

in 1894, which may be considered a synthesis of Brücke's and Meynert's systems.²⁶⁵ In the meantime, though, the neurone theory had appeared, and Exner discussed how quantities of excitation could be transferred at the junctions between neurones, where he believed that summations of excitations took place. Exner also assumed that junctions could be changed during the life of the individual, though the simultaneous excitation of two cells. Exner called the processes *Bahnung* (channeling), by which the simultaneous excitation of two cortical cells would open a nerve pathway between themselves and would transfer excitation from one to the other, when either of them was subsequently engaged by excitation. He described the emotion centers, particularly the pain, or displeasure, center. Under the name of instincts, he described associations between ideas and emotion centers. He extensively developed his neurological psychology, giving explanations of perception, judgment, memory, thinking, and other mental processes.

Freud's *Project* of 1895 may be understood as a logical development of the theories of his predecessors, particularly of his masters Brücke, Meynert, and Exner. It is the outcome and legacy of a century of brain mythology. This is probably why Freud abandoned this *Project* as soon as he had completed it. But many of the ideas formulated in the *Project* were to reappear under various new forms in Freud's subsequent psychoanalytic theories.

Freud's Work—III—The Theory of Neuroses

The circumstances that brought Freud to devise a new theory of neuroses belong both to the *zeitgeist* and to specific personal experiences. In shifting from neuro-anatomy to anatomo-clinical neurology, and from there to a dynamic concept of neuroses, Freud followed a contemporary pattern also illustrated by Charcot, Forel, and later by Adolf Meyer. Neuropathology (in that time quite distinct from psychiatry) was beginning to be a fashionable medical specialization. Two personal experiences oriented Freud along this path: his visit to Charcot, and the story of Breuer's patient Anna O. Freud saw the starting point of psychoanalysis in Breuer's experience with Anna O. To this day, the most elementary account of psychoanalysis begins with the story of that young lady "whose numerous hysterical symptoms disappeared one by one, as Breuer was able to make her evoke the specific circumstances that had led to their appearance." The veil of legend surrounding this story has only partially been lifted by objective research.

Ernest Jones has revealed the real name of the patient: Bertha Pappenheim (1860–1936). Her life is known through a brief biographical notice published after her death,²⁶⁶ and a short biography by Dora Edinger.²⁶⁷ Bertha Pappenheim belonged to a distinguished old Jewish family. Her grandfather, Wolf Pappenheim, was a prominent personality

of the Pressburg ghetto, and her father, Siegmund Pappenheim, was a well-to-do merchant in Vienna. Little is known of her childhood and youth. She had received a refined education, spoke English perfectly, and read French and Italian. According to her own account, she led the usual life of a young lady of high Viennese society, doing a great deal of needlework, and outdoor activities, including horseback riding. In the biographical notices of 1936, nothing was said of a nervous illness in her youth. It was reported that after her father's death, she and her mother left Vienna to settle in Frankfurt on the Main, where Bertha gradually became concerned with social work. In the late 1880's she began to display remarkable philanthropic activity. For about twelve years she was the director of a Jewish orphanage in Frankfurt. She traveled in the Balkan countries, the Near East, and Russia, to inquire into prostitution and white slavery. In 1904 she founded the *Jüdischer Frauenbund* (League of Jewish Women), and in 1907 she founded a teaching institution affiliated with that organization. Among her numerous writings are short stories, theatrical pieces on social themes, travel accounts, studies on the condition of Jewish women and on the criminality of Jews. In her late years she recited ancient Jewish religious works into modernized form, and a history of her ancestors with extensive genealogical tables. Toward the end of her life, she was depicted as a deeply religious, strict, and authoritarian person, utterly selfless and devoted to her task, who had retained from her Viennese education a lively sense of humor, a taste for good food, and the love of beauty, and who possessed an impressive collection of embroideries, china, and glassware. She died in March 1936, early enough to escape the fate of a martyr, but late enough to foresee the impending extermination of her people and the destruction of her life work. After the Nazi domination, she was remembered as an almost legendary figure, to the extent that the government of Western Germany honored her memory in 1954, by issuing a postage stamp with her picture.

There is a wide gap between the descriptions of the Jewish philanthropist and pioneer social worker Bertha Pappenheim, and of Breuer's hysterical patient Anna O. Nothing in Bertha Pappenheim's biography would let us guess that she was Anna O., and nothing in Anna O.'s story, either, would let us guess that she was to become known as Bertha Pappenheim. If Jones had not revealed the identity of the two figures, it is likely that no one would have ever discovered it.²⁶⁸ As for the story of Anna O., there are two versions, the one given by Breuer in 1895,²⁶⁹ and the other by Jones in 1953.²⁷⁰

According to Breuer, *Fraülein* Anna O. was an attractive, intelligent young lady, endowed with a strong will and much imagination. She was kind and charitable, but afflicted with a certain emotional instability. She was brought up in a strongly puritanical family, and there was a marked contrast between the refined education she received and the monotonous home life she led. This caused her to escape into daydreams, which she

called her private theater. Her illness, as told by Breuer, goes through four periods:

From July 1880 to December 1880, she cared for her severely ill father and manifested signs of physical weakness. This, Breuer called the period of latent incubation.

From December 1880 to April 1881, there was a period of manifest psychosis. A great variety of symptoms appeared within a short time: paralyses, contractions, ocular disturbances, linguistic disorganization, she spoke a kind of aggrammatical jargon; her personality was split into one normal, conscious, sad person, and one morbid, uncouth, agitated person, who sometimes had hallucinations of black snakes. During that period, Breuer visited her frequently; under hypnosis, she told him her latest daydreams, whereupon she felt relieved. That is what she called her talking cure.

From April to December 1881, her symptoms became markedly worse. The death of her father on April 5 was a severe shock. She recognized no one, except Breuer, who had to feed her for some time, and she spoke nothing but English. She was transferred to a private sanitarium near Vienna, where Breuer visited her every three or four days. Her symptoms now appeared in a regular cycle, and were relieved by Breuer's hypnotic sessions. Instead of telling him her daydreams, she told him her recent hallucinations.

From December 1881 to June 1882 recovery came slowly. The two personalities were now sharply distinct, and Breuer could make her shift from one to the other by showing her an orange. The main feature was that the sick personality lived 365 days earlier than the healthy one. Thanks to the diary her mother had kept, Breuer was able to check that the events she hallucinated had occurred, day by day, exactly one year earlier. Once, under hypnosis, she told Breuer how her difficulty in swallowing water had started after she had seen a dog drinking from her glass. Having told Breuer this, the symptom disappeared. Here started a new kind of treatment: She told Breuer, in reverse chronological order, each appearance of a given symptom with exact dates, until she reached the original manifestation and initial event, and then the symptom disappeared. Breuer eradicated every symptom in this tedious way. Finally, the last symptom was traced back to an incident that occurred while she was nursing her sick father; she had had a hallucination of a black snake, had been upset, and had muttered a prayer in English, the only one that came to her mind. As soon as Anna had recovered that memory, the paralysis left her arm, and she was able to speak German. Anna had decided and announced in advance that she would be cured by the end of June 1882, in time for her summer vacation. Then, according to Breuer, she left Vienna for a trip, but it took her some time to recover her full equilibrium.

The current accounts of Anna O.'s illness do not emphasize the unusual features of this story. First, was the coexistence of one personality living in the present and one living 365 days earlier. Second, the fact that each of the symptoms allegedly appeared immediately after the traumatic event, without any period of incubation. Third, that the symptoms could be made

to disappear. However, it is absolutely not so (as the current accounts would have it) that "it sufficed to recall the circumstances under which the symptoms had appeared the first time." Anna had to recall each instance when the symptom had appeared, whatever the number, in the exact reverse chronological order. These features make Anna O.'s story a unique case of which no other instance is known, either before or after her.

In a seminar given in Zurich in 1925, Jung revealed that Freud had told him that the patient had actually not been cured.²⁷¹ In 1953 Jones published a version of the story that differs notably from that given by Breuer. According to it, Freud had told Jones that at the time of the alleged termination of the disease, the patient was far from cured, and was in the throes of hysterical childbirth after a phantom pregnancy, that Breuer had hypnotized her and then left the house in a cold sweat, whereupon he left for Venice to spend a second honeymoon, which resulted in the conception of a daughter, Dora. The patient Anna O. was admitted to an institution in Gross Enzersdorf, where she remained ill for several years. Jones' version indicates that Breuer had been fooled by the patient, and that the supposed "prototype of a cathartic cure" was not a cure at all.

Comparing Bertha Pappenheim's biography with the two versions of the story of Anna O., one notes that, in the former, Bertha left Vienna for Frankfurt in 1881, whereas Anna remained in the Viennese sanitarium until June 1882 according to Breuer, and much longer according to Jones.²⁷² A still stranger fact is that the photograph of Bertha (the original of which the author has seen) bears the date 1882 embossed by the photographer and shows a healthy-looking, sporting woman in a riding habit, in sharp contrast to Breuer's portrait of a home-bound young lady who had no outlet for her physical and mental energies.

In regard to Breuer's version, it must be remembered that at that time psychiatrists went to great length and took great trouble to disguise the identity of their patients when they published their histories, altering the names, places, professions, and sometimes the dates.²⁷³ Breuer's case history is obviously a reconstruction from memory, written thirteen or fourteen years later, as he himself said, "from incomplete notes," and published half-heartedly, to please Freud.

As for Jones' version, it is fraught with impossibilities. First, Breuer's last child Dora was born on March 11, 1882 (as evidenced by the *Heimat-Rolle* in Vienna), and thus could not possibly have been conceived after the supposed terminal incident of June 1882.²⁷⁴ Second, there was never a sanitarium in Gross Enzersdorf; Mr Schramm, who wrote a history of the locality, told the author that it must have been confused with Inzersdorf, where there was a fashionable sanitarium. Upon inquiry, the author learned that it had been closed, whereupon its medical archives were transferred to the Vienna Psychiatric Hospital. No case history, however, of Bertha Pappenheim could be found there.²⁷⁵ Jones' version,

published more than seventy years after the event, is based on hearsay, and should be considered with caution.²⁷⁶

Returning to Breuer's story of Anna O., it is clear that it radically differs from other cases of hysteria at that time, but is analogous to the great exemplary cases of magnetic illness in the first half of the nineteenth century, like those of Katharina Emmerich, Friederike Hauffe, or Estelle L'Hardy.²⁷⁷ Anna O.'s hallucinations about what had happened to her, day after day, exactly one year previously, could be compared to Katharina's nightly visions that coincided exactly with the Church calendar. Anna O.'s recollections of every occurrence of each of her symptoms, with the exact dates, will remind one of the prodigious mnemonic feats of the Seeress of Prevorst. Breuer and his patient played a close game, as Despine and Estelle had done in the past, though Breuer was less successful than Despine. To the older magnetizers, Anna O.'s story would not have seemed as extraordinary as it did to Breuer. It was one of those cases, so frequent in the 1820's, yet so scarce in the 1880's, in which the patient dictated to the physician the therapeutic devices he had to use, prophesied the course of the illness, and announced its terminal date. But in 1880, when authoritarian use of hypnosis had supplanted the former bargaining therapy, a story such as that of Anna O. could no longer be understood. Juan Dalma²⁷⁸ has shown the connection between Anna O.'s cure and the widespread interest in catharsis that followed the publication, in 1880, of a book on the Aristotelian concept of catharsis by Jacob Bernays²⁷⁹ (the uncle of Freud's future wife). For a time catharsis was one of the most discussed subjects among scholars and was the current topic of conversation in Viennese salons.²⁸⁰ No wonder a young lady of high society adopted it as a device for a self-directed cure, but it is ironic that Anna O.'s unsuccessful treatment should have become, for posterity, the prototype of a cathartic cure.

The second personal experience that oriented Freud toward his new theory of neuroses was his visit to Charcot, where he saw the latter's demonstrations of traumatic paralyses, and their reproduction under hypnosis. The common opinion today is that these experiments with hysterical patients had no scientific value, because with such suggestible and mythomaniac subjects anyone could have demonstrated anything. Nevertheless, together with Anna O.'s story, they were the incentive for the creation of Freud's psychoanalysis.

The development of Freud's new theory of neuroses, from 1886 to 1896, may be followed through his publications and his letters to Fliess.²⁸¹

In 1886 and 1887, Freud was filled with respect for Charcot, showed himself as his zealous disciple, and presented the master's theories such as he understood them. In 1888 a medical encyclopedia published an unsigned article on hysteria, almost certainly written by Freud.²⁸² The

author mentioned Charcot's theory, although he merely questioned the cerebral localization of hysteria and mentioned Breuer's therapeutic method.

In July 1889 Freud, who had just translated one of Bernheim's textbooks, went to visit him and Liébeault in Nancy, and thereupon went to the International Congress of Psychology in Paris. It is likely that he saw Janet there, although there is no record of their meeting. Whether Freud already knew Janet or not, he could not have failed to become acquainted with *Psychological Automatism*, with its story of Marie and her cathartic cure. At about the same time Freud tried a similar therapeutic method with his patient, Emmy von N.²⁸³ As usual in such cases, Freud altered many facts to protect his patient, whose true identity was later discovered by Ola Andersson.²⁸⁴ Freud's account gives the impression that the treatment took place in one period before he went to Paris, but Andersson's findings indicate that the treatment actually occurred in two periods, before and after Freud's journey. Leibbrand assumes that interest in Anna O.'s case was revived by the publication of Janet's book; this would explain why Freud waited from 1882 to 1889 to apply the same method.²⁸⁵ In fact, the chronology of the case of Emmy von N. is so obscure²⁸⁶ that no conclusion can be drawn from the extant data.²⁸⁷ This story shows Freud's first attempt to work with Breuer's method, differing from that method by having the patient recall under hypnosis only the initial traumatic event and that once the event had been recalled, the doctor had to suggest that the symptom disappear. This procedure was thus identical with that inaugurated by Janet in 1886.

In 1892 and 1893, Freud seemed to oscillate between the Nancy School, his old allegiance to Charcot, and the adoption of Breuer's cathartic method. In a lecture given on April 27, 1892, to the Viennese Medical Club, Freud openly espoused Bernheim's concept of hypnosis, recommended its application, and advised physicians to go to Nancy to learn it.²⁸⁸ In 1893, Freud published the story of a woman who was prevented from breast feeding her child because of various hysterical symptoms; two sessions of hypnotic suggestions sufficed to remove all the symptoms, and the same happened after the birth of another child a year later.²⁸⁹ There was no question here of catharsis. It was a cure in Bernheim's style. On May 24, 1893, before the Viennese Medical Club, Freud gave a lecture on hysterical paralyses,²⁹⁰ which he wrote in French for Charcot's *Archives de Neurologie*.²⁹¹ Here he referred constantly to Charcot, giving only a slight modification of his theory (instead of dynamic lesion of motor brain centers, he assumed that the representation of the arm was dissociated from other representations). Referring to Janet, Freud emphasized that hysterical paralyses do not correspond to the distribution of nerves, as if hysteria knew nothing of anatomy. But four months earlier, on January 11, 1893, Freud had already

disclosed to the same audience the new theory of hysteria on which he was working with Breuer.²⁹² This was the basis for the "Preliminary Communication" that many consider the first stone in the construction of psychoanalysis.

The authors extended Charcot's concept of traumatic hysteria to hysteria in general. Hysterical symptoms, they said, are related, sometimes clearly, sometimes in symbolic disguise, to a determined psychic trauma. This trauma may have occurred during a state of slight auto-hypnosis, or its painful character caused it to be excluded from consciousness. In both cases it was not followed by sufficient reaction (for instance cries, or acts of vengeance), and it disappeared from consciousness. Under hypnosis, however, the memory of the trauma is as vivid as was the actual event. Psychotherapy cures the hysterical symptoms (though not the hysterical predisposition) by bringing the trauma to consciousness and discharging it through affect, words, or corrective association. This theory may be considered a combination of Benedikt's concept of the pathogenic secret and Janet's therapy of bringing "subconscious fixed ideas" back into consciousness. In regard to Janet, the authors recalled in a footnote his case of a hysterical young woman who had been cured "through the application of a procedure analogous to our own." Another footnote said that "the closest approach to our theoretic and therapeutic statements we did find in the occasionally published remarks of Benedikt, with which we will deal in another place." [There was, however, no further reference to Benedikt.]²⁹³

The Breuer-Freud paper aroused much interest and was favorably reviewed in several neurological journals.²⁹⁴

In the same year Freud wrote a eulogy of Charcot, crediting him with a theory of hysteria that in fact belonged to his predecessors, and added a respectful criticism.²⁹⁵ He wondered what Charcot would have found if he had taken the discharge of strong emotion during hysterical attacks as his starting point. He could have looked for trauma in the patient's life history, of which the latter was not aware. This would have explained these emotions. Strangely enough, this was not very far from Charcot's theory of the *grande hystérie*, as could be found in the thesis of his disciple Richer.²⁹⁶

In 1894 something definitely new emerged in Freud's writing, the concept of defense (*Abwehr*).²⁹⁷ This term came from Meynert, who distinguished two basic attitudes of the organism, attack and defense, which were reflected in the themes of delusional ideas. Freud gave the word "defense" the meaning of "forgetting" painful memories or ideas, and emphasized four points. Not the trauma in itself is pathogenic, but its representation or idea; the defense is directed against sexual ideas; the defense is a common feature in neuroses and was found in one case of psychosis; the degeneration theory is denied.

In 1895, Freud published a contribution on anxiety neurosis, that is, on patients who suffered constantly from diffuse anxiety and had acute attacks of anguish, without knowing the cause.²⁹⁸ This neurosis had already been described by Hecker²⁹⁹ as a subform of neurasthenia, by Krishaaber³⁰⁰ as a specific entity, and by Kowalewsky³⁰¹ as a toxication of the organism following consecutive stimulation and exhaustion of certain brain centers. The assumption that sexual frustration caused anxiety symptoms was then already fairly widespread, and Freud's innovation was the linking of a specific form of anxiety neurosis with an etiological theory of sexual frustration.

The year 1895 also saw the publication of Breuer's and Freud's *Studies in Hysteria*.³⁰² The "Preliminary Communication" was reprinted. Then came a reconstruction by Breuer of the case of Anna O., given as a prototype of a cathartic cure, and four of Freud's case histories, the first of which was Emmy von N. (Freud's first cathartic treatment of 1889), followed by the stories of Lucie R., Katharina, and Elisabeth von R. (all three during the latter part of 1892). The book closed with a chapter on the theory of hysteria by Breuer, and another by Freud on its psychotherapy. Freud now openly stated his divergences with Breuer; he saw only one possible origin of hysteria: through the *Abwehr*. In the story of Elisabeth von R. he described the new method of "free association," which had been suggested to him by the patient herself. Freud's four case histories are strongly reminiscent of those of Benedikt. Janet's influence was still apparent in Freud's use of the terms "psychological analysis" and "psychological misery."

At the beginning of 1896, Freud sketched his new classification of neuroses.³⁰³ He still invoked the great name of Charcot, but emphasized his divergence from Janet. Thus, Freud no longer spoke of psychological analysis, but called his own method psychoanalysis. Neuroses were divided into actual neuroses, whose source was in the present sexual life of the patient, and psychoneuroses, whose sources were in his past sexual life. Actual neuroses were subdivided into neurasthenia, whose specific origin was masturbation, and anxiety neurosis, whose specific origin was frustrated sexual stimulation, particularly in the form of coitus interruptus. Psychoneuroses were subdivided into hysteria and obsessions. The specific cause of hysteria was sexual abuse by an adult, passively suffered in childhood. Such trauma often made little apparent impression, and may have seemed to be forgotten until puberty, when a slight cause revived the earlier impression, and acted as an actual trauma. The specific etiology of obsessive neuroses was the same as that of hysteria, with the difference that the child's role was more active, that he felt pleasure. Obsessive ideas were merely self-reproach in modified form. In this way Freud explained the prevalence of hysteria in women and of obsessions in men.

In the same year Freud's paper "On the Etiology of Hysteria" marked a point of achievement in the theory of hysteria on which he had worked for ten years.³⁰⁴ The cornerstone of his theory remained Breuer's assumption that hysteria is determined by traumatic experiences whose memory unconsciously reappears in a symbolic way in the symptoms of the illness,³⁰⁵ and which can be cured by recalling the memory into consciousness.³⁰⁶ Building on this, Freud now states that things are considerably more complex.

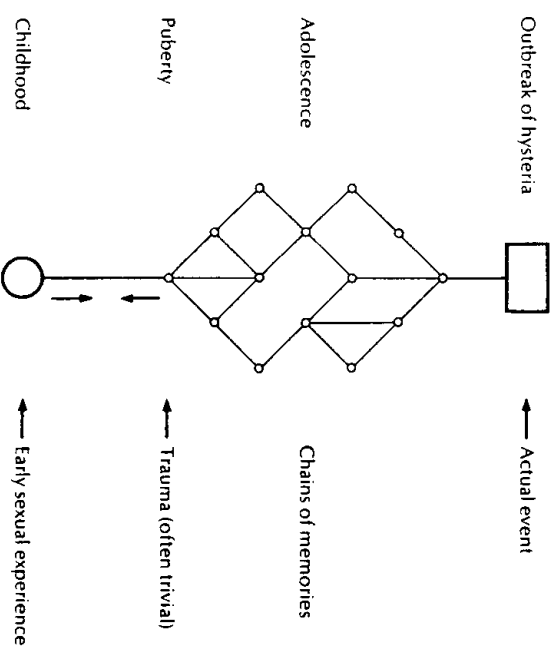
The trauma must have both determining quality (a logical connection between cause and effect), and traumatic power (it must be able to cause an intense reaction). The difficulty was that in the search for trauma, one often found events either unrelated to the symptoms, or harmless. The difficulty could be explained with Breuer's idea that the trauma occurred during a hypnoid state, but Freud rejected this theory and assumed that the themes recorded by the patient were only links in a series, and that behind them were more formal, elemental trauma. Actually, Freud said, as chains of memories were revealed, they diverged and converged in nodal points, finally arriving at events of a sexual nature in puberty. Here, a new difficulty arose, because these pubertal events were often of a rather trivial character, hardly justifying their giving rise to hysteria. Then Freud assumed that the pubertal events were only precipitating causes that revived unconscious memories of much earlier trauma in childhood, which were always of a sexual nature. In eighteen fully analyzed cases, Freud said that he had found that the patient had been the victim of a seduction by an adult of his immediate environment, often followed by a sexual experience with children of the same age. These experiences, Freud added, had at the moment left no apparent impression; the traumatic effect was revived by trivial events in puberty, though the childhood experience remained lost to memory.

Freud proclaimed this theory as a great discovery, which he compared to that of "the source of the Nile in neuro-pathology". In contrast with the "Preliminary Communication" of 1893, he now contended to be able to cure not only the symptoms of hysteria, but hysteria itself. Actually, only a year passed before Freud, as seen in a letter to Fliess, had to admit that he had been misled by his patients' fantasies.³⁰⁷ This was a decisive turning point in psychoanalysis: Freud found that in the unconscious it is impossible to distinguish fantasies from memories, and from that time on he was not so much concerned with the reconstruction of events from the past through the uncovering of suppressed memories, than with the exploration of fantasies.

The sources of Freud's new theory of hysteria are manifold. First were Breuer's theory of hysteria deduced from the misunderstood case of Anna O., Charcot's and Richer's concepts of the *grande hystérie*, and

Charcot's experiments with his Salpêtrière patients. Second was Janet, who had explained, particularly in the case of Marcelle in 1891, that in the exploration and treatment of hysterical patients one had to retrace a chain of unconscious fixed ideas. Third was Herbart's associationistic psychology. Lindner's textbook, which Freud had used at the Gymnasium, explained how chains of associations could diverge and converge in nodal points. Fourth was Benedikt's emphasis on the extreme importance of fantasy life in the normal and the neurotic, and the frequency of early sexual trauma in hysteria. Fifth was a current interest in childhood sexuality (in that regard Freud quoted a paper of Stekel). In 1894, Dallenbague had contended that many sexual deviations in adolescence resulted from childhood sexual experiences, which had been revived in puberty. What belonged to Freud was the particular emphasis on the role of defense (*Abwehr*), and the confidence with which he synthesized these elements into a general theory of hysteria.

In view of its great importance, we will show here a graphic representation of that model. (The diagram is the author's, not Freud's, but follows his thought as accurately as possible.)



Freud's Work—IV—Depth Psychology

It might have seemed, in 1896, that Freud had now reached his goal of building a new theory of neuroses, explaining every detail of their

symptoms and origins. This theory was seen by some, such as Kraft-Ebing, with benevolent scepticism, by others such as Löwentfeld with interest, but in the literature of that time no expression of hostility is to be found. For Freud, however, this was just the starting point for the creation of what came to be called depth psychology.³⁰⁸ Depth psychology claimed to furnish a key to the exploration of the unconscious mind, and through this a renewed knowledge of the conscious mind, with wider application to the understanding of literature, art, religion, and culture.

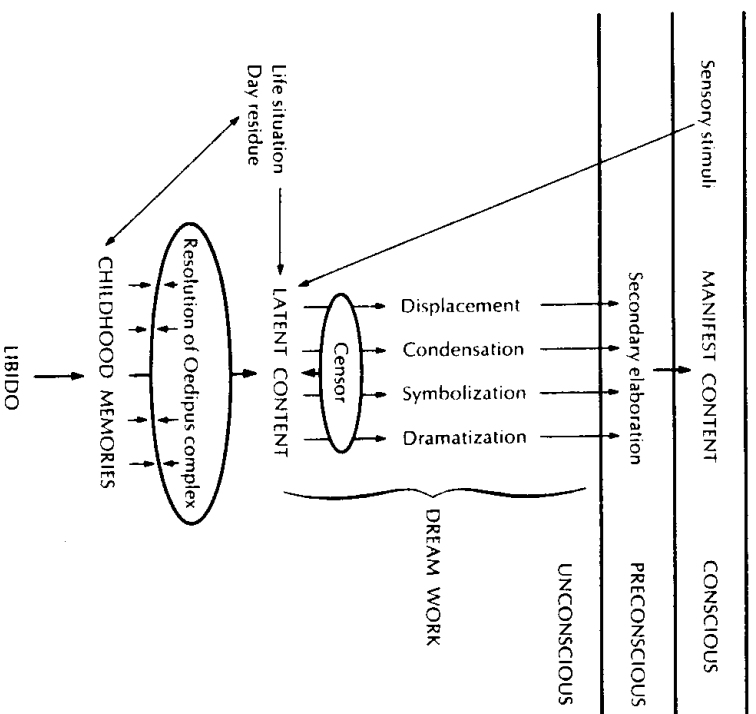
The first dynamic psychiatry had been, in the main, the systematization of observations made on hypnotized patients. With Freud's method of free association, a new approach was introduced. The patient relaxed on a couch, and was told the basic rule, to tell whatever came to his mind, no matter how futile, absurd, embarrassing, or even offensive it seemed. In trying to do so, the patient felt moments of inhibition and other inner difficulties, which Freud termed "resistance." As the sessions went on from day to day, the patient began to manifest irrational feelings of love or hostility toward the therapist; Freud called them "transference."

Actually, both "resistance" and "transference" had been known to magnetizers and hypnotists. The hypnotists knew that their subjects often showed resistance to falling into a hypnotic sleep, and that once hypnotized, they resisted certain commands, or they would perform suggested acts in a distorted or incomplete way. Forel had described how, when recalling forgotten events, under hypnosis, the procedure became increasingly difficult the closer he came to the critical points that were painful to the patient.³⁰⁹ As to transference, it was a reincarnation of what had been known for a century as rapport and which Janet had recently brought back into focus as somnambulic influence.³¹⁰ Freud's innovation lay not in introducing the notions of resistance and transference, but in the idea of analyzing them as a basic tool of therapy.

Depth psychology can be understood as the combined findings from Freud's self-analysis and the analysis of his patients. In his mind the findings confirmed each other and confirmed much of the theory of neurosis and the model of the mind he had previously formulated.

The main aspects of depth psychology were Freud's dream theory and his theory of parapraxes, the first two generalizations of the pattern he had worked out for hysteria. These theories were elaborated simultaneously and presented in two of his best-known books: *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in 1900, and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* in 1904.

Freud's theory of dreams has been told so often that it has become common knowledge. Viewed in the line of development of psychoanalysis, it follows almost the same pattern as his theory of hysteria in 1896. This becomes obvious if the dream theory is also represented graphically, and the graphs of the two compared.



At the top of the graph we have the manifest content, that is, the dream itself, insofar as we are able to remember it. Experimental psychologists tried to connect this manifest content with the actual sensory or motor stimulations occurring during sleep. Freud considered their roles as minor. He viewed as the main point the relationship between the manifest content and the latent content, a relationship similar to that which he had found in his patients between the hysterical symptom and the pathogenic memories. To detect them and distinguish one from the other he used the same method, that is, free association. Between the hysterical symptom and the pathogenic memory extended a network of diverging and converging associations. In the same way, between the manifest content and the latent content, Freud described the dream work with its mechanism of displacement and condensation, in which the process of symbolization also occurred. As the hysterical symptom expressed the trauma in symbolic form, in the dream the latent content also tends to express itself in dream symbols. Why does the dream work transform the latent into the manifest? Because just as there is a dynamic conflict between the trauma and the hysterical symptom, there is

a dynamic factor, the censor striving to keep down the latent content in the unconscious. The censor does not permit latent content to find expression in the dream unless it is modified by means of displacement, condensation, and symbolization.

But Freud's theory of the dream, as well as his hysteria theory, was an edifice having two stories. The upper story was the dream itself with its latent and manifest contents. In the latent content, Freud finds as one constant element the *day residue*, that is, some more or less insignificant event of the day preceding the dream. And just as he connected a pubertal trauma with an early forgotten sexual experience, Freud also found a connection between the day residue and childhood memories. Among the many trivial events of the day, the dream chooses the one that shows some relationship to a childhood memory, and as Freud puts it, the dream stands with one foot in the present and one foot in childhood. Thus one is led from the latent content still farther back to a childhood memory expressing an unfulfilled wish of that remote time. Here Freud introduced the notion he had found in his self-analysis and in his patients, the *Oedipus complex*: the little boy wants to possess his mother, wishes to get rid of his father, but is frightened of this threatening rival and of castration as a punishment for his incestuous feelings toward the mother. Such is, Freud says, the terrible secret that every man keeps in the recesses of his heart, repressed and forgotten, and which appears in a veiled form in a dream every night.

To complete the picture, we should add the secondary elaboration, that is, the changes occurring in the manifest content when the dreamer is awakening. We should compare it to the editing done by certain journals to articles sent by authors; the article may acquire a more organized and pleasant form, while the author may find that much of what he actually meant has been lost or distorted.

Freud considered as his major discovery that the dream is a fulfillment of a wish, or, to put it more accurately, the vicarious fulfillment of a repressed, unacceptable sexual wish, and this is why the censor must intervene, to keep it down or to allow its appearance only in disguised form. Freud also defined the dream as the guardian of sleep: feelings that might awaken the dreamer are disguised in such a way that they do not disturb him. Should this mechanism fail, the dreamer has a nightmare and awakens. The dream is also, Freud says, a process of regression that manifests itself simultaneously in three fashions: as topical regression from the conscious to the unconscious, as temporal regression from the present time to childhood, and as form regression from the level of language to that of pictorial and symbolic representations.

The sources of Freud's dream theory are numerous. To begin with, Freud was a good dreamer, who remembered his dreams and had years earlier kept a record of them for some time. The dream of Irma's injection (June 24, 1896) furnished him with a prototype of dream analysis and the

notion that the essence of dreams is wish fulfillment. Like those great dream students of the past, Scherner, Maury, and Hervey de Saint-Denis, Freud used much intimate experience reflected in his dreams to nourish his book. To be sure, Hervey de Saint-Denis revealed more of his amorous life, but Freud more of his childhood, his family, and his ambitions.

The second source was Freud's inquiry into the vast dream literature of the nineteenth century.³¹¹ His complaints to Fliess about the futility of that literature should not be taken too literally, since he drew heavily on it. However, he was unable to find a copy of Hervey de Saint-Denis' book, and he apparently knew Scherner's work only through accounts given by Volkelt, so that he underestimated Scherner's originality.³¹² It was Scherner who maintained that dreams can be interpreted scientifically according to rules inherent to their nature, and that certain dream symbols have general value. Among others were sexual symbols, which were much the same as those later described by Freud.³¹³ The mechanism of displacement and condensation had been described under other names by many authors. The term "dream work" (*Traumarbeit*) was used by Robert. Much of Freud's theory can be found in Maury, Strimpell, Volkelt, and particularly Delage. Delage propounded a concept of dynamic energy, implying that the representations loaded with psychic energy repress or inhibit each other, or can fuse together, that there are in dreams chains of associations that can sometimes be partially reconstructed, and that old memories can be called forth from dreams through association with recent images.

Freud's originality resides in four innovations. The first is his model of the dream with its distinction of manifest and latent content and its specific pattern of being lived simultaneously in the present and the remote past. The second is Freud's contention that the manifest content is a distortion of the latent content, resulting from repression by the censor. To be sure Popper-Lynkeus had recently expressed the idea that the absurdity and senselessness of dreams derived from something unchaste and hidden in the dreamer.³¹⁴ But Freud certainly did not draw his theory from him.³¹⁵

Freud's third innovation was the application of the free association as a method for the analysis of dreams, and the fourth was the introduction of systematic dream interpretation as a tool of psychotherapy.

Curiously enough, Freud attributed to Liébeault the idea that the dream is the guardian of sleep, whereas nothing of the kind can be found in Liébeault's works.³¹⁶ In later editions, Freud gave further examples of dreams and enlarged the section devoted to dream symbols, partly under the influence of Abraham, Ferenzi, Rank, and Stekel. Freud also incorporated the findings of Silberer about dramatization in hypnagogic dreams. He treated specific types of dreams in more detail, such as those of passing examinations, of being without clothes, or of the death of loved ones.

After the theory of hysteria and the theory of dreams, Freud's third great contribution to depth psychology was his "Psychology of Everyday

Life," which was also worked out by him during and from his self-analysis. It was published serially in a psychiatric journal, from 1898 to 1903,³¹⁷ and the greatest part of it appeared in book form in 1904.³¹⁸

In the first contribution of 1898, Freud dealt with the situation of the person who suddenly forgets a name, cannot recall it in spite of his efforts, and would recognize it at once if he heard it. Making efforts to find the forgotten name only brings other words to mind. Freud found that these other words do not come at random, that they form chains of associations that diverge and converge in nodal points, and that these associations pertain to repressed material. Forgetting is thus the outcome of a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious, rather than merely the result of the weakening of the representation.

In 1899 Freud's paper on "Screen Memories" (*Deckerinnerungen*) appeared. Among our oldest memories, some are seemingly insignificant though remarkably vivid. Freud distinguished two kinds of screen memories. In the simpler type the preserved memory is but a part of a more significant whole, which has been repressed. For instance, a man had a memory dating from his fourth year: the picture of a table with a basin full of ice; this was linked to an upsetting event, the death of his grandmother, and only this fragmentary picture had not been submerged by repression. In the more complex type the memory, as it appears to the individual, is a construction in which a certain event of early childhood has been combined with a repressed event of adolescence. The earlier memory is not necessarily untrue, but it is a harmless substitute for the memory of a later, unacceptable, representation. As an example, Freud told of an analysis of the screen memory of a supposed patient, which Siegfried Bernfeld has convincingly shown to be a slightly modified autobiographical account.

The narrator tells how, when he was three years old, his family was obliged to move from a happy life in the country to a harder life in the city. He remembered playing, at the age of two and a half, in a meadow full of dandelions, with a boy and a girl cousin of his own age. He and the boy cousin snatched from the girl the bunch of dandelions picked by her, and she was given a piece of black bread by a peasant woman as a consolation. The boys too received pieces of the delicious bread. This memory occurred to the narrator after he had, at the age of seventeen, visited his town of birth and become enamored of a girl of fifteen in a yellow dress. When he was twenty, the narrator visited a well-to-do uncle and again met the girl cousin of the early memory; the two young people failed to fall in love and marry as their elders wished them to, a plan that would have ensured the narrator's economic security. The meaning of the screen memory was thus to offer an innocent childish "deffloration" as a substitute for the adolescent wish; and of the yearning to taste the bread of economic security. From this example one sees that the relationship between the more recent event of youth

and the early childhood memory is similar to the relationship between the "day residue" and the childhood events in Freud's dream theory.³¹⁹

The bulk of the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* consists of further articles on slips of the tongue, of the pen, and other acts that have been grouped under the name of parapraxes. Although the source of these studies resides primarily in Freud's self-analysis and the observations made on his patients, the field was not quite new. Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann had already pointed out such facts as manifestations of the unconscious.³²⁰ Goethe, who used to dictate his work, once analyzed the errors made by his secretaries.³²¹ He found that some errors were his own, some were due to the secretary's unfamiliarity with difficult or foreign words, but others came from the emotional state of the secretary, who, for instance, thought he heard the name of the person he loved and wrote it in the place of what had actually been said. In Freud's time psychology had begun to investigate the problem. In 1895 Meringer and Mayer had published a study on the slips of the tongue, but they were more concerned with pronunciation than with meanings.³²² Several other sources were closer to Freud's approach: one was the studies of Hanns Gross, the celebrated criminalist of Graz and founder of judicial psychology.³²³ In the 1880's Gross systematically searched the testimony of witnesses and accused persons for meaningful slips of the tongue and kindred manifestations, and published relevant observations in his articles and textbooks. Gross told of a man who substituted for a genuine witness in order to give false testimony, first verbally and then in writing, and who betrayed himself at the very last moment by inadvertently signing his real name under his false testimony. Gross found that false witnesses invariably betrayed themselves, even if by only one word, and also by their attitude, mien, or gestures. There also was a humorous novel by Theodor Vischer in which he created and made popular the term "the malice of objects" (*Tücke des Objekts*) to describe the misadventures that continually happened to some people, as if some little demon controlled the objects, hiding or substituting them.³²⁴

The notion of parapraxes, if not their theory, was well known to some of Freud's contemporaries. Karl Kraus, in his journal *Die Fackel*, used to collect amusing misprints that showed that the typographer had guessed and involuntarily betrayed the true thought of the writer. Some writers currently used parapraxes as a device that was so obvious that it was not necessary to explain it to the reader.

In his *Journey to the Center of the Earth*,³²⁵ Jules Verne depicted an old German professor trying to decipher a cryptogram with the help of his nephew, who is secretly in love with the professor's daughter Gräuben. The young man believes

to have found the key, and to his amazement it gives him these words: "I am in love with Gräuben." In *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea*³²⁶ the same author tells how Professor Artonax seeks for giant pearls at the bottom of the sea. He omits to inform his companions that the place is infested by sharks, but when he tells them about a giant oyster, he says it contains "no less than one hundred and fifty sharks." Seeing his companions' surprise he promptly exclaims, "Did I say sharks? I mean one-hundred-and-fifty pearls! Sharks would have no meaning."

The *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* was well received, frequently reedited, enlarged, and translated into many languages, and psychoanalysis began publishing their own collections of parapraxes.³²⁷

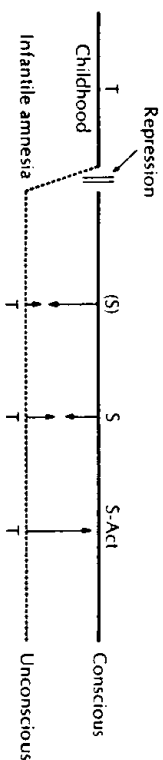
Freud's fourth great contribution to depth psychology was his book *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, a topic on which he had started to work in 1897.³²⁸ Many theories had arisen about the psychology of jokes, the comic, and of humor. Freud had been stimulated by Theodor Lipps' book *Komik und Humor*, but his true starting point was his observation of certain similarities between the mechanisms of jokes and of dreams.³²⁹

Freud distinguished in jokes a certain technique and a certain tendency (in other words, an element of form and one of content). He found techniques of condensation, displacement, expression of an idea by the contrary, and so on, similar to those of the dream work. In regard to the tendencies, Freud distinguished harmless jokes, whose pleasure came only from the technique, and the tendentious, whose main springs were either aggressiveness or obscenity, or both. Obscene jokes imply the presence of at least three persons, the joker, the subject, and a spectator. They mentally express the desire to strip or seduce. Jokes are enjoyed both because of the tendencies and the techniques. The tendentious jokes also help us to tolerate repressed needs by allowing a socially acceptable way of giving vent to them. The two main differences Freud found between dreams and jokes were that dreams express wish fulfillment and jokes satisfy the pleasure of play; dreams are a regression from the level of language to thinking in pictures, but in jokes the regression is from logical language to play language (the ludic function of language in which young children find so much pleasure).

Freud's book on jokes is one of the least read of his works. It is full of amusing but untranslatable puns and implies the reader's knowledge of the German classics such as Heine and Lichtenberg. Its "Jewish stories" were funnier to readers of that time than to readers of today. It is the work of a man who immensely enjoyed topical anecdotes and wit, but much of it would need a commentary today. To a greater degree than *The Interpretation of Dreams* this book reflects contemporary Viennese life. With this work Freud erected a little memorial to the spirit of the Vienna of the Dual Monarchy.³³⁰

We have so far summarized depth psychology's assumptions regarding

hysteria, dreams, parapraxes, and jokes; now we will try to define the two common models that lie under these assumptions. The one is simple, the other more complex.



The simple model can be expressed graphically by two lines running parallel, the upper is the level of consciousness and apparent manifestations, the lower is the level of unconsciousness and the hidden manifestations that are the cause of the conscious manifestations. Psychological life is displayed simultaneously on these two levels, which can be very different from each other and can conflict. This model was originally worked out by Breuer and Freud in their *Studies in Hysteria*. On the upper line we put the hysterical symptoms, and on the lower the unconscious motivations that Breuer and Freud, following Charcot and Janet, found to be unconscious representations (or in the language of that time traumatic reminiscences). Suppose the symptom S is on the upper line, and the traumatic reminiscence T is on the lower, the association between S and T is threefold. There is a hermeneutic relationship, the symptom is like the cipher in a known language that helps one to decipher the text in an unknown language. There is a relationship of effect to cause, and thirdly there is a therapeutic relationship. S can be removed by exerting a certain maneuver on T, such as bringing it into awareness and abreacting it. The clinical interpretation, the scientific understanding, and the therapeutic removal of the symptom thus almost coincide.

This is a development of what Janet and Breuer had found. Freud's innovation was his dynamic concept of the relationship of S and T. T has a tendency to express itself in consciousness, but T is checked and held in the unconscious by means of an active force called *repression*. This inner conflict absorbs psychological energy that can be freed when the patient is cured of his symptom.

The success of repression is variable. If repression is extremely strong, the traumatic reminiscences can remain latent and S disappears, at least temporarily. If repression is extremely weak, T emerges directly to the surface and expresses itself in undisguised form; here S and T are so similar that there is no need of deciphering. We have to deal with a symptomatic action. In the intermediate cases, when repression is unable to keep T entirely in the unconscious, there is a kind of balance or compromise

between both forces in the form of a symptom. S expresses T in disguised form and needs to be deciphered.

The same model applies to the psychology of dreams, with the difference that instead of symptom S we have the manifest content, instead of the trauma T we have the latent content, and between them the forces of repression are called censor and result in the mechanisms of displacement and condensation. Here, too, we find three types of dreams. The first are irretrievably lost as soon as the dreamer awakens, comparable to those latent symptoms where repression is so powerful that nothing appears at the surface. The opposite type are those lucid, infantile dreams comparable to the symptomatic acts; the repression is so weak that the latent content is shown undisguised in the manifest content. Most dreams are of the intermediate type, a compromise between the unconscious forces striving to express themselves in consciousness, and the forces of repression.

The same schema also applies to parapraxes. In the case of symptomatic forgetting, for instance, we have as S the loss of memory, instead of T the disturbing latent representation, and between them the force of repression. Here also we see the three types, as distinguished by Dalbiez.³³¹ The first are the inhibited acts where there is complete and successful repression, as in forgetting something important that one has known well. The opposite are the symptomatic acts performed under the influence of an unconscious impulse, where the individual does not know why he acts as he does. Between the two is a group of disturbed acts where repression is incomplete. Most slips of the tongue and slips of the pen belong in this group.

In regard to jokes a similar model can be applied, provided that the play on words itself is given instead of S and the underlying thought instead of T, and the technique of witicism is given instead of repression.

Thus far we have described the simpler model of depth psychology, but there is also a more complex model that comprises an upper and a lower floor. In hysteria we find on the upper floor the symptoms connected by chains of memory to some traumatic reminiscence of puberty, and from there to the childhood memory on the lower floor. In the dream the upper floor shows the manifest content connected through the dream work and the censor to the latent content. The latter is related to the lower floor, the seat of repressed childhood wishes. In the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* an equally complex model applies to those screen memories where an event of adolescence, between the present memory and the childhood event, gives the clue. Finally, the two-story model applies to those jokes in which preliminary pleasure is offered by the "technique" (comparable to the dream work), but on the lower level a malicious or sexual pleasure finds its gratification.

But this is not all, since depth psychology offers the kernel of a third, still more complex model. As in the adult mind Freud found the influence of the forgotten world of childhood, so he visualized a deeper layer, common to mankind, to which belong many of the universal sexual symbols found

in dreams. It was not long before Freud was to deduce, from the universal character of the Oedipus complex, the concept of the murder of the primordial father by his sons.

All these concepts of depth psychology may appear theoretical and abstract, but they become a living reality when illustrated with a clinical case. Such is the classical story of Dora, who was treated by Freud in 1900, although he published her history only in 1905.³³² This history is remarkable for its literary value and the skill with which the author maintains the reader in suspense throughout. At the start Freud takes great pains to explain that there is nothing wrong in discussing sexual matters under a scientific viewpoint (this precaution seems strange when one considers the flood of sexual-pathological literature that continued to submerge Europe since Krafft-Ebing). The story of Dora may also be viewed as belonging to the contemporary uncovering literature. In truly Ibsenian fashion we are at first confronted with a seemingly harmless situation, but as the story unfolds we are led to discover complex relationships, and weighty secrets are disclosed.

Dora, a young lady of eighteen, afflicted with a few classical symptoms of *petite hystérie*, lives with her father, a well-to-do industrialist, her mother, who is totally absorbed in her household duties, and an older brother. As in many families, the daughter is attached to the father, and the son to the mother. Dora's parents have a close friendship with Mr. and Mrs. K. with whom they often spend their vacations, and Dora gives her affectionate care to their two small children.

A first inquiry already shows a turbid situation. Dora's father, who is frequently ill, is nursed by Mrs. K., and Dora resents this. Mr. K. overwhelms Dora with presents and flowers, to her annoyance. Indignantly, Dora reveals to her mother that Mr. K. has been making propositions to her, which her father refuses to believe. Mr. K. denies everything and retorts that he learned from his wife that Dora has been reading the semi-pornographic writings of Mantegazza.³³³ Gradually Dora makes increasingly surprising confessions to her analyst. She is fully aware of her father's and Mrs. K.'s adulterous relationship. Four years earlier, Mr. K. had kissed her and she had been strongly repelled by him. She feels herself delivered up to Mr. K. by her father in exchange for Mr. K.'s consent to her father's affair with Mrs. K. On the other hand, it becomes obvious that Dora abets her father's actions. Thereupon one also learns of a governess who had enlightened her upon sexual matters, had explained to her the nature of her father's relationship with Mrs. K., and, being herself in love with Dora's father, she lavished her care upon the young person. But when Dora realized this she caused her parents to discharge the governess. Conversely it becomes clear that if Dora is so strongly attached to the K.'s small children it is because she is deeply in love with Mr. K., in spite of her assertions to the contrary. Nonetheless, Dora is much attached to her father, and it appears that the secret aim of her hysterical neurosis is to touch the heart of her father and detach him from Mrs. K.

But this is not all. By means of veiled intimations Dora gives to understand

that she is aware that her father is sexually impotent and that therefore his relationships with Mrs. K. must necessarily be of an abnormal nature. Indeed, it seems that Dora is far better informed on sexual matters than it appeared at first. It is there that the analyst finds the key to an understanding of Dora's hysterical cough. But Dora is not only in love with her father and with Mr. K.; she also had a romantic attachment to Mrs. K. In former years Dora used to share a room with her and still speaks of her "adorable white body," and it was Mrs. K. who, even before the governess, had taught her sexual matters and lent her the books by Mantegazza. But from the moment when Dora understood that Mrs. K. cared for her only because she loved her father, she rejected her exactly as she did the governess later.

At this point psychoanalysis shows itself able to go farther than anything that "uncovering literature" would have attained. Freud wants to demonstrate how dream interpretation will further a treatment in filling in memory gaps and by furnishing an explanation of the symptoms. The two dreams of Dora and their interpretation are far too complex to summarize here. Let it merely be said that the first dream expressed her wish for her father to help her to ward off the temptation of Mr. K., that it reveals her old incestuous love for her father, that she had indulged in childhood masturbation, that she knew that her father had gotten syphilis and had transmitted it to her mother, and that she had overheard sexual intimacies between her parents. The second dream leads the reader still farther into the realms of Dora's secret sexual wishes and of the symbolism of a kind of "sexual geography."

This short account cannot convey the full complexity of Dora's story with the intricacies of the interpersonal relationships and their reflection as neurotic symptoms. So we see how Dora's mother regularly becomes ill on the eve of her husband's return, whereas Dora is ailing as long as Mr. K. is away and recovers when he comes back. We also learn how people borrow, as it were, each other's neurotic symptoms, how in other instances somatic symptoms are the expression of hidden or unconscious feelings, how a denial can be the equivalent of a confession, and how accusations against others may represent self-accusations. The hermeneutic and therapeutic importance of transference is also brought to light.

Present-day psychoanalysts would consider Dora's three-month treatment far too brief and the technique employed no longer adequate in many regards. But aside from its intrinsic interest, the Dora case shows exactly the stage reached by depth psychology in the early 1900's. Freud himself had proclaimed that the unconscious makes no distinction between facts and fantasies. Some readers found that this distinction was not sharp enough in the Dora case and remained unconvinced. It is in this light that the early controversies around psychoanalysis must be viewed.

Freud's Work—V—The Libido Theory

In 1905 Freud published his *Three Essays on Sexual Theory*.³³⁴ This concise pamphlet gives the impression of being a digest of a more extensive book, rather than an original work in itself. Here, too, later editions have

been considerably augmented, and to understand the original theory one should read it in the 1905 edition.

The first essay classifies sexual deviations according to object and to aim. In the former group is inversion (homosexuality), in whose etiology Freud pointed out the basic bisexuality of human beings, and the lack of sharp delineation between perversion and the normal varieties of sexuality. In the sexuality of neurotics, Freud saw three features: the forceful repression of a strong sexual drive, a sexuality of a perverse quality (neurosis is the negative of perversion), and its infantile characteristics (as yet unified, partial drives localized in erogenous zones).

The second essay deals with infantile sexuality. "Why has this phenomenon been almost unknown?" asked Freud. Not only because of conventional ideas about the innocence of the child, but because a peculiar amnesia, similar to that caused by repression in neurotics, blots out the memory of the first six or eight years of life. "This amnesia serves for each individual as a prehistory." The "latency period," which follows, results not only from cultural but from organic conditions, and enables the sublimation of sexual instincts for the benefit of society. Freud then described the successive phases of the development of infantile sexuality. First there is an auto-erotic phase, in which any part of the body can be an erogenous zone, but its usual site is the mouth, with gratification in the form of sucking. After this "oral phase," the anus becomes the main erogenous zone, and the retention of feces provides gratification. This zone is replaced in the third phase by the genitals, hence the frequency of infantile masturbation. During these phases the child is "polymorph perverse," which means that the potentialities for all perversions are present, and under specific circumstances may be developed in many adults. Freud also gave a list of sources of sexual stimulation (including rhythmic movements, muscular activity, strong emotions, and intensive intellectual work), and he pointed out the constitutional element in the individual varieties of sexuality. In later editions Freud added to this second essay details of infantile sexual theories, and the effects of the "primal scene" (the observation by the child of parental sexual intercourse).

The third essay is entitled "The Transformations in Puberty." Following the biological upheaval of puberty, there is a shift from auto-eroticism to sexual objects, from partial drives to their unification under the primacy of the genital zone, and from individual pleasure to the service of procreation. At this stage, sexual pleasure, such as it existed in the child, survives in the form of "preliminary pleasure," an incentive to fuller gratification. Freud compared this mechanism to that of those jokes where the technique provides preliminary pleasure, and stimulates deeper gratification through release of aggressive or erotic feelings. There follows the psychosexual differentiation of men and women. Libido, Freud said, is fundamentally

masculine in nature, whether it occurs in men or women, and whatever its object; but at the same time Freud adopted from Fliess the fundamental bisexuality of human beings. Freud then described the development of psychosexuality in men, in whom it is simple, and in women, where it is more complex, hence woman's greater predisposition to hysteria. The remainder of the essay is devoted to the problem of finding a love object. The very first object of infantile sexuality is one's own body and the mother's breast; after weaning, sexuality becomes auto-erotic and only later does sexuality have to be redirected to an object. The first object, the mother, in kissing and fondling the infant, awakens his infantile sexuality, which leads to the Oedipus situation—a point that was to be considerably developed in later psychoanalytic literature. Freud pointed out the importance of this early education for the future love choice and the destiny of the individual. In his recapitulation, Freud emphasized the role of the constitutional element, in which he also refers to the frequency of hereditary syphilis in neurotics.

In spite of their brevity, the *Three Essays* contain a synthesis of considerable width and scope, upon which Freud himself, and generations of psychoanalysts, were to expand. We shall not dwell upon these developments that have been explained in detail by so many authors. We shall only try to place Freud's theories into the context of contemporary sexual pathology. Freud's sexual theories revolve around several themes. First, the concept of libido, that is of the sexual instinct with its embryology, successive phases of evolution, and metamorphoses. Second, an emphasis on the vicissitudes of the love object choice, particularly on the Oedipus complex. Third, based on the preceding, an interpretation of certain character types (notably the oral and the anal types), of neuroses and sexual deviations. Fourth, a system of sexual symbolism. And finally, an inquiry into early events of sexual life, early sexual fantasies, and their roles in subsequent emotional life.

When the *Three Essays* appeared in 1905, the zeitgeist was of extreme interest in sexual problems, and it is difficult to distinguish the limit between Freud's sources and the parallel developments that were taking place around him.³³⁵ Contemporary sexual mores at that time had retained little, if anything, of the attitudes symbolized by the word "Victorianism." August Forel, in his memoirs, gives a lively description of the laxity of sexual mores in Vienna, adding that it was not any better in Paris.³³⁶ Zilboorg mentions that "leagues of free love" were thriving all over the Czarist Empire among students and adolescents, and that this was "a phenomenon of a sociological nature" by no means limited to Russia. Problems of venereal diseases, contraception, and sexual enlightenment of children were discussed freely everywhere. All possible facets of sexual life appeared "with glaring frankness" (in Zilboorg's terms) in the works of Maupassant, Schnitzler, Wedekind, and many others; they also were discussed in a somewhat vehement fashion

in journals such as Karl Kraus' *Die Fackel*. Schopenhauer had already given metaphysics of *Sexus* a central place in his philosophy; now, Weininger had brought forth a doctrine of sexual mysticism in a book that was enormously successful.³³⁸ Further similar systems were to be developed by Rozanov and Winhuis.³³⁹ Above all, the new science of sexual pathology, which had grown slowly during the nineteenth century, had received its decisive impetus thirty years earlier with the publication of Kraft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Since 1886, the flow of literature on that subject had grown steadily and had become difficult to survey. In 1899 Magnus Hirschfeld had started the publication of a yearbook, part of which tried to cover the then current bibliography.³⁴⁰ Whereas the first volume had 282 pages, the fourth (in 1902) counted 980 pages, the fifth (in 1903) had 1,368 pages, the sixth (in 1904) 744 pages, and that of 1905, 1,084 pages. No wonder that there is not much in Freud's *Three Essays* that cannot be found among the facts, theories, and speculations contained in that flood of literature.

The sources of the libido theory are multiple. Let it be recalled that the terms *auto-eroticism*, *erogenous zones*, and *libido*, were already in use.³⁴¹ The first models of a unified concept of the sexual instinct had been drawn by philosophers, beginning with Plato. Both Plato and Freud taught the original bisexuality of the human being and the sublimation of the sexual instinct. Georgiades points out that Freud considered libido as masculine, while Plato valued homosexual love above heterosexual, and considered the sublimation of a homosexual love as the origin of all higher feelings.³⁴² Deep-reaching analogies between Freud's libido theory and Schopenhauer's philosophy have been mentioned previously,³⁴³ as well as Arrat's widened concept of the sexual instinct.³⁴⁴ Biologists followed in the footsteps of the philosophers. Gley, in 1884, suggested that the original anatomical bisexuality could leave physiological traces in the human, and that these in turn could be the starting point of homosexuality.³⁴⁵ In turn, similar theories were developed by clinicians. Dessor³⁴⁶ in 1894, and Moll³⁴⁷ in 1898, described two stages of evolution of the sexual instinct, an undifferentiated stage followed by a differentiated one; some individuals, they said, remain at least partly in the undifferentiated stage, hence the occurrence of homosexuality or other perversions. Two works in 1903 proposed a theory based on the concept of the fundamental bisexuality of man. One was Weininger's celebrated *Sex and Character* already referred to; the other was—in a less philosophical but more clinical approach—Herman's book, *Libido and Mania*.³⁴⁸ All sexual deviations, Herman says, originate from the combined effect of human bisexuality and disturbances in the stages of evolution of the *libido* (in the sense given to that term by Moll). Sexual abnormalities are classified in three groups: first, the various forms of "asexuality" (sexual infantilism, auto-eroticism, and the like). Second, those derived from "bisexualism." Third, those that belong to "suprasedualism" (mostly

the abnormal, senile sexuality). The bulk of sexual deviations belong to the second group in which Herman classifies in pairs (uranism-lesbianism, sadism-masochism, and so on). Whether the undifferentiated libido will be directed toward a man or a woman greatly depends upon chance: Meynert is referred to in that regard.³⁴⁹ Herman's *Libido and Mania* was certainly known to Freud, since he mentioned it in his *Three Essays*.

Notions of infantile sexuality and early phases of sexual development were not quite new. The idea that the infant's pleasure at the mother's breast found later expressions in esthetic pleasure was already seen by Erasmus Darwin.³⁵⁰ The pioneer investigator of oral eroticism in children was the Hungarian pediatrician Lindner, who described many varieties of thumb sucking, simple and combined, and assumed that these were expressions of infantile erotic gratification.³⁵¹ This paper had drawn some attention from Krafft-Ebing and others, who assumed that certain nursing women also obtained erotic gratification from breast feeding.

Freud's concept of anal eroticism seems to be more original, although some of its aspects had been anticipated. Charles Fourier, the utopian French socialist, ranged the drive to play with mud and dirt as a transient childhood phase among the basic human instincts.³⁵² Fourier proposed to socialize that drive: children in this phase would be organized into "little gangs" of dung collectors, to their own delight and the benefit of society. On a more speculative level, a representative of Romantic medicine, K. R. Hoffmann, had developed a theory that to excrete was not just a bodily function, but was a "basic drive of life" (*Grundtrieb des Lebens*), which could occasionally turn itself against the individual.³⁵³ A correlation between Freud's theory of anal eroticism and the zeitgeist may also be pointed out. It is a human tendency to neglect things that are too obvious, and to pay attention to them when they disappear. Thus the folklore of European peasants remained unknown to scientists or was despised by them, until it began to decline, and only then did folklorists arise to record it. In a similar way, for centuries mankind had taken the sight and smell of excretions for granted, but when, at the end of the nineteenth century, plumbing became general, when men began to live in a dulcified and deodorized world, attention was drawn to this matter. The new preoccupation was illustrated by a 600-page compilation by Krauss and Ihm, giving a general survey of the roles of excrement in various populations of the world, with a laudatory foreword written by Freud in which he speaks of coprophilic manifestations in children, their repression, and their connection with the sexual instinct.³⁵⁴

What Freud said of the phallic phase of libido reflected a general concern of his time. Educators, pediatricians, and sexual pathologists all knew of the frequency of masturbation among infants and young children, and were concerned about the possibilities of the seduction of children by servants and other adults.³⁵⁵ The existence of childhood sexuality was no

doubt ignored by many, or considered a rare and abnormal occurrence, but there were those who knew better. Special mention should be made of the popular books by Michelet: *Our Sons*, and *Woman*; the latter was known to Freud, since he quoted it in another connection.³⁵⁶

The term and concept of sublimation were well known, and Freud never claimed to have introduced them. They are mentioned as a current idea in a novel published in 1785, and later used by Novalis, Schopenhauer, and particularly by Nietzsche.³⁵⁷

Freud systematized the idea that the sexual instinct underwent its first phases of development in infancy, followed by a latency period, that its apparent beginning at puberty was really a revival and reorganization. Similar facts had been observed and described first by Dallemagne, and then by Ribot, but these authors considered such development an exception.³⁵⁸

The idea of the sexual instinct being directed toward the subject itself instead of toward an exterior object was fairly widespread. The concept of narcissistic love, having been abundantly developed by poets and writers, had reached psychiatrists.³⁵⁹ Havelock Ellis had described various forms of "autoerotism," and Naecke introduced the term "narcissism."

The great importance of the images of the mother and father for the future love life of the individual had also been anticipated, and Nietzsche was not the only one who had believed that "every man bears in himself the image of his mother, and on the quality of that image will depend his future attitude to women." In a celebrated novel, Laclos had his arch-seducer Valmont explain that one cannot seduce an innocent and honest young lady until one has destroyed in her her respect for her mother.³⁶⁰ Jules Laforgue explained that it was his loss of respect for his mother that caused Hamlet to treat Ophelia so roughly.³⁶¹ Freud's innovation was the introduction and systematization of this concept of the father and mother *imago* into psychiatry.

That an erotic bond can arise between infant and mother was well known by many educators. Stendhal had told of his early incestuous love for his mother.³⁶² Michelet had popularized this notion. Freud now asserted that, within limits, this bond was natural and normal, and added the ideas of the child's death wishes toward his father, and of his fear of punishment and castration by the father. The full concept of the Oedipus complex, as Freud was later to systematize it, included these three components: an incestuous wish toward the mother, a wish to kill the father, and the image of a cruel, castrating father.

Actually, the mythological model of that complex is not so much to be found in the Oedipus drama as it is in the myth of Saturn and Jupiter. Saturn was threatened with death by his father Uranus, the first god of the world, but was saved by his mother. Saturn then castrated his father. Later, Saturn ate his own children except for the youngest, Jupiter, who was saved by

his mother. Jupiter then supplanted his father. The same myth has been found in India and among the Hittites.³⁶³ To Dumézil, a historian of religions, this myth is simply a reflection of conditions that once existed.³⁶⁴ In ancient dynasties of India, political and sexual powers were identified with each other, and the king was a great tyrannical male, fearful of being dethroned and robbed of his virility by his sons. On the other hand, philosophers of India explained the process of rebirth by attributing feelings to the reincarnate similar to those of the Oedipus complex. Vasubandhu described it in the following way:

The intermediate being . . . possesses the divine eye. It sees the place of its birth, however far. It sees its father and mother united. Its spirit is disturbed by the effect of complacency and hostility. If it is a male, it is seized by the desire of a male toward his mother; if it is female, it is seized by the desire of the female toward the father; on the other hand it hates the father or the mother, which it regards as either a male or a female rival. As it is said in the *Prainapti*: 'then occurs in the Gandharva either a thought of lust or a thought of hatred.' The Spirit being so troubled by these two erroneous thoughts that, by amorous wish, it attaches itself to the place where the two organs are joined, fancying that it is itself which becomes united . . . the intermediate being thus enjoying the pleasure of installing itself in the matrix.³⁶⁵

One of the aspects of psychoanalysis that became most popular pertains to sexual symbols (the "Freudian symbols"). In this field, Freud's many predecessors can be placed into four groups:

1. Anthropologists made collections of the traditional obscene symbols found in priapic poetry, and of "Kryptadia" from all countries. Freud thus was asked to give psychoanalytic comments for a collection of that kind by the folklorist Oppenheim.³⁶⁶
2. The interest in dream symbols also drew attention to those with a sexual meaning. According to Laignel-Lavastine and Vinchon, a dream book of the Renaissance, that of Pierrus, describes dreams of serpents, trees, flowers, gardens, teeth, columns, and grottoes, having meanings similar to those of Freudian symbolism.³⁶⁷ The first objective study of dream symbolism was by Scherner, and we recall that the symbols found by him as being sexual were identical to those described thirty-nine years later in Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*.³⁶⁸

3. Wide investigations of sexual symbolism in cults, myths, and religions had been carried out throughout the nineteenth century. The pioneer of these studies, Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, contended that early civilizations who worshiped the sun incorporated its regenerative forces into the image of the phallus.³⁶⁹ He described at length the cult of the phallus and its symbolism, with innumerable examples from ancient civilizations. This book had enormous success, and popularized the idea that a universal cult

of the phallus had existed. Many amateur archeologists became infatuated with the search for symbolic relics of that cult. To give only one example: in Flaubert's novel, *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, the two heroes of the story, in their preoccupation with "Celtic archeology," take for granted that the "tumulus" symbolizes the female organ and the "pierre levée" the male; that the towers, pyramids, church candles, milestones, and trees were phallic symbols. They opened a Department of Phalluses in their private museum. Meanwhile, a serious scholar, Adalbert Kuhn, interpreted ritual fire kindling as symbolic of human generation.³⁷⁰ In the middle of the Victorian era in England, George Cox explained the sexual symbolism of ancient religions: the rod, the tree, the shepherd's staff, the scepter, the serpent, the bull, were male symbols; and the ark, the ship, the cup (including the Holy Grail), the well, the basket, the lamp, the lotus, were female symbols. Since "the thoughts aroused by the recognition of the difference between men and women are among the most mysterious stirrings of the human heart," Cox admitted that "a philosophy which professed to reconcile the natural impulses of the worshippers with a sense of right and duty would carry with it a strange and almost irresistible fascination." In Germany, Nagele interpreted the cult of the serpent in antiquity as a phallic cult.³⁷² In Italy, Gubernatis developed a systematic theory of the universal sexual symbolism taken from botany,³⁷³ and zoology.³⁷⁴

4. Clinical experience had furnished many data on sexual symbolism. Romantic psychiatry dwelt on the role of sexual impulses and frustrations in psychoses.³⁷⁵ Neumann, later Sanltus, and to a lesser extent Griesinger, described the disguised manifestations of the sexual instinct in their patients. The awareness that many forms of pathological mysticism resulted from repressed sexuality was current knowledge among novelists, psychiatrists, and religious writers.³⁷⁶ The criminologist Hanns Gross also made a systematic inquiry into the disguised forms of frustrated sexuality and their role in criminality.

Another field of Freud's inquiry was the varieties and vicissitudes of sexual fantasies and their subsequent role in emotional life. Freud contended that the observation by young children of their parents' sexual intercourse, that is, of what he called the primal scene, had a deep-reaching disturbing influence on the child, especially when interpreted as a sadistic act. Freud also attributed a great deal of importance to the theories young children imagine in order to answer their own questions about how babies come into the world, and their parents' sexual relations. Freud mentioned it as a further argument in favor of the contemporary trend to give children sexual enlightenment. Another fantasy was the Family Romance occurring in certain children who imagine their real parents to be of much higher social status than their actual parents. This topic was considerably developed by Otto Rank.³⁷⁷ Here again we find a psychoanalytic reflection

of a contemporary, popular theme. In that period, when most European countries had a king or emperor, many mental patients claimed to be descendants of sovereign families, or even to be the legitimate monarch. Krafft-Ebing described a variety of these delusions under the name of *Originäre Paranoia* (this term has often been misunderstood as "delusion about one's family origin"; actually, it meant a form of paranoia whose "origin" could be traced to the age of beginning memory). In France, one celebrated patient, Hersilie Rouy, was, following her claims of royal birth, committed to a mental hospital, but released with a substantial compensation because of a technical error in the committal order. She published two "autobiographies"; in one she dissembled a great part of her delusional ideas, in the other she expressed them fully.³⁷⁸ Freud's originality was in showing that the Family Romance does not only exist under extreme paranoid forms, but is frequent among children in its embryonic form, and also has some relevance to folklore and mythology.

Current accounts of Freud's life state that the publication of his sexual theories aroused anger because of their unheard-of novelty in a "Victorian" society. Documentary evidence shows that this does not correspond to fact. Freud's *Three Essays* appeared in the midst of a flood of contemporary literature on sexuality and were favorably received.³⁷⁹ Freud's main originality was to synthesize ideas and concepts, the majority of which lay scattered or partially organized, and to apply them directly to psychotherapy. A clinical illustration was the case of little Hans, which was for the libidinal theory what the Dora case had been for depth psychology.

The story has less literary quality than the Dora case and makes for lengthier reading. It was told by the father of little Hans and commented upon by Freud.

Hans was the first-born of a psychoanalyst who was one of Freud's closest disciples. His mother lavished tender care upon him. She often took him in her bed, and even, as it appears later, she often took him with her when she went to the toilet. At the age of three, Hans was much interested in his "widdler." Having asked his mother whether she had one she said: "Yes." When he was 3½ his mother discovered that he masturbated and threatened him with castration. At about the same time his little sister was born. Hans was told that the stork had brought her, but he was impressed by the doctor's bag and the basins full of water and blood in his mother's room. He became preoccupied with whether other people and animals had a "widdler" and seemed particularly interested by the large size of those of horses. He came to the conclusion that the presence of that organ distinguished animate from inanimate beings; however, he noticed that his little sister did not have one, and he said that it would grow. Even before the age of four, Hans was of a "polygamous" disposition; he fell in love with a series of girls from 7 to 11 years of age, but he also put his arms tenderly around a five-year-old boy cousin.

At the age of 4¾ years, Hans (as it was found later) saw a horse, which

was drawing a heavily loaded carriage, fall to the ground. Shortly afterwards he became increasingly anxious, clung much more to his mother, and then expressed fear of going into the street lest a horse bite him. Freud advised the father to tell Hans that he feared horses because he was so much interested in their "widdlers," and to gradually start giving him some sexual enlightenment.

This was the beginning of a four-month-long process (January to May, 1908). The boy's sayings, dreams, spontaneous plays, were recorded by his father and communicated to Freud. The phobia extended to giraffes, elephants, and pelicans, after a visit to the Schönbrunn zoo. One morning Hans told of the fantasy of two giraffes in his room, a big one and a crumpled one; the big one cried because Hans took the crumpled one. This was interpreted by the father as a transposition of a little family scene: Hans was in the habit of coming into his parents' room early in the morning, his father would say his mother should not take him in her bed, and she would say it did not matter if she took him for a short while, which she did. The big giraffe was interpreted as being his father's big penis, the crumpled one his mother's genital organs.

On March 30, 1908, his father took Hans on a short visit to Freud's office. Freud explained to the boy that he feared his father because he loved his mother so much. This visit was followed by a substantial improvement, but the phobia soon expanded to new topics, namely large, rough horses drawing heavily loaded carts, furniture vans, and the like; Hans told of horses falling down and kicking with their feet. Then he took a disgust for yellow ladies' pants and was preoccupied with excrement, with bathtubs, with loaded carts and boxes, and so on. One morning Hans fantasied that while he was in his bath, the plumber unscrewed the bathtub and stuck him in the stomach with a borer. The father's interpretation was: being in his mother's bed, his father pushed him out with his big penis. A later interpretation was in the sense of a generation fantasy: the father put him in his mother's womb with his big penis. Hans' aversion for baths was connected with his wish that his mother take away her hand while bathing his little sister, so that the child would drown. The fantasy of the falling horse was interpreted as being the wish (and at the same time the fear) that his father would fall down and die, and also as a fantasy of his mother in the process of childbirth. In fact, it was found that Hans had not believed the stork story and had understood much about his mother's pregnancy.

At the root of Hans' phobia thus appeared his wish to possess his mother, and that his father and little sister be dead; his castration complex; the influence of early, infantile sexual theories; and his resentment against his parents for having told him the untrue story about the stork.

On April 25, 1908, Hans, who had just reached the age of five, was answering some of his father's questions. In a climate of confidence and acceptance, he admitted that he would like to see him dead and marry his mother. This was the culminating point of the therapeutic process, and from that time on, the remnants of the phobia gradually receded; the Oedipus complex had been overcome.³⁸⁰

The story of little Hans was not accepted as easily as had been Freud's prior publications, but the meaning of that scepticism had been misunderstood. It is not so much that it was found immoral, but rather that some

readers found that the child had been erotically precocious to an unusual extent before his phobia; they also wondered whether the phobia itself had not developed as a consequence of the father's inquisitive attitude and suggestive questions. Testimonial psychology, which was in 1909 a new and fashionable branch of psychology, brought numerous examples of children giving false testimonies, which proved to be the response to unconscious suggestion (children having an uncanny ability to sense what adults expect them to testify). Psychoanalysis hailed the story of little Hans as the first confirmation of Freud's theory of infantile sexuality obtained by direct observation on a child. It was also the first example of child analysis (which, however, was to develop later along different lines), and was also the first control analysis on record.

Rev. Oskar Pfister³⁸¹ commented upon the changes that had occurred in psychoanalysis. Originally, Freud attributed neurotic symptoms to the repression of painful memories, mostly of a sexual nature (the term "sexuality" being taken in its usual sense); healing was achieved through abreaction. In 1913, psychoanalysis told of the repression of fantasies as well as of memories, and of neurotic symptoms originating in the Oedipus complex; healing occurred through the analysis of transference and resistance: the concept of sexuality was now extended to include, under the name of "psychosexuality," all categories comprised under the word *Liebe* (love). This would absolve psychoanalysis of the accusation of pansexualism. However, certain critics felt that the concept of psychosexuality made the theory of libido and especially that of sublimation even more difficult to grasp.

Freud's Work—VI—From Metapsychology to Ego Psychoanalysis

By 1913 it would have seemed that the psychoanalytic theory had achieved its completion. However, and to the surprise of Freud's followers, a great metamorphosis was still to occur. This time the newer teaching was not contained in a single book (such as *Interpretation of Dreams* and the *Three Essays*), but in a series of articles and brief monographs spaced over a period of ten years.

In 1914, Freud proposed, in the *Introduction to Narcissism*, his new views as a hypothesis which he was willing to retract or alter, should facts contradict it.³⁸² Until then the notions of the conflict between conscious and unconscious, and the dualism of libido and ego drives, had been fundamental in psychoanalysis. In the *Three Essays* Freud had already spoken of an early stage of auto-erotism preceding the cathexis of the libido on the first object, the mother. In the meantime Jung had explained that schizophrenia resulted from an "introversion of libido," and Adler had emphasized the importance of self-esteem. Havelock Ellis in England, and Naecke in Germany, had described narcissism as a specific form of sexual deviation in which the individual is in love with himself. Freud's theory of narcissism seems to have been designed to meet all these.

This theory entailed a new systematization of the drive theory. Freud's former distinction of (nonsexual) ego drives and (sexual) libido was modified by the new concept of ego-libido, so that there were now two kinds of ego drives, libidinal and nonlibidinal. Freud kept the concept of an early stage of auto-erotism, but said that as the ego begins to be differentiated, the heretofore diffuse libido focused thereon, and this was primary narcissism. In the following stage, a portion of primary narcissism is retained, and the libido is largely cathected on the mother and subsequently on other objects. The object-libido may retract and be reinvested in the ego, what Freud later called "secondary narcissism."

A residue of primary narcissism will be found through analysis of normal individuals, and even more in neurotics, homosexuals, and others. Retraction of the object-libido explains such conditions as delusions of grandeur, hypochondriasis, schizophrenia, and paraphrenia.

Normally, amorous feeling proceeds directly from object-libido and this is anacitic love. If the entire libido is cathected in another person, and not enough retained for the ego, it is infatuation. Love of the narcissistic type happens when primary narcissism has been unduly prolonged: the individual then sees in the object only what he himself is, has been, and would like to be.

This theory of narcissism was to be the prelude to a complete restructuring of the framework of psychoanalytic theory. In 1915, Freud announced that he was working on a book entitled *Introduction to Metapsychology*, consisting of twelve essays, but of these only five were ever published. Freud felt the need of rebuilding a conceptual framework that would be sufficiently comprehensive to encompass all the facts and aspects of psychoanalysis. He defined *metapsychology* as a system that would describe psychological facts from the topographical, the dynamic, and the economic points of view. The topographical (referring to a well-known quotation from Fechner) meant the distinction of the unconscious, the preconscious, and the conscious. The dynamic referred to psychic forces in conflict with each other. The economic meant the regulation of mental forces through the pleasure-unpleasure principle.

In *Drives and Their Vicissitudes*, Freud defined the drives as "psychical representatives of endo-somatic, continuously flowing sources of stimulation," in contrast with the sensory stimuli that originate in specific external excitation.³⁸³ Freud then defined the general features of the drives, their force, their aim, their source, and their vicissitudes: reversal into the opposite, turning against the subject, repression, and sublimation. Freud also mentioned the process of introjection (the infant introjects pleasure and projects unpleasure). Finally, Freud touched on the genesis of love and hate, contending that though they form a pair of opposites, hatred has its root in an earlier stage of psychic life than love. The last point, which contradicted the original libido theory, was the forerunner of further changes.

The paper on repression surprised those analysts who considered repression the one explanatory concept of pathogenesis.³⁸⁴ Repression (now placed third among the vicissitudes of drives) was divided into primary repression, in which the mental representations of instincts have never been allowed into consciousness, and later repression, in which conscious representations are dragged into the unconsciousness through their association with one of the primal repressed ideas. When emotionally charged ideas are repressed, the fate of the idea and of the emotion may be different; repressed ideas organize themselves into fantasies, and emotions are transformed into anxiety.

In the third metapsychology paper Freud emphasized that the unconscious contains more than repressed material, and restated the main features of the unconscious mind (previously called the primary process).³⁸⁵ The unconscious has no relationship to reality, it does not know the principles of contradiction or time; unconscious energy is unbound. Freud also stressed the importance of unconscious fantasies, and that unconscious representations must go through a stage of verbalization at the preconscious level before becoming conscious.

In a fourth essay Freud restated some aspects of the dream theory from the viewpoint of metapsychology.³⁸⁶ In the fifth, *Mourning and Melancholia*, he gave an interpretation of melancholic depression in terms of the new metapsychology, by comparing it with the normal mourning reaction that follows the death of a loved person.³⁸⁷ The mourning work consists of a slow, gradual dissolution of the emotional ties with the lost object, and the incorporation of its idealized picture into the subject. In melancholia, it is as if the patient had unconsciously lost an object for which he had ambivalent feelings of love and hatred. As a consequence of its incorporation "the shadow of the object has fallen upon the ego," hence the melancholic self-hatred and suicidal tendencies.

In 1920 Freud greatly surprised his followers once again with the publication of his book *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, which seemed to give metapsychology its final shape.³⁸⁸ If its title evoked Nietzsche, its content was definitely inspired by Fechner. One of the three elements of metapsychology, the economic aspect, had until now been equated by Freud with the pleasure-unpleasure principle, a concept borrowed from Fechner. Before Fechner, the principle of pleasure had been commonly understood as simply seeking pleasure and avoiding unpleasure. Fechner had related it to the principle of stability, and Freud, following Fechner, had related unpleasure to the increase of tension, and pleasure to the decrease of tension to an optimum level. Thus the basic rule of life was the regulation of the quantum of stimulation through the mechanism of the pleasure-unpleasure principle. Freud, however, had already recognized that the pleasure-unpleasure principle was limited, first through the principle of reality, which had to be taken into account throughout human development,

and second, because originally pleasurable drives, once repressed, lost that quality. Now, he contended that these limitations went "beyond the pleasure principle." Another, more ancient principle, the "compulsion to repetition," he now saw as the sole possible explanation of certain clinical facts. In the repetitive dreams of traumatic neuroses, in hysterical attacks, in certain forms of child play, we see unpleasurable events repeated. Transference during analysis is revealed as the unconscious revival of childhood situations. In neurosis, as in normal life, certain individuals find themselves repeatedly in the self-same situations, leading to a belief in predestination. Freud differentiated between the pleasure-unpleasure principle that is beneficial to the organism, and the demonic character of the compulsion to repetition, and this led him to an excursion into philosophy.

After various considerations on the *Reizschutz* (the tendency of the organism to protect itself from overstimulation), he proposed a new definition of the drives. Drives do not have a progressive character, they do not tend to further the development of the individual and the species. Their aim is conservative, they tend to reestablish prior conditions. In truly Fechnerian style, Freud goes so far as to say that the evolution of organisms is the reflection of the evolutionary history of the earth and its relationship to the sun. Freud now suggested, as a hypothesis, a new dual classification of the instincts: *Eros* (grouping together all forms of libidinal instincts), and the *death instinct* (which Freud's followers were soon to call *Thanatos*). In that dual system Freud seemed to postulate that the death instinct was the more fundamental. Like Schopenhauer, Freud now proclaimed that "the goal of life is death," that the preservation instinct itself is one aspect of the death instinct because it protects against accidental, externally caused death, in order to preserve the individual for death from internal causes. Eros is now far more than sexual instinct, it exists in each living cell and drives the living substance to constitute larger beings, it is a postponement of death by flight forward. The death instinct is the tendency toward dissolution of living substance and return to a state of inanimate matter. The two instincts are inseparable, and life is a compromise between Eros and the death instinct until the latter prevails. Freud expressed the hope that the progress of biology would make a formulation of these speculations possible in scientific terms. Meanwhile he had to reformulate a great part of his clinical conceptions. For many years he had proclaimed the primacy of libido, and in 1908, he had rejected Adler's idea of an autonomous aggressive drive. In his first metapsychology paper in 1915, however, he had attributed the origin of hatred to nonlibidinal ego instincts, placing its origin prior to that of love. Now with his new theories, he had to admit that there was a primary masochism that was not simply sadism turned inward, and in his further writings he ascribed more and more importance to the role of aggressive and destructive instincts. He seemed to put as much emphasis on these as he had formerly placed on the libido.

The theories contained in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* were not all as new as they appeared to some of Freud's followers. Freud was returning to the tendency for speculation he had gratified in 1895 by writing his *Project for a Scientific Psychology*, as well as to Fechner, who had inspired his former speculative works. At the beginning of *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* Freud connected the principle of pleasure-unpleasure and Fechner's principle of constancy.³⁸⁹ As Freud remarked: "The principle of constancy is but one particular case of Fechner's more general 'principle of the tendency to stability.' " Fechner distinguished three forms of stability: absolute stability (implying a permanent immobility of the parts of a whole), full stability (the parts of the whole are animated by movements so regular that each part of the whole returns to the same place at regular intervals), and "approximate stability" (a more or less imperfect tendency to return to the same place at regular intervals, as in the movements of the heart and other rhythmic psychological activities). It would seem that this systematization of Fechner inspired a similar framework for Freud's ideas. To the pleasure-unpleasure principle he added the death instinct (a return to Fechner's full stability) and the repetition compulsion, as intermediate between approximate and absolute stability.

The notion of repetition compulsion was, from the clinical point of view, the most original contribution contained in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, though it had been expressed by other authors. Tarde had already described the propensity of a criminal to relive his crime in imagination, to return to the scene of his crime, and to repeat his crime, as a particular example of a more general tendency to repeat, consciously or not, acts and situations from one's own history.³⁹⁰

Freud's concept of the death instinct also had many precursors. Von Schubert among the Romantics had expressed it clearly, mainly as a wish, in the latter part of life, to die.³⁹¹ Closer to Freud's idea, Novalis proclaimed that "life is for the sake of death," and that "the characteristic of illness is the instinct of self-destruction."³⁹² Opposite to the death instinct Novalis placed the instinct of organization, whose highest expression was human language, culture, and philosophy. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian psychiatrist Tokarsky wrote a philosophical essay on death, in which, in the manner of the ancient Stoics, he dissociated the various feelings and images that are associated with the idea of death, until there remained nothing frightening in it.³⁹³ He quoted a centenarian, who said that at a certain age there came a need to die as natural as the need to sleep. Another Russian, Metchnikoff, maintained that there was such a thing as an instinct to die.³⁹⁴ He added further observations, surmising that the wish to die must be a particularly pleasant feeling, but that few people experience it, either because they die early, or because of the diseases of old age. These two Russians, however, viewed the death instinct simply as a wish to die, whereas the idea of destructive and self-destructive

instincts was much more widespread throughout the nineteenth century. It followed a tradition going back to Hobbes and popularized by Darwin and the social Darwinians, by Lombroso, and by Nietzsche. Fechner had written a curious little essay in which he advanced the idea that destruction was a more fundamental principle than creation.³⁹⁵ In the beginning was destruction; then destruction began to destroy itself, and this was creation. Even among psychoanalysts, the concept of a death instinct had been occasionally expressed. Sabina Spielrein had written on "Destruction as the cause of becoming."³⁹⁶ Rank's theory that every man longs to return to the mother's womb was considered by Moxon as an anticipation of Freud's concept of the death instinct.³⁹⁷

The classical pairs of opposites were *Eros-Neikos* (Love-Strife), and *Bios-Thánatos* (Life-Death), but not *Eros-Thánatos*, although an Austrian writer, Schaukal, had published a series of five short stories of a rather gloomy quality under that title.³⁹⁸ Freud first brought forth his concepts as hypotheses, but in later writings he showed that he firmly believed in them. In every psychological process he saw the presence of the two processes, Eros as a tendency to form larger units, and the death instinct Thanatos as the reverse tendency; this latter concept was very close to Spencer's definition of evolution and dissolution. Freud once more was compelled to reinterpret his theories of the various clinical conditions; melancholia, for instance, he now viewed as disintegration of the libido and the death instinct.

Freud's concept of the death instinct met resistance, even among the most faithful psychoanalysts. Brun, in Switzerland, objected that there was no biological support for the notion of a death instinct; death, he said, was the *finis* (termination), but not the *telos* (final aim) of life. Those psychoanalysts such as Karl Menninger, who utilize the notion of life and death instincts, do so from an empirical and clinical rather than a biological point of view.³⁹⁹ Actually, as shown by Mechler, Freud's concept of the death instinct can be best understood against the background of the preoccupation with death shared by a number of his eminent contemporaries: biologists, psychologists, and existential philosophers.⁴⁰⁰

While the notions in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* were received with mixed feelings by psychoanalysts, those presented three years later in *The Ego and the Id* enjoyed great success, though they meant extensive modifications in psychoanalytic theory.⁴⁰¹ For many years psychoanalysis had been considered a depth psychology, primarily focused on the unconscious mind and its influence upon conscious life. Freud had distinguished three layers of the mind: the conscious, preconscious, and unconscious. Neuroses were manifestations of conflicts between the conscious and the unconscious, the former being implicitly equated with the ego. Freud now felt that his conceptual framework had become inadequate; he considered mental life as produced by the interaction of three psychic agencies

(*Instanzen*), the ego, the id, and the superego. The ego was defined as "the coordinated organization of mental processes in a person." There was a conscious and an unconscious part in the ego. To the conscious ego belonged perception and motor control, and to the unconscious ego, the dream censor and the process of repression. Language was an ego function; unconscious contents became preconscious through the medium of words.

The id was not very different from what Freud had originally described as the unconscious, the seat of both the repressed material and the drives, to which had been added the unconscious fantasies and unconscious feelings, notably guilt feelings. The word "unconscious" was now an adjective, used to qualify not only the id, but parts of the ego and superego. The term "id" (*das Es*) could be traced to Nietzsche, but Freud admitted borrowing it from *The Book of the Id*, by George Groddeck,⁴⁰² an admirer of psychoanalysis.⁴⁰³

The most novel part of *The Ego and the Id* is that devoted to the third agency, the superego, though Freud had already touched on some of its aspects under the name of ego ideal. The superego is the watchful, judging, punishing agency in the individual, the source of social and religious feelings in mankind. Its origin was in the individual's former ego configurations, which had been superseded, and above all in the introjection of the father figure as a part of the resolution of the Oedipus complex.

The construction of the superego in an individual is thus dependent on the manner in which the Oedipus complex has been resolved. On the other hand, the superego receives its energy from the id, hence its frequently cruel, sadistic quality. This new concept explained the role of neurotic guilt feelings in obsessions, melancholia, hysteria, and in criminality. The ideas of self-punishment and criminality because of guilt feelings were later to be expanded and emphasized in psychoanalysis and criminology. Freud concluded that the "Id is quite amoral, the Ego strives to be moral, and the Superego can be hyper-moral and cruel as only the Id can be."

As a consequence of these new theories, the ego was now in the limelight of psychoanalysis, especially as the site of anxiety: reality anxiety, that is, fear caused by reality, drive anxiety from pressures from the id and guilt anxiety resulting from the pressures of the superego. Freud concluded with a description of the pitiful state of the ego, suffering under the pressures of its three masters. It was clear that the main concern of psychotherapy would now be to relieve the ego by reducing these pressures and helping it acquire some strength.

To many of Freud's contemporaries, the theory of the human psychological structure consisting of these three entities, the ego, the id, and the superego, seemed perplexing, even though there was nothing revolutionary in it. As already mentioned, the notion of the id can be traced to the Romantics, and the essence of the superego unmistakably originated with Nietzsche, especially in *The Genealogy of Morals*. To define the ego as

the coordinating organization of the mental processes in a person was reminiscent of Janet's function of synthesis, and ego strength was not very different from Janet's psychological tension. The ego was an old philosophical concept in new psychological dress. Nacht's definition of the ego as "the entity through which the individual becomes conscious of his own existence and of the existence of the external world" is almost identical with that which Fichte had given in philosophical terms.⁴⁰³

In 1936 Freud published *Inhibition, Symptom and Anxiety*, a book that some analysts have found the most difficult among his works. Inhibition was redefined as a limitation of the functions of the ego; anxiety as a painful emotional condition accompanied by processes of discharge (both of which are perceived by the individual). Anxiety was no longer a symptom, but a condition necessary for the formation of symptoms. As already stated in *The Ego and the Id*, the ego is the only site of anxiety; anxiety can occur in two circumstances: either when the ego's protective barriers are overrun, or as a warning signal against danger from the drives—to which the ego reacts with various forms of "defense" (*Abwehr*). Repression is now but one of the defenses; the others being reaction formation, isolation, and undoing. Repression is characteristic of hysteria, the other three of obsessive-compulsive neuroses. In this new theory, repression is no longer the cause of anxiety; on the contrary, anxiety gives rise to repression and other defenses.

Inhibition, Symptom and Anxiety marked a new phase in the transformation of Freud's theories, from metapsychology to ego psychology. It would seem that this booklet was, at least partly, a refutation of Rank's theory that all anxiety arises from the trauma of birth. With the increased importance Freud ascribed to the ego, he came closer to the concepts of Janet (for instance, the idea of the isolation mechanism in compulsive neuroses), and of Adler (reaction formation as a form of compensation). There are also noteworthy similarities between Freud's new theories of anxiety and those expressed in 1859 by Heinrich Neumann.⁴⁰⁴

As a consequence of these new theories, the focus of Freudian therapy shifted from the analysis of the instinctual forces to that of the ego, from the repressed to the repressing. Analysis of defenses would necessarily uncover anxiety, and the task of the analyst was now to dispel the excess of anxiety and to strengthen the ego, so that it could face reality and control the pressure of drives and the superego.

A further step toward ego psychoanalysis was taken by Anna Freud with her book *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, describing a variety of defense mechanisms from the theoretical and practical viewpoint.⁴⁰⁵ Freud himself had redefined the ego as a system of functions (facing reality, controlling drives, and integrating the three "agencies" of personality), a system working with its own, desexualized energy. In his last works he emphasized the biological aspects of the ego, suggested that it

possessed inherited characteristics, and indicated self-preservation as one of its main functions.⁴⁰⁶

The final step toward modern ego psychoanalysis was marked by Heinz Hartmann's celebrated monograph of 1939, which emphasized the autonomy of the ego and its function of adaptation. This writing was to inspire a generation of psychoanalysts, but Freud by that time had accomplished his work.⁴⁰⁷

Freud's Work—VII—The Psychoanalytic Technique

Freud's creation of a new psychotherapeutic method was a long process that underwent a succession of metamorphoses from his earliest attempts to the end of his life, and which was to be continued by his disciples after his death.

It is not certain how Freud treated his first neurotic patients. He may have used that unsystematized, intuitive approach, traditional with those physicians who understood their patients' problems and helped them by giving support and direction. He most probably benefited from the teachings of Moritz Benedikt about the importance of the second life (day-dreams, suppressed wishes, and ambitions) and of the pathogenic secret, and it is known that he applied Bernheim's technique of hypnotic suggestion.

The first picture of a properly Freudian psychotherapy appeared in 1895, in Freud's contribution to the *Studies in Hysteria*. At this stage it was an adaptation of Breuer's cathartic treatment, and almost identical to Janet's procedure. Probably inspired by Weir Mitchell's cure was the adjuvant use of physical relaxation (which was to become the psycho-analytic couch). In view of the difficulty he had in hypnotizing his own patients, and remembering that Bernheim was able, in the state of post-hypnotic amnesia, to have the subject recall what had happened under hypnosis, Freud told his patients to close their eyes and concentrate. While he pressed a hand on the patients' forehead, he would then assure them that the forgotten memory would return. At times it did so directly, at others it did so through chains of associations. Freud, too, noticed the intensification of neurotic symptoms when he came close to the pathogenic nucleus.

In the same contribution the concepts of "resistance" and "transference" are first defined. Freud noticed a slowing down or stoppage of the free association in some cases; he termed this phenomenon resistance and attempted to analyze it.⁴⁰⁸ He considered resistance as the result either of inner causes (from the material itself), or external causes related in some way to the therapist. Sometimes the patient felt neglected by the doctor, and a simple explanation would suffice to restore the flow. Sometimes the patient was afraid of becoming too dependent on the doctor. Sometimes also, the patient transferred painful memories to the doctor; the latter's task was to make the patient aware of the resistance and find its origin in the life history.

Five years later, in 1900, *The Interpretation of Dreams* made a practical method for the interpretation of dreams available to psychotherapy.

An account of Freud's psychoanalytic method, written in 1904 at the request of Loewenfeld, shows the modifications it had undergone in the previous ten years.⁴⁰⁹ The patient still reclined on a couch, but the doctor now sat on a chair behind his range of vision. The patient no longer closed his eyes, nor did Freud place his hand on the patient's forehead. The method of free association was now dominated by a basic rule: the patient should say anything that came to his mind, no matter how absurd, immoral, or painful it seemed. Freud explained how he analyzed resistance with the gaps and distortions in the material obtained. A new comprehensive technique of interpretation utilized as material, not only the free associations and resistance, but the patient's parapraxes, symptomatic acts, and dreams as well. Freud now rejected the use of hypnosis and contended that the psychoanalytic technique was much easier than the reader could surmise from its written description.

One year later, in 1905, Freud showed in the Dora case how dream interpretation could be used for psychotherapy. Transference was redefined as an unconscious revival of life events, in which the therapist is viewed as if he had been one of the participants. Transference, the greatest obstacle to the cure, was now considered the most powerful therapeutic tool, if skillfully handled by the doctor.

In 1910, Freud drew attention toward counter-transference, that is, the irrational feelings of the therapist toward the patient.⁴¹⁰ In his pamphlet on "Wild Analysis" Freud departed from the opinion he held in 1904, by saying that it was very difficult to learn psychoanalysis and that in view of the danger of "wild analysis," an organization should be set up to teach analysis and qualify analysts.⁴¹¹

In 1912, Freud stated that it was not necessary to interpret all the dreams of a patient; many did not require complete interpretation, and often no interpretation was needed.⁴¹² In a further paper Freud distinguished positive and negative transference, adding that there were mixed (ambivalent) forms, and that transference was a general phenomenon in human life.⁴¹³ In a third paper he introduced the principle of free-floating attention: the analyst, far from concentrating too intensively on the utterances of the patient, should trust his "unconscious memory"; he should not take abundant notes, but content himself with noting the dates, important facts, and texts of dreams.⁴¹⁴ He should not speculate about the causes and structure of the case until he was well advanced. "Go on without definite intention," Freud advised. The analyst should follow the model of the surgeon in regard to emotional coldness toward the patient; his concern should be to act as a mirror, reflecting for the patient what he shows to the analyst, and the analyst should therefore be opaque to the patient. Neither should the analyst demand intellectual tasks of the patient (such as the thinking over of a certain period of his life), nor should

he seek to channel the patient's sublimation process. Freud proclaimed that it was necessary for a psychoanalyst to have undergone a training analysis. In 1914 Freud explained that in the transference situation all the symptoms have replaced their previous meaning by a new one within the framework of a transference neurosis, which can be cured.⁴¹⁵ Transference neurosis is an artificial illness, an intermediate realm between illness and real life, a transition from neurosis to health. Thus not only the patient's utterances but also his behavior are analyzed, and once all is interpreted to the patient, he is expected to apply this new insight. In the presence of a woman patient manifesting transference love, Freud added in 1915, the role of the analyst is to show her that the alleged love is a form of resistance.⁴¹⁶

In 1919 Freud warned analysts against taking false routes.⁴¹⁷ He disavowed Ferenczi's innovation and precept of the active role of the analyst, and also rose up against the idea of the analyst giving emotional gratification to the patient; the analysis should be conducted in an atmosphere of abstinence. Neither did Freud admit that a psychoanalysis should be supplemented by psychosynthesis, nor that it should deal with religion or philosophy and undertake to educate the patient. Nevertheless Freud was preoccupied with future application of psychoanalysis to the underprivileged; in that event he considered that psychoanalysis would have to be supplemented by hypnosis.

In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* Freud reinterpreted the meaning of transference as being the manifestation of the compulsion to repetition. The concept of the death instinct and the new theories that were soon to follow entailed deep-reaching modifications in the psychoanalytic techniques, and further ones were introduced by the promoters of ego psychoanalysis. The focus of the analytic work was now no longer the direct investigation of the unconscious, but the exploration of the ego's defenses. The unconscious drives were felt as threats by the ego, which experienced anxiety, and protected itself through a system of defenses. The task of the analyst was the cautious uncovering of these defenses and the working through of at least a part of the underlying anxiety (Freud now admitted that anxiety could not be completely removed). The therapist analyzed these defenses, whether they were anachronic or inappropriate, and their relationship to the neurotic symptoms. He taught the patient to use more appropriate defenses, permitting a better adjustment.

In Freud's last publications, an almost pessimistic tone could be perceived. He conjectured that the future would attribute far greater importance to psychoanalysis as a science of the unconscious than as a therapeutic method. In *Analysis Terminable and Interminable* Freud admitted that certain psychoanalytic treatments have to be resumed after a number of years, while others must be pursued, though intermittently, the whole life long.⁴¹⁸ The therapeutic prospects are limited by biological factors,

by the constitutional strength of the drives, by the weakness of the ego, and particularly by the death instinct. Least accessible to psychoanalysis are the woman's wish for a penis and the man's feminine attitude toward his own sex. In the posthumous *Outline of Psychoanalysis* Freud added to these negative factors psychic inertia, a kind of viscosity of the libido, and a weak capacity for sublimation.⁴¹⁹ He visualized the final outcome of the treatment as depending upon the balance between the forces that the analyst and the patient are able to mobilize to their advantage, and the sum of the negative forces working against them.

The best way to assess the novelty and originality of Freud's psychoanalytic methods is to contrast them with the preexisting ones, from which he started.

Freud was not the first therapist who spent considerable time with his patients, allowed them to speak in an atmosphere of benevolence, listened to all their complaints, recorded their whole life history, and took in account the emotional causes of disease. All this had been done by Janet, by Bleuler, and many others before them, and was preliminary to the use of a particular method. But psychoanalysis can be primarily understood as being a modification of the previously extant techniques of hypnosis.

The hypnotist, sitting in a chair, faced his subject seated in another chair and instructed him how to attain the hypnotic sleep; the patient showed more or less resistance, but yielded in favorable cases. These sessions were repeated, often daily, until the patient learned to fall rapidly into hypnotic sleep. The hypnotic cure could then take weeks or months. Unknown capacities and forgotten memories were uncovered in hypnotic sleep, new roles were played by the subject, and the hypnotist was able to induce regression to earlier periods in the patient's life. But the patient often opposed a resistance to the hypnotizer's interventions. In the course of the hypnotic treatment a singular rapport was established between the subject and the hypnotist. The strong erotic element of rapport, as well as the possibility of infantile dependency in the patient, making the termination of hypnotic treatment a delicate exercise, were emphasized by many authors.

In psychoanalytic technique the patient reclines on a couch, and the therapist sits on a chair behind him, seeing but unseen. The analyst explains the basic rule, which is to tell anything that comes to mind. This rule is, of course, difficult to follow, and the patient has to overcome resistances, which in the best of cases would never completely disappear. After a few weeks, however, the patient learns to overcome his resistance, and even to take pleasure in talking at random. A gradual loosening of associations occurs, and instead of following one train of thought, the subject jumps from one idea to another. As the analysis proceeds, more and more memories of even more remote childhood events appear interspersed

with memories of dreams and fantasies, and the patient begins to have a strangely distorted picture of the analyst. The analyst offers interpretations, which the patient accepts or not. Whereas with hypnosis resistance is merely considered a nuisance, in psychoanalysis it becomes a relevant phenomenon to be analyzed. What the hypnotist calls rapport, the analyst terms transference, and considers it to be a revival of early attitudes toward parents, requiring analysis. It is the slow development and subsequent resolution of the transference neurosis that are considered the main tools of the psychoanalytic technique.

The contrast can be summarized as in the following table:

HYPNOSIS	PSYCHOANALYSIS
<i>Setting:</i> Patient sitting. Subject facing hypnotist.	<i>Setting:</i> Patient lying down. Analyst sitting behind patient, seeing but unseen.
<i>Preliminary instructions:</i> How to become hypnotized.	<i>Preliminary instructions:</i> Psychoanalytic basic rule.
<i>First week:</i> Subject learns to become hypnotized.	<i>First week:</i> Patient overcomes aversion to the basic rule.
<i>Following weeks or months:</i> Emergence of unknown capacities, new roles, latent memories.	<i>Following weeks, months, or years:</i> Loosening of association process, fragmentary memories and fantasies, distorted picture of the analyst. Psychoanalytic regression to pre-Oedipal stages.
Hypnotic age regression.	Interpretations offered to subject, who is free to accept them or not.
Hypnotic suggestions (formerly "bar-gaining", used by magnetizers).	Resistance, and analysis of resistance.
Resistance as troublesome element.	Transference utilized and analyzed as therapeutic tool.
Rapport often utilized as therapeutic tool	Treatment terminated through resolution of transference neurosis.
Risk of hypnotic dependency makes termination of treatment difficult.	

Certain features of psychoanalytic technique can be understood in the context of what neuropathologists wrote at the end of the nineteenth century about the "diabolical cleverness" of hysterics in deceiving the therapist and involving him in their games. It is as if each rule of Freudian technique was devised to defeat the cunning of these patients. The specific setting (the psychoanalyst seeing without being seen) deprives the patient of an audience and of the satisfaction of watching the therapist's reactions.

The basic rule, together with the analyst's neutral attitude, prevents the patient from distorting words of the analyst, and places the latter in the position of a sensible parent who ignores the silly utterances of a little child. The rule that all appointments must be paid, whether kept or not, and in advance, prevents the patient from punishing the therapist by

absence and nonpayment. The analysis of transference as it occurs defeats the hysteric's concealed but always present aim: the seduction of the therapist. For the same reason, full liberty is given to verbalization, but any kind of acting-out is prohibited, and no contact with the therapist is allowed outside the hours of treatment. Because of the hysteric's tendency to defeat the therapist by any means, even at the cost of remaining sick, a cure is never promised, and the patient is told that the healing depends on his or her own efforts.

Psychoanalytic techniques may thus be considered a transformation of the old techniques of the hypnotists, especially devised to defeat the underlying maliciousness of hysterics and their constant endeavor to fool the hypnotist. However, it appears that the ever-present resistance of psychoanalyzed subjects had inherited this hysterical feature.

Psychoanalysis also incorporated the principles of other, previously known, psychotherapeutic techniques. Relief from painful, pathogenic secrets through confession no doubt plays a role in certain psychoanalytic cures. The exploration of the inner life of frustrated wishes and ambitions, and of fantasies, as taught by Benedikt, is an integral part of psychoanalysis. Relief from symptoms through becoming aware of unconscious influences was not unknown. In a letter to his friend Chanut, Descartes told of his propensity to fall in love with cock-eyed women.⁴²⁰ In thinking about it he remembered that as a child he loved a young lady who had that defect. After he had recognized and understood the connection, his predilection disappeared. In this letter we find the theory of complex (determination of a conscious act through an unconscious or half-conscious memory), and the notion of its therapy through bringing it to awareness and interpretation.⁴²¹ The therapeutic utilization of transference neurosis is comparable to the conjuring up of a latent possession in exorcism, or to Mesmer's techniques of bringing forth crises in order to control them gradually.⁴²² The concept of transference itself was but the late metamorphosis of the rapport, whose long evolution has been described in former chapters, as well as its therapeutic utilization by Janet.⁴²³

Certain writers or philosophers resorted to spontaneous thinking, as a help toward the creative work. The Romantic poet and physicist, Johann Wilhelm Ritter, used to jot down any thoughts that occurred to him, sometimes in incomplete and unclear form, but from the midst of that tangle brilliant aphorisms and suggestions for scientific experiments could emerge.⁴²⁴ A somewhat different technique was that of Ludwig Börne. In an essay entitled *The Art of Becoming an Original Writer in Three Days*, Börne recommended shutting oneself away for three days with a supply of paper, to write, "without falsehood and without hypocrisy," about every topic that comes to mind.⁴²⁵ Börne's idea was that men are stifled by the burden of conventional ideas, and that they do not dare to think for themselves. His aim was to free the mind from adulterated

thinking. "Sincerity is the source of any kind of genius," Böhme proclaimed.⁴²⁶ In another essay, Böhme said "what is dangerous is the *repressed* word, what has been despised avenges itself, but what has been spoken out is not in vain."⁴²⁷ Böhme's work was held in great esteem by members of Freud's generation, and by Freud himself.

Other techniques of spontaneity utilized psychic automatism. From the beginning of magnetism, it was known that in a hypnotic trance a subject could be brought to draw, paint, write, and so on, of which he would remember nothing in the waking state. Later, automatic writing (an activity in which the subject was conscious that he was writing, but not of what he was writing) was introduced into psychopathology by Charles Richet and used as a psychotherapeutic device by Janet. Crystal gazing also became the object of systematic studies: an individual looked into any reflecting surface and began to see clouds that formed themselves into visual projections of unconscious thoughts. Automatic drawing also became fashionable in the 1880's, and we have seen that Janet utilized automatic talking with his patient, Madame D., in 1892. This was the nearest approach to Freud's technique of free association.

Freud had his patients' free associations met by the analysts free-floating attention, and here also he had a predecessor. In his autobiography, Galton said that at one time in his life he was interested in mesmerism and magnetized about eighty people, in the process of which he made an unexpected observation:

I had been assured that success was the effect of strength of will on the part of the magnetizer, so at first I exerted all the will-power I possessed, which was fatiguing; I then, by way of experiment, intermitted a little, looking all the time in the same way as before, and found myself equally successful. So I intermitted more and more, and at last succeeded in letting my mind ramble freely while I maintained the same owl-like demeanor. This acted just as well.⁴²⁸

All these technical devices, and perhaps many others, can be recognized within Freud's therapeutic procedure. But this does not account for its truly unique characteristics, that is, to have originated in Freud's self-analysis. Freud's analysis was an application of the self-treatment he imagined for his creative neurosis to other persons. This does not preclude the fact that he may have previously applied some of its devices (for instance, free associating), and that he simultaneously analyzed his patients and himself. Psychoanalysis essentially differs from other psychotherapeutic methods in that the patient repeats the experience of Freud's own creative illness, though in attenuated form and under qualified guidance. To undergo a successful psychoanalysis thus amounts to a journey through the unconscious, a journey from which a man necessarily emerges with a modified personality. But this in turn leads to a dilemma. Psychoanalysts proclaim

that their method is superior to any other kind of therapy, being the only one able to restructure personality. On the other hand, an increasing number of limitations, contra-indications, dangers, have been pointed out by Freud and his successors. Could it be that psychoanalysis, as a therapy, will come to be replaced by other less laborious and more effective therapies, whereas a few privileged men will afford it as a unique experience apt to change their outlook upon the world, their fellowmen, and themselves?

Freud's Work—VIII—Philosophy of Religion, Culture, and Literature

Soon after he had conceived his psychoanalytic theory, Freud expanded his reflection upon the fields of religion, sociology, cultural history, art, and literature. The works he wrote on these topics have given rise to conflicting opinions. Certain critics were inclined to understand them as essays in the Böhme manner, that is, as thoughts jotted down to clarify one's thinking by discarding all merely conventional ideas and putting down all one sincerely feels about a topic. But there have been Freudians and non-Freudians alike who considered them a legitimate extension of psychoanalytic research upon the realms of philosophy, culture, sociology, and the theory of art and literature.

Although Freud claimed to be scornful of philosophy, he definitely expressed philosophical ideas, in the sense of a materialistic, atheistic ideology. His philosophy was an extreme form of positivism, which considered religion dangerous and metaphysics superfluous. In 1907, Freud compared obsessive compulsive symptoms of neurotics with religious rituals and creeds, and concluded that religion was a universal obsessional neurosis, and obsession an individualized religion.⁴²⁹ Twenty years later, in *The Future of an Illusion*, Freud defined religion as an illusion inspired by infantile belief in the omnipotence of thought, a universal neurosis, a kind of narcotic that hampers the free exercise of intelligence, and something man will have to give up.⁴³⁰ Religiously minded psychoanalysts objected that Freud had overstepped the boundaries of psychoanalysis and was expressing his personal philosophical opinion; but Freud no doubt believed that psychoanalysis could unmask religion as it could any neurotic symptom.

With *Totem and Taboo* Freud undertook to retrace the origin, not only of religion, but of human culture, and to find a link between the individual Oedipus complex and the prehistory of mankind.⁴³¹ Reading the works of Tylor, Lang, Frazer, and other ethnologists, Freud noted that in primitive populations as well as in neurotics there was the same abhorrence of incest, the same irrational character in primitive taboo and in neurotic phobias, the same omnipotence of thought in magic procedures and in neurotic fantasies. Freud proposed a comprehensive theory furnishing a common basis to explain neurotic symptoms, social and cultural manifestations in primitive peoples, and the origin of civilization. The common nucleus is demonstrated in the story of the murder of the primeval father, an

extension of the notion of the Oedipus complex. Every little boy, Freud said, has to overcome his secret wish to kill his father and marry his mother. If he is able successfully to overcome this trial, the child incorporates the image of his father in himself, his superego is built, and he will be ready for a normal maturity and adult life; if he fails he is bound to be neurotic. Such is every man's fate, but that individual fate is the reflection of one decisive event that occurred in the prehistory of mankind. Ages ago, men lived in hordes under the despotism of a cruel old father, who kept all the females for himself and exiled his growing sons. The banished sons lived in a community united by homosexual feelings and behaviour. Eventually, the sons killed and ate the father, gratifying their hatred, but this was the beginning of totemism. They revered that animal as a benevolent ancestor (as the father ought to have been), but at regular intervals they killed and devoured it. After killing the father, they did not dare to take his women, as an effect of delayed obedience; moreover, the new organization would have been threatened if the males had quarreled over the females. Such was the origin of the first two commands of mankind, the patricide prohibition and the incest prohibition, the beginning of human culture, morals and religion, and at the same time the prototype of the Oedipus complex.

The idea of primitive mankind living in hordes under the leadership of a tyrannical male was a hypothetical assumption of Darwin's. J. J. Atkinson enlarged Darwin's description: as a result of the father exiling his rival sons, there were two groups living in close proximity; one was the "cyclopean family" comprising the male head, captured females, his own adult female offspring, and a troop of infants of both sexes, the other a band of exiled sons "living most probably in a state of polyandry," and in "peaceful union."⁴³² When a troop of males felt itself stronger than the father, it attacked and killed him, and the strongest young male succeeded him. This fighting might have perpetuated itself, but Atkinson supposed that at some time one wife was able to persuade the patriarch to keep one of his sons, so that he might succeed him, on the condition of not touching the older man's wives, and this was the beginning of the incest prohibition. Freud was also inspired by William Robertson Smith's theory of the origin of Semitic cults: in the time when men lived in small clans under the belief and rule of totemism, they used to sacrifice a totemic animal at regular intervals and eat it at a ceremonial banquet.⁴³³

It is likely that C. G. Jung's *Metamorphoses and Symbols of Libido* focused Freud's interest on cultural history, but there was also a keen interest in the subject of totemism among his contemporary ethnologists. Numerous theories, many of them forgotten today, sprang up everywhere.⁴³⁴ Durkheim contended that totemism had been the common root of all the religions of mankind. Frazer enounced three successive theories, the third being expounded in his book, *Totem and Exogamy*, which was one of

Freud's main sources. In 1912, Wundt attempted a reconstruction of the successive stages gone through by mankind, one of which being totemism.

Actually, it is not impossible that the inspiration for *Totem and Taboo* came less from an unfathomable prehistory than from contemporary events. In those years Turkey, an anachronistic empire and neighbor of Austria, was ruled by the "Red Sultan", Abdul Hamid II. This despot had the power of life and death over his subjects, kept hundreds of wives in a harem guarded by eunuchs, and from time to time massacred entire populations of his empire. In 1908 "the sons banded together against the cruel old man," the Young Turks rebelled and overthrew the Sultan, in order to start a national community where civilization and the arts could flourish. These events were watched with the keenest interest in Austria, more than anywhere else. Whatever ethnologists may think of the murder of the primal father, the story retains its value as a philosophical myth, corresponding to Hobbes' myth of the origin of society.⁴³⁵ The original condition of mankind, according to Hobbes, was "the war of everyone against everyone"; then a number of men united and delegated their rights to a sovereign, and this power was to be used by him for the common good and as he thought expedient. Such was the origin of absolute monarchy, which for many centuries was the most common form of government, for better or for worse. As Hobbes gave a philosophical myth of the origin of absolute monarchy, Freud gave one of its dissolution.

In *Group Psychology and the Ego*, in 1921, Freud proposed the rudiments of a sociology that rejected the concept of an autonomous social instinct, and was based on the libido theory.⁴³⁶ Freud discussed the theories of Le Bon, MacDougall, and Trotter. Le Bon's theory of crowds, he said, did not explain the secret of the leader's power, which resides in "Eros, that binds everything together in the world." Libido binds the individual to the leader and induces him to give up his individuality. Besides the transient, unorganized crowds, there are also "durable and artificial crowds," such as the Church and the Army, in which the tie of the individual to the leader is one of love, strengthened by the illusion that the leader loves him. Individuals identify themselves with the leader, and are bound together through their common identification. All of these manifestations of libido, furthermore, cover something more fundamental: the aggressive drives. When a group collapses, aggressiveness is released in the form of outbursts of violence, or the loss of security produces anxiety that takes the form of panic. What actually binds individuals together are the elementary feelings of envy and aggressiveness. When a popular singer attracts a swarm of young women, their common admiration for him is the only thing that keeps them from pulling each other's hair. "Social feeling thus resides in the turning of a previously hostile feeling into a positive attachment in the nature of identification . . . all the individuals would like to be equal but also to be ruled by one person"—an assumption not very

far from Hobbes' theory of the origin of society. Freud concluded by pointing out the similarity between these groups of equals with their leader, and the primal horde.

Group Psychology and the Ego obviously was inspired by the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire at the end of 1918, with the panic and distress that followed. But it also inserted itself into the context of a previous trend of "mass psychology," whose origin and history are not generally known. As shown by Dupréel, there had been in Western Europe after the insurrection of the Commune in Paris in 1871 a "wave of anti-democratic pessimism," which was kept alive by the socialist agitation, the strikes, and the bloody riots so frequent at that time.⁴³⁷ The philosopher Taine turned his activity toward writing a history of the French Revolution, in which special attention was devoted to the riots and collective murders, with an analysis of their social and psychological causes. Taine's findings were developed and systematized by Tarde in France and Sighele in Italy.

Tarde postulated a basic interpsychological process, which he called imitation.⁴³⁸ Imitation can be conscious or unconscious, it applies to individuals as well as groups. According to Tarde, the father is the first lord, priest, and model for his son; the son's imitation of the father is the primal phenomenon that lies at the root of society. This imitation does not dwell upon force or cunning, but upon prestige, a phenomenon that Tarde, at first, compared with hypnotism. Later he explained that prestige derives neither from intelligence nor strength of will, but from "an un-analyzable physical action" that "could possibly be related through some invisible link to sexuality."⁴³⁹ Tarde emphasized the role of the unconscious in mass psychology. He described crowds united by love and others by hatred. As to Sighele, he stressed that no mass phenomena could be understood without an analysis of their historical and social context and also of the specific composition of the given crowds.⁴⁴⁰

These teachings of Tarde, Taine, and Sighele were adopted, oversimplified, and popularized by Le Bon in his *Psychology of Crowds*.⁴⁴¹ Any man within a crowd, Le Bon said, loses his individuality and acquires a parcel of the "crowd soul"; the "crowd soul" is intellectually inferior and shows a kind of intrinsic malignity. This can only be explained through a kind of hypnotic regression to a prehistoric mental stage of mankind. Le Bon applied these concepts of the crowd soul to the psychology of social groups and the vicissitudes of history. This book enjoyed enormous success. Le Bon's theory was considered as indisputable scientific truth by many. One may wonder that Freud took it as starting point for his own theory. As shown by Reikwald, Freud's theories, while contradicting Le Bon, show noteworthy similarities with those of Tarde.⁴⁴² What Tarde had called imitation, Freud called identification, and in many regards Freud's ideas appeared to be those of Tarde transposed in psychoanalytic concepts.

In 1930, in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud presented additional

views on the origins of civilization.⁴⁴³ A number of men discovered that if they put limits on the gratification of their instinctual drives, they were able to build a strong, united community. This situation, however, inevitably led to an insolvable conflict between the urges of the individual and the demands of society. The latter increased in the course of civilization's progress, deepening the conflict, and Freud wondered if the demands of contemporary, civilized society did not exceed the individual man's power of repressing his instincts, thus creating a neurosis of civilization. The problem discussed in this essay at times recalls Hobbes, but can be distinctly traced to Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*, and through him to Diderot's *Supplement to the Travel of Bougainville*.⁴⁴⁴

In the same essay, Freud proposed a new hypothesis about the taming of fire. Whenever primitive man came upon fire, he would extinguish it by urination. Owing to the phallic shape of the flames, he experienced an erotic feeling of a homosexual contest. The first man to renounce this erotic pleasure was able to put fire to practical use. "This great cultural conquest was thus the reward for instinctual renunciation." The woman was constituted keeper of the hearth because she was anatomically incapable of extinguishing fire as a man does. In another place Freud suggested that woman was the inventor of clothing because she wanted to hide her shameful lack of a penis; public hair inspired the invention of weaving.⁴⁴⁵

Whereas he found religion noxious and philosophy useless, Freud deemed art beneficial to man. But what is the essence of art? Freud defined it as "a combination of the principle of pleasure and the principle of reality" (much as Nietzsche had considered it a fusion of the Dionysian and the Apollonian principles).⁴⁴⁶ As an infant, the individual lives entirely according to the principle of pleasure, but the latter gradually recedes in favor of the principle of reality, which will dominate throughout his adult life. The artist maintains the pleasure principle more than others do, but compromises with the reality principle by creating works of art that will gratify the pleasure principle in other men. In a further paper, referring more to the poet than to the artist, Freud emphasized the role of fantasy: predominant in the child, it gradually recedes, but the creative writer is able to retain and convert it into literary work through certain devices, mainly by providing the preliminary pleasure in elements of form.⁴⁴⁷ Another of Freud's contributions to esthetics is his analysis of the uncanny, the particular feeling of creeping horror that pervades the works of a writer such as E. T. A. Hoffmann.⁴⁴⁸ It sometimes appears in the inexplicable recurrence of events, which, in themselves, may be harmless; sometimes in the belief of a double, or the dread of ghosts or other malevolent beings. A feeling of the uncanny, Freud believed, arises in situations where deeply repressed material or animistic attitudes of childhood are stimulated.

The only piece of art criticism left by Freud was his article on the Moses of Michelangelo, which at first appeared anonymously.⁴⁴⁹ Binswanger noted

that the method used by Freud in this study belongs to the psychology of expression, which is also one of the first stages in psychoanalytic methodology.⁴⁵⁰ As to literary criticism, Freud devoted an eighty-one page monograph to a short novel, *Gratidia*, by Wilhelm Jensen.⁴⁵¹ Freud showed that a psychoanalytic interpretation could be given to the delusions and dreams of the hero of that story, but he did not pursue his interpretations into the personality of the author.

Under the name of "pathographies," Moebius had published a series of monographs purporting to elucidate a writer's thought through an assessment of his heredity, constitution, and life history. It was not long before Freud's disciples wrote similar monographs based on psychoanalytic concepts. Freud himself gave the classical model of these studies with his essay, *A Childhood Memory of Leonardo da Vinci*.

Leonardo da Vinci is generally considered a universal genius who was misunderstood by his contemporaries. In his personality, Freud emphasized three features. First, that his thirst for knowledge led him to neglect his outstanding gifts, and to turn his interest more and more to scientific investigation; second, that being a slow worker, he left numerous sketches, but most of his works remained unfinished; third, his "cool repudiation of sexuality" that caused a presumption of his homosexuality. Freud traced the common root of these three features to Leonardo's infantile sexuality. An illegitimate child, he spent the first three or four years of his life with his forsaken mother until his father, by then married, adopted him. A mother, in such circumstances, is prone to turn her libido onto her infant, thus determining an incestuous attachment in him, in which psychoanalysis sees a possible root of later homosexuality. Actually, no objective records of Leonardo's early childhood are extant, but the artist recorded one early childhood memory: when as an infant he was lying in his cradle, a bird (called *nibbio* in Italian) flew to him, opened his mouth and inserted its tail. This fantasy could have the meaning of a passive kind of sexual perversion, or be a reminiscence of sucking at his mother's breast. The German text utilized by Freud translated *nibbio* as "vulture," and Freud commented that in ancient Egypt, a vulture was the hieroglyph for mother, that the vulture-headed goddess *Mut* (reminiscent of the German *Mutter*, mother) had an androgynous structure and a male organ; that furthermore, in the Middle Ages, the vulture species was considered entirely female, to be impregnated by the wind. All this, said Freud, is reminiscent of infantile sexual theories. Leonardo's infantile sexual curiosity was unusually stimulated because of his family situation, and became the root of his later, insatiable curiosity. His unconscious fixation to the image of his mother can be discerned, according to Freud, in his art masterpieces. Freud assumed that the vulture incident was a symbolic memory of the passionate kisses he received from his mother; that the smile of the Mona Lisa evoked a reminiscence of his mother's enigmatic smile in Da Vinci, so that it appeared in the Gioconda and several other paintings. In the painting of the Madonna and Child with St. Anne, Anne looks as young as Mary, and both are smiling. Freud saw a synthesis here, of Leonardo's childhood, divided between his true mother and his stepmother. Finally, the artist's rebellion against his

father was another determinant in Leonardo's scientific research and non-Christian belief.⁴⁵²

Freud's essay on Leonardo da Vinci gave rise to conflicting opinions. Rev. Oskar Pfister believed one could detect a vulture as a picture riddle in Leonardo's Madonna and Child with St. Anne. Meyer Schapiro compiled criticisms made by art historians.⁴⁵³ The word *nibbio*, erroneously translated as "vulture," actually meant a kite. The fantasy of the kite inserting its tail in the infant's mouth was (as shown by parallels in folklore) an omen of inspiration. Previous artists had painted St. Anne and Mary together, looking the same age; the motif of the smiling face belonged to the School of Verrocchio, Leonardo's master. There is no evidence that Leonardo spent his first years alone with his mother; there are reasons, in fact, to assume that he was taken by his father at birth. Some of these arguments have been questioned by K. R. Eissler.⁴⁵⁴ Freud's essay on Leonardo da Vinci has been generally admired for its beautiful style and its indefinable charm; it has been compared to the enigmatic smile of the Gioconda. Possibly some of Freud's interpretations of Leonardo applied to what his self-analysis had revealed to him of his own infancy.

One may classify among the pathographies the study of Freud devoted to the case of a German magistrate, Daniel Paul Schreber.⁴⁵⁵ A man of unusually high intelligence and ability, Schreber spent ten years in mental institutions on account of a severe mental illness. After his discharge, he published in 1903 a long narrative of his delusions, with the text of the legal reports written about him by the experts. In spite of its great phenomenological interest, this book was a somewhat narrow basis for a pathography; it lacked data about Schreber's family, his childhood, and his life history before his commitment. The illness itself was not exposed in its chronological evolution, but only in the shape it had reached after long years of evolution.⁴⁵⁶ Furthermore, the editors had cut out from Schreber's *Memoirs* those parts that would have been the most important from the psychoanalytic point of view. There remained, nonetheless, an inextricable amount of delusional ideas of all kinds. Schreber told how he conversed with the sun, the trees, the birds (which were fragments of deceased persons' souls), how God spoke to him in a dignified German language, how nearly all the organs of his body had been altered, how the end of the world was coming, how God had elected him to save mankind, and so on. Among all these delusions, Freud singled out two particular ones that he held as fundamental: first, Schreber contended that he was in the process of being changed from man to woman, second, he complained of having suffered homosexual assaults on the part of his first physician, the neurologist Flechsig. Freud assumed that repressed homosexuality was the cause of Schreber's paranoid illness. Schreber's homosexual love object had been his father, then Flechsig, later God, or the sun. Freud explained

that in repressed homosexuality the sentence "I love him" could be denied in different ways, each one giving rise to a variety of delusions (persecution, erotomania, delusions of jealousy, of grandeur). Fundamental in delusions of persecution was the mechanism of *projection*. The denied sentence "I love him" was replaced by, "I do not love him," "I hate him" . . . "because he hates and persecutes me."

Freud's theory of the homosexual origin of paranoia was adopted by many psychoanalysts, while others felt that it was valid for only a certain form of this illness. Some critics pointed out that Schreber's deviation was transsexuality, rather than homosexuality, and that his mental illness was schizophrenia and not paranoia. They added that even if it was proved that there had been repressed homosexuality, this would not explain the causation of the illness, but only its symptomatic picture. Macalpine and Hunter proposed another psychoanalytic interpretation of the Schreber case: a deep regression to an early stage of undifferentiated libido would bring about the reactivation of infantile procreation fantasies.⁴⁵⁷

Freud also analyzed the case of Christoph Haizmann, a painter of the seventeenth century, who allegedly signed two pacts with the Devil, one signed with ink, and one with his own blood, but succeeded to redeem himself and get back the two pacts from the Devil.⁴⁵⁸ On the basis of available documents (including paintings by him and fragments of his diary), Freud concluded that Haizmann, like Schreber, was the prey of a powerful father complex. The Devil was a projection of his hostility against his father, and here too there was a conflict about homosexuality and castration anxiety. Macalpine and Hunter reinterpreted the Haizmann story as they had done for the Schreber case, in the light of the notions of sex confusion and procreation fantasies.⁴⁵⁹ Vandendriessche found new documents about Haizmann, but they did not substantially change our knowledge of the case.⁴⁶⁰ No critics, as yet, seem to have wondered whether a part of the delusions of Schreber and Haizmann could not be ascribed to exaggeration or mythomania.

A psychoanalytic appraisal of Dostoevski was given by Freud as a foreword to the publication of hitherto unknown drafts of *The Brothers Karamazov*.⁴⁶¹ Freud said that Dostoevski was able to render an unforgettable narrative of a patricide because he himself suffered from a devastating father complex. During these paroxysmal fits where he looked as if he were dead, Dostoevski identified himself with his father such as he wished him to be (that is, dead), and at the same time it was a punishment for that wish. Dostoevski's passion for gambling originated in his self-destructive tendencies, linked with his father complex. "Destiny itself is finally nothing but a late projection of the father," Freud concluded.

Moses and Monotheism, which appeared serially in *Imago* in 1937 and 1938, is neither a pathography, nor a scholarly book, nor a novel.⁴⁶²

While admitting that much of it was hypothetical, Freud believed it plausible enough to justify its publication. In summary:

Freud started with the contention that Moses was not a Hebrew, but an Egyptian of high rank and status. The Egyptian King Akhenaton proclaimed a monotheistic religion, but after his death a counter-revolution fomented by priests reestablished the pagan cults. Having refused to lay aside monotheism, Moses was rejected by the Egyptians and chose the Hebrews as his people. With the help of his followers, the Levites, Moses imparted monotheism to the Jews and led them out of Egypt, to the Sinai Peninsula, where they united with the Midianites, a tribe that worshipped a local petty god named Jahweh. A rebellion arose against Moses and he was killed by his people. About sixty years later, however, the two populations were reunited by a new chief, also named Moses (the two being later confused and considered as one), who formed a compromise of monotheism and Jahweh worship. This dual structure of Hebrew nation and religion contained the germs of the later political secessions and political vicissitudes. The memory of the first Moses was revived in the teachings of subsequent prophets, and the wish for the return of the murdered Moses resulted in the belief of the return of the Messiah. The story of Jesus Christ was a reenactment of the story of the first Moses.

Moses and Monotheism bewildered many of Freud's disciples and provoked indignant protests from Jewish circles. Historians of religion pointed out its errors and impossibilities. It was also recalled that innumerable legends had grown around Moses, from centuries before Christ to that time. The idea that Moses was an Egyptian had been advanced many times, by Eduard Meyer, among others, whose works were well known to Freud.⁴⁶³ Much of what Freud advanced could also be traced to Schiller⁴⁶⁴ and to Karl Abraham.⁴⁶⁵ According to David Bakan, Freud's aim was to ward off anti-Semitism by separating the Mosaic characteristics (the burden of the historical superego) from the image of the Jew, and this only a Jew was able to do.⁴⁶⁶ Thus Freud would play the role of "a new Moses who comes down with a new Law dedicated to personal psychological liberty." Another interpretation, as plausible as any, would be that Freud identified himself with the first Moses and his own faithful followers with the Levites, that he viewed his departure from Vienna as the flight of Moses from Egypt, and contemporary psychoanalysis as a mixture of his own doctrine with "impure" psychoanalytic teachings. (Actually he was concerned by the turn taken by the movement and feared its distortions in the Anglo-Saxon world.) He foresaw prolonged inner strife between the two elements in psychoanalysis, but there would also come prophets to restore it to its original purity.

In spite of his rejection of philosophy and his lack of interest in politics, Freud could not help expressing opinions about many problems of general

interest. A brief mention must be made, at least, of his opinion about war and peace, and about parapsychological phenomena.

In a letter to Einstein, in September 1932, Freud expressed the feeling that the greatest obstacle to the creation of a central organization to secure peace lies in the existence of aggressive and destructive instincts in man.⁴⁶⁷ The death instinct can be turned inward or outward. Not infrequently it is turned outward to preserve the individual. Confronting these instincts are the various forms of libido that can be used to counteract destructive instincts to a certain extent; however, Eros and the death instinct are always alloyed with each other. Another would be the formation of a superior class of independent and fearless intellectuals, able to guide the masses into the path of reason.

For a long time Freud remained sceptical in regard to parapsychological phenomena, but in 1911 he became a member of the Society for Psychological Research.⁴⁶⁸ In September 1913, he told Lou Andréas-Salome⁴⁶⁹ of strange cases of thought transmission that had come to his knowledge, but he did not publish them, along with other similar cases, until much later.⁴⁷⁰ Freud contended that the psychoanalytic transference situation opened a new approach toward the exploration of telepathic and kindred phenomena. His attitude toward parapsychology remained a cautious one, as shown by the interview he granted to Tabori in 1935.⁴⁷¹ Freud compared discussions about so-called occult phenomena with an argument about the composition of the interior of the earth. We know nothing for certain, but infer that it is composed of heavy metals at very high temperature. A theory that it is composed of water saturated with carbonic acid does not appear logical, but would deserve some discussion. However, should anybody come up with a theory that the inside of the earth is made of marmalade, this would not be worthy of any scientific attention.

A note jotted down by Freud in 1938, perhaps his last thought, has the enigmatic simplicity of a Delphic oracle: "Mysticism—the obscure self-perception of the realm outside the Ego, the Id."⁴⁷²

Freud's Sources

The sources of Freud's psychoanalysis are multiple and still incompletely known. A man of great scientific and literary culture who stood at the crossroads of the main cultural currents of his time, an omnivorous reader, able to grasp quickly the interest of new ideas in order to adopt them and give them original form, Freud was the author of a powerful synthesis in which it is an almost hopeless task to discern what came from outside and what was his personal contribution. In fact, many of Freud's theories were known before him or belonged to contemporary trends. Freud drew from his masters, his colleagues, his rivals, his associates, his patients, and his disciples. "A good writer," Nietzsche said, "has not only his own mind, but the minds of his friends as well."⁴⁷³ A great part of the present book was devoted to authors and systems of thought, which, according to the

point of view, could be called sources or precursors of Freud. In the following we shall try to give a succinct list of these sources, insofar as they are known today.

The first and main source of any creative thinker lies in his own personality. Freud possessed that kind of asceticism that makes the scientific researcher, and a superior command of his native language, which (together with the keen interest for the secret life of people and the psychological intuition) produces a great writer. He was also the good dreamer who could illustrate *The Interpretation of Dreams* with his oniric productions. Above all it is (as we believe) from his creative illness that the main tenets of psychoanalysis originated: the notions of child sexuality, of the libido with its successive stages, fixations, and transformation in anxiety, of the Oedipus situation, the family romance, the theory of dreams, parapraxes, and screen memories, the concept of symptoms as vicarious realization of wishes, the notion that fantasies play a major role in neuroses and in poetical creation, and that these early fantasies, as well as genuine early sexual experiences, play a major role in the destiny of the individual.⁴⁷⁴

Freud's immediate masters, Brücke, Meynert, and Exner, were the promoters of a positivist, strictly scientific approach to the study of neurophysiology and neuropsychiatry. However, as we have seen, these men indulged in the contemporary trend of brain mythology. They produced vast speculative constructions, which, apparently unknown to them, were nothing but the late resurgence of the philosophy of nature. Here was the source of Freud's "Model of the Mind" of 1895, whose influence can be followed in his later metapsychological constructions. Maria Dorer has emphasized the influence of Meynert on Freud's theories.⁴⁷⁵ Meynert's basic assumption was that the phylogenetically older parts of the brain were the center of involuntary movements and were controlled by the cortex, which appeared at a more recent stage of evolution, and was the site of the ego-building function. Meynert distinguished a primary ego issuing from the immediate functioning of the cortical centers, and a secondary ego resulting from the activity of the association bundles. Meynert thought that when the activity of more recent centers was disturbed, the activity of the phylogenetically older ones gained more importance. In this way he explained the origin of the ideas of grandeur and persecution. He considered these delusions as a psychological manifestation of two basic instincts, attack and defense, which the illness had brought to the fore. Freud's concept of regression was built on a similar pattern. We have seen that Meynert and Freud disagreed about hypnosis. Meynert was one of those who strongly questioned its efficacy and objected to its use on the grounds of its erotic nature; Freud did not accept these arguments, but he later asserted similar ideas of his own. Freud also adopted ideas previously taught by Meynert, about the psychogenesis of sexual perversion, and particularly of homosexuality.⁴⁷⁶

Among Freud's immediate masters were also Moritz Benedikt and Josef Breuer. The influence of Breuer was of such a nature that he was sometimes considered the cofounder of psychoanalysis. We have seen how the misunderstood case, and failed cure, of Anna O. inspired Freud to search for a theory and treatment of neuroses. It would seem that Breuer also inspired Freud with some of his brain mythology. Benedikt's role in the origin of psychoanalysis has been generally overlooked, though a footnote in Breuer and Freud's *Preliminary Communication* ought to have attracted attention.⁴⁷⁷ We have seen how Benedikt⁴⁷⁸ taught the importance of the secret life, daydreams, fantasies, suppressed wishes and ambitions, the importance of the sexual element in hysteria and other neuroses, and how he achieved brilliant psychotherapeutic cures by relieving the patients from their pathogenic secrets.⁴⁷⁹

Maria Dorer has shown that one of the main sources of psychoanalysis was the psychology of Herbart, which was predominant in Austria at the time of Freud's youth.⁴⁸⁰ Herbart taught the dynamic concept of a fluctuating threshold between the conscious and the unconscious, of conflicts between representations that struggle with each other to gain access to the conscious and are repressed by stronger ones but strive to return, or else produce an indirect effect in consciousness, and the notion of chains of associations that cross each other at nodal points, but also of "free emerging associations," the idea that mental processes as a whole are ruled by a striving for equilibrium. All this is to be found in psychoanalysis, though sometimes in modified form. Whether Freud read Herbart is not known, but it is sure that he had been introduced to Herbart's psychology while at the Sperläum, through Lindner's textbook.⁴⁸¹ The psychology of Griesinger and Meynert was also Herbartian to a great extent. Freud also refers to Griesinger's idea that in certain hallucinatory psychoses the patient denies the event that has called forth the mental illness.⁴⁸²

A more obscure problem is that of the possible influence of Romantic psychiatry upon Freud.⁴⁸³ We have seen that Reil taught that many mental diseases had a psychogenic cause and could be cured by psychotherapy. Ideler considered the passions as the main cause of psychoses (especially frustrated sexual love). He told of the flight into illness, contended that the origin of delusions can be traced back to childhood, and was a believer in the psychotherapy of psychoses. Heinroth emphasized the noxious effect of guilt feelings, and utilized a differentiated psychotherapy. Neumann pointed out the relationship between anxiety and frustrated drives; he explained the hidden sexual meaning of the various types of delusions and psychotic behavior. It is open to question to what extent these authors had been forgotten in central Europe by the end of the nineteenth century. Probably during that century there always flowed an undercurrent of Romantic psychiatry, which was to be revived in the 1890's. Much of what, in retrospect, looks to us as startling novelties in the theories of psychosis of

men such as Bleuler, Freud, and Jung, appeared to their contemporaries as a return to old-fashioned psychiatric conceptions.

The origin of psychoanalysis cannot be understood without taking into account several scientific trends of the last decades of the nineteenth century. Three of them have been described in previous chapters. One was the new science of sexual pathology that was given its decisive impetus by Krafft-Ebing.⁴⁸⁴ The second was the psychological study of dreams,⁴⁸⁵ and the third the exploration of the unconscious.⁴⁸⁶

Another important source of Freudian thinking, the "unmasking trend," deserves to be mentioned here with more detail, because it has been generally overlooked. It is the systematic search for deception and self-deception and the uncovering of underlying truth (currently known in France as *démystification*). This trend seems to have started with the French moralists of the seventeenth century. La Rochefoucauld in his *Maxims*, unmasked virtuous attitudes and acts as disguised manifestations of *amour-propre* (in today's language narcissism). Schopenhauer described love as a mystification of the individual through the Genius of the Species, meaning that the qualities ascribed to the beloved are illusions, issuing from the unconscious will of the species. Karl Marx stated that the opinions of an individual, unknown to him, are conditioned by social class, which is determined by economic factors. War and religion are "mystifications," in which the ruling classes deceive the lower classes and themselves. Nietzsche, who was an admirer of both the French moralists and of Schopenhauer, was another exponent of the unmasking trend. He untiringly pursued the manifestations of the will to power under its many disguises, and those of resentment under the guise of idealism and love of mankind. He emphasized man's need for "fictions." In contemporary literature, "unmasking" became an overdone theme. In Ibsen's plays, for instance, some of the characters live in complete unawareness of the ugly reality behind the facades of their lives, until it is slowly or brutally revealed. The destruction of their illusions then brings a catastrophe as in *Rosmersholm*, and *The Wild Duck*. In *Ghosts* (1881), Ibsen dramatized the idea that many of our free and voluntary actions are but the reenactment of actions performed by our parents—"we live in a world of ghosts." Ibsen's concept of ghosts was quoted several times by Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* and can be recognized in his concept of transference. The essayist Max Nordau wrote books denouncing the "conventional lies of civilization." The economist Vilfredo Pareto emphasized the importance of self-deception in social and economic phenomena.⁴⁸⁷ Hanns Gross, the founder of judicial psychology, conducted inquiries in parapraxes and in the manifestations of concealed or repressed sexual feelings.⁴⁸⁸

Another major source of psychoanalysis was the previous dynamic psychiatry, from which it drew much more than is generally believed. It will suffice to refer to its five characteristic features.⁴⁸⁹ First, hypnosis, the main

approach, was practiced for some time by Freud, and psychoanalytic technique came about through gradual modification of hypnosis.⁴⁹⁰ Second, the first dynamic psychiatry devoted particular interest to certain clinical pictures, particularly to hysteria, and it was on hysterical patients that Freud made his most decisive investigations. Third, the first dynamic psychiatry devised two models of the human mind; one based on the coexistence of conscious and unconscious psyches, and the other in the form of a cluster of sub-personalities. Freud began with a model of the first type, and then adopted the cluster type model of the ego, id, and superego. Fourth, the first dynamic psychiatry based its theories of the pathogenesis of nervous illness on the concepts of an undetermined fluid, of mental energy, and of the autonomous activity of split fragments of personality. There is a recognizable link between these concepts and those of libido and unconscious complexes. Finally, the essential psychotherapeutic tool of the magnetizers and the hypnotists was rapport, and we have seen that psychoanalytic transference was one among the various metamorphoses of rapport.

In the 1880's the first dynamic psychiatry had finally been given an official stamp of approval by Charcot, of whom Freud proudly claimed to have been the disciple, and by Bernheim, whom Freud visited in Nancy. It is not easy to evaluate Charcot's influence on Freud. As previously mentioned, this influence seems to have been mostly of a personal nature, in the fashion of an existential encounter. Freud had an idealized picture of the French master and did not stay at the Salpêtrière long enough to realize that Charcot's demonstrations with hypnotized hysterics lacked any scientific value. Freud exaggerated the importance that Charcot ascribed to dissimilar heredity (degeneration in the medical jargon of the time) in the etiology of hysteria; and he apparently did not read Richet's book where it is shown that hysterical attacks were reenactments of psychic trauma that were mostly of sexual nature (an idea that Freud was to later develop as his own). All this shows once more that the influence of a master often exerts itself less in his factual teachings than in the distorted perceptions of the disciples' minds. This is also true of the influence of the Nancy school upon Freud, who thus ascribed to Liébeault the idea that "the dream is the guardian of sleep," a statement in direct opposition to Liébeault's theory of sleep. The phenomenon of patients giving rational explanations for obeying posthypnotic suggestions was well known; Freud did not have to go to Nancy to learn it from Bernheim. Bernheim's procedure of making his subjects recover the memory of what had happened under hypnosis did not have the significance attributed to it by Freud, because in Bernheim's demonstration this occurred immediately after a short and light hypnotic state. It is to Freud's credit that this gave him the idea of having his patients recover long-forgotten memories in a waking state. This is another example of a discovery through a misinterpretation of the facts.

The influence of Janet on Freud is a controversial problem that has never been objectively studied. In his early writings, Freud acknowledged Janet's priority in regard to the discovery of the role of "subconscious fixed ideas" (in Janet's terms) in the etiology of hysterical symptoms, and of their subsequent cure through "catharsis" (in Breuer and Freud's words). When Breuer and Freud published their *Preliminary Communication* in 1893, Janet's priority was of seven years, and he had published six or seven relevant case histories.⁴⁹¹ To those contemporaries acquainted with both French and German psychiatric literature, Janet's priority and the similarity of his and Breuer and Freud's procedure were indisputable. Janet also anticipated Freud in showing, from the beginning, that the mere recovery of the traumatic memory did not suffice and that the "psychological system" (the "complex") had to be "dissociated" ("worked through," in Freudian terms). Janet's influence on Freud is obvious in the *Studies in Hysteria*, even in its terminology: Freud used Janet's words "psychological misery" and "psychological analysis." In 1896 Freud called his system "psychoanalysis" to distinguish it from Janet's "psychological analysis," and he began to emphasize the differences between his ideas and those of Janet. In so doing, Freud gave a distorted picture of Janet's concepts by asserting that Janet's theory of hysteria was based on the concept of "degeneration." Janet actually taught that hysteria resulted from the interaction in differing proportions of constitutional factors and psychic traumata, and this is exactly what Freud later called a "complementary series." Freud emphasized the role of repression in the pathogenesis of hysterical symptoms, but overlooked the "narrowing of the field of consciousness" in Janet's theory. Janet contended that "Freud calls 'repression' what I called 'narrowing of the field of consciousness.'"⁴⁹² and it is noteworthy that the two can be traced back to Herbert.⁴⁹³ for whom they were two aspects of the same phenomenon. Freud also criticized Janet's concept of hysteria resulting from a weakness of the "function of synthesis." A similar concept, however, was later adopted by psychoanalysis under the name of "ego weakness." Janet's shifting from the study of "subconscious" phenomena to that of "psychological tension" anticipated the shifting of psychoanalysis from "depth psychology" to "ego psychology." Janet's "function of reality" was transposed into psychoanalysis under the name of "reality principle." In regard to the psychoanalytic technique, there is a certain analogy between the "automatic talking" used by Janet in the case of Madame D. and Freud's method of free association.⁴⁹⁴ A more remarkable similarity is that between psychoanalytic transference and Janet's systematic use of those varieties of rapport between therapist and patient that he called "somatic influence" and "need for direction."⁴⁹⁵ a similarity that has been recognized by Jones.⁴⁹⁶ Indeed, it is difficult to study the initial periods of Janet's psychological analysis and of Freud's psychoanalysis without coming to the conclusion, expressed by Régis and Hesnard, "The methods

and concepts of Freud were modeled after those of Janet, of whom he seems to have inspired himself constantly"—until the paths of the two diverged.⁴⁹⁷

Freud always acknowledged the great writers as his masters: the Greek Tragedians, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller. No doubt he received much inspiration from them, but the influence of writers of lesser magnitude on his thought should not be forgotten, particularly that of Heine, Börne,⁴⁹⁸ and Lichtenberg.⁴⁹⁹ Psychoanalysis shows a definite analogy with certain contemporary literary trends, such as the Young Vienna circle, neo-Romanticism, and, as already mentioned, Ibsen's way of unmasking conventional lies and unawareness.

The philosophical sources of Freud are many, but in spite of many investigations, they are not yet well known.⁵⁰⁰ Although Freud repeatedly expressed contempt for philosophy, and never accepted the idea of making a philosophy of psychoanalysis, he had a distinct philosophical background that was revealed in his *weltanschauung* as well as in the way he psychologized certain philosophical concepts.

Freud was exposed from his youth to the kind of philosophical thinking prevalent in Europe after 1850, which claimed to reject any sort of metaphysics and to study the world only from a scientific point of view. In fact, this rejection of philosophy is tantamount to a specific philosophy: Scientism, the doctrine according to which knowledge of the world could be acquired only through science. But since science has its limits, a large part of reality (perhaps the greatest part) is unknowable. Logically, positivism should imply agnosticism, since the existence of God cannot be proved or disproved by science. However, Freud, like many other contemporary scientists, was a resolute atheist. This mixture of positivism, scientism, and atheism is revealed in Freud's *Future of an Illusion*.

Curiously enough, this extreme positivist thinking led to a resurgence of the philosophy of nature in a disguised form during the second half of the nineteenth century. The tenants of positivism, in their zeal to clear science of any vestige of metaphysics, expelled the soul from psychology, vitalism from biology, and finally from evolution. Neuropsychologists asserted that they could explain mental processes in terms of—extant or hypothetical—brain structures (this was the brain mythology already referred to), or even exclusively in terms of physical and chemical processes. These physiologists ignored Bichat's dictum that "Physiology is no more the physics of animals than astronomy is the physiology of the stars."⁵⁰¹ The principles of conservation and transformation of energy were transposed into physiology and psychology as the basis of speculative constructions that could be called *Energetics Mythology*. Darwin's hypothesis that the evolution of the species is directed by the hereditary transmission of chance modifications through the struggle of life and the elimination of the unit became a scientific dogma. It remained for Haeckel to transform Darwinism into a pseudo-religion.

under the name of Monism. Freud was immersed in that kind of philosophical thinking. We have seen how Meyner's brain mythology, Brücke's energetics mythology, and Exner's combination of both, led Freud to build his *Outline of a Scientific Psychology* of 1895.

Darwin's influence on Freud has been treated in a previous chapter.⁵⁰² Let it be recalled that Darwin introduced a psychology centered around the instincts, with special reference to aggressive and love instincts. Among Darwin's proofs of the theory of evolution were phenomena of "reversion," which Freud, in the psychological field, termed "regression." Darwin also sketched a biological theory of the origin of society and morals. Freud took from him the picture of primitive men as brutish beings living in bands under the tyranny of an old man (the cruel old Father of *Totem and Taboo*). Lombroso, too, shared the idea that prehistoric man was a brutish and murderous being. Lombroso believed that the "born criminal" was a resurgence of that primitive man, and Freud's picture of the unconscious of the civilized man was not very different from Lombroso's picture of the primitive man. To the Darwinian doctrine Haeckel added his so-called fundamental biogenetic law,⁵⁰³ which Freud seems to have taken for granted. We have also seen how Karl Marx' patterns of thought could be recognized in certain aspects of psychoanalysis.⁵⁰⁴

The only philosopher whose lectures Freud attended was the promoter of a quite different philosophy, Franz Brentano. Brentano came from an illustrious family that included the poet Clemens Brentano, and was a brother of the noted economist Lujo Brentano. He became a Dominican priest and professor of philosophy at Würzburg, but as he could not accept the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, he left the Church and came to Vienna to teach philosophy as a Privat Dozent (a unique example of a reversal of the usual university career). Brentano taught a new psychology based on the concept of intentionality, which he had revived from medieval scholastic philosophy. Rudolf Steiner, who was one of his auditors, said that Brentano was a perfect logician to whom every concept had to be perfectly clear and have its definite place in a dialectic argumentation, but he sometimes gave the impression that his thinking was a world in itself, outside reality. Brentano was a brilliant speaker, and the distinguished ladies of Vienna swarmed to his lectures. Among his auditors were men of such varied interest as Edmund Husserl, Thomas Masaryk, Franz Kafka, Rudolf Steiner, and Sigmund Freud. Brentano was a noted figure in Viennese social life. Dora Stockert-Meyner described him as resembling a Byzantine Christ, soft spoken, punctuating his eloquence with gestures of inimitable grace. "the figure of a prophet with the spirit of a man of the world."⁵⁰⁵ Brentano was endowed with a prodigious linguistic gift, and in addition to his fame as an erudite and original philosopher, he was known for his extemporization of elaborate plays on words. He imagined a new kind of riddle he called *dal-dal-dal* that became the rage in Viennese

salons, was initiated, and many of which he published anonymously. Freud mentioned them in a footnote in *Jokes and the Unconscious*; it is the sole mention of Brentano in his writings. Any evidence that Freud might have been influenced by Brentano could be produced only by carefully studying the writings of Freud and finding there ideas specific to Brentano. James Ralph Barclay did so and concluded that several of Freud's concepts could be traced to Brentano.⁵⁰⁶ The notion of intentionality appears in Freud in the modified form of a psychic energy channeled toward instinctual goals and wish-fulfillment. Brentano's "intentional existence" became Freud's "cathexis." To Freud, as to Brentano, perception was not a passive process but an activity endowed with psychic energy. The evolution of primary process to secondary process, as described by Freud, is also traceable to Brentano.

The influence of Romantic philosophy upon Freud cannot be traced directly either, though it is unmistakably there. We have told in a previous chapter of the similarities between Romantic thinking, Goethe, and Von Schubert, on one hand, and some of Freud's concepts on the other.⁵⁰⁷ The main influence, however, exerted on Freud by the philosophy of nature stemmed from its two epigones, Bachofen and Fechner.⁵⁰⁸ A close parallel can be drawn between Bachofen's stages of evolution of human society and the Freudian stages of libido. Freud, however, never mentions Bachofen. In regard to Fechner, it should be recalled that Freud repeatedly quoted him and took from him the topographical concept of the mind, the concept of mental energy, the principle of pleasure-unpleasure, of constancy, of repetition, and possibly the idea of the predominance of the destructive instinct over Eros. Thus the main concepts of Freud's metapsychology derive from Fechner.

However, the closest approach to psychoanalysis is to be found in the philosophers of the unconscious, Carus, von Hartmann, and particularly Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. For those familiar with the latter two philosophers, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Freud's thought echoed theirs. Thomas Mann⁵⁰⁹ said that psychoanalytic concepts were Schopenhauer's ideas "translated from metaphysics into psychology." F. W. Foerster⁵¹⁰ went so far as to say that no one should deal with psychoanalysis before having thoroughly studied Schopenhauer. Such a study would show psychoanalysts that they are even more right than they themselves believe. The same is even more true of Nietzsche, whose ideas pervade psychoanalysis, and whose influence is obvious, even in Freud's literary style. This has not escaped the attention of some psychoanalysts. Witelis, for instance, spoke of "Nietzsche's division into Dionysian and Apollonian, which is almost completely identical with that of the primary and the secondary function."⁵¹¹ Freud in his celebrated paper on the "Criminals From a Sense of Guilt" noted that Nietzsche had

described the same individuals under the name of "the pale criminals."⁵¹² Typically Nietzschean are the concept of the self-deception of consciousness by the unconscious and by emotional thinking, the vicissitudes of instincts (their combinations, conflicts, displacements, sublimations, regressions, and turnings against oneself), the energy load of representations, the self-destructive drives in man, the origin of conscience and morals through the turning inward of aggressive drives, resentment and neurotic guilt feelings, the origin of civilization in the repression of instincts, not to speak of the attacks against contemporary mores and religion.⁵¹³

The enumeration of Freud's sources should also take into account his patients and his disciples. Examples have been given in the preceding chapters of this book, illustrating the role played by patients in the history of dynamic psychiatry. Freud, too, learned much from several of his patients. It was one of them, Elisabeth von R., who suggested to him the procedure of free association. How many other suggestions he received from other patients is not known. But one man, at least, played an important role as an exemplary patient from whom Freud learned very much (like Janet from Madeleine). This patient became famous under the name of the Wolf-Man. A summary follows:

The twenty-three-year-old man arrived in Vienna at the beginning of 1910 and started an analytic treatment with Freud. The son of a wealthy Russian landowner, he was intelligent, lucid, kind-hearted, but afflicted with abulia to an extraordinary degree, which made him unable to accomplish anything in life. Actually, this case must have appeared less strange in Russia than in the rest of Europe; it was exactly the picture of that condition which in Russian is called *oblomovitchina*,⁵¹⁴ a condition that was not exceptional in the sons of wealthy landowners, who led a thoroughly passive, idle life. The patient was called the Wolf-Man on account of a terrifying dream of wolves he had at the age of 3½. Because of his unusually passive attitude in the analytic situation, as in the rest of his life, there was no progress during four years, until Freud set a term to the treatment and declared it would be terminated in June 1914. This decision brought a rapid improvement and the patient was able to return to Russia. His case was of enormous interest to Freud because of the amount of material that emerged, some of which confirmed Freud's own theories while contradicting those of Adler and Jung. But some was also quite new and sounded almost incredible to him. Freud published, in 1918, an abstract of the case, enlarged in a further edition, but never the whole case history.⁵¹⁵ When the Wolf-Man fled to Vienna after losing his fortune in the Bolshevik revolution, Freud analyzed him gratuitously for a few months and organized a subscription, so that the man could live in Vienna with his wife, and later receive supplementary psychoanalytic treatment from Mrs. Ruth Mack Brunswick.⁵¹⁶ The Wolf-Man became a well-known figure in psychoanalytic circles, and a kind of expert in psychoanalytic problems. No doubt he played a significant role in Freud's

evolution to "metapsychology," and he also helped him to understand the phenomenon of counter-transference.

Another problem in need of clarification is the influence of Freud's disciples upon the thinking of their master. It is certain that Freud drew many ideas from Stekel, Adler, Ferenczi, Abraham, Rank, Silberer, Pfister, Jung, and others. Individual psychologists stress the fact that in 1908 Adler proposed the concept of a primary aggressive drive, which Freud denied but adopted under another form in 1920; he also took over from Adler the concepts of confluence of drives (which originated from Nietzsche). Jung introduced into psychoanalysis the terms "complex" and "imago," emphasized the idea of the little boy's identification with his father, stimulated Freud's interest in the study of myths, and also forwarded the institution of compulsory training analysis for the future psychoanalyst. Actually, it is practically impossible to discern the part that disciples play in the shaping of a master's ideas. Not only do disciples bring new advances, but their particular interests, their questions, and the challenge brought by their contradiction of the master's opinions, all stand beyond the reach of any complete appreciation.

It is quite possible that further, to this date undetected, sources of Freud will be discovered. An attempt in that direction was made by David Bakan, who claimed to have traced the connection between Freud and the Cabalistic tradition.⁵¹⁷ Every Jew, Bakan said, whether he learns Hebrew or not, will inevitably absorb something of the Jewish mystical tradition, and this was even more so for a Jew of Galician extraction such as Freud, whose parents and ancestors had been long steeped in the currents of Hasidism. In the rather stormy history of Jewish mysticism, Freudian psychoanalysis would thus appear as one among its many vicissitudes. The Cabalistic thinking is pervaded by a sense of mystery and power, aims at extracting hidden meanings from the Scriptures, and teaches a kind of metaphysics of sex. According to Bakan, the reigning anti-Semitism caused Freud to hide his Jewish identity, so that he presented a derivation of Jewish mysticism in a veiled manner in his writings. An objective scrutiny of the facts shows, however, that Bakan considerably exaggerated the intensity of anti-Semitism in Vienna in Freud's youth and mature years, and many of his interpretations of Freud's works are debatable. To be sure, some of the analogies he draws between psychoanalytic concepts (notably those of sexuality) and cabalistic teachings are striking, but the matter is more complex than this. There is no evidence that Freud ever had cognizance of Jewish mystical writings. On the other hand, cabalistic metaphysics of sex is but one episode of a trend of sexual mysticism whose history is not well known. It is a wide field, of which we find major and minor representatives before and contemporary to Freud.

Let us remember that Schopenhauer's philosophy was, to a large extent,

a brand of sexual mysticism among several others. Two later representatives of that trend were acquainted with Freud—Wilhelm Fliess and Otto Weininger. Wilhelm Fliess combined sexual mysticism with a mysticism of numbers. As we have seen, Fliess contended to have found a correlation between the nasal mucosa and the genital organs, and that he had discovered the fundamental bisexuality of humans.⁵¹⁸ In both men and women there were both male and female physiological components, in each there was a law of periodicity based on the cipher twenty-eight for the female component, and twenty-three for the male. By using the two numbers in various combinations, Fliess was able to compute, in retrospect, the occurrence of any biological event. During those years, Freud and Fliess were enthusiastic about each other's theories. Fliess later completed and perfected his own. There was an acrimonious dispute between Fliess and Weininger about the priority of the fundamental bisexual theory; a strange illusion in both of them, since the theory was far from new. It was characteristic of the times that Fliess was criticized for his nasal-genital theory and his numerology, but not for his pansexuality.⁵¹⁹ As to Otto Weininger, his celebrated book, *Sex and Character*, was the outline of a metaphysical system centered around the concept of the fundamental bisexuality of the living being.⁵²⁰ In the light of that basic principle, Weininger attempted to find answers to unsolved philosophical problems. The sexual mysticism that pervaded the intellectual atmosphere in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century even expanded over the new science of sexual pathology. We have seen that certain authors romanticized sexual perversions, insisting on the unheard-of emotional sufferings of sexual deviants.⁵²¹ Nothing is more remote from the truth than the usual assumption that Freud was the first to introduce novel sexual theories at a time when anything sexual was "taboo". It is noteworthy that other systems of sexual mysticism developed contemporary to Freud, but quite independently from him. In Russia, Vassili Rozanov, the promoter of sexual transcendentalism, taught the holiness of sex, which he identified with God.⁵²² To summarize:

The sexual act, he said, is the center of existence and the moment when man becomes a god. Sex is the metaphysical source of the mind, the soul, and religion. Ancient oriental religions and primitive Hebraism he called Sun religions, because they were earthly and worldly, exalted procreation and fertility, the continuity of the family, and the perpetuation of the species. Ancient Egyptian civilization was "a sort of phallic lyricism." Christianity, that teaches asceticism, chastity and virginity, is a religion of death. Life is the home; the home must be warm, nice, and round like a womb. Homosexuals created the Greek civilization and were the greatest geniuses. Prostitution is "the most social phenomenon, to a certain extent the prototype of sociality; . . . the first States were born of the instincts of women toward prostitution." Rozanov interpreted writers through their intimate lives (their "under-clothing," as he

said): his extensive sexual symbolism led him to see the phallus everywhere in nature.⁵²³

Another much-discussed system of sexual mysticism was that of Winthuis.

The Catholic missionary Joseph Winthuis,⁵²⁴ who worked among the Gunantuna tribe in New Guinea, startled ethnologic circles with a book, *The Two-Sexed Being*.⁵²⁵ He said that the Gunantuna language contained a great number of words and idioms with a double meaning, that these people also had a sign of language, every gesture of which had a sexual meaning, and a language of pictorial symbols based on two fundamental lines: straight (the phallus) and curved (the vagina). Having recorded thirty seemingly inoffensive songs of the Gunantuna, Winthuis found that twenty-nine of them had a hidden meaning so crude that he felt obliged to translate them in Latin rather than German. Winthuis concluded that the primitive mind is pervaded with sexuality. He then evolved a theory of primitive religion as a worship of a bisexual god, a theory that he gradually extended to all primitive populations, to prehistoric peoples, and to the history of religion as a whole.⁵²⁶ The essence of that religion was the belief in and worship of a bisexual god. Sexuality in that religion is sacred, because the sexual act is a repetition of the primordial event by which the bisexual god created the world, and is thus a perpetuation of the divine act of creation in the name of God, and by his order. Violent polemics arose around those theories, which Winthuis defended with almost fanatical conviction.

One may wonder about the similarities and possible connection between cabalistic mysticism, Schopenhauer's metaphysics of *Sexus*, Fliess' and Weininger's systems, Rozanov's sexual transcendentalism, and Winthuis' alleged discovery of a universal worship of a bisexual god. Unfortunately, sexual mysticism is one of the least-explored trends in the history of ideas, and it would be premature to attempt to evaluate the role it played in the cultural atmosphere in which Freud's psychoanalysis grew.

In this incomplete enumeration of Freud's sources, we may see that they belong to three distinct periods of unequal length. In the first period Freud drew directly or indirectly from his masters and the numerous authors he read. In the second and relatively short, period of his self-analysis, Freud learned primarily from himself. In the third period, which extended from 1902 to his death, Freud learned mostly from a few privileged patients and from his disciples.

The Influence of Freud

An objective appraisal of the influence of Freud is inordinately difficult. The story is too recent, distorted by legend, and all the facts have not yet come to light.

The consensus is that Freud exerted a powerful influence, not only on psychology and psychiatry, but on all the fields of culture and that it has gone so far as to change our way of life and our concept of man. A more intricate question pertains to the divergencies that arise as soon as one

tries to assess the extent that that influence was beneficial or not. On one side are those who include Freud among the liberators of the human spirit, and who even think that the future of mankind depends on whether it will accept or discard the teachings of psychoanalysis.⁵²⁷ On the other side are those who claim that the effect of psychoanalysis has been disastrous. La Piere, for instance, claims that Freudianism ruined the ethics of individualism, self-discipline, and responsibility that prevailed among the Western world.⁵²⁸

Any attempt to give an objective answer to these two questions—namely of the extent and nature of the influence of psychoanalysis—has to face three great difficulties.

First: as in the case of Darwin, the historical importance of a theory is not restricted to what it originally was in the mind of its author, but also of the extensions, adjunctions, interpretations, and distortions of that theory.⁵²⁹ Thus, an evaluation of Freud's influence should begin with a historical account of the Freudian school and the various trends that issued from it: the orthodox Freudians, the more original successors (for instance, the promoters of ego psychoanalysis), the deviant schools proper, with their own schisms and deviant branches, and those other schools (Adler and Jung), which were founded on radically different basic principles, though as a response to psychoanalysis. And, last but not least, one should take into account the distorted pseudo-Freudian concepts that have been widely vulgarized through the newspapers, magazines, and popular literature.

Second: a still greater difficulty arises from the fact that from the beginning, psychoanalysis has grown in an atmosphere of legend, with the result that an objective appraisal will not be possible before the true historical facts are completely separated from the legend. It would be invaluable to know the starting point of the Freudian legend and the factors that brought it to its present development. Unfortunately the scientific study of legends, of their thematic structure, their growth, and their causes, is one of the least-known provinces of science⁵³⁰ and to this date nothing has been written in regard to Freud that could be compared to Etienne's study of the legend that grew around the poet Rimbaud.⁵³¹ A rapid glance at the Freudian legend reveals two main features. The first is the theme of the solitary hero struggling against a host of enemies, suffering "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" but triumphing in the end. The legend considerably exaggerates the extent and role of anti-Semitism, of the hostility of the academic world, and of alleged Victorian prejudices. The second feature of the Freudian legend is the blotting out of the greatest part of the scientific and cultural context in which psychoanalysis developed, hence the theme of the absolute originality of the achievements, in which the hero is credited with the achievements of his predecessors, associates, disciples, rivals, and contemporaries.

The legend discarded, we are permitted to see the facts in a different