



EROS AND DEATH IN THE AENEID

Daniel Gillis

L'ERMA di BRETSCHNEIDER ROMA

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in memoriam

Adam and Anne Parry

David Wiesen

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PREFACE

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R.D. Williams' text has been cited, with few changes. Contrary to current practice, Vergilian passages are not translated; I believe that this study prove the old notion that the Aeneid is untranslatable.

The bibliographical references derive largely from the last three decades, especially the latest; all research to some extent replaces what has gone before. My subject has been relatively neglected, despite the fact that Vergil wrote the Aeneid for a public that was both sensuous and alert.

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“Working in a language which is not the language of one’s dreams is to miss many over- and undertones, ambiguities and poetic notions, the spontaneousness and even the silences.”

Henry Pachter, “On Being an Exile”, in Robert Boyers, ed., *The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals* (New York, 1972), 19.

“For speech to be symbolic means that it shares in two lives. First it possesses a manifest meaning which finds its life in the concrete world. This manifest meaning constitutes an orientation toward precision and unequivocal expression. The tension of its life is a pull in the direction of closure and systemization. The manifest meaning, however, covers a hidden voice which constitutes the second life of symbolism. The voice that lies underneath this literal and immediate meaning of the symbol is not even language in a concrete sense. It is a voice of our pre-articulate nature. It is unable to surface as words and must attach itself to something which can surface. When it does surface, it remains hidden.”

C.D. Axelrod, *Studies in Intellectual Breakthrough* (Amherst, 1979), 31.

“The meaning of the evolution of civilization is no longer obscure to us. It must present the struggle between Eros and Death, between the instinct of life and the instinct of destruction, as it works itself out in the human species. This is what all life essentially consists of, and the evolution of civilization may therefore be simply described as the struggle for life of the human species...”

Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (London, 1930), 122.

EROS AND DEATH IN THE AENEID

ARTISTRY AND SYMBOL

It is hard to believe that more than a century has passed since Sidgwick wrote that "Vergil's workmanship is at once so perfect and so careful, that he is an inexhaustible field for the literary analyst. And the really interesting and profitable thing is to find out for one's self such truths, not to learn them from others: whatever help others may give at the outset."¹ It is perhaps no tribute to the intervening decades of Vergilian scholarship to admit that the first part of this statement still holds true. Scholiasts do not command a high place in the history of ideas; yet if Homer was blind, then scholiasts have a right to be. We are all in fact scholiasts, and it is our first obligation to acknowledge the patient contribution of insight and erudition that earlier writers have made. The second part of Sidgwick's statement holds true for me personally as well. In these pages I have tried to cite my debt to commentators and critics at every point, because I have built steadily and consciously upon their work. But the view of the *Aeneid* offered here is, as far as I know, essentially my own.

Three decades ago Pöschl "revolutionized interpretation of the epic"². His study of imagery in the *Aeneid* is still our most ambitious; recently he published a revised third edition in German.³ The fifties and sixties saw articles that followed his lead,⁴ and they in turn had

¹ A. SIDGWICK, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber XI* (Cambridge, 1879), xiv. See now J.H. DEE, "A Survey of Recent Bibliographies of Classical Literature," *CW* 73 (1980), 287, 290.

² ANDERSON, 24.

³ V. PÖSCHL, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils, Bild und Symbol in der Äneis* (Wiesbaden, 1950); trans. G. SELIGSON, *The Art of Vergil, Image and Symbol in the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor, 1962); rev. Ger. ed., Berlin, 1977.

⁴ B.M.W. KNOX, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 71 (1950), 379-400, repr. in *Virgil*, 124-42; M. VON DUHN,

successors in the following decade. Most Vergilian criticism of the seventies employs his method to some degree.⁵ R.D. Williams cautioned against its overuse, however: "...repetition of imagery may be less significant than we think because of the relative scarceness of acceptable images in the epic convention. Compared with Dylan Thomas's, Virgil's available imagery could be put in a very small bag."⁶ More recently George has noted some pitfalls in imagistic analysis, but concludes that the method still holds promise; Martyn has found evidence of Vergil's use of it in the *Georgics*.⁷ The search for images linking phases of a person's life, of two or more persons in different scenes, cutting across the twelve Books and any type of structure imposed on the *Aeneid*, continues to be fundamental and rewarding. Indeed, it furnishes valuable aid in discovering intimate subterranean connections between parts and people of the epic, and beyond that, Vergil's ultimate statement itself.

Freud defined for us our key symbols many years ago, first in additions to passages in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1909, 1911, 1919, 1914), and more fully in the Tenth Lecture of his *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* of 1916-17: "...the penis is symbolized

Die Gleichnisse in den ersten sechs Büchern von Virgils Aeneis (diss. Hamburg, 1952); R.A. BROOKS, "Discolor Aura: Reflections on the Golden Bough," *AJP* 74 (1953), 260-80, repr. *Virgil*, 143-63; F.L. NEWTON, "Recurrent Imagery in *Aeneid* IV," *TAPA* 88 (1957); 31-43; B. FENICK, "Parallelism of Theme and Imagery in *Aeneid* II and IV," *AJP* 80 (1959), 1-24; S.G.P. SMALL, "The Arms of Turnus: *Aeneid* 7.783-92," *TAPA* 90 (1959), 243-52; K.J. RECKFORD, "Latent Tragedy in *Aeneid* VII, 1-285," *AJP* 82 (1961) 252-69; B. OTIS, "Virgil and Clio. A consideration of Virgil's relation to History," *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 68-69; J.R. DUNKLE, "Some Historical Symbolism in Book Three of the *Aeneid*," *CW* 62 (1969), 165-66; D. WEST, "Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*," *JRS* 59 (1969), 40-49.

⁵ D. WEST, "Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*," *Philologus* 114 (1970), 262-75; W.R. NETHERCUT, "The Imagery of the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 67 (1971-72), 123-43; A.J. BOYLE, "The Meaning of the *Aeneid*: A Critical Inquiry, Part I. Empire and the Individual: An Examination of the *Aeneid's* Major Theme," *Ramus* 1 (1972), 63-90, and Part II. *Homo Immemor*: Book VI and its Thematic Ramifications," *ibid.*, 113-51; J.R. DUNKLE, "The Hunter and Hunting in the *Aeneid*," *ibid.*, 2 (1973), 127-40; W.J. O'NEAL, "The Form of the Simile in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CB* 53 (1977), 76-79; and C.R. PHILLIPS, III, "Landscape in Vergil's *Aeneid*: Theory and Practice," *Helios* N.S. 6 (1978-79), 63-74.

⁶ R.D. WILLIAMS, *Virgil, Greece & Rome New Surveys in the Classics*, 1 (Oxford, 1967), 34.

⁷ GEORGE, 113-14; J.R.C. MARTYN, "Virgilius Satiricus," *Hunt Studies*, 172: "...Virgil's structural patterns, his themes and sub-themes, his repeated and linking words and ideas, are all part of a highly complex composition, to which one must add his brilliant use of sound-effects and rhythmic variations."

primarily by objects which resemble it in form, being long and upstanding, such as *sticks, umbrellas, poles, trees*, and the like; also by objects which, like the thing symbolized, have the property of penetrating, and consequently of injuring, the body — that is to say, pointed weapons of all sorts: *knives, daggers, lances, sabres;...*⁸ But until well into this century, Vergilian scholarship remained in the hands of eminent Victorians. Even now, there is very little Freudian impact on Roman studies.⁹ Latinists as a breed are modest, not to say inhibited. We have learned our Latin and have come to know its literature from Lewis and Short (1879), based on Freund (1850), or similar lexica; and we have unconsciously absorbed in our own reactions and translations the prejudices of an earlier era. *Amor*, an important concept in the *Aeneid*, may serve as a brief example. Its primary meaning: “*love* (to friends, parents, etc.; and also in a low sense; hence in gen., like *amo*, while *caritas*, like *diligere*, is esteem, regard, etc.; hence *amor* is

⁸ *ID*, 389, 391, 415-16; here, “Symbolism in Dreams,” *ILP* (Riviere), 129-30 or *GIP*, 138; cf. Strachey’s similar translation (1977), 154. P. Rieff, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralizer* (Chicago, 1959; 3rd. ed. 1979), 176-78 is heavily critical: “Freud’s symbolism is too generalized to be convincing.” “..What Freud did, in making every seeable thing at least potentially available as a genital symbol, was to assign sexual analogues to the very nature of perception. Spatial relations provide a stock of analogical criteria so inexhaustible as to make the criteria lose value.” (176-77). “A second main defect of the Freudian symbolic is that, based as it is upon such extremely formal criteria, it passes over all sorts of lacunae and discrepancies with, at best, slight notice.” (177). “Like all quests for hidden meaning, the psychoanalytic quest for universal symbols in our ordinary behavior lends itself to arbitrariness and contradiction.” (178). Written like a true Viennese. See, more profitably, C. RYCROFT, *The Innocence of Dreams* (New York, 1979), 76-79, esp. 78: “It becomes possible to say that the range of things symbolized in dreams embraces all aspects of man’s life-cycle — and that the study of dreams reveals that human beings are more preoccupied with their biological destiny than most of them realize.”

⁹ SEE J. GLENN, “Psychoanalytical Writings on Greek and Latin Authors 1911-1960,” *CW* 66 (1972-73), 142-45; N.O. BROWN, “Rome — A Psychological Study,” in *Psychoanalysis and the Classics*, *Arethusa* 7 (1974), 95-101; R.S. CALDWELL, “Selected Bibliography on Psychoanalysis and Classical Studies,” *ibid.*, 129-30. GLENN, 143 lists two titles on Vergil: A.L. KEITH, “Vergil as a Master of Psychology,” *Psychoanalytic Review* 9 (1922), 436-39, and C. BAUDOUIN, “Esquisse d’une psychanalyse de l’*Enéide*,” *Psyche* 7 (1952), 6-23; see now E. VANCE, “Warfare and the Structure of Thought in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” *QUUC* 15 (1973), 122, n. 13, who notes the similarities between Freud’s division of the ego into *eros* and *thanatos*, and Cicero *De Off.* 1.101, and Vergil’s similar view; B. LEWIS, “The Rape of Troy: Infantile Perspective in Book II of *The Aeneid*,” *Arethusa* 7 (1974), 103-13; and P. KRAGELUND, *Dream and Prediction in the Aeneid. A Semiotic Interpretation of the Dreams of Aeneas and Turnus*, *Opuscula Graecolatina* 7 (1976), 53-59.

See also T.W. AFRICA, “Psychohistory, Ancient History and Freud: The Descent into Avernus,” *Arethusa* 12 (1979), 5-33. Latin studies have simply not produced

used also of brutes, but caritas only of men;..."¹⁰ How can there be love in a "low sense"? It is time to abandon such platitudes, enter the twentieth century before it is over, and attempt to grapple with the *Aeneid* in all its earthy nuance. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968) gives a different range of meanings, a vast improvement: "sexual passion, love", "illicit or homosexual passion", "the object of one's love", "Jone's beloved", "A love affair, amour; sexual intercourse," "Love for one's relations, friends, etc., affection"; "affection of peoples, between nations," with *patria*, etc. "patriotism."¹¹ We shall continue to use the riches of Lewis and Short; but we should be grateful for this kind of directness and precision.

Freud's study of symbols is hardly a modern procedure; indeed, symbols seem to be characteristic of man since his history began. An American psychiatrist has recently written that "*Homo sapiens* is the creature of symbols, a creature who creates and manipulates symbols, whose existence is defined by symbols, and the unique creature who is also simultaneously created by his own symbolic process."¹² And it is our fault if we fail to see this. Alfred Brendel, the great Austrian pianist, conceded this in quite another context: "In an age such as ours which is fascinated by language and linguistics it is easy to forget

anything on the level of C. SEGAL'S "Pentheus and Hippolytus on the Couch and on the Grid: Psychoanalytic and Structuralist Readings of Greek Tragedy," *CW* 72 (1978-79), 129-48. But R. MINADEO, "Sexual Symbolism in Horace's Love Odes," *Latomus* 34 (1975), 392-424 is a step in the right direction. Vespasian was less inhibited, as his allusion to *Il.* 7.213 (Ajax's spear) shows (cf. Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 23.1).

¹⁰ LEWIS and SHORT, 108. Another memorable example, for *colipbium*, 364: "a kind of nourishing food for athletes", giving Martial 7.67. It all depends on one's definition of athletics (cf. 11-17):

ad quos fas sibi tunc putat redire,
cum colophia sedecim comedit.
post haec omnia cum libidinatur,
non fellat (putat hoc parum virile),
sed plane medias vorat puellas,
di mentem tibi dent tuam, Philaeni,
cunnam lingere quae putas virile.

It is unlikely that this is an example of sly Victorian irony. See also Juv. 2.53 for another (erotic) reference given.

¹¹ OLD I, 120 (#1, #2).

¹² H.P. BLUM, "Symbolic Processes and Symbol Transformation," *Int. Journ. Psychoanal.* 59 (1978), 455. See his bibliography, 470-71 for titles on symbols and dreams; see also C.C. MORRISON, *Freud and the Critic: The Early Uses of Depth Psychology in Literary Criticism* (Chapel Hill, 1963); C.L. ROTHGEB, ed. *Abstracts of the Standard Edition of Freud* (Rockville, 1971); C.D. AXELROD, *Studies in Intellectual Breakthrough* (Amherst, 1979), 15-34, and bibliography, 74-77.

that organized thinking is possible without the help of words."¹³ Anyone who would term Freud's work as inappropriate for application to ancient texts would do well to read at least Hippocrates,¹⁴ and Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, whose most recent commentator in English, R.J. White, has written of the study of dreams: "It is also a field with a past; a heritage of considerable richness and complexity. In a sense, Freud, Jung, and others were not so much innovators as restorers, since they were reassigning to dreams and dream-readings the importance that they had held in antiquity, and which they had lost in more recent centuries. Assyrians, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans (to mention only the Mediterranean world) were all profoundly convinced of the significance of man's dreams. Indeed, the gravest personal, political and economic decisions often rested upon their interpretation."¹⁵

¹³ "Furtwängler the Conductor," in D. GILLIS, ed., *Furtwängler* (forthcoming, 1983), 140-41.

¹⁴ SEE J. CHADWICK and W.N. MANN, edd., *The Medical Works of Hippocrates* (Oxford, 1950), "Dreams" Regimen IV, 194-201, esp. 199: "Trees that do not bear fruit indicate destruction of the human semen..." On Hippocrates, see F. KUDLIEN, *Der Beginn des medizinischen Denkens bei den Griechen von Homer bis Hippocrates* (Zürich, 1967), *passim*; W.D. SMITH, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca, 1979), 49-60; E.M. CRAIK, *The Dorian Aegean* (London, 1980), 107-31. On the Hippocratic corpus, see Simon, 215-27, 314-17.

¹⁵ *The Interpretation of Dreams. Oneirocritica by Artemidorus* (Park Ridge, 1975), vii; see bibliography, 248-49. See also R.A. PACK's edition, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V* (Leipzig, 1963); H. BENDER, "Prognose und Symbol bei Artemidor im Lichte der modernen Traumpsycholegie," in F.S. KRAUSS's translation, *Artemidor von Daldis Traumbuch*, ed. M. KAISER (Basle, 1965), 355-69; D. DEL CORNO, *Artemidoro, Il libro di sogni, Bibl. Adelphi*, 62 (Milan, 1975), and his essay "I sogni e la loro interpretazione nell'età dell'impero," *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978), 1605-18; N. LEWIS, *The Interpretation of Dreams and Portents* (Toronto, 1976), 53-75; PACK, "Artemidorian Graeco-Arabica," *TAPA* 106 (1976), 307-12; and D. CLAY, "An Epicurean Interpretation of Dreams," *AJP* 101 (1980), 342-44.

Freud himself, in the Fifth Lecture of *ILP*, wrote: "...throughout the whole of the Hellenistic-Roman period the interpretation of dreams was practised and highly esteemed. Of the literature dealing with the subject the principal work at least has survived: the book by Artemidorus of Daldis, who probably lived during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. How it came about after this that the art of interpreting dreams declined and that dreams fell into discredit I cannot tell you..." (Strachey ed., 86). The revised opening chapter of *ID* reveals his debt to Aristotle, Macrobius, Artemidorus, Hippocrates, and the then modern scholar B. BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, *Traum und Traumdeutung im Alterthume* (Berlin, 1868); cf. Strachey's ed., 36-38 and 130, nn. 1, 2 (added 1914), where he and T. GOMPERZ, *Traumdeutung und Zauberei* (Vienna, 1866) are respectfully acknowledged. Freud also follows Büchschütz's view on Herophilus' classification of dreams; see 165-66, n. 2. The bibliographies for *ID* yield several citations from other ancient authors: Cicero, Herodotus, Josephus, Lucretius, and Plato

Freud had a deeper and finer grasp of the ancient world than most Viennese contemporaries, certainly superior to that of most physicians and laymen anywhere today. He was very much the product of an older Classical education, rigorously drilled in orderly paradigms and the massive memorization of poets. He graduated from the Sperl Gymnasium in Vienna, *summa cum laude*, with a thorough mastery of Latin and Greek. One of the sight passages on his final examinations was from Vergil, another from the *Oedipus Rex*.¹⁶ His interest in Greece and Rome was permanent. Schorske has written in some detail about Freud's ambivalent longing to visit Rome and its eventual fulfillment.¹⁷ In his late sixties Freud wrote that he prized Greek above all other languages.¹⁸ He often quotes ancient authors in his letters and writings; and even his approximate citations, from memory and late in life, place him rather beyond the skills of any Classicist educated in recent decades, in any country. The relentless stripping away of facts or misinformation in order to reveal the truth beneath is the motive force of *Oedipus Rex*; it is a paradigm of psychoanalytical method as well.

But Freud preferred to be likened to Schliemann, who had re-

(cf. Strachey, 669-91 for appropriate references). GALEN, *De praecognitione, ad Epigenem*, and Synesius of Cyrene *Liber de insomniis* (Ger. trans. 1888) are mentioned in the bibliography but not in Freud's text (cf. Strachey, 693, 696). Sceptics of the role of symbolism in antiquity would do well to investigate numerology: see W. BURKERT, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, trans. E.L. Minar Jr., (Cambridge, Ma., 1972), 466-67 and his nn. for sources; also 474-82 ("Greece, too, has its primeval, ritually significant numbers.", 474). For the Neoplatonists' interest in *Zahlenmystik* see IAMBlichus, *Theologomena Arithmeticae*, ed. V. De Falco (Leipzig, 1922), esp. 16 ff. on περί τριάδος. Nor should funerary practice be overlooked: see R. LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962); J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971); M. ALEXIOU, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), esp. 185-205; and E. VERMEULE, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry, Sather Class. Lect.* 46 (1979).

¹⁶ E. JONES, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud 1. 1856-1900. The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries* (New York, 1953), 20. In his short book *An Autobiographical Study* (1925), trans. Strachey (London, 1946), Freud does not discuss his studies in any detail; cf. 13, "At the 'Gymnasium' I was at the top of my class for seven years; I enjoyed special privileges there, and was required to pass scarcely any examinations."

¹⁷ C. SCHORSKE, "Politics and Patricide in Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*," *Am. Hist. Rev.* 78 (1973), 335-39, 344-47, repr. in his *Fin de Siècle Vienna* (New York, 1979), 189-93, 199-207.

¹⁸ E. JONES, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud 2. Years of Maturity 1901-1919* (New York, 1955), 401.

vealed layer upon layer of cities at Troy.¹⁹ He loved collecting Greek, Roman, Etruscan and other artifacts; most of his spare money, in fact, went into them.²⁰ Yet though he possessed a knowledge of antiquity that must by any modern standards be termed exceptional, Freud himself — with a touching modesty — was well aware of his deficiencies, and those of his followers, in the areas of ancient mythology and folklore. He wrote to Jung in 1909 "...we are only wretched dilettantes. We are in urgent need of able helpers."; but he went on happily to announce the arrival of a young Gymnasium teacher of Classics, David Ernst Oppenheim, into his circle in Vienna. "His ideas are similar to ours, but backed up by solid erudition."²¹ Young Oppenheim soon defected to the Adler group, however, and Freud was never able to

¹⁹ P. GAY, "Freud, For the Marble Tablet," an Introduction for E. ENGELMAN, *Berggasse 19, Sigmund Freud's Home and Office, Vienna, 1938* (New York, 1976), 20-21, esp. 21, revised as "Sigmund Freud. A German and his Discontents," in his *Freud, Jews and Other Germans. Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (New York, 1978), 44-46, esp. 45: "...Freud found the comparison of psychoanalysis to archeology apt in a literal sense: to his mind, the scientific excavation of prehistoric remains described psychoanalytic procedures more accurately than any other comparable discipline. Like the archeologist, the psychoanalyst confronts promising but deceptive surfaces, which hint at, but in no way guarantee, strange finds beneath. Like the archeologist, he must take care not to destroy his site with his probes; he must be patient, deft, delicate. Like the archeologist, too, he is a practical scientist guided by theoretical constructs open to revision." See also S. BERNFELD, "Freud and Archaeology," *Am. Im.* 8 (1951), 107-28.

²⁰ JONES, *op. cit.*, n. 18 above, 389-90: "Anything he earned from single consultations he regarded as a bonus and felt justified in reserving it for his favorite hobby — the collecting of antiquities." On his fiftieth birthday in 1906, his followers gave him a medallion designed by Karl Maria Schwerdtner, with his profile on one side and Oedipus answering the sphinx on the other; with Sophocles' line ΟΣ ΤΑ ΚΛΕΙΝ' ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤ' ἩΔΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ ἮΝ ΑΝΗΡ (O.T. 1525). Freud was very pleased. For a photo of it, see W. MCGUIRE, ed. *The Freud/Jung Letters*, trans. R. MANHEIM and R.F.C. HULL, *Bollingen Series*, 44 (Princeton, 1974), Plate IV; cf. letters 45, 48J.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 260 (letter 160F). Not to be confused with the neurologist Oppenheim, a bitter antagonist. For him, see V. BROME, *Freud and his Early Circle* (New York, 1968), 32, 34, 91, 93. Somewhat earlier Freud had cultivated the friendship of Professor Emanuel Löwy, the Roman archaeologist; see C. SCHORSKE, *op. cit.*, n. 17 above (1973), 335-36 or (1979), 189-90. Simon, 45 remarks: "Freud had at most a cursory acquaintance with the classical scholarship of his day" but that he and "the early psychoanalysts testified to the enduring pull of classical antiquity by their readiness to turn to Greek mythology." See also his "Plato and Freud: The Mind in Conflict and the Mind in Dialogue," *Psa. Q.* 42 (1973), 91-122, rev. as c. 10 in *Mind and Madness*, 200-12, 312-14. M. ESSLIN, "Freud's Vienna," in Miller, 46, nevertheless judges accurately: "Only a medical man with a deep classical culture could have produced the synthesis of science and symbolical thought which is psychoanalysis."

replace him. A paper they had written together in 1911 was published as "Dreams in Folklore" in 1958; Oppenheim had died in a concentration camp during the war.²²

When the Nazis invaded Austria in March 1938, Freud found that he must stay. He declared to his disciple Ernest Jones, who was begging him to emigrate at once, that he "could not leave his native land; it would be like a soldier deserting his post."²³ But events moved more swiftly than he expected; dangers increased; and in spite of frail health at 82, he went into exile in London in June. Once there he wrote to his loyal friend and hostess *en route*, Marie Bonaparte: "The one day in your house in Paris restored our good mood and sense of dignity; after being surrounded by love for twelve hours we left proud and rich under the protection of Athene." His biographer Jones adds an explanation: "Athene was a statuette on Freud's desk which Marie Bonaparte had smuggled to Paris and restored to him there."²⁴ Freud's statement was that of an atheist, and not quite literally meant. But at such a difficult and painful time it was a lovely thought, grateful and heartfelt; one that would have pleased and moved any Greek. The murders of his four sisters left behind in Vienna — Rosa, Marie, Adolfine and Paula — in Nazi death camps in 1943, in retrospect underscore the poignancy of this remark, even more than Freud could have guessed. When the war began on September 1, 1939, he calmly watched his family pack up his beloved antiquities for safekeeping from imminent air raids over London. When he died three weeks later, his ashes were placed in one of his favorite Greek urns.²⁵

²² Freud/Jung Letters, 411 (letter 246F), and n. 4 there.

²³ JONES, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud 3. The Last Phase 1919-1939* (New York, 1957), 220.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 227-28. See also the account by Freud's personal physician, M. SCHUR, *Freud: Living and Dying* (New York, 1972), 495-503. On Margarete Wittgenstein's role in Freud's emigration, see A. JANIK and S. TOULMIN, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (New York, 1973), 172-73; for a harrowing personal account of Jewish suffering in Vienna after the *Anschluss*, see H. KELLER, "Vienna, 1938", in *1975 (1984 minus 9)* (London, 1977), 28-48.

²⁵ JONES, *op. cit.*, n. 23 above, 245-46. A modern poetess, JEAN VALENTINE writes in "Love and Work: Freud Dying",

"All his books were there, in his room; and the
rugs over the sofas, / and the small Egyptian
statues, the Greek heads..."

in *The Messenger* (New York, 1979), 57. A large photograph is in E. and L. FREUD, I. GRUBICH-SIMITIS, ed., *Sigmund Freud. His Life in Pictures and Words* (New York, 1978), 322-23. The urn is at the Crematorium, Golder's Green, London.

The antiquities survived the war. Carefully photographed by Edmund Engelman shortly before Freud's emigration, they are accessible to us in his book,²⁶ and reside in Freud's old apartment in Vienna, now a museum, where he had so enjoyed having them around him.

Freud's essential conservatism is only beginning to be understood, perhaps as an unwitting result of the demythologizing of his life and achievement that has become fashionable.²⁷ It is possible that Freud was partly responsible for the controversies that plagued his circle while he lived. In any case the legacy of bitterness in Vienna continues. Though the Thousand Year Reich lasted less than seven after his emigration, it was not until 1969 that his apartment in the Berggasse was converted into a museum, on the initiative of his international admirers. Gay has analyzed this phenomenon well: "There is in Vienna, crisscrossed with streets named after its great, or at least prominent, residents, no Freudgasse. Guidebooks and leaflets advertising the city, though in their accustomed way assiduous in rescuing once-famous Viennese from oblivion, barely mention his name. The public indifference, the latent hostility, are chilling. Freud, the first psychologist to chart the workings of ambivalence, had, in this city he hated but could not leave, abundant materials for the exercise of mixed feelings. Vienna, it seems, has largely repressed Freud."²⁸

It is true that in 1955 the University of Vienna accepted a bust of him from Ernest Jones.²⁹ But as recently as summer 1978 a student

²⁶ Cf. *op. cit.*, n. 19 above, Plates 16, 17, 18, 22, 25, 26.

²⁷ SEE H.F. ELLENBERGER, *Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York, 1970); P. ROAZEN, *Freud and his Followers* (New York, 1975); S. FISHER and R.P. GREENBERG, *The Scientific Credibility of Freud's Theories and Therapy* (New York, 1977); F.J. SULLOWAY, *Freud, Biologist of the Mind. Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend* (New York, 1979); and D.E. STANNARD, *Shrinking History. On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory* (Oxford, 1980). But for a more balanced view, see R.W. CLARK, *Freud, the man and the cause, a biography* (New York, 1980); E. FROMM, *Greatness and Limitations of Freud's Thought* (New York, 1980).

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, n. 19 above (1976), 14 or (1978), 36. See M. FREUD, "Who Was Freud?", in J. FRAENKEL, ed., *The Jews of Austria. Essays on their Life, History and Destruction* (London, 1967), 197-211; F. HEER, "Freud, the Viennese Jew," in MILLER, 1-20; M. EISSLIN, *ibid.* 41-54; and F.V. GRUNFELD, *Prophets Without Honour. A Background to Freud, Kafka, Einstein and Their World* (New York, 1979), 44-45, 51-52, 62-63.

²⁹ JONES, *op. cit.*, n. 23 above, 227. See J. and R. GICKELHORN, *Sigmund Freuds akademische Laufbahn im Lichte der Dokumente* (Vienna, 1960), and I. BAREA's assessment in her *Vienna* (New York, 1966), 303; cf. K.R. EISSLER, *Sigmund Freud und die Wiener Universität* (Vienna, 1966); G. ROSEN, "Freud and Medicine in Vienna," in MILLER, 21-39; SCHORSKE, *op. cit.* n. 17 above (1973), 331-32 and (1979), 184-85, 204, n. 5.

there described to me its teaching of Psychology: "You may be sure that Freud's name is never mentioned." The ostracism of Freud's lifetime, which deeply hurt him, goes on. We cannot attribute it entirely to traditional Austrian antisemitism, though Vienna undoubtedly remains a congenial home for aging Nazis. It is as much a typically neurotic fear of facing up to truths better left repressed.

Equally deplorable is Steiner's 1952 attack on Rapaport's attempt at making sense of dreams in Vergil: "Bei aller Hochachtung für Vergil als Kenner der menschlichen Seele darf man doch nicht zu weit gehen und allzuviel einstmals moderne Psychologie in die Aeneis hineinzudeuten, wie es Rapaport ... tut ...". "Rapaports Beispiel zeigt schlagend, wohin es führen kann, wenn man an eine antike Dichtung « moderne » Gedankengänge heranbringt, ohne die Intentionen des Dichters genügend zu berücksichtigen."³⁰ This will no longer do. Freud himself chose as motto for *The Interpretation of Dreams* Juno's defiant words *flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo* (7.312), adding an explanation in 1925.³¹ Hans Küng, hardly an uncritical observer, has recently summarized the impact of Freud on many fields earlier in this century: "Psychoanalysis was now applied to literature and aesthetics, to mythology, folklore, and educational theory, to prehistory and the history of religion. It was no longer merely a therapeutic procedure, but an instrument of universal enlightenment."³²

If we do not utilize the advances that Freudian studies have made, we deny ourselves a deeper understanding of the *Aeneid* — a work riveted on the struggle of Eros and Death precisely as Freud perceived and defined it. And we remain, perforce, more or less where Sidgwick,

³⁰ H.R. STEINER, *Der Traum in der Aeneis, Noctes Romanae* 5 (1952), 31 n. 5 and 32, n. 1. Cf. A. RAPAPORT, "De insomniis Vergilianis," *Eos* 33 (1930-31), 163-70.

³¹ See ID, 647, n. 1: "this line of Virgil (*Aeneid*, VII, 312) is intended to picture the efforts of the repressed instinctual impulses." For the notion that he borrowed the use of the motto from a socialist essay by Ferdinand Lassalle, see E. SIMON, "Sigmund Freud the Jew," *Leo Baeck Inst. Year Book*, 2 (1957), 301; more recently, M. JOHADA, *Freud and the Dilemmas of Psychology* (New York, 1977), 8. But see Schorske's sensible view, *op. cit.*, n. 17 above (1973), 345 or (1979) 200: "Conversant as he was with the *Aeneid*, Freud needed no Lassalle to discover the lines that graced his title page."

³² *Freud and the Problem of God* (New Haven, 1979), 27. See also J.J. SPECTOR, *The Aesthetics of Freud: A Study in Psychoanalysis and Art* (New York, 1974); S. FISHER and R.P. GREENBERG, ed., *The Scientific Evaluation of Freud's Theories and Therapy. A Book of Readings* (New York, 1978); J.H. SMITH, ed., *The Literary Freud. Mechanisms of Defense and the Poetic Will; Psychiatrics and the Humanities* 4 (1979), esp. H. BLOOM, 9-10, on debts to Ovid (Bloom sees no struggle of Eros and Thanatos in the *Aeneid*); and M. SOLOMON, ed., *Myth, Creativity, Psychoanalysis. Essays in Honor of Harry Slochower* (Detroit, 1979).

and Lewis and Short, had left us a century or so ago. We are free to test the views of Freudianism as H.E. Barnes has elegantly done.³³ But we are not free to ignore them. In the penetrating power of his intellect, the unflinching will to confront the darkest visions of the human mind in order to liberate it, Freud has no rival in our time;³⁴ as, in his different way and in another sphere, that fellow-classicist Karl Marx has none as well.³⁵ To be sure, a high place must be reserved for Jung, whose interest in ancient folklore was aroused early in the century,³⁶ and who in 1930 noted the equivalency of the phallus

³³ See "The Look of the Gorgon," in *The Meddling Gods, four essays on classical themes* (Lincoln, 1974), esp. 16: "Both Freud and Ferenczi identify petrification and erection. Such an equation is dubious, to say the least. When the penis becomes stiff and hard, it is most alive; it is neither dead nor inert."

³⁴ M. JOHADA, *op. cit.*, n. 31 above, 2 notes that by 1975 more than 100,000 works on psychoanalysis had been published. They are listed in A. GRINSTEIN, ed., *The Index to Psychoanalytic Writings* (New York, 1975); see also his *Sigmund Freud's Writings. A Comprehensive Bibliography* (New York, 1977).

³⁵ See G. LICHTHEIM, "Freud and Marx," in Miller, 55-69; G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, "Karl Marx and the History of Classical Antiquity," in *Marxism and the Classics, Arethusa* 8 (1975), 7-41; R.A. PADGUG, "Select Bibliography on Marxism and the Study of Antiquity," *ibid.* 201-10; H. VON STADEN, "Greek Art and Literature in Marx's Aesthetics," *ibid.*, 119-44; and Greco-Roman references in S.K. PADOVER, ed., *The Letters of Karl Marx* (Englewood Cliffs, 1979).

³⁶ See *Freud/Jung Letters*, 263-64 (letter 162J, November 15, 1909); and 335-37 (letter 200J, June 26, 1910). On the bull as Mithras' *alter ego*, "slain by another sexual symbol," a snake, see 336; cf. 359 (letter 215J, October 20, 1910), on a Priapus stele in Verona "with a snake biting the god's penis." A photo is published in his *Symbols of Transformation, Collected Works* 5, 2nd ed., *Bollingen Series*, 20 (Princeton, 1967) as plate LXIb. Plate XL has a snake biting the bull's genitalia as Mithras slays him (the Hedderheim Relief). See also L.A. CAMPBELL, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, *ÉPRO* 11 (1968), 12-28, and S. INSLER, "A New Interpretation of the Bull-Slaying Motif," *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* II (Leiden, 1978), 519-38, esp. 521 ff. and n. 4.

Jung was also fond of quoting Vergil in his letters. Late in his career he used to carve stone inscriptions from Greek and Latin writers, at his home in Bollingen; see L. VAN DER POST, *Jung and the Story of Our Time* (New York, 1975), 252-54, 269. Jung's political image remains clouded by his 1934 attack on Freud in the Nazi-sponsored periodical *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* (quoted by Grunfeld, *op. cit.*, n. 28 above, 58-59) and his editorship of that journal for seven years. Attempts have been made to extricate Jung from this embarrassment, with varying degrees of intelligence and conviction: see A. JAFFÉ, "C.G. Jung and National Socialism," *From the Life and Work of C.G. Jung*, trans. R.F.C. HULL (New York, 1970), 78-98; van der Post, *ibid.*, 194-99; V.W. ODAJNYK, *Jung and Politics. The Political and Social Ideas of C.G. Jung* (New York, 1976), 106-8; B. HANNAH, *Jung. His Life and Work. A Biographical Memoir* (New York, 1976) 214-27; P.J. STERN, *C.G. Jung. The Haunted Prophet* (New York, 1976), 211-21; and V. BROME, *Jung* (New York, 1978), 217-20, 245-47.

and the bull.³⁷ Friedman has offered a succinct description of Jungian analysis: "...myth is the 'dream' of the race, dreams are the private 'myths' of the individual, and poetry which manages to tap these roots of the human psyche is liable to appeal deeply and permanently to all men. The reason for this profound vitality which all sense in the work of men like Dante, Goethe, or Shakespeare is simply that they traffic continually in archetypal symbols and emotions —"³⁸ Vergil, for his *Aeneid*, belongs on this list. He is rarely brought up in sexual contexts. Vangaard's book *Phallós* analyzes Greek and Roman materials but omits him.³⁹ And yet Vergil operates within a very traditional context of eroticism. Wilkinson has recently written of phallic symbols prominent in Athenian life well into the fifth century: "From early times, however, there was one feature of the Greek scene, a feature which persisted into the classical period, that has always struck modern people as incongruous in what was in so many ways a highly civilized culture: the ubiquity of phallic symbols, magic promoters of fertility. Enormous and astonishing ones lined the Sacred Way at Delos, and were carried in Dionysiac processions. The leather ones worn by the actors in Attic Comedy could be, of course, the subject of jokes; but in origin they were serious adjuncts to the rites of Dionysus..."⁴⁰ In 1976 Kerényi had already shed light on the phallic

³⁷ See "Dream-Analysis in its Practical Application," in *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, trans. W.S. DELL and C.F. BAYNES (New York, 1933), 26; repr. in *The Practice of Psychotherapy, Essays on the Psychology of the Transference and Other Subjects*, trans. R.F.C. HULL, *Collected Works* 16, *Bollingen Series* 20 (New York, 1954), 157.

³⁸ See N. FRIEDMAN, "Imagery: From Sensation to Symbol," in W. SHIBLES, ed., *Essays on Metaphor* (Whitewater, 1972), 53. G.P. TOWNEND, "Changing Views of Vergil's Greatness," *CJ* 56 (1960-61), 75-76, has some absorbing comments on the "alarming complexity of Jungian psychology" in R.W. CRUTTWELL's book *Vergil's Mind at Work* (Oxford, 1947; repr. New York, 1969); and LEE, 143-56 has tried to deal with Vergil and Jung. On Jung, see further A. STORR, *c. g. jung* (New York, 1973), and P. HOMANS, *Jung in Context. Modernity and the Making of a Psychology* (Chicago, 1979). A useful introduction is C.L. ROTHGEB and S.M. CLEMENS, edd., *Abstracts of the Collected Works of C.G. Jung* (Rockville, 1978).

³⁹ T. VANGAARD, *Phallós. A Symbol and its History in the Male World* (New York, 1972). With less justification, E.S. RAMAGE barely mentions him in *Urbanitas. Ancient Sophistication and Refinement, Univ. Cincinnati Class. Stud.* 3 (1973).

⁴⁰ L.P. WILKINSON, "Classical Approaches, III. Nudism in Deed & Word," *Encounter* (August, 1978), 19. For these phalli, see J. BOARDMAN and E. LA ROCCA, *Eros in Greece* (New York, 1978), 46-47, and A. MULAS, *Eros in Antiquity* (New York, 1978), 24-25; for phallic reliefs on Delos, see. J. MARCADÉ, *Au Musée de Délos, Étude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde bosse découverte dans l'île, Bibl. Éc. Athènes et Rome*, fasc. 215 (1969), 401-2, and *BCH Suppl.* 1, *Études Déliennes* (Paris,