

Fato Profugus:
The Exile's Passage Through Virgil and Said

by

Keegan R. Dufty
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Introduction

In his work, “Reflections on Exile,” Edward Said gives an account of the experience, the burden, and ultimately the permanent struggle of the exile. Exile is, Said writes, “a condition legislated to deny dignity-- to deny identity to people” (175). “Reflections on Exile” is meant to show exile as an overwhelmingly lonely experience. To be an exile is to lose one’s history, one’s people; to be an exile is to disappear. Said believes that only those who have experienced exile are the ones who can understand it. It is not a question of being the “other,” as being the “other” implies that one belongs somewhere, just not here. The exile belongs nowhere.

In the exile’s world, nothing is familiar. Said’s message is that beneath all of the theory, what people want is to feel grounded in the world and at home. As the exile cannot find this grounding, he must try to replicate it. Herein lies the continual struggle of exile: to forge a new identity out of the pieces of the past, and to belong in a world that appears to be out of space. However, the harder the exile tries to belong, the further away he feels from home. Despite these difficulties, Said reiterates that there is no choice in exile and that the struggle to find roots, in a foreign state of being and mind, is shared by all: “Exile is not, after all, a matter of choice: you are born into it, or it happens to you. But, provided that the exile refuses to sit on the sidelines nursing a wound, there are things to be learned: he or she must cultivate a scrupulous (not indulgent or sulky) subjectivity” (Said 184). In this quest for a “scrupulous subjectivity,” the exile must leave behind an old world and strive to find an identity in a new one.

Of the many theorists, authors, and poets that Said draws on for his essay, Georg Lukács stands very close to the core of the exile’s struggle. In *The Theory of*

the Novel, Lukács introduces the idea that the novel acts as a principal form of “transcendental homelessness,” a term that Said then draws into his work on the exile. Lukács structures his argument around the dichotomy of the epic and the novel. In the epic, specifically Homer, he argues that the world’s totality is evident to all. While divinity and fate may appear to be distant from the world of Man, they are still understood and treated as part of it. Life in the epic world encompasses this totality, Lukács argues, because nothing points to a higher reality outside the borders of understanding. And further, Man has no desire to venture outside these borders because not only is he unaware that anything exists beyond his current perception, but also because all of the meaning he seeks is ready and present in his surroundings. There is no “otherness for the soul” in the epic, and it is free to live through its adventures in the “world of objects” because even though the soul and the world of materials may be distant, they are never strangers (29-30).

This is principally what separates the epic from the novel: in the epic, the hero’s soul can find meaning in the world around him, as Lukács writes, “it is the adequacy of the deeds to the soul’s inner demand for greatness, for unfolding, for wholeness” (Lukács 30). Meaning surrounds the epic hero, and all his soul has to do to achieve greatness, or “wholeness,” is to set out into the world and find it. This controlled totality of epic life, Lukács argues, has since been broken. In the new world, the world of the novel, to be a man is to be solitary. “No light radiates any longer from within into the world of events, into its vast complexity to which the soul is a stranger” (Lukács 36). Whereas meaning was always present in the epic, in the unfamiliar landscape of the novel the soul no longer knows the path to that meaning. The problem lies in that in order to become whole, the soul must encounter man-

made structures in the “world of objects” and interact with them. In the epic, although distant from the soul, these structures still awoke interiority, and they still carried meaning. In the novel, these structures no longer awaken interiority; they no longer carry the meaning that the soul seeks.

It is here that Lukács introduces the concept of the transcendental
homelessness:

Of madness the epic knows nothing. . . . For crime and madness are objectifications of transcendental homelessness—the homelessness of an action in the human order of social relations, the homelessness of a soul in the ideal order of a supra-personal system of values. Every form is the resolution of a fundamental dissonance of existence; every form restores the absurd to its proper place as the vehicle, the necessary condition of meaning. (Lukács 61)

Simply put, transcendental homelessness encompasses the soul’s feeling that it no longer belongs in the realm of human action. The soul will always try to close the gap between itself and deeds, but the two are separated by an unbridgeable chasm.

Whereas the epic takes place in a totality of life that is formed by those who live within it, the novel acts as a vehicle to reveal a totality of life that must be unconcealed and constructed. Lukács writes, “The epic individual, the hero of the novel, is the product of estrangement from the outside world” (Lukács 65). Here the link between Lukács and Said becomes clear: just as the exile must struggle to form an identity in a completely unfamiliar and new world, so too must the soul. In its quest for wholeness and belonging, the soul seeks meaning in a place both strange and distant. However, one should note that Said expands on this idea of transcendental homelessness in a way that strays from Lukács’ meaning. Said writes:

Classical epics, Lukács wrote, emanate from settled cultures in which values are clear, identities stable, life unchanging. The European novel is grounded in precisely the opposite experience, that of a changing society in which an itinerant and disinherited middle-class hero or heroine seeks to construct a new world that somewhat resembles an old one left behind forever. In the epic

there is no *other* world, only the finality of *this* one. Odysseus returns to Ithaca after years of wandering; Achilles will die because he cannot escape his fate. The novel, however, exists because other worlds *may* exist, alternative for bourgeois speculators, wanderers, exiles. (Said 182)

Take note here, because Said's description of the novel and its representation of "transcendental homelessness" recollects the plot of Virgil's *The Aeneid*. Although *The Aeneid* is an epic, it also shares a number of essential themes, specifically that of exile, with the novel. The importance of exile in *The Aeneid* can be read immediately from its opening lines:

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram;
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae. (I, 1-7)

Aeneas spends years leading the remnants of his native people in search of a new, promised home. Their progress is impeded by rulers, warring tribes, storms, and of course, the wrath the goddess Juno. In observing various translations of the opening lines of the epic, the reader will see both how exile is positioned to be a driving force throughout the entire work and how it contributes to Aeneas' suffering.

Allen Mandelbaum, in his translation, stays closest to the Virgil's original opening lines, as seen above. Mandelbaum writes,

I sing of arms and of a man: his fate
had made him fugitive; he was the first
to journey from the coasts of Troy as far
as Italy and the Lavinian shores. (I, 1-4)

Mandelbaum's use of the word, "fugitive" comes straight from the Latin "*profugus*," which means "*fleeing*," "*fugitive*," "*banished*," or "*migratory*." In describing Aeneas as a "fugitive," he forces him to flee. It is only after fleeing that he becomes an exile.

In Aeneas' role as a "fugitive," his past is not only portrayed as a lost piece that haunts his every move, but also as a precursor to his exile. Aeneas flees from burning Troy, from passionate Dido, from Juno's wrath, all which represent different facets of exile.

C. Day Lewis constructs a similar image in his opening lines. He writes,

I tell about war and the hero who first from Troy's frontier,
Displaced by destiny, came to Lavinian shores,
To Italy- a man much travailed on sea and land
By the powers above, because of the brooding anger of Juno,
Suffering much in war until he could found a city
And march his gods into Latium... (I, 1-6)

This image of displacement not only describes Aeneas' escape from Troy in another light, but it also serves as a link to the modern vocabulary of exile. In its modern context, masses of exiles are "displaced," and must struggle through the consequences. The reader sees a man who struggles against the wrath of a goddess, as well as a man who struggles against the burden of homelessness.

It is Kevin Guinagh's translation which explicitly refers to Aeneas as an exile, Guinagh writes,

I sing of arms and the man who, fated to be an exile, was the
first to come from the coasts of Troy to Italy and its shores
near Lavinium, a man who was much harassed on land and sea
by divine power on account of the relentless anger of savage
Juno. (I, 1-4)

In these opening lines, what is most interesting is that Guinagh ties Aeneas' fate to being an exile, rather than to founding Rome. This is no longer the tale of a man kept from his destiny by a goddess' rage, but rather it is the journey of a man destined to wander in search of a new home for his people.

Similar to Guinagh's translation, Dryden fleshes out Virgil's language by separating Juno's anger, and Aeneas' fate, escape, and exile. In his translation, the opening lines read,

Arms, and the man I sing, who, forc'd by fate,
And haughty Juno's unrelenting hate,
Expell'd and exil'd, left the Trojan shore.
Long labors, both by sea and land, he bore,
And in the doubtful war, before he won
The Latian realm, and built the destin'd town;
His banish'd gods restor'd to rites divine. (I, 1-6)

The separation of "expell'd" and "exil'd" is significant, because it shows that exile has more weight to it than just being denied one's native home. This separation opens the door for the added difficulties and anxieties of exile, as can be seen in the line, "His banish'd gods restor'd to rites divine." This shows that in Aeneas' exile, he is not just fighting to reach his destiny, but he is fighting to preserve the traditions of his homeland. Aeneas' journey is not one for personal glory, but to restore old ways of life, to revive a dying people. It is the present fear of a past way of life being forgotten, and the inherent doubt that Dryden also mentions that are key parts of exile.

Similarities to Dryden's attempt to provide a better picture of Aeneas as an exile lie in Robert Fagles' translation. He writes,

Wars and man I sing— an exile driven on by Fate,
he was the first to flee the coast of Troy,
destined to reach Lavinian shores and Italian soil,
yet many blows he took on land and sea from the gods above—
thanks to cruel Juno's relentless rage— and many losses
he bore in battle too, before he could found a city,
.....
Why did she force a man, so famous for his devotion,
to brave such rounds of hardship, bear such trials? (I, 1-12)

Again, the reader observes the difference in the use of “exile” and “fate”. Aeneas is an exile because of Troy’s destruction, his subsequent wandering, and search for a new home. Fagles like Dryden, uses language that emphasizes the difficulties of Aeneas’s exile, he writes of how Aeneas must “flee the coast of Troy,” and the “so many losses he bore in battle too, before he could found a city, and bring his gods to Latium.” The words “flee” and “losses,” combined with the later use of “hardship” and “trials,” paint a vivid picture. These words show Aeneas as a man tortured by more than just the gods.¹

One can already see from these opening passages how exile is positioned to drive the events of the story. Virgil created an epic work that split from its predecessors in its use of exile as a central theme. This paper will explore how exile is portrayed and represented in *The Aeneid*, *The Inferno*, and “Reflections on Exile”. It will investigate Virgil’s use of exile in the work; and will seek comparisons to the later works of Dante and Said: focusing around Aeneas’ exile, the presence of wandering in the Underworld, and ultimately the love for one’s homeland and nation.

¹ For the rest of the essay I will be referring to the editions of *The Aeneid* translated by Robert Fagles and Allen Mandelbaum

Section 1

The severity of Aeneas' exiled condition is not just due to the fact that, by definition of exile, he must wander from country to country, coast to coast. What exacerbate his exile are the difficulties facing someone without a homeland who wants to fit into Virgil's epic world. This is a place with such rigid boundaries and well-defined states that it is completely unforgiving to one who does not belong to it. In his *Theory of the Novel*, Lukács describes all of epic life happening within a sphere in which there was no unknown. There were no crises of identity, and no confusion as to where one belonged or what one's life purpose was. As Lukács writes of Homer, "The Greek knew only answers but no questions, only solutions (even if enigmatic ones) but no riddles, only forms but no chaos" (Lukács 31). While Lukács writes here of philosophical stability, his point also rings true for physical security in Homer's society. There was very little mobility in epic life; one lived and died as a part of one state. When discussing the *Aeneid*, one must keep in mind that Lukács' idea of the epic is specific to Homer's works. The epic worlds of Homer and Lukács center around characters whose acts are enabled by the fact that their worlds have, and always will, make perfect sense. Virgil's epic differs in that it is centered around a man, and more so a people, who simply long for this rootedness, in place or identity, that figures in Homer or Lukács are never without.

First and foremost, all of Lukács epic society exists within the rigid borders of human understanding, with the epic form as a type of natural outgrowth from these structures, rules, and certainties. Everything about this epic society originates within itself, whereas, Roman society does not function in the same way. In 29 BC, when the work was begun, Rome was in a dangerous age of transition. Its author, Virgil, had

grown up in a state rife with civil war and political turmoil, “Of Virgil’s fifty-one years twenty-nine were years of war, including sixteen of civil war... It was in such a time that the poet grew up. It had begun to look as though the empire won over centuries might finally come to nothing” (Griffin 2). Rome was in desperate need of something to unite a country that had begun to split apart. After years of war and strife, Octavian, otherwise known as Emperor Augustus, defeated the rebellious Marc Antony and Cleopatra and finally represented a chance for political stability in the Roman Empire.

While Lukács views the classical Greek epic as a spontaneous product of its own society, *The Aeneid* differs in that Virgil has created a world different from his own in order to frame the story. Virgil entered the literary scene about two hundred years after this struggle began, and he began writing in a time where even poems written in Latin had clearly been influenced by earlier Greek works. Finally, in 29 BC, with the crisis of Roman politics looming overhead, Virgil decided to write an epic. However, he knew very well that one could not write an epic without drawing influence, from Homer, the literary mammoth of epic works. While he was fine drawing influence from the Greek master, (combining elements of both *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad*), Virgil strove to create a distinctly Roman work. He saw an opportunity to give his empire two things that it dreadfully needed in a time of crisis, a Roman work that could stand its own in the Mediterranean, and a work that could represent, through Aeneas, Emperor Augustus as the leader that Rome needed.

Of course, with this in mind one must mark the differences between Homer, Virgil, and in our case, Lukács. Virgil has returned to the form and world setting of Homer. He presents Greece as a time and place where things used to make sense, and

where everything had a purpose, a place. Aeneas is the one piece of the puzzle that does not fit. He is the wanderer where nobody wanders. His search for belonging is unlike anything that anyone else in Virgil's epic world has experienced. Virgil wants this unique pain and weight to be what makes the founding of Rome so significant. He wants Rome to be a place that has been founded out of a past filled with hardship, turmoil, and war. Virgil desires this for Aeneas' Rome, just as wants *his* Rome to rise out its difficult circumstances.

In the epic world when one's state or city falls, one is killed or absorbed by the conquerors. The idea that a people would, instead of becoming one with the conqueror, wander in search of a new place in this world is completely unheard of, as can be seen in Fagles' translation,

Oh you who rule
the lives of men and gods with your everlasting laws
and your lightning bolt of terror, what crime could my Aeneas
commit against you, what dire harm could the Trojans do
that after bearing so many losses, this wide world
is shut to them now? (I, 271-76)

This is an age where one's goal is to maintain a certain way of life, inheriting it from one's ancestors and passing it down to one's children's children; Aeneas is a man whose way of life has quickly faded; he has gone from a piece of a society to homeless. He is a piece that does not fit into the Greek world built by Homer and theorized by Lukács. In other words, where one comes from is just as important, and ideally is the same, as where one is going. Mercury reminds Aeneas that he must pass on his lineage to his son Ascanius, and further on to Iulus. This is not just about reaching the eternal glory of Homer's Achilles, but about continuing a race. In fact, it is only because the surviving Trojans will found Rome that the gods allow Troy to

fall to the Greeks. Therefore, it is never the intention to wipe out the Trojan people, as where they have come from will be sacrificed for the sake of their people's destination, their future, as can be seen in Venus' questioning of Jove:

Surely from them the Romans would arise one day
as the years roll on, and leaders would as well,
descended from Teucer's blood brought back to life,
to rule all lands and seas with boundless power--
you promised! Father, what motive changed your mind?
With that, at least, I consoled myself for Troy's demise,
that heartrending ruin-- weighing fate against fate.
But now after all my Trojans suffered, still
the same disastrous fortune drives them on and on.
What end, great king, do you set to their ordeals? (Fagles I, 277-86)

The importance of maintaining the Trojan lineage and keeping the balance between the loss of the Trojan past in exchange for a brighter future is evident in Venus' language, with phrases such as "Teucer's blood brought back to life," and "weighing fate against fate". One difficulty of exile is that one not only loses one's homeland, one's past, but one is completely unsure about how to find a new home, or if one could even exist.

Aeneas first hears of his people's fate through the words of Creusa's specter. Creusa, a key part of Aeneas' life in Troy, appears as a ghost, seemingly within reach but still untouchable, and speaks of a way in which Aeneas can reassemble his lost past:

A long exile is your fate...
the vast plains of the sea are yours to plow
until you reach Hesperian land, where Lydian Tiber
flows with its smooth march through rich and loamy fields,
a land of hardy people. There a great joy and a kingdom
are yours to claim, and a queen to make your wife. (Fagles II, 967-72)

While Aeneas has his doubts about the legitimacy of Creusa's claim, one must remember that he is pious, with an incredible respect for the gods, and so he must pay at least some mind to the spirit's message. Also, he is completely without direction; he has very little choice but to listen. The fact that Italy could possibly be a home similar to Troy is enough to plot it as a destination. Italy will be a new homeland, a new future, and a new Troy. However, it is Juno's anger that drives the Trojan people into the seven years spent wandering without direction, and away from destiny. It is not just Aeneas who wanders, but the entire surviving population of the Trojan people; a people displaced, existing without a homeland and still unable to reach any semblance of a concrete future. As can be seen in the work, there is no prescription for exile; there is no known way to resolve it. Exile, on the scale of the Trojan people, is undocumented and completely foreign to the epic way of life. Because of this, the Trojans face exile with no way of knowing how to emerge from it, no way to know if there is a way to escape from their condition. Their desire for guidance can be seen in Aeneas' pleas for direction to Apollo,

I begged Apollo: 'Grant us our own home, god of Thymbra!
Grant us weary men some walls of our own, some sons,
a city that will last. Safeguard this second Troy,
this remnant left by the Greeks and cruel Achilles.
Whom do we follow? Where do we go? Command us,
where do we settle now? Grant us a sign, Father,
flow into our hearts!' (Fagles III, 102-08)

The confusion and uncertainty of exile is evident here, clear in Aeneas begging of Apollo for a leader to guide them through their troubles to a destination that will serve as the next step to Italy. The Trojans speak of a "second Troy," which represents the desire not just to find respite from their long exile, but to rebuild a way of life that was lost. The weary travelers want "a city that will last," a city and walls

that can give birth and protect this precious way of life. They want to be given sons, sons that will carry on their names and their traditions long after their deaths. This is what the Trojans desire, it is what Aeneas has been promised, and it is what Juno has fought so hard to prevent from coming to fruition.

One can see that the key issue in the previous paragraphs, that of Aeneas' uncertain role in a society where everything is certain, is very evident in modern writings on exile as well. In "Reflections on Exile," Edward Said writes, "And just beyond the frontier between "us" and the "outsiders" is the perilous territory of not-belonging: this is where in a primitive time peoples were banished, and where in the modern era immense aggregates of humanity loiter as refugees and displaced persons" (177). While Said argues that the 20th century is the age of exile, he mentions here that this terrifying area of "not-belonging" has existed since antiquity. It is in this sphere that Aeneas and the Trojan people must exist. Said also writes that, "Exile is sometimes better than staying behind or not getting out: but only sometimes" (178). This sentiment is evident in *The Aeneid*, as the pain of the Trojans' exile is so great that some voice that they would have rather died in a doomed homeland than to have survived without a place in the world. This tragic choice is a central issue during the Sack of Troy:

At last, the door of father's ancient house,
my first concern was to find the man, my first wish
to spirit him off, into the high mountain range,
but father, seeing Ilium razed from the earth,
refused to drag his life out now and suffer exile....
"Myself,
if the gods on high had wished me to live on,
they would have saved my palace for me here." (Fagles II, 785-94)

Said's message rings with the words of men such as Anchises, who have faced the choice of either facing the danger that waits at home, or venturing out to start life anew. Both choices involve a great deal of risk, and neither guarantees happiness nor an escape from the threats at home or the burden of exile. The willingness of Anchises to give himself up, in addition to his eventual death, is essential to understanding Aeneas' exile. He is the father, representative of the old ways, and his desire to die in the flames of Troy reflects the impossibility of their old way of life surviving the trials of exile. As Said writes, "The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever" (173). It is the harsh reality of exile that, no matter the effort or determination, the old way of life can never be reconstructed. Aeneas must try as hard as he can to keep his father alive, because his father represents the past: the traditions of Troy, and the kingdom in its prime; but these are all things that must be left behind. Aeneas can try as hard as he wants, but he cannot maintain all of the elements of Troy that made it home. In one of the most moving passages of the epic, the ghost of Creusa tells Aeneas:

'Dispel your tears for Creusa whom you loved.
I will never behold the high and mighty pride
of their palaces, the myrmidons, the Dolopians,
or go as a slave to some Greek matron, no, not I,
daughter of Dardanus that I am, the wife of Venus' son.
The great Mother of Gods detains me on these shores.
And now farewell. Hold dear the son we share,
we love together'

.....
dissolving in to the empty air she left me now
Three times I tried to fling my arms around her neck,
three times I embraced—nothing. (Fagles II, 973-84)

Aeneas must "dispel his tears for Creusa whom [he] loved," not only in the physical act of giving up on the search for his wife, but also treating Creusa as a representative

of all things attached to his beloved Troy, be it his home, his traditions, or anything familiar. It is in the nature of exile to strip away many of the pieces of home that one finds dear, and that remind one of where one belongs or where one is from. As Creusa slips through his fingers again and again, Aeneas finds that it does no good to try and hold on to her, or to any of the other things he has lost. They can no longer be grasped or cherished in any form but memory. As Said reminds his readers, one can only truly realize what they hold most dear about home once they have had it taken from them. Aeneas has seen the loss of his house, and his loved ones; what is homeland if not the sphere which encompasses all of these beloved things? Said, with the help of a quotation by Theodor Adorno, describes how homeland is made up of ready-made forms and orthodoxies that one groups together and considers “home”. It is only after one has lost these things, in this case through exile, that one realizes the significance that they carried. It is only after this loss that one knows that homeland is not just a place, but a collection of habits, routines, comforts and securities that are too often taken for granted. Aeneas now faces this realization. His wife, Creusa, is dead. His home and his past, Troy, is gone. The security, or the feeling of belonging, once provided by these things is absent, and must be sought in the danger and uncertainty of the future. Aeneas’ final words in his account of Troy’s fall are reminiscent of modern images of exile; it presents huddled masses of exiles and refugees, surviving on only the reminders of the past that can be carried in on their backs, uncertain of where home is,

“our forces gathered for exile, grieving masses.
They had come from every quarter,
belongings, spirits ready for me to lead them
over sea to whatever lands I’d choose.” (Fagles II, 990-93)

Here, Virgil and Said call forth the same, inescapable, task of exile. It is the exile's task to strive with all of their might to reconstruct a reality, or an old way of life, that can never be retrieved or recreated. This effort can be seen in Aeneas' dream conversation with Hector, who advises him to flee with the household gods of Troy. In her book, *Vergil's Empire: Political Thought in the Aeneid*, Eve Adler writes of the newfound importance of these household gods to Aeneas. It arrives at a key moment when Aeneas must choose to either give his life to protect the walls of Troy, or flee with his idols and his people to start again. This is also a key moment in Virgil's split from Homeric tradition, in which a hero choosing to flee rather than accept death and immortal fame would seem completely out of place. Suddenly, Aeneas sees these idols as the first step in recreating Troy, as Adler writes, "According to this view, fleeing with the gods is not abandoning the city but preserving the city: the city may have these walls or those walls, but that same gods make it the same city" (277) An exile thinks he misses everything about his home, and he very well may. But it is the essence of home, and not its physical presence, that creates the sense of belonging that the exile craves. Aeneas realizes that these household gods encompass the essence of the city and the Trojan tradition. It is with them, he believes, that he can rebuild Troy in a new place, under new circumstances; and it is in this way that he has fallen into Said's idea of the exile's task.

The only solace an exile can find is in those who understand their condition, and Said vehemently believes that the only ones who can fully comprehend exile are those who have had to suffer it. Dido serves as this supporting figure for Aeneas,

"So come, young soldiers, welcome to our house.
My destiny, harrying with trials hard as yours,
led me as well, at last, to anchor in this land.

Schooled in suffering, now I learn to comfort
those who suffer too.” (Fagles I, 748-52)

Widowed Dido has also fled from her homeland to build a new city, a new history. To the refugees of Troy, she is a respite from the brutal journey across the Mediterranean. To Aeneas, she is that and more, a shining example of an exile who has found a home; she is *his* story with a successful ending. Dido understands the plight of the wanderer, and she offers refuge from the hardships of exile. Adler compares Aeneas’ stay in Carthage with the comforts that he remembers from Troy, “Aeneas in his sojourn with Dido is drawn to putting his highest hopes in the mutual love of a woman who is his soul mate; he attempts to remake with Dido the home and family and kingdom that he had lost with Creusa’s death and the fall of Troy” (251). With Carthage the Trojans can be part of a nation again, with Dido, Aeneas can be at home again.

Dido represents a unique opportunity to be recognized as a people rather than a band of outsiders. Without her, the Trojans are just shades, as can be seen when Aeneas first enters Carthage: “Then sheltered by a mist, astoundingly,/ he enters in among the crowd, mingling/ together with the Tyrians. No one sees him” (Mandelbaum I, 622-24). This passage strongly parallels Said’s description of the huddled masses that exist just outside of our perception, those who don’t belong anywhere. In his essay, Said refers to *Amy Foster* by Joseph Conrad, in which the Polish main character, Yanko, lives through the hardship of exile in foreign England. He struggles with the crippling fear of solitude, and not being understood or recognized. Eventually he falls ill and dies alone, abandoned by his wife and child, and invisible to the world that continues, uninterrupted, around him. Said writes, “Yanko’s fate is described as the “supreme disaster of loneliness and despair... Each

Conradian exile fears, and is condemned endlessly to imagine, the spectacle of a solitary death illuminated, so to speak, by unresponsive, uncommunicating eyes” (180). Just as Yanko feels that Amy Foster is the only person who recognizes him in a world of strangers, Aeneas believes this of Dido. She, an exile, is the first one to see him in the crowd, to break his invisibility. Said’s example of Yanko, a man who is at the complete mercy of his world, is the best literary representation of exile. And this is the exile that Aeneas must suffer. Aeneas, in the early part of the epic, is always a victim of circumstance. He is exiled from Troy. He suffers through the storms at sea. He must beg for help from others. Without a home or an army, he must rely on others to help him. Without being able to do these things on his own, without being able to protect his people on his own, without being able to win battles on his own, Aeneas can never be relevant in the world of the epic.

A key contradiction between Lukács and Virgil is that the former has difficulty seeing Aeneas as a true exile, as he is following his destiny. His work argues that having the destiny to find a homeland is just as good as having a homeland in the first place. True, in some ways Aeneas is better off with his fate than one would be without it. But in other ways his fate hurts him: “The gods care for Aeneas because the plans of destiny need him; his own happiness does not concern them. The favoured hero is lonely and comfortless” (Griffin 78). The reader can see this indifference to Aeneas’ well being throughout the text. The gods rarely intervene to help Aeneas in any way other than to clear some obstacle that is preventing him from reaching Italy, and Aeneas has no choice in the matter.

To see Aeneas in the full light of exile, one must understand fate as something more than just a construction of a higher power that must be obeyed by

gods and men alike. In the work, *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, David West comments on the role of the gods and fates in an epic such as *The Aeneid*:

The gods are sometimes seen as natural forces or human psychological impulses... The divine element of necessity touches upon the insoluble problems of the relationship between irresistible Fate, omnipotent deity and human will. The aspect of the divine machinery is a rewarding narrative strategy, because it reminds us tangentially and disturbingly of the unknowable, of the frailty and brevity of man in a vast, callous, and incomprehensible universe. (West 314)

In this way, one should read *The Aeneid* and see fate and figures of divinity not just as an innovative narrative device, but as a reminder that they represent the confusing, chaotic, and often unknowable elements of the world that drive men to act. Without the gods, or “fate,” what could one say keeps Aeneas going, what continues to drive him on his mission? In *The Aeneid*, fate is that power, that emotion that tells Aeneas that he can find a place that is more suitable as a home than where he is now. This can be seen upon Aeneas’ description of his departure from the city of Buthrotum, which has been founded by another group of Trojan exiles, it reads, “My parting words were said with rising tears: / “Your fate is here, then live it happily. / But we are called from one fate to another” (Mandelbaum III, 642-44). Have no doubt, Aeneas wants stay with the other Trojan refugees in a culture he can recognize, and with gods he can worship. What stops him is the guidance of “the gods,” of “fate,” all that tell him that this is not the place that he is meant to be, this is not the place he belongs. It is the feeling he has that drives him to believe that there *is* a place out there that is Troy, that can be Troy. And best of all, it is a place that if he tries hard enough, he can find. Said writes, “Exile is never the state of being satisfied, placid, or secure. Exile, in the words of Wallace Stevens, is “a mind of winter” (186). By that, Stevens, an American

20th century poet, means that though the memory of fall and the hope for spring are close, they are unreachable. Aeneas' fate is that hope. Those who read theories on exile, or papers about theories on exile know, or think they know, that the feeling of home can never be fully reconstructed in the life of the exile. But to Aeneas, and the exiles of Troy, if there is a place where this reconstruction can happen, it is Rome.

Aeneas, in his parting words to Dido, says:

“the Lycian prophecies/ tell me of Italy: there is my love,
there is my homeland...

.....
it is right that we, too, seek our a foreign kingdom.” (Mandelbaum IV, 469)

And so it is. The Trojans believe that there is a foreign land somewhere out there that is meant for them. And as long as there is a “Rome,” a place where that driving desire and hunger to feel at home again could come to fruition, then they will seek it. That is Aeneas' fate. That is the exile's fate.

Section 2

These themes of exile can be further traced through Aeneas' journey in the underworld. This sequence builds off of the structure introduced in Homer's *The Odyssey*, where Odysseus ventures down into the underworld and interacts with the spirits of the dead. Much of Virgil's *Aeneid*, especially his depiction of the underworld, was a basis for Dante's *Comedia*. It is easy to note the similarities between the two: Virgil, as the author, is Aeneas' guide through the underworld in *The Aeneid*, just as in the *Inferno*, his character acts a guide to Dante. The *Aeneid*, a tale of exile and redemption, undoubtedly influenced Dante, an exile in his own right. The two works are linked through the driving force of men seeking the meaning and belonging that has been stolen from them. However, one must note the subtle but significant differences between the underworlds of these two authors.

In the *Inferno*, Dante shows a world with an extremely detailed structure; made up of the nine circles of hell, with respective subcircles. This world underlies the world of living men, and places each individual according to their actions during their mortal existence. While the world of mortals may seem corrupt and full of injustice, it is in this underworld where each person's actions have true meaning. Everyone has an assigned place. Each sinner of a different sort belongs to a different circle of hell. Each tormented soul is eternally punished by the *contrapasso*, God's law that the sinner will be punished by their sin. As Angelo Belliotti writes in his book, *Dante's Deadly Sins: Moral Philosophy in Hell*: "As with all punishments in Hell, the sentences of those condemned reflect their earthly lives... The lash of the *contrapasso* is only fulfillment of the destiny chosen by each soul during his or her earthly life. The afterlife continues, deepens, and solidifies the life led by souls while

they were on earth” (22). The *contrapasso* is first mentioned in Canto 28. Here are those punished for sowing discord among others; these individuals are guilty of tearing their communities apart with their treason. Dante, the wanderer, watches as a demon cuts each soul in half, from head to navel, to represent of tearing their societies apart. Take for example the case of one such soul, Bertan de Born:

“Know that I am Bertran de Born, the one
Who gave bad counsel to the fledgling king.

I made the son and father enemies:
Achitophel with his malicious urgings
Did not do worse with Absalom and David.

Because I severed those so joined, I carry
Alas—my brain dissevered from its source,
Which is within my trunk, And thus, in me

One sees the law of counter-penalty.” (XXIIX, 134-42)

As Bertran tore father from son, king from body-politic, so too he must carry his brain apart from his trunk. In this underworld, with the *contrapasso*, Dante has given everyone a designation, a place. In many ways, this is a return to a Homeric view of a world in which every man’s actions are directly tied to his destiny. This return to a Homeric structure is important, as Lukács writes of *The Inferno*,

The world became round once more, a totality capable of being taken in at a glance; the chasm lost the threat inherent in its actual depth; its whole darkness, without forfeiting any of its somberly gleaming power, became pure surface and could thus be fitted easily into a closed unity of colours; the cry for redemption became a dissonance in the perfect rhythmic system of the world and thereby rendered possible a new equilibrium no less perfect than that of the Greeks;... The Last Judgement became a present reality, just another element in the harmony of spheres,... A new and paradoxical Greece came into being: aesthetics became metaphysics once more. (37-8)

Here, Lukács comments on the historical context surrounding the writing of *The Inferno*. Born in Florence in 1265, Dante was witness to his city’s, and greater Italy’s,

division between the parties of the papacy and the empire. In his work, Dante takes the fractured climate of his contemporary world and unites it under this idea of an afterlife. He bypasses the corrupt figures of Italy's political and religious spheres by showing that they themselves will know God's justice. Lukács describes how Dante designed his work to posit that as unjust as the world of mortals may seem, it is all part of God's greater design; a design that uses Hell to give the mortal world the same meaning as in the Homer's epics. Just as characters in the epic universe are tied to their destinies by their actions, so too are those who reside in Dante's text, the only difference being that Dantes' characters do not know it yet.

Herein lies the essential difference between the underworlds of *The Comedia* and *The Aeneid*. The role of the wanderer varies greatly between the two afterlives.

Dante begins his journey uncertain of what direction his life is taking.

When I had journeyed half of our life's way,
I found myself within a shadowed forest,
For I had lost the path that does not stray.

Ah, it is hard to speak of what it was,
That savage forest, dense and difficult,
Which even in recall renews my fear: (I, 1-6)

In these opening lines, Dante introduces himself as man who has "lost the path that does not stray," meaning, under the Christian doctrine, that he has stopped living his life according to virtue. As becomes evident in the work, someone's placement in the afterlife relies entirely on their actions during their mortal days. By acting in accord with vice one strays from God's grace, as Dante fears he has done. Not only does this reflect a feeling of spiritual homelessness, as Dante was exiled by the papacy and nearly excommunicated some years before, but it is also deepened by his physical separation from his home city. Dante's journey through the underworld is a physical

manifestation of interior conflicts, and not only reflects his lack of spiritual confidence but also the pain and confusion caused by his exile from Florence. He has no sense of where to turn, until he meets Virgil. Virgil is the first to hint at what direction to go, and he inspires the courage in Dante to continue. It is uncertain why Dante finds such a connection with Virgil in the sense of understanding exile. It makes sense how Dante could relate to Aeneas, as both their stories represent a greater search for meaning in exile, but it is unclear why he chooses Virgil, who is not exiled, to guide him. Likely he sees himself and Virgil in very similar roles in their societies. Dante wishes to create a work that, under the God's intricate design of an afterlife, can unite Italy. Virgil wished to create a work that could unite Rome under the rule of a new leader.

While Dante suffers a crueler fate than Virgil, he believes that they strive with the same purpose. Eve Adler describes *The Aeneid* as Virgil's way of framing the education of Aeneas: "By the education of Aeneas is meant those experiences and reflections by which Vergil shows his transformation from a Homeric hero into the Roman hero whose leading virtue is his piety" (253). The trajectory of the epic follows Aeneas as he learns to live with his exile and to find greater meaning in it. *The Inferno* represents Dante's education in the same sense. While he begins his epic feeling the confusion and sorrow of an exile, during his journey he realizes that, even as an exile, his actions still matter. Just as the idea of a wanderer, or one who does not belong, is completely foreign to Homer's epics, so too does it *become* foreign in Dante's *Inferno*. While the reader starts believing that Dante is an exile, it is soon realized that everyone has a place in the afterlife, and so nobody truly wanders. Exile still, however, is a theme that permeates throughout the entire structure of Virgil's

afterlife, as wandering souls amass on the near shore of the River Styx. These souls differ from the souls at the river's banks in *The Inferno*, as Dante's souls are banned from crossing for being cowards. They are assigned the place of waiting on the banks, whereas Virgil's souls are doomed to wander in the margins of the underworld until they are given proper burial. One could argue that the scenes of exile that seem so strange in a set society such as in Virgil's epic are commonplace in his underworld, just as one could argue the opposite in Dante. In this scene where one can flash to more familiar images of exile, hauntingly immortalized in the words of Said and other writers of the 20th Century. Virgil's scene, of spirits with hands outstretched and helpless voices pleading for a place on Charon's boat, could describe any scene of mass exodus from the Old Testament, to Vietnam, and through the current day. It is the scene of men, women, and families desperate for a home,

A huge throng of the dead came streaming toward the banks:
mothers and grown men and ghosts of great-souled heroes,
their bodies stripped of life, and boys and unwed girls
and sons laid on the pyre before their parents' eyes.

.....

There they stood, pleading to be the first ones ferried over,
reaching out their hands in longing toward the farther shore.
But the grim ferryman ushers aboard now these, now those,
others he thrusts away, back from the water's edge. (Fagles VI, 348-58)

Not only does this passage reiterate the difficulties of exile that Aeneas recognizes in the thronging masses of souls, but it also shows how the importance of burial in Greek society, as seen in Greek works such as *Antigone* and *The Iliad*, echoes in Virgil's work. The Greek burial holds significance not just as both a custom and a tradition, but it also serves as a gateway to a place of rest, to one's ultimate homeland. Aeneas' journey through the underworld demonstrates both of these. Of course, this eternal resting place is of the utmost importance to the Greeks, and it is fair to assume

that if you die in your homeland you will be buried. In both the Homeric and the Virgilian versions of the epic, if one is rooted to a homeland then they are, as a courtesy, promised a burial and a place in the underworld. It is in wandering peoples, such as the Trojans, where this becomes complicated. Aeneas always stays true to these customs of burial. The reader must consider that in the minds of these people, the only thing as important to them as finding a new homeland in Rome is being eligible for a resting place in the underworld. Palinurus, lost at sea, begs Aeneas to bury his uncovered body,

“And now I am the breakers’, beach winds toss me...
I beg you therefore, by the gentle light
and winds of heaven, undefeated one
and by your father, by your growing son,
Iulus, save me from these evils, either
cast earth upon my body... give
your own right hand to wretched Palinarus
and take me with your past the waters, that
at least in death I find a place of rest. (Mandelbaum VI, 475-89)

It is their desperate hope that, if they should fall, their bodies be buried or burned, that if they die a wanderer that their soul can finally rest. Aeneas prays that these customs, from a dying people, are still relevant. When he is told to bury a comrade in order to gain access to the underworld, he prays,

“And you, my goddess mother,
be true to me in my certainty.”
As he said this, he stayed his steps. He watched
for omens, for the way the birds would turn. (Mandelbaum VI, 266-69)

He prays that these burial customs are still sufficient to appease the gods like they used to, that they did not fade with the burning of Troy. He prays that the household gods he has carried from Troy are still relevant, and that the traditions they represent are still as sacred as they used to be.

It is, after all, a matter of lineage, of being remembered. One stays rooted in a homeland to have children, children who will tell stories of their fathers and their father's fathers. It is a matter of not fading away, of not sinking into the dark margins on which Said shines a light. The same logic applies to being buried in a tomb where, years later, people generations distant from your own can pay tribute to *your* deeds, to *your* memory. It is with a burial that Palinurus finally finds his peace:

“they will build
a tomb and send their solemn sacrifices;
the place will always be named Palinurus.”
These words have set his cares to rest, his sorrow
is exiled for a while from his sad heart.
The land that bears his name has made him glad. (Mandelbaum VI, 500-05)

Here, not only is Palinurus promised a resting place but his name survives. This is all to be remembered, to resist the marginalization of exile through burial and the naming of landmarks. It is to ignore the uncertain present by giving these men a concrete place in the future.

Aeneas journeys through the underworld to speak to ask his father's advice. In this journey, Aeneas sees his future. For the first time, the events he has heard so much about take form. He gains confidence. How interesting that in traveling through the underworld, the equivalent of the eternal homeland of the Greeks, Aeneas sees the first proof of his people's revitalized homeland of Rome.

Like Dante uses *The Inferno* to reveal the underlying structure to a world in which there seems to be no connection between deed and consequence, Virgil uses his underworld to reveal the significance and commonness of exile in a world that seems built to oppose it. It is this exile that Aeneas sees, recognizes, understands, and strives to prevent at all costs. Set forth from the opening lines of the poem, “fato

profugus,” Aeneas is different than any other hero before him because he flees. Every step of his journey is burdened with adversity, but he must continue to push it away. Knowing exile’s hardships, he struggles against it in all forms, and in all places. It is Aeneas’ weight to carry, as a leader, to bring his people to Rome, to their homeland. But, if he cannot, if they die before they reach the shores of Italy then he will do his best to send them to the ultimate homeland of the afterlife, to the security of the underworld. Aeneas fights to reach Italy, yes, but above all he fights to save his loved ones from wandering, from the exile of this world and the next.

Section 3

The final books of the *Aeneid* take an interesting turn, especially in regards to this essay's exploration of homeland, because Aeneas' role in the text has changed from the quintessential exile. This transformation manifests itself in his shield, carved with the images of Rome's future:

Such vistas
the God of Fire forged across the shield
that Venus gives her son. He fills with wonder--
he knows nothing of these events but takes delight
in their likeness, lifting onto his shoulders now
the fame and fates of all his children's children. (Fagles VIII, 856-59)

This is a continuation of his father's prophecy. Given by his mother, her gift of the shield taken with the prophesy of Anchises serves as a the perfect representation of lineage, of a future home provided by both parents for their child. It is the lineage that Aeneas, the fatherless and the homeless, has sought all along. It is the culmination of all Aeneas' troubles, the trials of a refugee with no respite or deliverance from wandering other than the faint hope for a future home. This shield, this complete gift from parents to son, is a concrete future. Aeneas does not completely understand it, nor he does completely appreciate it, but he has it. In a world built for people to belong, Aeneas now has a place to which he can attach his fate and the fates of those who follow him. There is no doubt now of reaching Italy; Aeneas' wandering is over. All that is left to found Rome is to earn it through battle.

As the focus of the epic no longer centers on the pains of exile but now returns to one's love for one's homeland. Aeneas is no longer the wanderer, he is now the aggressor, as can be seen in Juno's furious call to protect the tribes of Latium,

How could anyone-- man or god-- force your Aeneas

to pitch on war, to harry King Latinus as his foe?
... To disrupt the Tuscans' faith, inflame a peaceful people?
... it's wrong for Italians to ring your newborn Troy with fire?
For Turnus to plant his feet on his own native soil?
His forebear is Pilumnus, his mother a goddess, Venilia!
What of the Trojans putting the Latins to the torch?
Yoking the fields of others, hauling off the plunder?
Taking their pick of daughters, tearing the sworn bride
from her husband's arms? Their hands pleading for peace
while they arm their sterns with spears! (Fagles X, 80-99)

Aeneas is no longer the one who runs, he is the one who attacks, who expels others. He is the man who upsets the balance of peace, who topples nations and cultures. He is the aggressor, fighting for the place he thinks he belongs, and threatening to send those in his way into exile. How unexpected to see Aeneas, seemingly the one wanderer in the Mediterranean, suddenly in position to push others into the hardships he endured for so long. Maybe this is not as strange as one might think. At the start of the epic, we are meant to view Aeneas as the lone exile in a land of men who were born, and will die, belonging somewhere. But is he the one wanderer in the Mediterranean? What of the souls who wander the banks of the River Styx? What of Dido? What of the tribes that face the destruction of their homeland now? In his passage detailing the Latin defense against the Trojan attack, one cannot help but draw parallels to Virgil's earlier descriptions of the defense of Troy,

The fugitives cannot
escape sad death: ...
.....
within the very shelter of their houses
the Latins gasp their last ...
... Even the mothers
along the walls, remembering Camilla,
.....
... true love of homeland
points out the way
.....
... each burns to die first for her city's sake. (Mandelbaum XI, 1166-86)

Virgil's epic world may at first seem like a world of belonging and predetermined purpose, but exile is not as rare as it seems. It is hidden, yes; but it is there. It lingers behind the acts of great individuals, driving the foundation of great cities such as Carthage and Rome. It exists just beyond the narrow blinders of mortal sight, cursing the underworld.

Exile is everywhere. It does not belong in Virgil's world, yet it drives its history. It brings about the end of peoples and the rebirth of lost nations, just as exile did and has continued to do throughout modern history. The final books of the *Aeneid* echo in Edward Said's lines, "Palestinians feel that they have been turned into exiles by the proverbial people of exile, the Jews.... Perhaps this is the most extraordinary of exile's fates: to have been exiled by exiles-- to relive the actual process of uprooting at the hands of exiles" (178). Said is quick to point out in "Reflections on Exile" that it is an unfortunate tendency for exiles to make up for their losses by resorting to extreme nationalism. It is this tendency that, while seemingly providing a solution to the exiles' hardships, only deepens the rifts between the new "nation" and the rest of the world. With the birth of this extreme nationalism, this attempt to rebalance the scales, the exile focuses only on those things which separate him from the rest of the world. As Said writes, "Nationalism is an assertion of belonging in and to a place, a people, a heritage. It affirms the home created by a community of language, culture and customs; and, by so doing, it fends off exile, fights to prevent its ravages...All nationalisms in their early stages develop from a condition of estrangement" (176). Instead of the refugee trying to escape from exile, he now carves out a niche within it. It is the nation of exiles against the world. They have been marginalized and othered, and so they marginalize and other in return.

Yet again, the words of Said parallel Virgil's text. What other than a newfound sense of nationalism drives the exiled people of Troy? When have they felt more united as a people than as when they watch their city burn to the ground? Of exile, Said writes, "They generally do not have armies or states, although they are often in search of them. Exiles feel, therefore, an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives, usually by choosing to see themselves as part of a triumphant ideology or a restored people" (177). The Trojan people are directionless except for this lofty belief that they are the founders-to-be of a nation. The exiles have nothing if not for the promise of Italy! Rome will be the nation of a victorious, restored people. It will reach Troy's glory and beyond; it will be strengthened by the hardships of exile that its founders endured. Attention has to be paid to how Virgil approaches this issue of the conqueror marginalizing the conquered. Juno, realizing that she has no hope of stopping Aeneas from taking over the tribes of Latium, pleads with Jupiter to ease the Latin's defeat:

when they both unite
in laws and treaties, do not let the native--
born Latins lose their ancient name, become
Trojans, or be called Teucrians; do not
make such men change their language or their dress.
Let Latium still be, let Alban kings
still rule for ages; let the sons of Rome
be powerful in their Italian courage.
Troy now is fallen; let her name fall, too. (Mandelbaum XII, 1092-100)

Juno begs to prevent the expulsion of the Latin tribes and condemning others to exile. Not only this, but unlike Said's commentary on the othering of nationalism, Virgil sets up the perfect blend of cultures. By "[letting] her name fall too," the Trojan people can stop thinking of themselves as the refugees of a lost land, and as the inheritors of a promised country; they can abandon the nationalistic qualities that

they have adopted to survive exile and all of its hardships. They can let go of the pain that has driven them from the shores of Troy to Italy, and they can instead focus on what it will take to form a *new* state.

Why is it so important that the Roman people originate from exiles? I think that the answer comes back to the opening lines of the epic, “fato profugus,” and this idea of fleeing from a threat. After all, Virgil has based his entire epic, his entire formula, off of a hero who, for the first time in an epic, flees. Virgil does this because he sees the Roman people, of his time, of his society, as fleeing. They flee from civil war, from political unrest, and from corrupt leader to corrupt leader. In assigning Aeneas and the survivors of Troy to the condition of exile, Virgil bases Rome’s ancestry off of those who once also had to flee, and who faced adversity on every step of their journey. The Trojans also had to flee their past. Virgil uses the image of Aeneas leading his people out of exile to provoke a similar response to Augustus delivering the Roman Empire out of a turbulent century.

Said believes that this solution of extreme nationalism is impossible in the modern world. And even Virgil, rather than resolve this nationalistic fate of the exile, has found a way to avoid the issue altogether. Virgil needs exile to unite his people for a nationalistic journey to restore a broken Rome and seek redemption, but after it has served this purpose he needs it to end cleanly. He needs a way for the Trojans to forget their Trojan roots and become full-blooded Romans. His solution is effective but, in terms of finding a resolution for exile, unsatisfactory.

Conclusion

If the Homeric epic is a piece of a settled society, and the novel is a piece of exile, what does that make *The Aeneid*? It is an epic, but it departs from the Homeric tradition and focuses on the same search for identity and belonging that one finds starting in 16th century novels. We have seen how exile not just as a description meant to frame the story of Aeneas, or start the hero's journey, but as the central idea that drives the course of the epic.

Aeneas is unlike any other hero of his time, as he chooses exile over death. His people wander the waters of the Mediterranean. Aeneas and the refugees of Troy struggle with being marginalized in a society which, because it is made up of exclusively settled cities and stable states, pays very little mind to those in its margins. Nobody wanders for prolonged periods of time in epic Greece, except for Aeneas.

While extended exile seems rare in the mortal world, it becomes far more common in the underworld. It is not like Dante's *Inferno*, where souls escape the confusion and immorality of the mortal world to find an intricate system of justice and retribution that encompasses their universe. Rather, in Aeneas' world, the men that die without burial, and it is *only* those who wander that die without burial, continue to wander in the afterlife. Virgil shows us that, both in the world of the living and of the dead, people want to belong. Aeneas continues the burial traditions of Troy so that if he cannot deliver his people to Italy, he can at least guarantee their acceptance into the underworld.

In their efforts to end their condition of exile, Aeneas and the Trojans band together behind nationalistic sentiments that Edward Said warns about. They envision

themselves as members of a fading ideology who have been promised a new home. Not only do they want Italy, they deserve it, they believe it to be theirs. Here arises the issue of the conquered turn conqueror, the exiled turned into one who exiles. Here, Aeneas is no longer an exile. He is now someone who fights, instead of flees, and he threatens to drive the tribes of Italy out of their native lands. A main concern of Said's work is that exiles focus so intently on creating a new nation that they exile others in the process. Virgil manages to avoid this conflict by perfectly blending the Trojans and the native inhabitants of Italy. Virgil finds a way to avoid exile in the *Aeneid* that in the modern world is impossible and, thus, unsatisfactory. How does Said, writing on exile in the 20th century, resolve exile? The short answer is, he can't. No one can. Exile cannot be resolved, but maybe it does not need to be; Said believes that there can be something valuable found in such a bitter condition. In his work he quotes Hugo of St. Victor, a twelfth-century monk:

The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is as a foreign land. The tender soul has fixed his love on one spot in the world; the strong man has extended his love to all places; the perfect man has extinguished his. (185)

Said thinks of exile as a valuable condition, because with it one can distance oneself from the orthodoxies and boundaries that have defined one's life. Exiles tend to focus on one's home, and where that is, and what it is made up of; Said wants to stray from this path, he wants to look at homes as a cage that keeps us from the rest of the world. He thinks it is valuable to maintain a critical distance from our society and our culture, and this is indeed very different from Virgil's end of the *Aeneid*, as he grants his exiles the nation they have so greatly desired. This split is difficult to reconcile. But, when one thinks of Aeneas as fleeing Troy, rather than seeking

Rome—you can find common ground between these works. The works agree on what should be treasured by the exile, which is essence, the essence of family, of tradition, of comfort, rather than place. I would like to end with a quote from Martha Nussbaum's *The End of Orthodoxy*, a critique of Said's work, in which she quotes Said from an interview in 1980, he says:

I was drawn to figures such as Conrad, a man of two or three traditions, and to men like Vico and Swift who made a conscious effort to appropriate the world to themselves... it was the notion that people make their own worlds; you don't feel that your nation is the heart of anything but the individual is, and it is the individual that makes history. (qtd. in Nussbaum 3)

Said wants to break free of the walls of subjectivity and see the worldliness of the cultures around him. What Said treasures about home, is not home, and can be found elsewhere. Virgil ends *The Aeneid* by letting the name, and memory, of Troy die. The only things left of the great city are its individuals, the people who built it to protect each other and what they loved. They, and not the walls or the gods, are the essence of Troy. Ultimately they are what persevere in the way of the exile. They are what survive.

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