 116.

¹⁵ Freud (1961) 21-22.

¹⁶ Freud (1961) 22-3 and 16: “Patients repeat all of these unwanted situations and painful emotions in the transference and revive them with the greatest ingenuity” and “We are therefore left in doubt as to whether the impulse to work over in the mind some overpowering experience so as to make oneself master of it can find expression as a primary event.”

strange particularly because “[n]one of these things can have produced pleasure in the past.”¹⁷ In Aeneas’ case, the traumatic event is the fall of Troy, which leaves him without a homeland.

This approach is not a new one; D. Quint applies this theory to the *Aeneid* and then expands it to the Romans themselves. Quint argues that the first half of the *Aeneid*, the Odyssean wanderings, exhibits the compulsive repetition of the past, while the second half, the Iliadic wars, portrays the final re-enactment through which Aeneas will restructure and master the traumatic past. Quint states that focusing on the repetition of the founding and destruction of Troy engages the idea of narrative itself, which then constitutes the *Aeneid* as a “teleologically structured narrative, a repetition that links the two events [the wanderings and the wars], but demonstrates their difference and the overcoming of the first by the second.”¹⁸ I, however, differ in my application of Freud’s “repetition compulsion,” since I apply this theory only to Aeneas’ wanderings in Book 3. In this book, Aeneas tries to master his past; if he can re-found Troy, he can save it from being destroyed by the Greeks. In the failure of each reconstruction, Aeneas, in effect, relives Troy’s destruction. Eventually within the same book, Aeneas not only breaks his neurotic cycle of repetition, but by doing so, he separates himself culturally from the other Trojans. Then, Aeneas neither continues compulsively to repeat the fall of Troy nor does he master Troy’s fall by successfully re-founding it. Instead, Aeneas breaks from the traumatic destruction of the city by associating himself with the idea of the very distant past, namely Dardanus’ exile from Italy and his foundation of Troy.

¹⁷ Freud (1961) 22-3.

¹⁸ Quint (1999) 118.

In addition to Quint's Freudian reading and the Lacanian Other, I will make use of Y. Syed's psychoanalytic reading of the *Aeneid* which she uses to extrapolate the "Roman readers' sense of self as Romans."¹⁹ She sets up Vergil's characterization of Aeneas as occupying the "subject position," namely the vantage point from or through which the Roman reader engages the poem and reacts emotionally to the other characters.²⁰ When Aeneas reacts emotionally to the oppositions imposed by both gender and ethnicity, he causes the reader to react as well.²¹ For example, Aeneas is defined as Trojan so long as he maintains a Trojan opposition to Greeks. Then Syed argues that through the vantage point of Aeneas, the reader uses the Other as a point of reference against which he can formulate his own Roman identity by comparison to what he is *not*—the Roman is not the Other, be it female, Carthaginian, or Greek.

Aeneas' identity is developed through the articulation of contrasting dualities, that is, Others, like male/female, Roman/Carthaginian, Greek/Trojan, and Trojan/Italian. This mutability of his identity is possible because after his exclusion from the Trojan culture, Aeneas' ethnic status is that of a "cipher," which Syed explicates as

[a] blank space onto which Roman national identity is projected through his interactions with various ethnic others. This is possible because Aeneas leaves behind him his Trojan identity when he decides to follow the commands of fate that direct him to found a new city elsewhere.²²

¹⁹ Syed (2005) 2-3.

²⁰ Syed (2005) 3.

²¹ Syed (2005) 35.

²² Syed (2005) 175.

These dualities are helpful in understanding how the Other is constructed; it is, however, my argument that Aeneas is the Other, since his identity is in a state of flux in comparison to the diasporic Trojans, whose identities remain in a fixed condition.

Syed's concept of the "cipher" is very useful because it pinpoints a state that Aeneas reaches only through the necessary removal of his Trojan identity. It allows Aeneas to break the repetitive compulsive cycle of trying to re-found Troy. Syed's concept of the "cipher" will form the basis for the evaluation of Aeneas' identity in chapter 3 of this thesis. After Aeneas has abandoned his Trojan identity, which was constructed in relation to the recent past, the fall of Troy, he reconstructs his identity in terms of the very distant Trojan past, namely the exile of Dardanus, which ultimately leads to the foundation of Troy.

This idea of a shared point of reference which connects a community is based on B. Anderson's development of the "imagined community" or a community that was reinvented only in the imaginations of many cultures which shared in the same idea of nation.²³ For Aeneas, Dardanus represents the "immemorial past," a point of reference that he, the Trojans, and the Italians can all share in.²⁴ If disparate groups can define themselves in relationship to Dardanus, they then have a precedent for developing their relationships with one another. It is this idea of the imagined community that empowers Quint and Syed's applications of psychoanalysis to Roman identity. On one hand, Quint expands his theory to the Romans themselves, who must overcome the trauma of the civil wars in their quest for mastery over their past since "[t]he *Aeneid* plots out just such a

²³ Anderson (2003) 6.

²⁴ Quint (1999) 130 and Anderson (2003) 11.

struggle for empowerment and for a narrative which is both the result and means of empowerment: but it is the struggle not of the individual psyche, but of a collective political nation.”²⁵ On the other hand, Syed involves the Roman reader in all of Aeneas’ wanderings and efforts to become proto-Roman, which then allows the reader himself to develop his own Roman identity.

In forming and reassessing a community’s own collective identity, foundation stories become important as the point of reference in which the all the members of the community can share. The fundamental theme of city-founding in the *Aeneid* as well as the *Aeneid* itself participate in the discourse of identity formation. In Aeneas’ case, after he must give up his Trojan identity, he turns to the distant story about the founder of Troy, which gives him a model to emulate, thus helping him reform his identity and possibly reintegrate himself into a culture. Though excluded from one community, Aeneas must restructure his identity so that he can become included in another:

A community defined by culture is potentially open: one may become a member of that community by acquiring its culture. A community defined by race or ethnicity, on the other hand, is accessible only to those who are born to existing members of the requisite group. In practice, of course, the two often overlap: race and ethnicity may be associated with certain qualities and vice versa. In either case, foundation stories help to define who is in, who is out, and whether membership is open or closed.²⁶

In order to redefine who will be an internal member of Aeneas’ future community, the Romans, the *Aeneid* gives a new version of an old foundation story. By relying on foundation stories to help synthesize a new idea of identity within a community, Aeneas

²⁵ Quint (1999) 119.

²⁶ Miles (1999) 232.

and his foundation story then become exemplars for the Romans, who must reassess their collective identity after a long period of upheaval.

Incorporating so many non-Romans in a period during which Rome was divided against itself caused a schism in the constitution of Roman identity, which manifested itself in terms of social anxiety. The awareness of this anxiety is not only manifested in the *Aeneid*, but it is present in Vergil's other works as well:

The finale of the first book of Vergil's *Georgics*, reflecting the atmosphere of the mid-30s rather than of the poem's date of publication *circa* 29, ends with an apocalyptic vision of the civil wars, and sees the young Caesar (the future Augustus) as a potential solution, but ends with a vivid picture of an anarchic world at war, with no guarantee that control will be re-established. . . . The civil war has moved to total conflict at global level, with accompanying further fear and anxiety about the future of Rome.²⁷

Vergil offers a newly constructed foundation story as a solution to the social anxiety of Rome. The *Aeneid* serves as an example of how an outsider can become an internal member of a community, as well as how one can stop repeating the traumatic past of civil wars.

By incorporating Italian and Greek peoples through both enfranchisement and expansion, Rome was forced to absorb their cultures as well. One example of the appropriation of Greek culture was Hellenism, Rome's acceptance of Greek art and literature.²⁸ While many Romans embraced Greek oratory and philosophy, Cato the Censor lambasted these things in favor of cultivating Roman values, yet Hellenism was so prevalent in Rome that trying to divorce the two would have caused further anxiety

²⁷ Harrison (2004) 291.

²⁸ Gruen (1992) 52-83.

about Rome's identity.²⁹ Many Greek sources portray Rome as a Greek city in "character and lineage."³⁰ There were multiple versions of the foundation of Rome, some of which feature Aeneas, some of which feature Odysseus and others.³¹ The version in which Aeneas founded Rome took precedence around the 3rd century, after many Greek authors explained away a line in Homer which indicated that Aeneas remained in the Troad.³² Vergil dealt directly with this Hellenism as he created his version of the *Aeneid*. Needless to say, the accounts are conflicted, but Vergil's eventually becomes canonized.³³

Vergil's version may have been preferred because of its more inclusive genealogy.³⁴ By making Dardanus an Italian with a Greek mother, Vergil incorporated the various traditions while at the same time reinventing them. The *Aeneid*, as a foundation story that included and valued many different cultures, may have appealed to the recently annexed Italian people:

Those readers ('the original audience') were not, of course, a unified, homogenous entity[N]ot a few of these readers had some share in a post-colonial mentality, that is, that they or their families had recently become naturalized Romans; that they had some memory of the Italian (that is, non-Roman) heritage; that many of these people felt, to some degree, conflict between their new and their old 'communal' identities.³⁵

²⁹ Gruen (1992) 81.

³⁰ Gruen (1992) 11.

³¹ McKay (1970) 79-80.

³² Gruen (1992) 9-18.

³³ Gruen (1992) 6.

³⁴ For the development of Romans tracing their genealogies, see Wiseman (1974) "Legendary Genealogies in Late-Republican Rome."

³⁵ Johnson (2001) 8.

Yet the foundation stories are set in the very distant, immemorial past. Also, a genealogy formed from the very distant, mythical past can be manipulated and used to please many different peoples. This makes the genealogy of Aeneas appealing to both the Greeks and the Italians alike through a buffer of distant "Trojanness":

Troy supplied an especially attractive ingredient in that endeavor. The celebrated Trojan past lay in remote antiquity, its people no longer extant, the city but a shell of its former self. Troy, unlike Greece, persisted as a symbol, not a current reality . . . The Romans could mold the ancient Trojans to suit their own ends.³⁶

The more inclusive a genealogy, the more appeal it has. But this genealogy, if from the traditions of bygone times, can be changed to suit the needs of the present day. Thus, the story of Aeneas can be changed to make Dardanus an Italian, though this is an innovation on the part of Vergil.³⁷

These theories, the Other, Freud's repetition compulsion, and identity reconstruction, though grounded in psychoanalysis, have found widespread application to the consciousness of nations through yet another theory, post-colonialism. While this mode of thought is anachronistic for the purposes of evaluating the collective identity of Rome, some methods can be analogously applied.³⁸ It is in this post-colonial vein that the subsequent chapters of this thesis will progress in an attempt to view the role that Vergil's version of the Roman foundation story plays in reforming Roman identity.

³⁶ Gruen (1993) 7-8.

³⁷ McKay (1970) 8.

³⁸ It is not within the scope of this thesis to treat the constructions of the colonizer and colonized, nor will it treat Vergil as the sub-altern voice. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the identity formation of a culture represented in literature using ideas grounded in post-colonial theory.

CHAPTER 3 REPETITION COMPULSION AND AENEAS' OTHERNESS

This chapter will analyze how Aeneas' attempts to re-found Troy in Book 3 of the *Aeneid* are indicative of a psychological crisis in Aeneas' identity which forces him to either compulsively repeat the past or to abandon his Trojan identity entirely. Aeneas' attempted cities in Book 3 exhibit Aeneas' compulsion to re-found Troy in order to save it, which is indicative of Freud's theory of the "repetition compulsion."¹ Each foundation fails; therefore Aeneas is not able to create a "new version" in which he can prevent the fall of Troy thereby mastering his trauma.² Instead, Aeneas must found something new, separate from his own nostalgia. It is the aim of this chapter to explain how erasure of the recent past occurs in Book 3 through Aeneas' foundations and through his interactions with other Trojans.

Quint's observance that the Trojan past must be forgotten conforms to the reconciliation between Jupiter and Juno in Book 12, which mandates that the city of Troy and its very name be obliterated: *occidit occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (A.12.828). Jupiter allows the former Trojans to keep only their sacred customs and rites:

*do quod uis et me uictusque uolensque remitto.
sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt
utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum
subsident Teucris. Morem ritusque sacrorum
adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos.* (A.12.833-7)

¹ Quint (1999) 118.

² Freud (1961) 16.

Though the terms for the reconciliation come at the end of the epic, Book 3 focuses on the process of creating a mixed race (*genus . . . mixtum* A.12.838), one in which the past Trojan identity is suppressed (save their religious customs). The suppression of Trojan identity exhibited by Aeneas' character is achieved through his construction as the Other, as one who is excluded by his difference from self-contained cultures. This chapter will examine how Aeneas' Otherness is established by analyzing how Aeneas manifests his nostalgia when he creates unsuccessful imitations of Troy in Thrace and on Crete (thereby also asserting his own "Trojanness"). Aeneas tries to master his past by re-founding Troy in spite of its fall. If he should successfully rebuild the city, he would, in effect, save it from destruction. Although his destiny calls for a mixed race, Aeneas' cities are purely Trojan recreations; thus, they are doomed to fail. After he accepts his greater destiny, Aeneas must be excluded from other Trojans in the diaspora, particularly Helenus and Andromache, who intend to master the fall of Troy. This exclusion is indicative of Aeneas' Otherness, his difference from his fellow Trojans. It marks both his deliverance from compulsively repeating the traumatic fall of Troy, and the beginning of his nullification of his Trojan cultural identity.

Aeneas' nostalgia, triggered by his exile after the traumatic destruction of his homeland, compels him to found imitations of Troy, rather than a new city. By rebuilding Troy, Aeneas would affirm his "Trojanness." From the very beginning of his story, Aeneas considers himself Trojan (*tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros* A.2.10; *litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo / et campos* A.3.10-1).³ After the city's fall and his flight, Aeneas considers his purpose not simply to found a new home, but to

³ The earliest moment in linear time is the beginning of Book 2. My emphasis.

re-found Troy, (*da propriam, Thymbraee, domum, da moenia fessis /et genus et mansuram urbem; serua altera Troiae / Pergama* A.3.85-7). Yet, each of Aeneas' attempts to re-establish a Trojan city will fail.

At the beginning of Book 3 Aeneas establishes two cities, the first in Thrace, and the second in Crete, both of which are clear manifestations of Aeneas' homesickness since they retain Trojan names and are built in locations not far from the Troad.⁴ Aeneas' efforts to found a city that is similar to *Troia antiqua* are destined to fail because they repeat the recent past, the fall of Troy. Each city does fail: Thrace must be abandoned because of a terrifying omen while a plague blights Crete. The fall of each city forces Aeneas to examine his future, that which is revealed to him in prophecies, rather than compulsively repeat a defunct Trojan past.

Additionally, by erecting a city in Thrace whose people are named after himself—a man who on account of his nostalgia longs only to rebuild fallen Troy—Aeneas inescapably dooms the endeavor as a repetition of the traumatic past.⁵ Vergil describes Aeneas' Thracian settlement only in scant detail, but the descriptions chosen reinforce Aeneas' nostalgic state of mind. Aeneas calls his people the *Aeneadae*, a name which confirms his role as leader of the expedition while endorsing the expedition itself as a Trojan one (*Aeneadeasque meo nomen de nomine fingo* A.3.19). Aeneas also describes the land as sharing with Troy not only *hospitium*, but also *socii Penates* (*hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique Penates* 3.15). The *hospitium*, a mutual agreement of

⁴ Conington (1875) 193: "Thrace was separated from the Troad only by the Hellespont, so that 'procul' is used, as it sometimes is without any notion of great distance, expressing local separation, and no more."

⁵ In Book 3, the first indication of Aeneas longing for Troy appears at 3.10-1, *litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo / et campus, ubi Troia fuit*.

hospitality, serves to link the two groups in both a common experience and a method of cultural exchange. The *hospitium*, the shared gods, and the close proximity to the Troad portray Thrace as a substitute for Troy—far too similar for Aeneas to settle there properly since his destiny demands a mixed race.

Also, Aeneas' encounter with the shade of Polydorus provides a starting point for how the reader should evaluate Aeneas' Trojan status since this is the first instance in which Aeneas interacts with a Trojan outside of his own band of refugees. In Thrace, Aeneas barely erects his walls before the shade of Polydorus implores that Aeneas flee. Aeneas unwittingly desecrates Polydorus' tomb, causing the branches of a bush to bleed and causing the shade of Polydorus to lament:

*quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto,
parce pias scelerare manus. non me tibi Troia
externum tulit aut cruor hic de stipite manat.
heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus auarum:
nam Polydorus ego. hic confixum ferrea textit
telorum seges et iaculis increuit acutis. (A.3.41-7)*

From Polydorus' perspective, though he has been changed into a mound overgrown with cornel bushes and myrtle trees (*forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo / uirgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus* A.3.22-3), Aeneas' injury to the plants is still an injury to his kinsman. For this reason, Polydorus orders Aeneas to spare his pious hands from this form of pollution (A.3.42). The phrase Polydorus uses to establish that his relationship to Aeneas is *non . . . externum* (A.3.342-3). Polydorus conceives of "Trojanness" as a contained concept—one can be excluded and outside (*externus*), or one can be a member (*internus*).⁶ Polydorus' speech indicates that being a member of Trojan culture (*internus*) has to do with birth place and heredity (*Troia . . . / tulit aut cruor hic*

⁶ I have extrapolated *internus* as the natural opposite of *externus*, though Vergil does not use the term.

destipite manat A.3.42-3). He also implies that his status as a Trojan, despite being raised in Thrace, is a permanent situation (*Hunc Polydorum . . . / infelix Priamus furtim mandaratum / Threicio regi* A.3.49-51). Polydorus recognizes Aeneas as an internal member of the Trojan *gens*, but from beyond the grave, he cannot conceive that Aeneas' destiny will force him to disassociate himself from the Trojan past in favor of a viable future.

When compared to Polydorus, Aeneas is *non externum*, yet he remains estranged from his kinsman. Polydorus' own version of "Trojanness" is fixed upon the finality of the fall of Troy while Aeneas intends to re-found the city. Priam sends his son to Thrace only after he perceives the inevitability of Troy's destruction (*infelix Priamus furtim mandaratum / Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis / Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione uideret* A.3.50-2). In Polydorus, Priam set his hopes for perpetuating the Trojan line; instead, Polydorus' death actually ensures the obliteration of Troy since Priam has no other living direct heirs.⁷ In this scene, Vergil reiterates the fall of Troy, but it is replayed in Thrace. The comparison between Aeneas and dead Troy, represented by Polydorus, marks his separation from Trojan culture which thereby evidences Aeneas' Otherness.

Undaunted by the horrific omen of Polydorus and motivated still by his nostalgia, Aeneas acquiesces to Anchises' misinterpretation of Apollo's oracle. After being driven from Thrace by Polydorus' warnings, Aeneas visits the oracle of Apollo at Delos for guidance. While at the oracle of Apollo, Aeneas asks for a second citadel of Troy: *da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis / et genus et mansuram urbem; serua*

⁷ Quint (1982) 32: "the verb 'condimus' in the final verse of the episode (68) transforms the activity of city-founding into one of burial."

altera Troiae / Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli (A.3.85-87). It is still with this nostalgic mindset that Aeneas prays for his second city. At Delos, Aeneas receives another directive, that he must seek his ancient mother (*antiquam exquirete matrem* A.3.96). Tracing the Trojan ancestry back to Crete, Anchises interprets this island as the ancient mother.

Although Apollo's oracle intends that the Trojans head for Italy, Anchises' interpretation, which favors Crete, convinces Aeneas because it appeals to his desire to re-found Troy. Anchises' recollection of the Trojans' past links Troy to Crete.⁸ Both areas worship Cybele and have a mountain called Mt. Ida.⁹ At the beginning of Book 3, Aeneas mentions that his fleet was built under the Phrygian Mt. Ida, and later in Book 9, when the Rutulians try to burn the fleet; the same ships are changed to nymphs by Cybele.¹⁰ Pergamea, Aeneas' city in Crete, is set under the Cretan Mt. Ida (*Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula ponto / mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae* A.3.104-5). Anchises' mention of Cybele may also have reminded Aeneas of Creusa's farewell in which she claimed that Cybele held her to the Trojan shores (*sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris* A.2.788). These attributes establish a series of correspondences between Crete and Troy, which would appeal to Aeneas' compulsion to create a city just like Troy. Since Anchises must remind the ignorant Trojans of Crete's significance, the

⁸ For the prominence of Anchises' role in Book 3 see Sanderlin (1975) "Aeneas as Apprentice—Point of View in the Third *Aeneid*," Quint (1982) "Painful Memories: *Aeneid* 3 and the Problem of the Past," and Otis (1964) *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*.

⁹ For the Jupiter's role in connecting Troy and Crete as well as the image of Daedalus throughout the *Aeneid*, see Armstrong (2002) "Crete in the *Aeneid*: Recurring Trauma and Alternative Fate."

¹⁰ *auguriis agimur diuum, classemque sub ipsa / Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae* A.3.5-6, *hinc mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera / Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris, / et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones* A.3.111-3, and *tempore quo primum Phrygia formabat in Ida / Aeneas classem et pelagi petere alta parabat, / ipsa deum fertur genetrix Berecynthia magnum* A.9.80-2.

need for a lengthy description of Crete's similarity to Troy reveals the Trojans' disassociation from their own past. This disassociation from Troy's origin stories, tales which help define one's own community, exemplifies Aeneas' Otherness. Aeneas willingly invests in a Trojan past which he knows nothing about, simply because Anchises convinces him that Crete is similar to ancient Troy.

Vergil's development of the Trojans' emotional state as they approach Crete seems exaggerated in order to compensate for the inadequacy of their new settlement. The Trojans' eagerness to settle the land abandoned by their enemy (*hoste* A.3.123) is very exuberant: the sailors shout (*nauticus exoritur uario certamine clamor* A.3.128), Aeneas becomes greedy when he approaches the city for which he has been longing (*ergo auidus muros optatae molior urbis* A.3.132), and the other Trojans are happy (*laetam cognomine gentem* A.3.133). Aeneas names his new city Pergamea, with a reference to the citadel of fallen Troy (*Pergameamque uoco* A.3.133) as well as his prayer at Delos (*serua altera Troiae / Pergama* A.3.86-7). But these emotions seem forced: the sailors' shouting becomes a contest (*certamine*), the word used for Aeneas' desire for the new city is *auidus*, and Aeneas must encourage his people to love their new home, implying that their love does not come naturally (*hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis* A.3.134). Aeneas' exhaustion from his diasporic wanderings causes him to be overly eager for the wrong place; his eagerness emphasizes the unease with which Pergamea is founded.¹¹

Crete is also a Greek place; Aeneas, as a Trojan who has spent ten years warring with the Greeks, should not be comfortable slipping into abandoned Greek homes. Crete

¹¹ *Huc feror; haec fessos tuto placidissima portu / accepit* A.3.78-9, and *da moenia fessis* A.3.85.

has been described as having one-hundred cities (*centum urbes habitant magnas* A.3.106), all of which were under the rule of Idomeneus, a Greek king who has abandoned Crete on account of his own religious exile.¹² Vergil is ambiguous as to whether or not all the Cretan people leave with Idomeneus, or otherwise abandon the land.¹³ Vergil states that the shores have been deserted and that the homes and habitations have been abandoned (*desertaque litora Cretae, / hoste uacare domum sedesque astare relictas* A.3.122-3). Because Crete recently has been occupied with Greek cities, Aeneas creates a problematic situation by resettling his Trojan people within a Greek environment.¹⁴ In Crete he takes over Greek hearths and homes, which he must encourage his people to love (*hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis* A.3.134). While Apollo's prophecy may give Aeneas some comfort and the (mistaken) authority to settle there, Vergil gives no indication that the Trojans object to Crete's Greek past, illustrating that they are moving beyond their former perceptions of Greeks as being the Other; in other words, the Trojans themselves are evolving beyond their recent traumatic past.

In Crete, Aeneas' identity remains in an exilic limbo, since the island can only offer him Teucer's abandonment or Idomeneus' empty homes, neither of which are satisfactory. Since there are no other people living on the island, Aeneas can not possibly fulfill Jupiter's prophecy of creating a mixed race. Crete simply is not the place for

¹² Serv. A.3.121: Idomeneus abandons his land after he incites a plague by sacrificing his own son in accordance with a prayer to Neptune. If Idomeneus arrived at Crete safely, he was to sacrifice the first living creature he saw, which turned out to be his son. Idomeneus, according to Vergil, emigrated to Italy.

¹³ Conington (1875) 204.

¹⁴ Because Teucer, a Trojan forefather, was born in Crete, Aeneas' foundation on the island may be construed as a return, but it will not fulfill the requirement for a mixed race. The island is also blighted, so it is not a viable place to settle.

Aeneas to settle; the divine intervention of the plague confirms this certainty.¹⁵ To remain despite the cultural discomfort of living in a Greek land would condemn these Trojans to death, just as remaining in ancient Troy or Thrace would.

After Aeneas' mission to found a city in Italy is confirmed by the Penates, Aeneas can begin reconstructing his identity in terms of his future city, rather than his nostalgia for the recent Trojan past. Aeneas' abandonment of his "Trojanness" comes to a head when he is portrayed as an outsider in Helenus' and Andromache's city, Buthrotum. Of all the imitations of Troy, the Buthrotum episode marks "the strongest contrast between the two sets of Trojans."¹⁶ The Trojans hear a rumor that Helenus and Andromache, both taken by Pyrrhus as slaves at the end of the war, have been set as rulers of Pyrrhus' lands and have established a new city, a replica of Troy:

*hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris
Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbes
coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum
et patrio Andromachen iterum cecisisse marito. (A.3.294-7)*

Throughout Book 3, Aeneas has been driven by his compulsive desire to re-build Troy; although he prayed for an *altera Pergama Troiae* at Delos, Aeneas has never been successful at building a replacement Troy which he can inhabit. Here, at Buthrotum, Aeneas sees his greatest desire realized: Troy has been rebuilt. This *parua Troia* should be a great temptation for him, causing him to feel greed and hope, emotions already caused by Pergama in Crete.¹⁷ While Aeneas does express wonderment and aims to find

¹⁵ . . . subito cum tabida membris / corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque uenit / arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus. / linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant / corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros, / arebant herbae et uictum seges aegra negebat A.3.137-142.

¹⁶ Otis (1964) 260.

¹⁷ *procedo et paruam Troiam simulataque magnis / Pergama* A.3.349-50.

out how his kinsmen fared, he does not exhibit any desire to live in Buthrotum (*obstipui miroque incensum pectus amore / compellare uirum et casus cognoscere tantos* A.3.298-99). Aeneas' rejection of Helenus and Andromache's unadulterated and imitative "Trojanness" asserts his Otherness, his existence now outside of the Trojan experience. Instead, he embarks on founding a new city, one that will become culturally Roman rather than Trojan.

In the *Aeneid*, Helenus' city is the replica described as most similar to Troy.

Helenus himself reconstructed and renamed the area to fit the description of ancient Troy:

*morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit
pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos
Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit
Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.
(A.3.333-6)*

The rivers and gates surrounding the city have both been named after those of the original Troy (*Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine riuum / agnosco Scaeaeque amplector limina portae* A.3.350-1). Even a Trojan family rules this *parua Troia*. Helenus has succeeded in completing what Aeneas has greatly desired to do:

*me si fata meis paterentur ducere uitam
auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
reliquias colorem Priami tecta alta manerent
et recidiua manu posuissem Pergama uictis. (A.4.340-4)¹⁸*

The Trojans of Buthrotum have rebuilt Troy in order to repeat the past and master it, just as Aeneas has tried to do himself. Here, Helenus is king over Greek lands while Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, is dead. Though in a diminished form, the gates of Troy stand. In Epirus, Helenus has recreated a conflict between Greeks and Trojans, but in its

¹⁸ Aeneas reveals this to Dido as he leaves Carthage. Although this episode happens after Book 3, Aeneas' admission confirms what his foundation practices have already indicated.

resolution, the Trojans victoriously conquer the Greeks and colonize their lands. But Aeneas has broken free from constructing his identity in terms of the trauma of the Trojan war; thus, he is excluded from Helenus' new version, the Trojan mastery of the Greeks in Epirus.

Aeneas' Otherness is fully expressed when he is compared to Andromache. She associates herself only with the past, in terms of fallen Troy, while Aeneas has broken his compulsion to rebuild the city. From Andromache's perspective, "Trojanness" means being opposed to the Greeks and being at war. For her, "Trojanness" means being the wife of dead Hector and the mother of dead Astyanax, as indicated by her farewell to Aeneas and Ascanius:

*accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monumenta mearum
sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem
coniugis Hectoreae. cape dona extrema tuorum
o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago. (A.3.486-9)¹⁹*

When Aeneas first lands and approaches the city, he meets with Andromache who is sacrificing at a cenotaph of Hector (*sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona / ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam / libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat* A.3.301-3).²⁰ Andromache's customary (*sollemnes*) rites to Hector imply that her mourning is still fresh, even well after Troy's destruction. Despite her relocation and her new city, Andromache compulsively continues the behaviors which were prompted by the traumatic event of her husband's death.

¹⁹ Bettini (1997) 9-11. Bettini argues that Andromache, a foreign bride, upon marrying Hector, reconstructed her identity entirely in relationship to her husband and his city.

²⁰ Bettini (1997) 12. Bettini argues that Aeneas' arrival on the anniversary of Hector's death is a "coincidence." Frankly, it may be that Andromache simply does this every day, since "*sollemnes*" can mean customary (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *sollemnis*, 2). This repetitive behavior would fit with her obsession with the past. This, however, is in opposition to Serv. A.3.301: "*sollemnes non 'festas', sed 'legitimas', 'anni uersarias'.*"

Andromache seems to have no knowledge of other Trojans outside of her city, as if her imitative Troy were segregated so that she may continue her repetition of the past in uninterrupted peace. She is clearly startled at the sight of other approaching Trojans, particularly because they are dressed in distinctive Trojan armor.²¹ This rare description of Aeneas' dress registers as odd because he wears the garb of war when approaching the city of his kinsman. Vergil may have chosen to depict Aeneas in this way not only because in Andromache's eyes it confirms the static nature of the past in that all Trojans are war-time Trojans, but also because Aeneas has changed so drastically that he would be unrecognizable to other Trojans without his armor.

Andromache's own obsessive nostalgia makes her the self-appointed guardian of her version of Trojan culture. She and Aeneas are juxtaposed in this capacity, since Aeneas carries the Penates to their rightful home, while Andromache recreates Troy in order to keep its memory alive. At their initial meeting, she asks Aeneas six questions, four of which are about the past. She asks if Ascanius lives: *quid puer Ascanius? superatne et uescitur aura? / quem tibi iam Troia*—(A.3.339-40).²² Then she asks if Ascanius has any knowledge of Creusa and Hector, prominent Trojans who were lost in the fall of Troy. But Andromache's question really concerns whether or not Ascanius is familiar with Trojan people and ideals, in other words her concern is Ascanius' involvement in Trojan culture. To insure Ascanius' memory of Troy, Andromache makes gifts for him that are meant to remind him of Trojan culture: *accipe et haec,*

²¹ Bettini (1997) 13-4. Bettini argues that Andromache was performing a ritual to summon the spirits of the dead. Aeneas' sudden appearance seemed to fulfill her prayers. I believe her startled questions and her faint imply that she has tried this ritual before, with unsuccessful results.

²² Line 340 is incomplete but there are some senses that can be extrapolated—the *quem* still refers to Ascanius, the *Troia* is either the subject or an ablative.

manuum tibi quae monumenta meorum / sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem (A.3.486-7). Andromache has found Trojan objects, even imitations, comforting and familiar. For instance, Andromache sacrifices at an empty tomb since she could not bring the corpse of Hector with her (*Hectoreum ad tumulum, uiridi quem caespite inanem / et geminas* A.3.304-5). But she feels connected to Hector so long as she creates a tomb for him. The Trojans feel connected to Troy if they create a substitute Troy, a manifestation of their nostalgia. In turn, the imitation of Troy re-affirms for the people that they are Trojan. It is this cycle of regressively and compulsively recreating the past that Aeneas finally manages to break by accepting his destiny in Italy. By abstention from repeating the traumatic past, Aeneas' Trojan identity is eradicated in deference to Jupiter's intention of creating a mixed Roman people.

Andromache's barren *parua Troia* starkly contrasts to Jupiter's prophecy of a mixed race. Andromache's preoccupation with Ascanius brings her current bereft state into focus. Andromache continually compares Ascanius to Astyanax, who was killed at Troy. Though there is a passing reference to her son by Neoptolemus, there is no mention of Andromache bearing any children to Helenus (*nos patria incensa diuersa per aequora uectae / stirpis Achilleae fastus iuuenemque superbum / seruitio enixae tulimus* A.3.325-7). The fertility of the city is even questioned when the riverbed is described as dry (*arentem Xanthi cognomine riuum / agnosco* A.3.350-1). Clearly there are Greeks nearby, the former subjects of Neoptolemus, with which the people of Buthrotum could intermarry and invigorate their own people. Still, the Trojans in Epirus remain hostile to Greeks, just as they were in the past.²³ If a city imitates Troy in every aspect, it must also

²³ Otis (1964) 261: "Helenus' city in Epirus is clearly no new creation like Rome. There is no intentional mixture of the old and the new (Trojan and Latin) but mere reproduction of the old."

imitate the fall of Troy, which is its most famed distinction—thus Buthrotum, through its obsession with the past, condemns itself to inviability.

Aeneas remains separate from this reductive Trojan imitation. Despite dressing in his old Trojan armor, Aeneas has a future which gives him a viability not available to Helenus and Andromache. Aeneas perceives a reflection of himself in Andromache's excessive, compulsive repetition of the past, however, he can no longer participate in this reductive compulsion to rebuild Troy. After seeing Buthrotum, he recognizes that the city cannot be saved, only imitated. Aeneas' Otherness, his exclusion from "Trojanness," manifests itself when he addresses Helenus and Andromache as having completed their fates (*uiuite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta / iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur* A.3.493-4). Their city has already been established, while he himself has yet to fulfill his journey. D. Bright argues that their completed fates and obsession with the past constitute a pseudo-*nekyia* in Buthrotum.²⁴ This would be the ultimate expression of Aeneas' Otherness; he lives, while Andromache and Helenus are dead. In this most extreme form of Otherness, there is only exclusion or inclusion; the difference cannot be bridged by *hospitium* or kinship. Yet this difference may explain why Aeneas does not leave any Trojans in Buthrotum. Previously he left a few people in Crete, but if Buthrotum is, as Bright calls it, a "necropolis," Aeneas would not be able to leave living Trojans among the dead.²⁵

²⁴ For the analysis of Aeneas' experience in Buthrotum as a *nekyia* see Bright (1981) "Aeneas' Other Nekyia" and Hershkowitz (1991) "The *Aeneid* in *Aeneid* 3." For comparisons of Aeneas' *nekyia* with Odysseus' see Quint (1982) "Painful Memories: *Aeneid* 3 and the Problem of the Past."

²⁵ Bright (1981) 44 and Williams (1990) 94. *Hanc quoque deserimus sedem paucisque relictis / uela damus* A.3.190-1. Williams argues that the mention of Aeneas leaving people behind accounts for the epichoric cities which are somehow associated Aeneas' journey.

Although he began his journey with the intention of re-founding Troy, he has accepted his destiny to settle an unknown place with a new city. Through comparisons with other Trojans and failed attempts at founding Trojan cities, Aeneas is made aware of the reductive nature of his own nostalgia for the past as well as his own compulsion to repeat it. This realization comes at the cost of Aeneas' Trojan identity, which formerly was constructed in terms of the war and the city herself. In the future, Aeneas will instead reconstruct his identity from his destiny which demands that he establish a new, mixed culture rather than try futilely to restore a fallen city.

CHAPTER 4 DARDANUS: AENEAS' FUTURE PAST

In order to reconstruct his identity after the destruction of Troy, Aeneas turns to his prophesized future which leads him to Italy. Many of these prophecies are based on Aeneas' genealogy which can be traced backward to his ancestor, Dardanus. Yet, not much is revealed about Dardanus to Aeneas: "He [Aeneas] goes to a home, but a strange, cold, unknown home; and Vergil makes it mysteriously a return, claiming, with some justification, too, that Dardanus, Troy's founder, first came from Italy."¹ To Aeneas, Dardanus is unfamiliar, but Aeneas clings to his story in spite of his unfamiliarity. It is the purpose of this chapter to evaluate how Dardanus acts as a "cipher," a cultural blank onto whom Aeneas may project his perception of an ideal homeland and from whom he gains identity.² Aeneas affiliates himself with Dardanus because the both exiles have similar stories, though Dardanus' story has been truncated. This chapter will examine both why the long traditions about Dardanus became condensed into very minor episodes in the *Aeneid*, and what role Aeneas' descent from Dardanus plays in his efforts to reintegrate himself into a community.

Dardanus' story and lineage have older traditions from which Vergil draws his own version. The sources such as Homer, Apollodorus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus agree

¹ Knight (1944) 132.

² Syed (2005) 175: Syed reserves her term "cipher" for Aeneas.

that Dardanus is the son of Jupiter and Electra, a daughter of Atlas.³ Eventually, Dardanus leaves his home and travels to the Troad region, where he becomes king. While all sources again concur that he ends up in the area of Troy, they disagree very much as to Dardanus' place of origin. The Greek tradition is the most complex: either Dardanus was born in the region of Troy or he traveled there by way of either Samothrace or Crete.⁴ The Roman tradition rejects these Greek versions, preferring instead that Dardanus was born in Italy, in the region of Etruria, and went to the Troad via Samothrace.⁵ Once in the region of Troy, Dardanus met with Teucer, who offered his daughter, Bateia, and his kingdom to the immigrant.⁶ Then, Dardanus and Bateia had two sons, Ilus, the eponym of Ilium, and Erichthonius.⁷ Both sons became rulers in the region, renamed Dardania, though the area still lacked a ruling city. After Ilus died childless, Erichthonius succeeded to the Dardanian throne.⁸ He eventually married Astyoche, daughter of the river god Simoeis, and fathered Tros, the eponym of Troy.⁹ Like his father, Tros married a daughter of a river god, Callirrhoe, daughter of

³ *Dardanon au|prwtō teketo nefelhgereta Zeu* (Il. 20.215) and *Ἠλεκτρα- δεῖτ- Ἄτλαντο- καιῖ Διο- Ἰάσιων και; Dardano- egenonto* (Apollod. 3.12.1).

⁴ *Dardano- de; epi; tw|qanatw| tou' ajel fou' lupoumeno-, Samoqrakhn apolipwn ej; thn ajtipera hpeiron hpeiron h|qe* (Apollod. 3.12.1)

⁵ *Dardanus Idaeas Phrygiae penetrarit ad urbes / Threiciamque Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur* A.7.208-9. For Vergil's innovation of Dardanus' birth place, see McKay (1970) *Vergil's Italy*.

⁶ *upodecqe; de; upo; tou Basilew-, kai; labwn mero- th- gh- kai; thn ekeinou qugatera Bateian* (Apollod. 3.12.1).

⁷ *Ἰλου shma palaiou' Dardanidao* (Il.11.166), *Ἰλου Dardanidao, palaiou' dhmogeronto-* (Il.11.372), and *Dardano- au| tekeq juibn Ercqonion basilha* (Il.20.219). Ilium seems to be the first name of the city of Troy before it was renamed after Tros.

⁸ *Genomenwn de; autw|paidwn Ἰλου και; Ercqoniu, Ἰλο- men apais apeqanen, Ercqonio- de; diadexameno- thn basileian* (Apollod. 3.12.2).

⁹ *Trwa d jErcqonio- teketo Trwessin ajakta* (Il. 20.230) and *ghma- ἸAstuochn thn Zimoentos, teknoi Trwa* (Apollod. 3.12.2).

Scamander. Tros and Callirrhoe had three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, Ganymede, and a daughter, Cleopatra.¹⁰ While Ganymede is famous for being kidnapped by Jupiter, almost nothing is known about his sister, Cleopatra. The eldest brothers, Ilus and Assaracus, ruled in Dardania, but eventually Ilus emigrated to another part of Phrygia, leaving Assaracus to rule Dardania.¹¹ Ilus left after receiving an omen to follow a cow, then to found a city where it lay down; on that spot Ilus founded the city of Troy.¹² During the fourth generation of Dardanus' family, the city of Troy itself is constructed. From the foundation of Troy, the kingdoms of Ilus and Assaracus are considered separate ruling houses. In Phrygia, Ilus married Eurydice, who bore a son, Laomedon, and a daughter, Themiste.¹³ Laomedon became the king of Troy and the father of many children, the most famous of which was Priam.¹⁴ Themiste then married her cousin Capys, the son of Assaracus.¹⁵ This couple bore Anchises, who then fathered Aeneas by Venus.¹⁶ This is the tradition of Dardanus' family from which Vergil develops his own ideas about Aeneas.

¹⁰ *Th- gar toi geneh- hf Trwixper eufuopa Zeu- / dwc juip- poinhn Ganumhleo- (Il.5.265-6), Trwo- d j auj trei- paide- ajnumone- ekegenonto / Ilw- t jAssarakw- te kaiwajtiqeo- Ganumhwh- (Il.20.231-2), and oufo- paralabwn thn basileion thn men cwran ajf jeboutou Troian ekalése, kai; ghma- Kallirrohn thn Skamandrou genna/qugaterra men Kleopatran, paída- de; Ilon kai; Assarakon kai; Ganumhwhn (Apollod. 3.12.2).*

¹¹ *Ilw- de; ejf- Frugian ajfikomeno- (Apollod. 3.12.3).*

¹² *donto- aujtw/ tou basilew- kata; crhsmon kai; bouh pokilhn, kai; frasanto- ej wper ajh aujh; kligh/ topw/ polin ktizein, eipeto th/boiw hrde; ajfikomenh epi; ton legomenon th- Frugia- jAth- lofon klinetai: ehqa polin ktisa- Ilw- tauthn men Ilion ekalése (Apollod. 3.12.3).*

¹³ *Ilw- d j auj tekeq juibn ajnumona Laomedonta (Il.20.236)*

¹⁴ *Laomedwn d jafa Tiqwnon teketo Priamon te / Lampon te Klution q jIketaonavt j oqon jArho- (Il.20.237-8).*

¹⁵ *Assarako- de; Kapun, o/d jaf jAgciwhn teke paída (Il.20.239).*

¹⁶ *Il.20.239.*

Vergil does not describe Aeneas' genealogy in a full family tree. When Vergil does mention characters from the Dardanian house, he only gives very generalized details when he gives them at all. When interpreting Apollo's oracle, Anchises only recalls the story of Teucer's emigration to the Troad from Crete, but he cannot immediately remember the story of Dardanus.¹⁷ Even Ganymede's story is relegated to a fleeting reference in the list of the causes of Juno's anger (*rapti Ganymedis honores* A.1.28). When Vergil mentions Ilus and Assaracus, they are described only as great Trojan heroes, and their relationship to Dardanus is omitted: *hic genus antiquum Teucrici, pulcherrima proles, / magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis, / Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor* (A.6.648-50).

When compared with the scant details given about other members of Aeneas' distant relatives, Vergil's description of Dardanus is considerably better developed. Vergil confirms that Dardanus is the son of Electra, who is the daughter of Atlas (*Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor, / Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus* A.8.134-5). The most important detail Vergil gives about Dardanus is that he emigrated from Italy:

. . . *nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
Hae nobis propriae sedes hinc Dardanus ortus
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.* (A.3.165-8)

Later in the same epiphany, the Penates specify that Aeneas should seek Corythus and Ausonia (*haud dubitanda refer, Corythum terrasque requirat / Ausonias* A.3.170-1).

Later, Latinus repeats Dardanus' birth place specifically as Corythus: *hinc illum Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum* (A.7.209). Vergil stresses Dardanus' origins by repeating

¹⁷ Anchises describes the Teucrican emigration at A.3.103-17, and he realizes his mistake at A.3.182-7.

his birth place. Though Latinus does not explain why Dardanus left Italy, he does state that Dardanus traveled to Samothrace before arriving in the Troad.¹⁸ These references to specific cities may be epichoric allusions to the outside traditions that Vergil chooses not to employ. The final detail about Dardanus describes his apotheosis: *aurea nunc solio stellantis regia caeli / accipit et numerum divorum altaribus auget* (A.7.210-1). This reference to Dardanus' deification may be another Vergilian innovation.¹⁹ All of these descriptions edify Aeneas about his legacy, but they do not expand Dardanus' character much beyond his relocation from Italy.

The paucity of descriptions of Dardanus in the text reflects Aeneas' unfamiliarity with his own ancestor as well as with Italy. Of the four descriptions of Dardanus, three are explained to Aeneas, in order to educate him about his journey. Aeneas' ignorance of the references to Italy in some of the prophecies reinforces Aeneas' disassociation from the early Trojan origins. At the outset of Book 3, the Trojans are described as *incerti* in respect to their destination (A.3.7).²⁰ Although Creusa, at the fall of Troy, told Aeneas to travel to Hesperia, when Aeneas begins his journey, he does not know where he should travel. In Creusa's prophecy, she specifically mentions *Hesperia* and the *Lydius Thybris*, both of which may have been very vague to Aeneas at the time.²¹ The Trojans exhibit a pattern of ignorance about their own past, since Anchises interprets Apollo's oracle to mean Crete (*Creta Iovis mani medio iacet insula ponto, / mons Idaeus ubi et gentis*

¹⁸ *Dardanus Idaeas Phrygiae penetrarit ad urbes / Threiciamque Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur* A.7.207-8

¹⁹ Horsfall (2000) 169.

²⁰ Khan (2001) 910.

²¹ Saunders (1925) 85.

cunabula nostrae A.3.104-5). Anchises' solution to the oracle seems firm and acceptable; it does not cross his mind that there could be another Trojan ancestor.

Anchises and the other Trojans have forgotten about Dardanus.

Though Aeneas may be unfamiliar with Dardanus the man, Aeneas is very familiar with the epithet "Dardanian," which is often used to categorize the Trojans as an ethnic group. Aeneas and his people are referred to as "Dardanian" at least once per book; in fact it happens quite often. Aeneas twice is called "Dardanus," once by Dido and once by Diomedes.²² The epithet "Dardanidae" or the adjectives "Dardanidis" and "Dardanius" are used to describe either the Trojans or their possessions 51 times.²³ Troy is referred to as "Dardania" 12 times.²⁴ Yet this epithet only identifies Aeneas ethnically; it does not characterize him because Dardanus himself is not characterized with depth.²⁵ Also, the epithet is ambiguous since Dardanus is both Italian and Trojan. Because he knows so little about his ancestor, this ambiguity seems to have no meaning for Aeneas. So for Aeneas, only the name "Dardanus" is familiar, while the implications of an ambiguous Italian/Trojan ethnicity remain imperceptible.

Despite his unfamiliarity with Dardanus, Aeneas chooses to identify himself with his ancestor after he breaks his compulsion to re-found Troy. He accepts his new future

²² *hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis* A.4.661-2, and *si duo praeterea talis Idaea tulisset / terra viros, ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes / Dardanus, et versis lugeret Graecia fatis* A.11.285-7.

²³ A.1.494, 595, 602; 2.59, 72, 445, 612, 787; 3.94, 596; 4.163, 224, 626, 640, 647, 658; 5.30, 45, 386, 576, 711; 6.85, 169, 482, 756; 7.195, 289, 422, 756; 8.14, 120; 9.88, 100, 293, 247, 660; 10.4, 92, 133, 263, 545, 603, 638, 814; 11.353, 400, 472; 12.14, 549, 585, 775.

²⁴ A.2.242, 281; 3.52, 156; 5.119, 622; 6.57, 65; 7.219; 8.120; 9.695; 10.326.

²⁵ For the flexible use of the epithet Dardanus as either praiseworthy or as an ethnic slur, see Anderson "Trojan, Dardanian, Roman: The Power of Epithets in the *Aeneid*."

rather suddenly, and with gusto once he spies Italy herself: *cum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus / Italiam. Italiam primum conclamat Achates, / Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant* (A.3.522-4). Also, after Aeneas makes landfall in Carthage, he professes that Italy is his homeland: *Italiam quaero patriam* (A.1.380).²⁶ Then, later in Book 4, Aeneas goes so far as to call Italy not only his *patria*, but also his love: *hic amor, haec patria est* (A.4.347).

Dardanus' story appeals to Aeneas because in the few details given, it strongly parallels his own. The Penates reveal to Aeneas a vision which is his first introduction to his ancestor, Dardanus (A.3.154-71). In this vision, the Penates not only admit that their own home is in Italy, but also they indicate that they are linked to Dardanus through the land (*hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus / Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum* A.3.167-8). The Penates imply that when Dardanus left Italy, he carried the Penates with him, just as Aeneas did upon fleeing Troy.²⁷ Vergil emphasizes Aeneas' transportation of the Penates both when Aeneas describes his strange vision and when the Penates confirm their own identity. Aeneas identifies the Penates not only as sacred, but as the very gods which he carried: *effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique Penates, / quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis / extuleram* (A.3.148-50). Only six lines later, the Penates reiterate their journey with Aeneas: *nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti, / nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor* (A.3.156-7). By emphasizing that Aeneas must return the Penates to the land of Dardanus, and by

²⁶ Wilhelm (1992) 132: "In these lines, Aeneas is stating his genealogical credentials; the reference to his patria, which is based on his descent from Dardanus, is an indication that Aeneas has recognized and accepted his genealogical heritage following Anchises' revised interpretation of the Delian Apollo's prophecy."

²⁷ *sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates* A.2.293.

implying that Dardanus originally removed the Penates, Vergil links the two Trojans in a cycle.

Another detail of Dardanus' trip related by Latinus, namely Dardanus' stop-over in Samothrace, supports the view that Aeneas' journey is an inverse of Dardanus'. At least one Greek tradition states that Dardanus was born on the island of Samothrace; Vergil claims he simply stopped there on his way to Troy.²⁸ Though Aeneas does not stop at the island itself, he does make a landfall in Thrace, the mainland from which Samothrace takes its name.²⁹ Vergil's wording, his hysteron-proteron shifting of the name "Samothrace" emphasizes the Thracian half: *Threiciamque Samum, qua nunc Samothracia fertur* (A.7.208). This echo of the name "Thrace" serves as a corresponding point for both Aeneas' and Dardanus' journeys.³⁰ It restructures Aeneas' course as the reversal of Dardanus' journey. This correspondence, a shared experience, helps Aeneas familiarize himself with Dardanus' story, which then allows him to identify himself with Dardanus.

The third correspondence between Dardanus' journey and Aeneas' lies only in allusions to Aeneas' eventual deification. According to Jupiter's prophesies in Book 1, Aeneas will be deified (*sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean* A.1.259-60). After his apotheosis, Aeneas will be called "Indiges," the native god.³¹ Aeneas' status as a native in Italy is contingent upon his association with Dardanus. In

²⁸ Apollod. 3.12.1.

²⁹ Horsfall (2000) 167-8.

³⁰ Horsfall (2000) 168: The rest of line 210, *qua nunc Samothracia fertur*, is what Horsfall calls an "[u]nmistakable marker of Virgilian name-play".

³¹ Serv. A.1.259.

Latinus' description of Dardanus, he suggests that Dardanus likewise was deified (*aurea nunc solio stellantis regia caeli / accipit et numerum divorum altaribus auget* A.7.210-1). While this detail may link Dardanus and Aeneas, since both would be bound for the stars, the only testament for Dardanus' apotheosis is Vergil's description at A.7.210-11.³² This innovation shows how even in such few details about Dardanus, Vergil carefully crafts this minor character.

Vergil manufactures similarities between Aeneas and Dardanus so that a connection stronger than just genealogy exists between them. Both Dardanus and Aeneas are displaced persons, consequently both are Others. Just as Aeneas is no longer Trojan because he has no homeland, Dardanus is not precisely Italian because he is an expatriate. Aeneas' Otherness, his exclusion from other cultures, makes him a cipher, a cultural blank who must reform his identity. Dardanus, although born in Italy, seems to have no culture of his own. In fact, he barely has an identity of his own. In this way, Dardanus is also a cipher, a blank. The details given about Dardanus are like echoes from Aeneas' journey rather than original details about his own history. Yet, Dardanus' depiction as a cipher is useful to Aeneas. If Dardanus is as much of a cultural blank as he is an underdeveloped character, then Aeneas can mold Dardanus' story for his own use to fulfill his destiny in Italy.³³

Dardanus' story will serve as a common denominator for Aeneas' interactions with other peoples, including the Trojans. The story also allows Aeneas to link himself to many different ethnic groups without committing his inclusion in one at the expense of

³² Horsfall (2000) 169.

³³ Quint (1999) proposes an idea similar to this one, namely that the foundation story can be changed and manipulated to serve a purpose, but he applies it only to Aeneas' view of Italy and Rome's recent past.

his exclusion from another. After Aeneas' exclusion from the rest of the Trojan diaspora, he invents a connection to them by restating their mutual genealogical link to Dardanus:

*si quando Thybrim uicinaque Thybridis arua
intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,
cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
Epiro Hesperiam (quibus idem Dardanus auctor
atque idem casus), unam faciemus utramque
Troiam animis: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes. (A.3.500-
5)*

Aeneas' relationship to Helenus is no longer that of brother-in-law or even compatriot.

Aeneas and Helenus must turn to the very distant past, represented by Dardanus, to establish their connection, namely their common Dardanian descent. The genealogical link will also join their peoples, those in Epirus and Italy. The communities of Helenus and Aeneas will be interconnected by their identification with Dardanus.

In the same way that Aeneas maintains his connection to Helenus, it is through Dardanus that Aeneas will connect himself to Italy, thus reconstructing Italy as his legitimate future homeland. When Aeneas arrives in Italy, he has already lost his original homeland and he has been excluded from his own people. His destiny in Italy and his associations with Dardanus have caused him to consider Italy his *patria* even before his arrival (*hic amor, haec patria est* A.4.347). Here then is a paradox: is Aeneas Trojan or Italian?³⁴ It is my assessment that Aeneas is both and neither at the same time. Aeneas is an *externus* when he arrives in Italy, but through his relationship to *Dardanus auctor*, he is an Italian descendant. On one hand, Aeneas must be an *externus* to fulfill the prophecy that he will marry Lavinia (*hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum / portendi*

³⁴ Toll (1991) 8.

generum paribusque in regna vocari / auspiciis A.7.255-7).³⁵ Yet on the other hand, the Penates have demanded Aeneas make his home in Italy as an *internus* (A.3.154-71). Aeneas' Otherness causes him to be an ambiguous ethnic character once he arrives in Italy. He has also restructured his identity against another ethnically ambiguous character, Dardanus. Paradoxically both characters are ciphers, but Dardanus' identity is so underdeveloped and malleable that Aeneas manipulates it in order to gain associations with disparate cultures. In this case, as a descendant of Dardanus, Aeneas links the separated Trojans and Italians into one community.

Aeneas uses Dardanus' role as *auctor* to forge imagined kinships between separate cultures. These kinships are imagined because they arise out of nearly forgotten traditions in order to link groups that are isolated from one another. Thus far, through Dardanus, Aeneas has linked himself with Italians, and with diasporic Trojans. These kinships and the foundation stories help different peoples to consider themselves the same people in a shared (nascent) nationalism.³⁶ Aeneas will use his genealogy to link himself with one more group: Greeks living in Italy. Through this imaginary link to Dardanus, Aeneas gains a Greek ally in Evander:

*Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
aduehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.
uobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum uertice fudit;
at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.
sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.* (A.8.134-42)

³⁵ My emphasis.

³⁶ Anderson (2003) 7.

Here, Aeneas again traces his ancestry to Dardanus, whose mother was Electra, the daughter of Atlas. He then traces Evander's genealogy, pointing out that his father Mercury is also a grandson of Atlas, thus making Dardanus and Mercury second cousins.³⁷ Through these imaginary links of kinship to Dardanus, Aeneas has linked Italians, Trojans, and now Greeks.

This is the only description of Dardanus that Aeneas makes himself; the other three are explained to Aeneas. The small detail about Electra does not appear in any of the other descriptions of Dardanus. While it does conform to the traditions about Dardanus, how did Aeneas, who knew so little about Dardanus at the outset, come to know this fact? How he came by the information may not be as important as how he uses it. Here, Dardanus is the cipher onto which Aeneas can project an identity for his own ends. Aeneas independently fashions this portion of his lineage in order to have a connection to Evander, a blood tie which joins the culturally separate men into a single community (*sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno* A.8.42). By reconstructing his genealogy back to Atlas, Aeneas participates in a reformation and re-imagining of new traditions into his own past.

Aeneas' reformation of his past and his identity are results of his Otherness; in order to achieve his destiny in Italy, Aeneas must become an *internus* rather than an external Other. He cannot become a Latin simply by marrying Lavinia, so he turns to his distant ancestry in order to find connections to different people present in Italy. These kinships are imagined; they exist in the nearly forgotten, very ancient world of myth. They are imagined because they can be changed, either accepted or rejected, and because

³⁷ Horsfall (1989) 19.

they can be projected onto characters like Dardanus. Just as Aeneas chooses a strategic moment to reveal a key piece of information about Dardanus' past in order to form an imagined kinship with Dardanus, so Vergil chooses to make Dardanus Italian rather than Greek. Just as Dardanus' ambiguous ethnic status links Trojans, Italians, and Greeks, so Aeneas' ambiguous ethnic status will link Italians, Greeks, and Romans.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Since it retold a foundation story, the *Aeneid* allowed the Romans to break the compulsive repetition of their recent, traumatic past in favor of the more distant past, but more importantly, the *Aeneid* provided one coherent foundation story for all to share in. While the Roman foundation myths were multifarious and contradictory and Vergil's own version may not have been unified into a homogeneous narrative, the contradictory stories of Dardanus within the *Aeneid* were still contained within the same work, which allowed them to be propagated as a unit.¹ Thus the *Aeneid* did for the Roman people what the story of Dardanus did for Aeneas: it provided a point of reference upon which the relationships between disparate groups were formed.

The result of Aeneas' spatial and psychological journey was ultimately Rome herself. At the start of his journey, Aeneas could only conceive of the past and the fall of Troy. His unsuccessful foundation attempts in Thrace and Crete were reflections of his obsession with the past and reluctance for the future. Aeneas was neither prepared nor willing to embark upon his great future; rather he preferred to follow his compulsion to repeat the past and to rebuild Troy.

In order to follow his destiny, Aeneas had to break away from his nostalgic desire to restore Troy. His divorce from Trojan culture was not a willing one. Only the most horrific portents could force Aeneas to give up his intention of recreating Troy; these

¹ For the development of the *Aeneid* as a foundation story in a tradition of other stories, see both Gruen (1992) *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, and McKay (1970) *Vergil's Italy*.

portents, the bleeding stems on Polydorus' grave and the deadly plague at Crete, taught Aeneas that to repeat the past was to condemn himself to it. Yet by breaking free from his compulsion, Aeneas separated himself from the other Trojans, particularly Helenus and Andromache, who, in their obsession with the past, lived in a scaled-down replica of ancient Troy. Through his separation, Aeneas became an Other, one who existed outside of Trojan culture. His Otherness emphasized his exile; Aeneas no longer belonged to any group, he was only an *externus* without a community in which he could belong.

Aeneas' destiny called for something greater than Troy, something more encompassing. His relationship to *Dardanus auctor* became paramount because Aeneas was then linked to Italians, Greeks, and Trojans. Jupiter mandated that the group descended from Aeneas be a mixed race; Aeneas' own descent from Dardanus and his altered identity fulfill this requirement. Dardanus, an Italian born to a Greek woman, founded Troy. Then, Aeneas, an exile who must give up his Trojan identity for an Italian woman, is destined to marry Lavinia, a Latin woman. It is through Dardanus that Aeneas rebuilt both his identity and his community. In this way, Aeneas became an *internus* to the multifarious communities living in Italy at his arrival.

This mixed race, linked by the convoluted genealogies and traditions of Dardanus and Aeneas, typified the multicultural environment of Rome in the first century BCE. Also by emphasizing Aeneas' ancestry as descended from both Greeks and Italians, Vergil appealed to a Roman trend of tracing genealogies in an effort to elevate one's family and stress one's origin. But Vergil's version, rather than simply privileging a particular family line, connected Romans, Greeks, and Italians in a newly invented, imagined link of kinship. This link created an interconnected Roman national identity

based on an affiliation through the very distant, legendary past, so as to forget and overcome the recent traumas of civil wars and colonization. This control over the past was achieved through the same double process of forgetting and reinventing that Aeneas participated in when reconstructing his own identity. Once it is restructured in terms of his legendary ancestry, Aeneas' identity serves as an approach for Rome's newly incorporated peoples to refashion a cohesive Roman imagined community.

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Generosa Sangco was born in Portsmouth, Virginia, on January 22, 1981. After moving multiple times along the east coast, she moved with her mother to Jacksonville, Florida, in 1995. There she graduated from Sandalwood High School in 1999. She then graduated from the University of Florida in 2003 with a Bachelor of Arts in both English and classics. She will receive a Master of Arts in classics from the University of Florida in 2006.