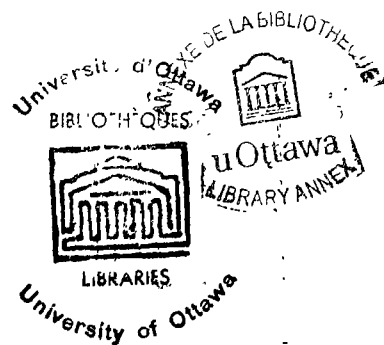


THE ORIGINS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS, A PROPAEDEUTICS

by Rudolph Joseph Brandt

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of the University of Ottawa through the
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Why here?
Why not above?
Why at all?

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps in no other field except religion has there been so much disagreement among such competent thinkers as there is in psychoanalysis.

Freud and most of his biographers give the impression that he had no antecedents. His writings are interpreted by the orthodox psychoanalysts in an almost Talmudic manner, and those who try to fit his original ideas to present progress in psychology and psychotherapy are accused of "deviation".

It is strange that to date there has been only one systematic study on the origins of Freud's psychoanalytic concepts, the study by Dorer published in 1932. Bernfeld's discovery of the exact list of courses he took at the University of Vienna is the only other research into his intellectual development.

This study intends to fill this gap and, by tracing the historical fundamentals of his theories, make for a better understanding of both Freud and psychoanalysis.

The postulates underlying the study are the following:

1. Man reacts to his environment according to his psychological needs, and his performance in a social or intellectual situation reveals those needs. This is a postulate recognized in psychology, and many psychological (projective) tests are based on it.

2. The goals and strivings of an individual, his whole personality structure, are influenced and moulded not only by

intimate personal experiences, but also by the entire cultural environment. Man lives not only his personal life, but also, consciously or unconsciously, the life of his contemporaries and his epoch.

3. Freud was the discoverer of an original method for the treatment of the emotionally ill. This system is designated in this study as the psychoanalytic method. The psychoanalytic theory proposed by him attempts ~~to~~ furnish a scientific rationale to explain the various psychological phenomena he observed while practising this method. The assumption of a positive correlation between the method and the theory may not be warranted.

4. No scientific theory can be completely original, but must to some extent be based on previously established scientific facts. Even the most original of scientific postulates rest on previous discoveries to some extent, in that they elaborate or revise them in the light of newly discovered facts. Thus, however new Freud's theories were at that time, their origins should be traceable to precursors of his. To some extent this is true of the method also.

The limitations of this thesis are expressed in the sub-title: A Propaedeutics. This paper intended to make available to the researcher in one source a comprehensive collection of basic facts necessary to conduct research on the origins of psychoanalysis, to point to precursors and indicate

how they can be connected with Freud. For instance, the fact that Aristotle was aware of the Oedipus legend and had written about it only acquires significance if it can be established that the legend had psychological significance to Aristotle and that Freud had studied the Stagirite's works.

Even though the primary purpose of this thesis was the compilation of known facts for further research, it can claim certain original contributions to the history of psychoanalysis by having brought to light some hitherto unknown factors and by advancing some new theories about the origins of some of Freud's postulates. Some of these are the following:

(a) The possible influence on Freud's scientific interests and development of Ebbinghaus' Zeitschrift fur Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane has not been mentioned in the literature to date.¹

(b) Freud's tendency to base his theories on a postulate of two entities interacting on one another (Intellect-Sensual needs, Love-Hate, etc.) is similar to the basic Scholastic postulates discussed by Brentano. (Matter-Form, Act-Potency, etc.)

¹ Evidence of the validity of this hypothesis has been discovered after the completion of this thesis. For additional information see this writer's A Letter to Ernest Jones, August 5, 1955, to be published in the Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. 25, 1955.

(c) That many of Freud's theories have been stimulated by his own family configuration has been mentioned by several of his biographers, but that there was also a definite and life-long need in him to correct a father-figure is another fact that has first been shown in this study.

(d) Freud's theory of the nature of learning bears a striking similarity to that proposed by Scholastic philosophers, and can certainly be traced back to the influence of Brentano.

In many instances a fact was pointed out or alluded to without detailed elaboration. This was only partly due to the limitation in space, and more to the lack of specialized knowledge on the part of the writer. A point to illustrate an instance of this is the possible influence on Freud of the teachings of Aristotle-Aquinas-Brentano.

The impossibility of avoiding bias in any historical research has posed a serious problem in this study. Especially since the writer has been steeped in Freudian psychology for almost ten years. To compensate for this bias quotations have been used as often as possible. Where the writer translated from the German original, the German text has been quoted. It is understood, however, that even the selection of the quotes were not free from the error of bias.

The writer is sure that this study would have been different had it been written before he came under the influence of Scholastic psychology this past year.

It is hoped, however, that other workers using this paper as a basis for their research will counteract the error due to the unconscious predilections of this writer by their own biases.

Since the bias of Freudians tend to show in their interpretation of Freud's writings, it was felt advisable to include in the Appendices Freud's original papers on Psychoanalysis and the Libido Theory. The partial list of the titles in Freud's library is felt to be an important research tool to those wishing to search for the early interests of Freud.

To determine the areas that needed elaboration, a comprehensive survey of the previous literature was attempted. This revealed that most previous workers considered the psychoanalytic method and the psychoanalytic theories as identical concepts, or that they assumed a positive correlation between the method and the theories. Some writers condemned the method only because they found the postulates by which Freud tried to explain it unacceptable, while others assumed all of the theories to be original because the method was first practised by Freud.

Next, Freud's life history was scrutinized in an attempt to determine to what extent his personal problems influenced

him in the development of a particular theory. Apart from any general considerations this was necessary since it is a well-known fact that most of Freud's theoretical postulates have been arrived at as a result of his self-analysis.

An endeavour was next made to define the subject matter of psychoanalysis. In concluding that psychoanalysis belongs to the science of psychology, the writer may have again given evidence of his bias, but then ~~complete objectivity is after all an ideal to strive for but seldom attained.~~

The ^{examination} of Freud's teachers was not motivated by opposition, as many psychoanalysts claim a study of this nature usually is, but by the conviction that a knowledge of psychoanalysis without a knowledge of its history is not possible.

In his Summary, the writer hoped to convey his conviction that the psychoanalytic theory is but a frame of reference that bears the characteristics of the Zeitgeist and the teachers of Freud. In this context it matters not whether he is compared to Herbart, Helmholtz, Meynert or Brucke. In his milieu no theory of personality would have been considered scientific unless it was based on the principle of the conservation of energy.

In insisting that there is a fundamental difference between psychoanalytic theory and the psychoanalytic method the writer hoped to stimulate research in the latter. For

until the method is examined in the light of objective science the question of what constitutes adequate psychoanalytic training will remain unanswered.

Though part of the research for this study consisted in the perusal of almost 1500 publications on psychoanalysis, the writer failed to come across a definition of the psychoanalytic situation. The most important and the least known concept in psychoanalysis is the concept of transference. This is an almost incredible fact when one considers that the manipulation of transference is the most fundamental activity of the psychoanalyst on which the whole psychoanalytic method rests.

Even if this study will stimulate research in that particular direction, and nothing else, the writer will consider his labours to be rewarded.

CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

It would be impossible, within the limits of this study, to review all of the literature related to the study of the antecedents of Freud. This impossibility presents an obstacle in that the researcher finds himself in a quandary of how much of what to include in his presentation. Freud and psychoanalysis have been mutually identified to a point that the history of one must by necessity become the history of the other. Freud himself set the precedent when he wrote the history of the psychoanalytic movement in the form of an autobiography¹. Attempting to solve this problem, a representative sample of evaluations from different points of view, both by opponents and adherents of Freud, is offered for scrutiny.

Because of the voluminous material, a division in seven main areas was found advisable. These are: 1) Accidental similarities, e.i. forerunners expressing parallel thinking to that of Freud, but without evidence that Freud was aware of their writings; 2) Systematic research on

¹ Sigmund Freud, Zur Geschichte der Psychoanalytischen Bewegung, in Gesammelte Werke, Chronologische Geordnet, London, Imago, 1946, p. 44-113.

Freud's origins; 3) Autobiographical writings of Freud's students and associates that include pertinent material about Freud; 4) Freud biographies; 5) Negative appraisals of psychoanalysis; 6) Positive evaluations of psychoanalysis; 7) Evaluations based on the subjective experiences of analysands.

1.- Accidental Similarities.

A large group of research workers attempt to find antecedents in the similarities between Freud and other authors assuming that Freud, always a voracious reader, must have been familiar with the writers with whom he was being compared. Thus Bischler² compares Freud and Schopenhauer, pointing out essential differences and superficial similarities between the two. Brandt³ calls attention to characteristic concepts of psychoanalysis expressed by Nietzsche in his aphorisms. Brill⁴ remarks that both Freud and Spinoza held that "human actions should not be laughed at, should

2 W. Bischler, Schopenhauer and Freud: A Comparison, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 1, April, 1939, p. 88-97.

3 Rudolph J. Brandt, Freud and Nietzsche: A Comparison, in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1955 (In preparation).

4 A.A. Brill, Professor Freud and Psychiatry, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 18, No. 3, July 1931, p. 237-246.

not be shocked at, nor held in disdain, but should be understood"⁵. He also finds an antecedent in the utilization of the Oedipus conflict in psychotherapy by Hippocrates, who cured King Perdicas from a "peculiar malady" by uncovering his love for his stepmother; the king recovered when he married his father's widow⁶.

The similarities of Freud's views on the dream as a continuation of the waking state to the thoughts of Joseph Popper Lynkeus⁷ is mentioned by Brill⁸, while De Saussure quotes case histories of a medical practitioner in 1830-1872 that reveal an orientation similar to modern psychoanalytic lines. Though De Saussure mentions that this physician, Descuret, was a student of Esquirol and a contributor to Bibliographie, a magazine which complemented the Grand Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales, and although he places Freud and Descuret at the same place and at approximately

5 Ibid., p. 244.

6 A.A. Brill, Anticipations and Corroborations of the Freudian Concepts from Non-Analytic Sources, in American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 92, No. 3, March 1936, p. 1127-1135.

7 Lynkeus, Traumen Wie Wachen, in Phantasien eines Realisten, Dresden, Reissner, 1900, p. 138-149.

8 A.A. Brill, A Translator's Prologue to "Dreaming Like Waking", by Joseph Popper Lynkeus, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 34, No. 2, April 1947, p. 184-197.

9 Raymond De Saussure, J.B. Felix Descuret, in the Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, Vol. 2, 1946, p. 417-424.

the same time, he fails to make any connection beyond the coincidence level. Jones¹⁰ attempts to establish a relationship between Freud and the poet Mathew Arnold. According to her Mathew evidenced his awareness of the subconscious (sic.) in the lines:

An unspeakable desire
After the knowledge of our burried life,

and was "a forerunner even to the point of self-analysis" as shown by the lines:

At last be true
To our only true burried selves.

It may be worth noting that no research has been published to evaluate Freud's possible study of the numerous writings appearing in those days about the miracles of Lourdes. Perhaps there was some psychological purpose behind this omission. Psychoanalysts could have felt that it might tend to rob Freud of his originality, while religious writers may have wanted to avoid any implication of religious origin.

Rank¹¹ studies the great similarity between Schopenhauer and Freud in their views of the dynamics involved in insanity and the neuroses, while Reik¹² discovers a

¹⁰ Helen Williston Jones, A Literary Forerunner of Freud, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1917, p. 64-69.

¹¹ Otto Rank, Schopenhauer uber den Wahnsinn, in Zentralblatt fur Psychoanalyse, Vol. 1, 1910, p. 69-71.

¹² Theodor Reik, G.H. Schuberts "Die Symbolik der Traume", 1814, in Internationale Zeitschrift fur Aerztliche Psychoanalyse, Vol. 3, 1915.

coincidental antecedent to Freud's concepts of the dream. Zilboorg¹³ points out the similarities of the dynamics of free association as seen by Freud and Luis Vives. Zilboorg's quotation is taken from Watson¹⁴, and it is too fractional to give an adequate representation of Vives' views. It must be noted, however, that there is no evidence that Freud knew of Vives or had read him. Finally, Weinberg¹⁵ and Kaplan¹⁶ demonstrate the existence of Freudian concepts in anthropology, myths, folklore and allied subjects.

2.- Systematic Research on Origins.

The first systematic attempt to discover the historical origins of Freud is that of Dorer¹⁷ who postulates that "to classify any concept of Freud as 'original' there should be no analogous theory in existence or, if there should

13 Gregory Zilboorg, A History of Medical Psychology, New York, Norton, 1941, p. 180-195.

14 Foster Watson, The Father of Modern Psychology, in Psychological Review, Vol. 22, No. 5, September 1915, p. 333-353.

15 A.K. Weinberg, Psychoanalytic Parallels, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 2, No. 2, April 1915, p. 177-190.

16 Leo Kaplan, Grundzuge der Psychoanalyse, Wien, Deuticke, 1919, 306 p.

17 M. Dorer, Die Geschichtliche Grundlagen der Psychoanalyse, Leipzig, Meiner, 184 p.

be one, there should be no possibility of connecting Freud with that particular predecessor"¹⁸. Dorer points out similarities between Freud and Bruecke, Fechner, Helmholtz, Herbart, and others, but concludes that Freud owes most of his ideas to Meynert and regrets that Freud contented himself with praising the personal qualities of Meynert, neglecting to acknowledge his scientific indebtedness.

Boering contributes a hitherto unknown fact to the researchers for Freud's scientific origins when he points out that "in 1890 Ebbinghaus, with Koenig's aid, founded the Zeitschrift fur Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane. He was able to enlist in this venture the help, as cooperating editors, of Helmholtz, of such psychological physiologists as Aubert, Exner, Hering, von Kries, and Preyer. And of such psychologists as Theodor Lipps, Geo. E. Mueller, and Stumpf"¹⁹. Since Exner was not only a teacher of Freud in three of his medical courses, but also supervised his work in Bruecke's laboratory for three years, it is inconceivable that Freud would not have read a publication of which Exner was a cooperating editor. Added weight can be given to this by the fact that Freud himself called Lipps

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁹ Edwin G. Boering, A History of Experimental Psychology; New York, Appleton, 1950, p. 389.

"my teacher in psychology"²⁰, and that many of his theories show a striking similarity to those expressed in the writings of these men. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

Probably the greatest single contribution to research in Freud's educational origins was made by Bernfeld²¹ who obtained a transcript showing all the courses Freud took while enrolled in the University of Vienna, together with the names of his instructors. This was concrete evidence to contradict Freud's denial of ever having studied philosophy, for the record shows four courses in philosophy under Brentano. Merlan²² also connects Brentano and Freud by publishing a letter Freud wrote to Heinrich Gomperz, dated June 9, 1932, in which Freud states that he was a Hoerer (auditor) in some of Brentano's classes.

20 Max Eastman, Visit in Vienna, the Crotchety Greatness of Sigmund Freud, in Heroes I Have Known, Twelve Who Lived Great Lives, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1942, p. 243-268.

21 Siegfried Bernfeld, Sigmund Freud, M.D., 1882-1885, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 32, Part 3, 1951, p. 204-217.

22 Philip Merlan, Brentano and Freud, in Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. 6, No. 3, June 1945, p. 375-377.

Bernfeld²³ lays claim for Freud to the part of the Studien previously credited to Breuer²⁴, and presents a picture of the "physiology-fanaticism and the Naturphilosophische Weltanschauung" that Freud was exposed to in his student days²⁵.

Von Karpinska²⁶ and Nachmansohn²⁷ both point out the similarity between Freud and Herbart; Kris²⁸ claims Herbart, Bruecke, Helmholtz and Breuer as scientific influences. Bergman²⁹, on the other hand, claims complete originality

23 Siegfried Bernfeld, Freud's Earliest Theories and the School of Helmholtz, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 3, July 1944, p. 341-362.

24 Bernfeld refers here to the section dealing with the theory of hysteria published under Breuer's name in: Jos. Breuer und Sig. Freud, Studien uber Hysterie, Leipzig, Deuticke, p. 161-221

25 Siegfried Bernfeld, Freud's Scientific Beginnings, in American Imago, Vol. 6, No. 3, September 1949, p. 165-196.

26 Luise von Karpinska, Uber die Psychologischen Grundlagen des Freudismus, in Internationale Zeitschrift fur Aertzliche Psychoanalyse, Vol. 2, 1914, p. 164-170.

27 M. Nachmansohn, Die Wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Psychoanalyse, Berlin, Karger, 1928, 236 p.

28 Ernst Kris, The Significance of Freud's Earliest Discoveries, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 31, Parts 1-2, 1950, p. 108-116.

29 Paul Bergman, The Germinal Cell of Freud's Psychoanalytic Psychology and Therapy, in Psychiatry, Vol. 12, No. 3, August 1949, p. 265-278.

for Freud. According to him, Freud developed his method and theory by observing that gaps in a person's memory could be filled under certain conditions. Once these gaps were filled, certain symptoms and tensions disappeared, and the lost memories frequently contained guilt-evoking material.

Zilboorg³⁰ feels that the similarity between Freud and Herbart and Nietzsche is a coincidence and that, if anything, Freud was a Darwinian. In another paper³¹ he furnishes proof that Freud read Johannes Weyer's De Prestigiis in his early teens, and that he studied the Malleus Maleficarum in the Latin original as early as 1897. Zilboorg³² also discovered the fact that Freud probably got his idea of free association from Galton³³.

30 Gregory Zilboorg, The Changing Concept of Man in Present Day Psychiatry, in American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 3, No. 6, December 1954, p. 445-448.

31 Gregory Zilboorg, A Monument and an Epitaph, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1954, p. 250-254.

32 -----, Sigmund Freud, His Exploration of the Mind of Man, New York, Scribners, 1951, 132 p.

33 Zilboorg probably refers to: Francis Galton, Psychometric Experiments, in Brain, Vol. 2, July 1879, p. 149-154.

Schilder³⁴ attributes the origin of the concept of regression to Meynert; and Arkin³⁵ compares Freud's duality of instinct to Empedocles' "Love and Strife", quoting Freud to establish the connection of antecedence. Young³⁶ gives several references showing that attempts have been made to interpret group behaviour along psychoanalytic lines before Freud published his Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse³⁷ Hingley³⁸ traces Freud's origins to Charcot, Bernheim and Janet; Bernard³⁹, after establishing that Freud had read Spinoza, compares the psychological orientation of the two. Zilboorg⁴⁰, whose untiring research revealed much of what is known of the history of medical psychology, points out that the Oedipus legend was used by Aristotle in his De Anima.

34 Paul Schilder, The Influence of Psychoanalysis on Psychiatry, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 216-228.

35 Arthur Arkin, A Short Note on Empedocles and Freud, in American Imago, Vol. 6, No. 3, September 1949, p. 197-203.

36 Kimball Young, The Impact of Freudian Psychology, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 869-876.

37 Gesammelte Werke, Op. cit., Vol. 13, p. 73-761.

38 R.H. Hingley, Psychoanalysis, London, Methuen, 1921, 190 p.

39 Walter Bernard, Freud and Spinoza, in Psychiatry, Vol. 9, No. 2, September 1946, p. 99-108.

40 Gregory Zilboorg, Fundamental Conflict with Psychoanalysis, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 20, Parts 3-4, July-October 1939, p. 480-492.

3.- Autobiographies of Students and Associates.

The autobiographical notes of some psychoanalysts contribute material to the research worker interested in the tracing of the origins of psychoanalysis. Of these Jones⁴¹, Graf⁴², Deutsch⁴³, Alexander⁴⁴, Peck⁴⁵ and Brill⁴⁶ should be mentioned, not only because they give a revealing picture of the relationship Freud had with his students and the competition for his love between the students, but also because they seem to give some indication that the origin of some of Freud's later concepts may lie with the students. In describing his own professional development from neurology

41 Ernest Jones, The Early History of Psychoanalysis, in Journal of Mental Science, Vol. 100, No. 418, January 1954, p. 198-210.

42 Max Graf, Reminiscences of Sigmund Freud, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 4, October 1942, p. 465-476.

43 Helene Deutsch, Freud and His Pupils: A Footnote to the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 184-194.

44 Franz Alexander, Recollections of Berggasse 19, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 195-204.

45 Martin Peck, A Brief Visit with Freud, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 205-206.

46 A.A. Brill, Reminiscences of Freud, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 177-183.

through hypnosis to psychoanalysis, Brill⁴⁷ states that psychotherapists who claim to differ from Freud "use the instruments originally developed by Freud . . . Most of them are weak midgets whose feet are not strong enough to mount the first rung of the ladder to the mind constructed by Freud"⁴⁸.

Another more specific source of information on the extent and quality of Freud's interpersonal relationships is furnished in the writings of former students and patients. Among the former students and associates, who wrote of him and their experiences with him, are Reik⁴⁹, Sachs⁵⁰, Stekel⁵¹, and Wittels⁵². Though some of these studies are biased and defensive, they are a necessary counterbalance to the attempted deification by some other disciples of Freud.

47 A.A. Brill, Psychotherapies I Encountered, in Psychiatric Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 4, December 1947, p. 575-591.

48 Ibid., p. 590.

49 Theodor Reik, From Thirty Years With Freud, New York, International, 1940, xi-241 p.

50 Hanns Sachs, Freud, Master and Friend, Cambridge, Harvard, 1946, 195 p.

51 Wilhelm Stekel, The Autobiography of Wilhelm Stekel, The Life Story of a Pioneer Psychoanalyst, New York, Liveright, 1950, ix-293 p.

52 Fritz Wittels, Freud and His Time, New York, Liveright, 1931, 451 p.

Three of Freud's analysands published their impressions of their analysis: the poetess H. D.⁵³, the psychiatrist Wortis⁵⁴, and the psychologist Grinker⁵⁵. These are of interest in that they show that Freud did not follow to the letter his own rules as far as psychoanalytic technique is concerned, and because they reveal his attitude toward sex and religion, two areas in which Freud's own integration was far from complete.

4.- The Freud Biographies.

Some of the researchers seek to find the origins of Freud in his life experiences, considering his work a result of his personality; others feel that his choice of subject matter was determined by his inclinations, and his work determined his personality. Like everything else about Freud, this material is also controversial and contradictory. It ranges from the complete devotion of Simmel⁵⁶ who predicts

⁵³ H.D., The Handwriting on the Wall, in Life and Letters Today, 1945, (No other bibl. data available).

⁵⁴ Joseph Wortis, Fragment of an Analysis with Freud, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1954, x-208 p.

⁵⁵ Roy R. Grinker, Reminiscences of a Personal Contact with Freud, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 850-854.

⁵⁶ Ernst Simmel, Sigmund Freud: The Man and His Work, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 163-176.

that "Freud will one day be recognized as a liberator of mankind. All feel the spirit that surrounded Freud . . . Some have maintained that Freud's personality contained some pardonable human weakness of character. I can only state that I did not discover any"⁵⁷; to the strong emotional indictment of Ludwig, who betrays his bias, "A boy was always late in school because he thought out a personal ritual for himself - as all of us used to do (italics by the writer) when we were children. He would repeat his steps in accordance with the pattern of cement paving-blocks in the street. Also, he developed a habit of touching the four corners of his desk, and when at the table he insisted on kneading little balls out of bread"⁵⁸.

Ludwig feels that calling this type of behaviour, which he found to be descriptive of himself, cannot be called neurotic, and that connecting it with a sexual problem is certainly out of place and unwarranted⁵⁹. He accuses Freud of causing the suicide of Stefan Zweig⁶⁰, ignoring the fact

⁵⁷ Ernst Simmel, Sigmund Freud: The Man and His Work, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 174.

⁵⁸ Emil Ludwig, Doctor Freud, An Analysis and a Warning, New York, Hellman, 1947, 317 p.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 143.

that, even if Freud had analyzed Zweig, almost twenty years had passed before Zweig killed himself. Only by attributing it to emotional bias can one explain the many factual mistakes in the book, a fact not found in Ludwig's other excellent biographies.

Baker's⁶¹ is a popular biography of Freud. Though it contains many inaccuracies, such as the Berggasse address, and her version of Freudian theories, she is in the main accurate in her description of the Freud-Jung relationship, her observation of Freud's religious conflict and her assumption that he analyzed his daughter, Anna. Puner⁶² wrote a good study of Freud erring only in her intuitive conclusions. It is not true that the Zurich group feared the Viennese because of their emphasis on sexuality. Pfister, whom she mentions by name, never minimized Freud's theories of sexuality of the Oedipus conflict being a strong determining factor in the aetiology of the neuroses. Incidentally, Pfister and not Jung founded the Swiss Psychoanalytic Association. Both Jones⁶³ and Pfister⁶⁴ deny that "cancer struck

⁶¹ Rachel Baker, Sigmund Freud, New York, Messner, 1952, 201 p.

⁶² Helen Puner, Freud, His Life and His Mind, New York, Gorsset, 1947, 256 p.

⁶³ Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 1, 1856-1900, The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries, New York, Basic Books, 1953, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Oskar Pfister, a personal communication.

the area of the jaw (Freud) injured as a child". Another popular biography is Zweig's⁶⁵, who calls attention to the similarities between the ideas of Freud and the great literary men of his time.

The best biography is the first of a planned three volumes by Jones⁶⁶, who had access to such personal material as Freud's letters to Martha Bernays during their four year engagement, the unpublished portion of the Fliess correspondence, and many years of a personal and intimate friendship with Freud. The biography is the realized attempt of a scholarly British gentleman who decided far in advance that he was going to be impartial and correct. However, this is seldom possible in historical research and Jones, after meticulously noting a number of self-contradictions by Freud, gently loses his temper in relating the Freud-Fliess controversy and Freud's reluctance to remember who originated the the concept of bisexuality:

A very severe case of amnesia! Only a year before he has written: "You are certainly right about bisexuality. I am getting used to regard every sexual act as one between four individuals". (August 1, 1899) And the year previous to that he had expressed his enthusiasm in the words: "I have taken to emphasizing the concept of bisexuality and I regard your idea of it as the most significant for my work since that of 'defense'".⁶⁷

65 Stefan Zweig, Mental Healers, Franz Anton Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy, Sigmund Freud, New York, Garden City, 1932, xxiv-363 p.

66 Ernest Jones, Op. Cit., xiv-428 p.

67 Ibid., p. 315.

Independent of Jones, Zilboorg⁶⁸, Oehlschlegel⁶⁹, McLean⁷⁰, and Velikovsky⁷¹ conclude had a religious conflict that remained unresolved at his death. Buxbaum⁷² points out that in addition to his struggle about religion, Freud was also attempting to repress his feminine leanings toward Fliess.

The Bernfelds⁷³ picture the family constellation during Freud's childhood; report on his first year in practice and the stormy meeting at the Physician's Society, on October 15, 1886, when he first reported on his experiences

68 Gregory Zilboorg, Scientific Psychopathology and Religious Issues, in Theological Studies, Vol. 14, No. 2, June 1953, p. 288-297.

69 Lydia Oehlschlegel, Regarding Freud's Book on "Moses", a Religio-Psychoanalytic Study, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 30, No. 1, January 1943, p. 67-76.

70 Helen V. McLean, A Few Comments on "Moses and Monotheism", in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 207-215.

71 Immanuel Velikovsky, The Dreams that Freud Dreamt, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 28, No. 4, October 1941, p. 487-511.

72 Edith Buxbaum, Freud's Dream Interpretation in the Light of His Letters to Fliess, in American Imago, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 107-128.

73 Siegfried Bernfeld and Suzanne Cassirer Bernfeld, Freud's Early Childhood, in Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, Vol. 8, No. 4, July 1944, p. 107-115.

with Charcot in Paris⁷⁴. Adams⁷⁵ clears up a misunderstanding regarding Freud's correct birthday, and Bernfeld⁷⁶ attempts a psychoanalytic interpretation of Freud's interest in archeology. Freud's pre-analytic writings⁷⁷ and his literary preferences⁷⁸ were scrutinized for some clue to his scientific development and his personality. Bernfeld⁷⁹ discovered that one of Freud's published case histories, Ueber Deckerinnerungen⁸⁰, is really autobiographical and added to the scant knowledge about his early sex life.

74 Siegfried Bernfeld and Suzanne Cassirer Bernfeld, Freud's First Year in Practice, in Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, Vol. 16, No. 2, March 1952, p. 37-49.

75 Leslie Adams, Freud's Correct Birthday: Misunderstanding and Solution, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 41, No. 4, October 1954, p. 359-362.

76 Suzanne Cassirer Bernfeld, Freud and Archeology, in Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, Vol. 15, No. 6, November 1951, p. 197-212.

77 Horace Grey, Bibliography of Freud's Pre-Analytic Period, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 35, No. 4, December 1948, p. 403-410.

78 K.R. Eisler, An Unknown Autobiographical Letter by Freud and a Short Comment, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 32, Part 4, 1951, p. 319-324.

79 Siegfried Bernfeld, An Unknown Autobiographical Fragment by Freud, in American Imago, Vol. 4, No. 1, August 1946, p. 3-19.

80 Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 529-554.

The popular belief that Freud abandoned hypnosis because of his inability to hypnotize all patients is contradicted by Schenk⁸¹, who advances the theory that Freud's motivation was fear of counter-transference. Freud's decision was reached after a patient tried to embrace him and he felt that the free association method would inhibit the patient's tendencies to act out. Colby⁸² published the minutes of the last meeting between Adler and Freud, revealing Freud's behaviour under emotional stress.

Freud was aware of the search for his antecedents. At times his reaction was an angry denial like the one he issued when he was compared to some philosophers, while on other occasions he would publish a helpful hint. On one such occasion he published an anonymous paper pointing out that the poet Schiller and a writer named Ludwig Berne were familiar with the technique of free association and used it for creative purposes. The article also stated that Freud was familiar with the two writers since the age of fourteen.

81 Jerome Schenk, Countertransference in Freud's Rejection of Hypnosis, in American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 110, No. 12, June 1954, p. 928-931.

82 Kenneth Mark Colby, On the Disagreement Between Freud and Adler, in American Imago, Vol. 8, No. 3, September 1951, p. 229-238.

This essay is now acknowledged by Freud and is included in his Collected Papers.⁸³

One notes with surprise that the openly acknowledged antecedents, Moebius, Lange and Benedikt⁸⁴, have not been studied to any great extent by the researchers.

When curiosity exceeded the limits of good taste Freud did not hesitate to express his disapproval. On one occasion, when told by an analysand that the world would be anxious to know the personal experiences behind his discoveries, he said: "It won't hear anything from me; I have told enough about myself in my Traumdeutung ... it is simply a matter of self-protection (Selbstschutz) and I would not be the only one concerned."⁸⁵

5.- The Critics.

The negative evaluations of psychoanalysis are as unidirectional as they are numerous. Almost always it is the theory and hardly ever the method that is criticized. Much of the criticism is based on Freud's emphasis on sex; others find that his mechanistic-deterministic philosophy

⁸³ Sigmund Freud, Collected Papers, Vol. 5, London, Imago, 1950, p. 101-106.

⁸⁴ Breuer and Freud, Studien, Op. Cit., p. 161-221.

⁸⁵ Wortis, Op. Cit., p. 121-122.

tends to rob man of his highest human qualities. As will be seen, the negative evaluations are as highly subjective in their extremes as the positive appraisals prove themselves to be.

Henson criticizes "Freud's crazy and disgusting over-emphasis on sex."⁸⁶ Griffith⁸⁷ regards psychoanalytic literature "of a pornographic character published under the mask of science or psychology and thus uncensored either by legal authority or public opinion."⁸⁸ Harrington undertakes to psychoanalyze psychoanalysis and reveals his orientation and his unfamiliarity with his chosen subject: "If a man is miserly, that miserliness is the manifestation of an anal erotic desire, that is to say, the kind of sexual desire which finds satisfaction in the act of sodomy."⁹⁰ Jastrow also objects to the sexual emphasis, but is frank to acknowledge

⁸⁶ Herbert Hensley Henson, Notes on Spiritual Healing, London, Williams, 1925, 197 p.

⁸⁷ Percy Griffith, A Synthetic Psychology or Evolution as a Psychological Phenomenon, London, Bale, 1928, 214 p.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 180.

⁸⁹ Milton Harrington, Wish-Hunting in the Unconscious, An Analysis of Psychoanalysis, New York, McMillan, 1934, 189 p.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

that his information about the subject is based on "the painstaking compilation of Healy, Bronner and Bowers' The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis."⁹¹

Laumonier⁹² makes up in novelty for his lack in facts. According to him Freud made his observations during the early part of his medical practice, which consisted exclusively of sexual perverts; his theoretical formulations were influenced by Otto Weininger; and he is infused with the coarseness of the German culture that produced him.

Miller⁹³ attempts to evaluate psychoanalysis and branches of psychology related to or derived from it. He concludes that Freud will always be popular with extroverts, Jews and purely rational types. He finds that psychoanalytic training compares with the rigid training of Catholic priests and wonders why psychoanalysis has so many medical followers. According to him the analyst's mantle of objectivity is his protection from the discovery of his many personal shortcomings. Mc Bride⁹⁴ turns an analytic eye on psychoanalysts with the

91 Joseph Jastrow, Freud, His Dream and Sex Theories, Cleveland and New York, World, 1932, 297 p.

92 J. Laumonier, Le Freudisme: Exposé et Critique, Paris, Alcan, 1925, 172 p.

93 Crighton H. Miller, Psychoanalysis and its Derivatives, London, Butterworth, 1932, 249 p.

94 P. Mc Bride, Psychoanalysts Analyzed, London, Heineman, 1924, 142 p.

result that they are revealed as "susceptible, inclining to mysticism and perhaps too ready to believe what is presented to them in a forceful and plausible way. When this happens they hesitate to apply to the statements of others such critical faculties as they possess, or, it may be that nature has denied them such faculties."⁹⁵

Allers⁹⁶ continues the fight he began against psychoanalysis in 1922. His is a subjective evaluation coloured by emotional bias to a point that permits him to take liberties with translations, and failure to give references to the sources of some of his statements. He concludes that acceptance of psychoanalysis, whether as a therapeutic method or a personality theory, is tantamount to the rejection of religion.

It must be noted, however, that even "friendly" writers are often ignorant of many psychoanalytic concepts. Their errors have a tendency to create an erroneous impression of their subject matter and for this reason belong in this part of the survey. Valentine⁹⁷ is a good example of a proponent of Freudism whose good will exceeds the facts at his disposal. Other examples of well-intentioned but erroneous

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 93.

⁹⁶ Rudolf Allers, The Successful Error, New York, Sheed, 1940, ix-266 p.

⁹⁷ C. W. Valentine, Dreams and the Unconscious, London, Christophers, 1921, 144 p.

presentation of psychoanalysis are the works of Tridon⁹⁸ and Coriat⁹⁹, the latter being a sort of question-answer catechism.

Some writers devaluate psychoanalysis and proceed to offer a substitute theory of their own instead. Bousfield¹⁰⁰ and Nuttin¹⁰¹ are good examples of this trend. Since the appraisal of the substitute theories is outside the ramification of this paper, the statement that both writers lack understanding of Freudian concepts will suffice.

Dalbiez¹⁰² and Maritain¹⁰³ approve of the treatment method but reject the theory. The former, who reveals an unusual familiarity with both the technique and the rationale, finds that psychoanalysis is a science based on scientific observations of regularly occurring predictable phenomena. The formulations of personality by the Freudians, however,

98 André Tridon, Psychoanalysis: Its History, Theory and Practice, London, Kegan, 1920, 258 p.

99 Isador Coriat, What is Psychoanalysis, New York, Moffat, 1919, 127 p.

100 Paul Bousfield, Elements of Practical Psychoanalysis, London, Dutton, 1920, 272 p.

101 Joseph Nuttin, Psychoanalysis and Personality, New York, Sheed, 1953, xiv-310 p.

102 Roland Dalbiez, Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, Exposition, New York, Longmans, xvi-415 p.

103 Jacques Maritain, Cuatro Ensayos Sobre el Espiritu en su Condicion Carnal, Buenos Aires, Brouwer, 1943, 200 p.

do not stand up under a philosophical evaluation and consequently are in need of reformulation.

6.- The Protagonists.

Some writers defend psychoanalysis by pointing out the usefulness of the concepts it developed. Levine¹⁰⁴ traces the notion of the unconscious through Leibnitz, Schopenhauer, Maine de Biran, von Hartman, Fechner, Nietzsche and Butler. He then points out Freud's contribution to the old concepts and ends in recommending psychoanalysis as a cure-all for every social, moral or ethical problem of mankind. Osborn¹⁰⁵ gives a good account of the Freudian theories and suggests that they can be applied by Marxists in forming the superego of the children by the state, thus creating a classless society.

Pfister¹⁰⁶ discusses the ethical and moral effects of psychoanalysis¹⁰⁷ and its advantages in theological training¹⁰⁸.

104 Israel Levine, The Unconscious, New York, McMillan, 1923, 215 p.

105 Ruben Osborn, Freud and Marx, A Dialectical Study, New York, Equinox, 1937, 285 p.

106 Oskar Pfister, What Transformations does Psychoanalysis Require in Ethics and Moral Education, in Psychiatric Quarterly, July 1931, p. 1-16, (no other bibl. ref. available).

107 -----, Die Ethischen Grundzuge der Psychoanalyse Sigmund Freuds, in Der Psychologe, Vol. 1, No. 7-8, 1949, p. 287-294.

108 -----, Religionswissenschaft und Psychoanalyse, Giessen, Topemann, 1927, 31 p.

He concludes that psychoanalysis promotes ethics in that it requires absolute truthfulness with one's self, and in that it postulates guilt as the underlying cause of the neuroses. One gathers that Pfister divides guilt into objective and subjective guilt, delegating the former to the attention of the priest and the latter to the psychoanalyst. He categorically states that Freud postulated a free will gravitating toward the good when he made the goal of therapy the making conscious what is repressed. Love for the neighbour is, according to Pfister, one of the signs of mental and emotional health, and the psychoanalytically trained theologian increased his effectiveness in preparing for a true religious experience. Pfister also traces the concept of love from 1386 B.C. (Akhenaton) to present day psychological definitions of love.¹⁰⁹

Freudian theories lack maturity and philosophical orientation according to Carr¹¹⁰ and Dalbiez,¹¹¹ who feel that Freud's philosophy was unfinished and confused.

109 -----, Love in Children, London, Allen, 1924, 576 p.

110 Wildon H. Carr, The Philosophical Aspects of Freud's Theory of Dream Interpretation, in Mind, Vol. 23, No. 91, Part 2, July 1914, p. 321-334.

111 Dalbiez, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, Discussion, xii-311 p.

A favourable critic is Archer, who reviews fifteen published works by Abraham, Ferenczi, Brill, Freud, Jones, Pfister and Sadger, concluding that "it seems important that this school of psychologists should be given a full and free hearing ... The large place given to the unconscious in these studies seems to the writer to be wholly justified."¹¹² Eliasberg¹¹³ answers Carl Jaspers' criticisms and Jelgersma¹¹⁴ defends the concept of the unconscious as scientifically demonstrable. Haeberlin¹¹⁵ outlines the method of treatment and necessary training, giving some criteria for the selection of patients. It seems that the well-defined rules (Regeln) are used as evidence for the scientific aspects of psychoanalysis.

Hartman¹¹⁶ defines psychoanalysis as a natural science because it deals with definite, regularly recurring mental laws, and the combination of elementary mental processes

112 Rudolph Archer, Recent Freudian Literature, in American Journal of Psychology, Vol. 22, No. 3, July 1911, p. 408-443.

113 Wladimir G. Eliasberg, The Early Criticisms of Freud's Psychoanalysis, The Conscious vs. The Unconscious, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 41, No. 1, October 1954, p. 347-353.

114 G. Jelgersma, Unbewusstes Geistesleben, in Beihefte der Internationalen Zeitschrift für Aertzliche Psychoanalyse, No. 1, Leipzig, Heller, 1914, 32 p.

115 Carl Haeberlin, Grundlinien der Psychoanalyse, Muenchen, Gmelin, 1925, 95 p.

116 Heinz Hartmann, Die Grundlagen der Psychoanalyse, Leipzig, Thieme, 1927, 192 p.

and their dynamics, aiming to formulate rules for their observation and study. Brun¹¹⁷ declares psychoanalysis a part of biology, and thus a branch of natural science. His logic is based on the postulate that man is a biological entity with better developed organs for intellection than animals, hence psychology and psychoanalysis, both devoted to the study of biological entities, belong to biology.

Some writers evaluate psychoanalysis in terms of its contributions to the different scientific disciplines. Thus Fenichel¹¹⁸ credits Freud with inventing scientific psychology, Brown¹¹⁹ with not only furnishing new concepts to psychology, but also providing proof that some of the old ones were true or false. Chapman and Weigert¹²⁰ credit Freud with furnishing the motivation and incentive to psychiatric research in order to validate or disprove some of his concepts.

117 R. Brun, Biologie, Psychologie and Psychoanalyse, in Wiener Zeitschrift für Nervenheilkunde and deren Grenzgebiete, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1954, p. 33-358.

118 Otto Fenichel, Some Remarks on Freud's Place in the History of Science, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 3, July 1946, p. 219-284.

119 J. F. Brown, Freud's Contribution to Psychology, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 866-868.

120 Ross M. Chapman and Edith Weigert, Freud and Psychiatry, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 855-957.

Levy¹²¹ credits Freud with the incentive to regard the child as a whole person, and Foxe¹²² thinks that Freud's recognition of the pleasurable nature of aggressive behaviour has helped in the treatment of child delinquency. Frank,¹²³ Ginsburg¹²⁴ and Mohr¹²⁵ point to the contribution of psychoanalysis to the understanding of cultural, social and anthropological studies of people and cultures. Social work especially has been able to utilize much of Freud's theories in helping families to adjust both within the family and to the larger social environment.

7.- Subjective Experiences.

No survey of this kind would be complete without reporting the subjective evaluations of analyzed psychologists. One would expect an appraisal by people who have been

121 David M. Levy, Freud and Child Psychiatry, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 861-862.

122 Arthur N. Foxe, Freud's Contribution to the Understanding of Delinquency, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 863-865.

123 Lawrence K. Frank, Freud's Influence on Western Thinking and Culture, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1940, p. 880-882.

124 Ethel Ginsburg, Freud's Contribution to the Philosophy and Practice of Social Work, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 877-879.

125 George J. Mohr, Freud and Psychoanalysis, in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 858-860.

conditioned by hundreds of hours of psychoanalysis to be unanimously favourable, but the expectation proves futile. Like everything else connected with psychoanalysis, these reports differ not only in their degree of approval or disapproval, but also in the manner in which they approached their experience and their given reasons for entering analysis in the first place.

Brown,¹²⁶ Boring,¹²⁷ Landis,¹²⁸ Willoughby,¹²⁹
Symonds,¹³⁰ Murray,¹³¹ Frenkel-Brunswik,¹³² Shakow,¹³³

126 J. F. Brown, The Position of Psychoanalysis in the Science of Psychology, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 1940, p. 29-44.

127 Edwin G. Boring, Was This Analysis a Success?, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 1940, p. 4-10.

128 Carney Landis, Psychoanalytic Phenomena, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 1940, p. 17-28.

129 Raymond B. Willoughby, Some Articulations Between Psychoanalysis and the Rest of Psychology, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35; No. 1, January 1940, p. 45-55.

130 Percival M. Symonds, Psychoanalysis, Psychology and Education, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1940, p. 139-149.

131 Henry A. Murray, What Should Psychologists Do About Psychoanalysis, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1940, p. 150-175.

132 Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Psychoanalysis and Personality Research, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1940, p. 176-197.

133 David Shakow, One Psychologist as Analysand, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1940, p. 198-211.

McGranahan¹³⁴ and Wood¹³⁵ reported on their experiences. It may be of interest to note the variety of titles that the reports bear, in view of the fact that they were written for a symposium of analyzed psychologists reporting on their analytic experiences. The value of this record is enhanced by the comment of two analysts, Sachs¹³⁶ and Alexander,¹³⁷ whose closing words seem an apt summary of a large group of scientists observing with interest psychoanalytic phenomena in a world of psychologists interested in therapy: "Psychoanalytic theory is certainly only a tentative construction, but even in the dim light one is more likely to hit a target than in complete darkness."¹³⁸

134 Donald V. McGranahan, A Critical Experimental Study of Repression, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1940, p. 212-225.

135 Austin B. Wood, Another Psychologist Analyzed, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 36, No. 1, January 1941, p. 87-90.

136 Hanns Sachs, Was This Analysis a Success? - Comment, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 1940, p. 11-16.

137 Franz Alexander, A Jury Trial of Psychoanalysis, in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 3, July 1940, p. 305-323.

138 Ibid., p. 323.

SUMMARY

A survey of the voluminous literature on the origins of Freud and/or Psychoanalysis reveals a predominantly fractional approach. Some researchers hope to find the origin in the personal experiences of the originator of the method, probably on the assumption that the product bears the characteristics of its creator; while others search among the ideas of the known teachers of Freud intent on demonstrating that he had antecedents. Another large group searches for a similarity in thought between Freud and the philosophers on the thesis that only great minds meet. The critics of psychoanalysis fail to realize that under psychoanalysis several things can be and are meant. Psychoanalysis is a method of changing an individual's behaviour towards the environment and himself; it is, however, also a theory of personality. To many psychoanalysis has replaced a philosophical orientation, while to others it is merely a method of observation for the classification of psychological phenomena.

Since man reacts to his environment according to his personal needs, Freud's motivation in his researches would have something to do with his personality. Specific interests, however, are also determined by previous learning and experience, and for this reason, the orientation of

Freud's teachers and the interests of the people he admired must also be considered in the search for his antecedents. Again, consideration must be given to the fact that man lives not only his personal life, but also, consciously or unconsciously, the life of his epoch and his contemporaries. Thus, in order to carry out systematic research into the origins of Freud and his theories, a method is needed that will provide sources of fundamental information about Freud, the work and ideas of his teachers, his socio-political environment and, finally, the work of the prominent writers and philosophers of his time that may have influenced the direction of his development.

CHAPTER II

SIGMUND FREUD, THE MAN¹

To Freud the child is truly the father of the man. His whole theory is based on the postulate that the sum of childhood experiences yield the character and personality of the adult. Since it is a well-known fact that his psycho-analytic theories are based on the results and conclusions of his self-analysis, there is ample justification to review the known events about his family and his person for the germinal cells of psychoanalysis.

1.- Freud's heredity and family.

Freud considered heredity as one of the prime factors in the predisposition of an individual to neurosis. From his writings one gathers that one of his uncles had four children one of whom was a hydrocephalic imbecile, another became insane at the age of nineteen, as did also a sister in her twenties. A son of another uncle died of epilepsy. One of Freud's sisters never married, and another was diagnosed by him as having a tendency to neurasthenia.

His father, Jacob Freud, was born in Tysmenitz, Galacia, on December 18, 1815, and lived to the age of 81. He married

¹ Unless otherwise noted, material in this chapter is based on Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 1, 1856-1900, The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries, N.Y., Basic Books, 1953, xiv-428 p.

twice. Of the first marriage, contracted when he was 17, there were two sons, Emanuel (1833) and Philip (1836). When he was forty years old Jacob Freud married for the second time, on July 29, 1855. At the time of this marriage he was already the grandfather of John, the one year old child of his son Emanuel. Three months before Sigmund was born Emanuel had a daughter, Pauline. Thus Sigmund Freud was born an uncle.

By occupation Jacob Freud was a wool merchant, but basically he was a talmudic scholar.

In Eastern Europe it is still usual for the talmudist to have an occupation that provides him with a means to earn a livelihood, so that whatever time he devotes to the study of the talmud can truly be "a work of love". Jacob Freud's father and grandfather were rabbis. Like most of his people he was a devoted father, who felt it his duty to inculcate his children with a love for family life together with devotion to and knowledge of Judaism.

Sigmund Freud's mother, Amalia Nathanson, was born in Brody, Galacia, on August 18, 1835, and died on September 12, 1930. Puner claims her to be the "descendent of a famous Talmudic scholar, the eighteenth-century Nathan Halevy Charmatz of Brody",² but research workers failed to unearth any evidence

² Helen Walker Puner, Freud, His Life and His Mind, A Biography, N.Y., Grosset, 1947, p. 7.

to prove this. The fact remains, however, that Freud's maternal grandfather, like his paternal forebears, was a talmudist and a patron of Jewish scholars.

Amalia was less than twenty years old when she married the man, twice her age, with whom she was to have six children during the first six years of her marriage. She is described as happy and intelligent, and is said to have adored her first-born son, Sigmund.

2.- Freud's childhood.

From all accounts Freud was not only a wanted child, but was especially preferred by his mother. The importance of this to him is evident, "a man who has been the indisputable favourite of his mother keeps for life the feeling of a conqueror..."³ He was breast fed almost until the arrival of his brother, Julius, of whom he was very jealous and "whose early death left a germ of guilt in (him)."⁴

In spite of the maternal affection Freud was willful and stubborn as a child. He was not toilet-trained till the

³ Sigmund Freud, Eine Kindheitserinnerung aus "Dichtung und Wahrheit", in Gesammelte Werke, Chronologisch Geordnet, Vol. 12, London, Imago, 1947, p. 26.

⁴ -----, The Origins of Psychoanalysis, Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887-1902, p. 219.

age of two,⁵ a fact that was considered a problem in those days. At the age of three the family moved to Leipzig and a year later to Vienna, where Freud remained almost until his death. On the way to Leipzig the child was frightened by the gas jets at the station that reminded him "of souls burning in Hell".⁶ It was on the trip to Vienna from Leipzig that Freud saw his mother in the nude.⁷ He later considered both these events as causes of his neurosis.

The first five years of Freud's life were spent with a father who was over 41 years his senior, two half-brothers, one of whom was three years older than his mother, and a nephew and niece that were both older than he was. After the age of five he was the oldest and preferred of five children. Until the youngest child was born he was his mother's only son, his brother Julius having died at the age of eight months. The children were: Anna, born when Freud was two and one half years old, Rosa, Marie, Adolfine, Paula, and Alexander who was just ten years younger than Freud.

5 -----, Infantiles Material zum Traum, in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 2/3, p. 221.

6 Fliess Letters, Op. Cit., p. 237.

7 Ibid., p. 219.

3.- Freud's physical constitution.

Some time between the age of two and three Freud injured his lower left jaw. A scar of this remained for the rest of his life. In his youth he suffered from what he diagnosed as his "neurasthenia", symptomatized by severe indigestion and constipation. Incapacitating spells of migraine recurred through his adult life. Jones⁸ mentions his tendency to faint under emotional stress. In 1882 he had ambulatory typhoid fever, "rheumatic pains in the back and arms", and a severe angina of the throat. In 1884 he was in bed for several days with a left-sided sciatica, and in 1885 he had smallpox. An attack of influenza caused a severe cardiac arhythmia, which gave him a lot of concern about his heart.

A nasal congestion made him particularly susceptible to colds, and Fliess operated on his nose several times to remedy this defect. In 1933 he underwent the first operation for cancer of the jaw, the illness which caused his death on September 3, 1939.

4.- Freud's sexual development.

Jones notes that "everything points to a remarkable concealment in Freud's love life; perhaps we may say that it

⁸ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 317.

was something that had to be carefully protected."⁹ Information available from the self-confessions scattered throughout Freud's writings reveal him "as a villain, a parricide, ambitious, petty, revengeful, but never as a lover."¹⁰ The research worker's interest in this phase of Freud's life is due not only to the importance psychoanalysts give to sexuality, but also because "no man's inner life, the core of his personality, can be comprehended without some knowledge of his attitude towards the emotion of love (...) since few situations test so severely his mental harmony."¹¹

Freud recalls "the child who at an early age entered the parents' bedroom out of sexual curiosity and was ordered out by a command of the father",¹² and his deliberate urination in the parents' bedroom at the age of seven or eight.¹³

Freud denies indulgence in the childhood sexual plays that psychoanalysts claim that all humans engage in during a certain phase of their development, "Nor did I ever play the 'doctor game'; my infantile curiosity evidently chose

9 Ibid., p. 124.

10 Siegfried Bernfeld, Sigmund Freud, M.D., 1882-1885, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 32, Part 3, 1951, p. 208.

11 Jones, Op. Cit., p. 98.

12 Freud, Die Traumdeutung, in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 2/3, p. 462.

13 Ibid., p. 211.

other paths."¹⁴ As a matter of fact there is evidence that Freud had not experienced sexual intercourse until he got married at the age of thirty. It is known that he diagnosed himself on several occasions as suffering from neurasthenia. In view of the self-diagnosis, his theory as to the etiology of this neurosis is pertinent.

Pure neurasthenia, which after it has been differentiated from anxiety-neurosis presents a monotonous clinical picture (exhaustion, sense of pressure on the head, flatulent dyspepsia, constipation, spinal paraesthesias, sexual weakness, etc.) admits of only two specific aetiological factors, excessive onanism and spontaneous emissions.¹⁵

There is no record indicating that Freud has ever changed his theory as to the etiology of neurasthenia at a later date.

Jones quotes from one of Freud's letters to Putnam in which Freud states that he had "availed himself but little (of any sexual freedom in his youth)".¹⁶ He was deeply and romantically in love with the daughter of a neighbour when he was sixteen years old, but this love was never verbalized except in a disguised case history.¹⁷

¹⁴ Freud, Discussion on Lay Analysis, in Collected Papers, Vol. 5, London, Hogarth, 1950, p. 208.

¹⁵ Freud, Heredity and Aetiology, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 146.

¹⁶ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 99.

¹⁷ Freud, Screen Memories, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 5, p. 46-49.

After a tempestuous four-year engagement Freud married Martha Bernays on September 13, 1886. At the time of the marriage she was twenty-five and he thirty years old. Freud chose as his wife a girl who, like his own parents, came of a family distinguished in Jewish culture.

During their engagement Freud was a jealous and possessive lover. He was constantly tortured with doubts about Martha's love for him and devised special tests to prove this love to himself. "Some of these (tests) were inappropriate and often unreasonable, involving mostly complete identification with himself, his opinions, his feelings and intentions."¹⁸

In the first nine years of the marriage Martha bore Freud six children. Three sons: Martin, Oliver and Ernst, names after Charcot, Cromwell and Bruecke respectively; and three daughters, Mathilda, Sophie and Anna. The last one was named after Freud's sister. She has dedicated her life to the continuation of her father's work in psychoanalysis forsaking marriage.

Pfister¹⁹ confirms Jones' statement that Freud was "a loving and indulgent father"²⁰ and that the family life was a happy and contented one. In a letter Freud pictures

¹⁸ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 63.

¹⁹ Oskar Pfister in a verbal communication.

²⁰ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 152.

his home-life. "We live pretty happily in steadily increasing unassumingness. When we hear the baby laugh we imagine it is the loveliest thing that can happen to us."²¹

As a matter of fact, the man who has been accused so often by so many of advocating pansexuality was a strict monogamist and one may even say a puritan. His oft repeated statement that "We use the word sexuality in the same comprehensive sense as that in which the German language uses the word Lieben ..." ²² applies to Freud as well as to his psychoanalysis.

Genital sexuality attracts and repels Freud. In 1919 he writes about getting lost in a provincial town in Italy and ending up three times in a row in a small side street where painted ladies were engaged in the world's oldest profession.²³ He is in his fifties when he writes:

Anyone who (...) subjects himself to serious self-examination will indubitably find that at the bottom of his heart he too regards the sexual act as something degrading, which soils and contaminates not only the body.²⁴

21 Ibid., p. 152.

22 Freud, Observations on 'Wild' Psychoanalysis, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, p. 299.

23 -----, The Uncanny, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 389-390.

24 -----, Degradation in Erotic Life, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 211.

Jones thinks that "Freud's sexual constitution was not exclusively masculine."²⁵ and quotes instances in the Biography to support this view. During his whole life Freud had a passionate attachment to some special person that ended with bitterness or reproach.

The first of these episodes dates back to the period of 1884-1887, described by Jones as the Cocaine Episode.²⁶ One of Freud's teachers and supervisors in Bruecke's laboratory was Ernst von Fleischl-Marxow. He was a young and brilliant scientist, at home in art, sciences and literature. At the age of twenty-five, while conducting an experiment, he contracted an infection. An amputation of the thumb saved him from death, but continued growth of neuromas required repeated operations. His life became an unending torture of pain and of slowly approaching death. To tolerate the constant pain Fleischl was taking large amounts of morphine and continued his work with Bruecke.

During this same period of time Freud was experimenting with the effects of cocaine. He sent some to Martha Bernays, to whom he was engaged at the time, gave some to his sister, and used it daily to relieve the discomfort caused by his neurasthenia. Not finding it habit-forming, he suggested to

25 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 11.

26 Ibid., p. 78-97.

his friend that he try it instead of morphine. Unfortunately Fleischl became addicted to the drug and suffered greatly in trying to break the habit. Being a close friend Freud was a witness to much of this suffering.

Freud was very fond of Fleischl. At times this fondness approximated the love he felt for his fiancée. In a letter to her, quoted by Jones, he describes his feelings:

I admire and love him with an intellectual passion, if you will allow such a phrase. His destruction will move me as the destruction of a sacred and famous temple would have affected an ancient Greek. I love him not so much as a human being, but as one of Creation's precious achievements. And you need not be at all jealous.²⁷

He felt that Fleischl deserved the luck of a girl like Martha much more and was grateful for the fact that he was the lucky one instead.

The other man who played an important role in Freud's life was Breuer. Unfortunately the portions of the Fliess correspondence dealing with him were never published. There are indications however that Freud felt very negatively towards the man who was his teacher in medical school, with whom he published his first psychoanalytical work, and who stood by him morally and financially when Freud was in need.

Robert Fliess is considered by many to have been Freud's analyst. Freud's letters to him²⁸ reveal his struggle to free

²⁷ Ibid., p. 89-90.

²⁸ Freud, Letters to Fliess, Op. Cit., xi-486 p.

himself from the ambivalence that he felt throughout his life towards people that were of emotional significance to him. His friendship with Fliess ended, as did many of his other attachments, with bitterness and discord.

5.- Freud's social adjustment.

A conflict in man's sexual adjustment will affect his social relationships almost invariably. Freud's unresolved sexual conflicts were reflected in his associations with his teachers, friends and pupils.

Freud possessed an almost irresistible personal charm. Charcot sent him a set of his books with a personal dedication. Breuer, another of his teachers, made a personal friend of him, and not only collaborated with Freud on his first psychoanalytic publication, but lent him financial support over several years.

The friendly relationships with his elders were not lasting, as noted before. Freud construed his difficulties as due to rejection, and many of his biographers feel that he became somewhat withdrawn and suspicious in his later life because of these non-acceptances. Freud always considered any criticism of psychoanalysis as personal censorship.

Psychoanalysis, to Freud, seemed to have a quality of infallibility. This tendency to omnipotence is shown in his humorous proposal to Fliess that he (Freud) solve the strained political situation of Europe by becoming the Czar's

personal psychoanalyst.²⁹ In the Cocaine Episode³⁰ he seems to neglect professional prudence by use and dispensation of a narcotic that he knew practically nothing about.

From the description of his students and followers Freud emerges as a man "whose life was his work",³¹ "always original, brilliant, penetrating and wise",³² always maintaining an even temper. He had neither patience nor tolerance towards people who changed their intellectual convictions for personal advantages, and could become "harsh and unforgiving when intellectual integrity was at stake."³³

Though "his attitude towards his colleagues and pupils was never domineering",³⁴ the group discussions on Wednesday evenings "had an atmosphere of the foundation of a religion in that room."³⁵ "Gradually it came about that

29 Freud, Fliess Letters, Op. Cit., p. 263.

30 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 78-97.

31 Ernst Simmel, Sigmund Freud: The Man and His Work, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 163-176.

32 Franz Alexander, Recollections of Berggasse 19, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 195-204.

33 Ibid., p. 200.

34 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 32.

35 Max Graf, Reminiscences of Professor Sigmund Freud, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 4, October 1942, p. 465-476.

to many in this group the objective truth of Freud's researches was of less importance than the gratification of the emotional need to be esteemed and appreciated by him. (Eventually the students) created an atmosphere of absolute and infallible authority on his part."³⁶

Though admired and often worshipped by his students, Freud was notorious in Viennese social and professional life. "In those days when one mentioned Freud's name in a Viennese gathering, everyone would begin to laugh, as if someone told a joke. (...) It was considered bad taste to bring up Freud's name in the presence of ladies. They would blush when his name was mentioned. Those who were less sensitive spoke of Freud with a laugh, as if they were telling a dirty story."³⁷

Small wonder that the warm look in his eyes later showed "signs of distrust and bitterness as well."³⁸

Freud was "hard and ruthless in the presentation of his ideas. When the question of his science came up, he would break with his most intimate and reliable friends."³⁹ Pfister

³⁶ Helene Deutsch, Freud and his Pupils, A Footnote to the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 184-194.

³⁷ Graf, Op. Cit., p. 469.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 466.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 472.

often said that, as far as Freud was concerned, no critic of psychoanalysis could be a friend of Freud.

Freud's identification with psychoanalysis reached the deepest level of his integration with people. The hundreds of letters that he wrote to Pfister demonstrate not only a personal friendship but a professional respect on Freud's part. In an unguarded moment during an analysis Freud expressed his feelings about Pfister's incomplete devotion, "A man can only accept so much of psychoanalysis. Pfister, author of Love-life of Children, for example, could only go to a certain limit because after all he was a minister."⁴⁰

Freud reacted with extreme sensitivity to his environment. This sensitivity had some element of suspiciousness in it. Jones reports that once, while in Paris, he noticed that the curtains around his bed were green and applied chemical tests to make sure that they did not contain arsenic.⁴¹ He also quotes from one of Freud's letters to Martha "I believe that people notice something strange in me, and that comes ultimately from my not having been young in my youth and now, when maturity begins, I cannot grow older."⁴²

⁴⁰ Joseph Wörtis, Fragments of an Analysis with Freud, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1954, p. 16.

⁴¹ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 183.

⁴² Ibid., p. 196.

Freud later combined this sensitivity with his unusual ability to identify with people and used it in his therapeutic work. "I always find it uncanny when I can't understand someone in terms of myself."⁴³

6.- Freud and Religion.

Freud's conflict with religion is as undeniable as his conflict in the sexual area. In these two phases of his existence, Jones admits, his self-analysis was not completely effective. However, since many writers, among them Puner,⁴⁴ Bernfeld,⁴⁵ Buxbaum,⁴⁶ McLean,⁴⁷ Oehlschlegel,⁴⁸ and Velikovsky⁴⁹ base this conflict on Freud's rejection of Judaism, the facts contradicting this theory bear investigation.

⁴³ Ibid.; p. 320.

⁴⁴ Helen Walker Puner, Freud, His Life and his Mind, N.Y., Grosset, 1947, p. 179-180.

⁴⁵ Suzanne Cassirer Bernfeld, Freud and Archeology, in Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, Vol. 15, No. 6, November 1951, p. 37-49.

⁴⁶ Edith Buxbaum, Freud's Dream Interpretation in the Light of his Letters to Fliess, in American Imago, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1951, p. 107-128.

⁴⁷ Helen V. McLean, A Few Comments on "Moses and Monotheism" in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 207-215.

⁴⁸ Lydia Oehlschlegel, Regarding Freud's Book on "Moses", a Religio-psychoanalytic Study, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 30, No. 1, January 1943, p. 67-76.

⁴⁹ Immanuel Velikovsky, The Dreams that Freud Dreamt, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 28, No. 4, October 1941, p. 487-511.

In his autobiography Freud claims familiarity with the Talmud before he could read.⁵⁰ Considering his family background it is hardly a coincidence that he married the granddaughter of the Chief Rabbi of Hamburg.⁵¹ Nor is it without significance that when he left for Paris to study under Charcot he obtained a letter of introduction to Max Nordau, one of the co-founders of the Zionist movement.⁵²

In his work with patients and his lectures to his students Freud often illustrated the particular point he wanted to make with a Jewish joke or anecdote. This habit stems from familiarity with the Talmudic commentaries. Had Freud been ashamed of being Jewish he would have found other jokes to make his point.

The strong and deep emotional ties that held Freud to Judaism can only be appreciated when reading the different prefaces that he wrote to the Hebrew translations to his various books. In a letter to the publisher of the Judischen Presszentrale Zurich (Jewish Press Service Zurich), written between 1929-1931, he writes as follows: "I can frankly state that I am as far distant from the Jewish religion as

50 Freud, An Autobiographical Study, translated by James Strachey, N.Y., Norton, 1952, p. 14.

51 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 100.

52 Ibid., p. 188.

I am from all other religions. That is, that while I am interested scientifically, I cannot bring up any emotional participation. Yet, I tried to transplant into my children the strong feeling of belonging that I feel to my people. . . We all remained in the Jewish faith."⁵³ When Max Graf asked his advice on the conversion of his children, Freud advised against it.

What then is the explanation of the book on "Moses"⁵⁴ and The Future of an Illusion?⁵⁵

The explanation may well be found in Freud's unresolved competitive conflict with his father. It is conceivable, in the light of psychoanalytic theory in general and Freud's references in particular, that he identified God and his father. Having vanquished his father (when his father died) he also disposed of religion by displacing it with psychoanalysis, thus becoming a creator in his own right.

53 "Ich kann sagen, dass ich der Judischen Religion so ferne stehe wie allen anderen religionen, d.h., sie sind mir als Gegenstand wissenschaftlichen Interesses hochbedautsam, gefuhlsmaessig bin ich an ihnen nicht beteiligt. Dagegen habe ich immer ein starkes Gefuhl von Zusammengehorigkeit mit meinem Volke gehabt und es auch bei meinem Kindern genaehrt. Wir sind alle in der judischen Konfession verblieben." in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 14, p. 556.

54 Freud, Moses, sein Volk, und die monotheistische Religion, in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 16, p. 156-246.

55 -----, Die Zukunft einer Illusion, in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 14, p. 325-380.

This would account for the religious overtones of the Wednesday meetings reported by all of his pupils.

The cultural and national aspects of Judaism were a symbol of the mother to Freud. The Mother Country and/or the Church are generally considered as symbols of the mother by psychoanalysts.

Freud's passionate outcry becomes meaningful in this light. "I have often felt as if I had inherited all the passion of our ancestors when they defended their temple (psychoanalysis), as if I could joyfully cast away my life in a great cause."⁵⁶ His making the Bnai Brith the only lay group before whom he ever lectured on psychoanalysis, the first group before whom he first spoke of his dream theories,⁵⁷ becomes the act of the youngster showing his accomplishments to the adored mother. One must note that Freud maintained his membership in the Bnai Brith from 1895 to the rest of his life, faithfully attending their meetings bi-monthly.⁵⁸

The writers who try to make a case for a desire for conversion to Christianity base their conclusions on Freud's dreams and his repeated comments about anti-Semitism in the 19th and 20th centuries.

56 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 197.

57 Ibid., p. 330.

58 Ibid., p. 22 and p. 355.

Those were the days when the Jews were barred from public office, and when their enrolment in the universities was restricted on a rule based on the percentage of the Jewish population and a percentage of Jews in the particular profession in which the student wanted to train. The only unrestricted occupation open to the Jews was that of commerce.

The European Jew, more than any other group of his faith, was striving for knowledge and education. The sons of wealthy families had no desire to perpetuate the financial successes of their ancestors, but aimed to attain the highest and most respected position among their people,- that of scholarship.

In this setting Zweig does not find it surprising that a Lord Rothschild becomes an ornithologist, a Warburg an art historian, a Cassirer a philosopher, a Sassoon a poet, and a Lessing a writer-philosopher.⁵⁹ Freud's statements as to the reasons he enrolled in the university in the first place are very vague. He was hungry for knowledge and his father could afford to send him to the university.

Vienna, before World War II, was different from any other city in the world. It was considered the gateway between the East and the West. Whatever was civilization was in Vienna, but with a typical touch characteristic of

⁵⁹ Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday, an Autobiography, N.Y., Viking, 1945, p. 25.

the city. And since anti-Semitism was "civilized" Vienna had it also, but it was its own version of it.

In order to understand Freud's experiences with religious intolerance one must be familiar with the Viennese university life. There, once the student was enrolled in the university, the only discrimination he experienced was his being barred from certain student organizations.

The Viennese of those days were great admirers of cultural and literary accomplishments, paying greater homage to outstanding actors and writers than they did to royalty. And these members of cultural royalty were almost without exception Jews.

The Jew in Vienna had a unique position. He certainly was discriminated against and open anti-Semitism is an undeniable fact. Yet the backers of the theatre, the opera and museums were Jewish. The best-known writers, editors of the outstanding newspapers, belonged to Freud's religion. One of them, Hugo Bettauer, a popular journalist, wrote a book in which he pictured an intellectually dying Vienna suddenly deprived of its Jewish population. The book was a best-seller.

Freud, as is known, received scholarships, was sent to Trieste and Paris by the university in spite of the fact that he was Jewish. As will be seen later he progressed academically at least as fast as the non-Jews.

How much of Freud's conflict with religion was due to his unresolved relationship with his father, how much to the "scienticism" of his Zeitgeist, and how much to the impressions that his teachers made on him will have to be determined by further research. The fact remains that he was as ambivalent to faith as he was to sex.

7.- Freud's educational growth.

Freud was not quite seventeen years old when he graduated from the Sperl Gymnasium and entered the University of Vienna Medical School.

In the gymnasium the main emphasis was placed on Latin, Greek and Ancient History. On commenting on what gymnasium had given him, Freud said "the first vistas into an ancient culture that had vanished. (...) The first contact with the different sciences (Wissenschaften) from which one hoped to choose and to which one hoped to dedicate his - undoubtedly invaluable - services."⁶⁰

By that time Freud was familiar with and interested in the history of Greece and that of the Near East. He was well versed in Jewish, German, Spanish, French, English, Latin and Greek languages; and had a working knowledge of

⁶⁰ Freud, Zur Psychologie des Gymnasisten, in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 10, p. 205.

Hebrew and Italian. He was also at home in both classical and modern literature.⁶¹

Freud entered the School of Medicine not because he was interested in the healing profession, but because it was within the curriculum of medical studies that he hoped to satisfy his urge "to understand something of the mysteries of the world and maybe contribute somewhat to their solution."⁶²

In the summer of 1874, his second semester in medical school, Freud took a course in Darwinism from Claus, who had come to Vienna from Goettingen. This seems to mark the beginning of his scientific interest in human behaviour, for in the following semester he enrolls in a course given by Brentano entitled Reading in Philosophical Works. Next semester there are two courses with Brentano, Logic and Reading Seminar; the semester Reading in Philosophical Works and, finally, in the summer of 1876 The Philosophy of Aristotle.⁶³

Freud's interest in philosophy or psychology seems to end at this point, for he returns to his medical studies taking courses from Billroth, Fleischl, Stricker, Exner and Meynert. He also becomes a pupil of Breuer with whom he is

61 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 24.

62 Freud, Concluding Remarks on the Question of Lay-analysis, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1927, p. 392-398.

63 Bernfeld, Op. Cit., p. 208.

later to publish his first two books on hysteria in 1893 and 1895 respectively. Freud must have continued his formal studies of psychology, however, for he makes a reference of Theodor Lipps having been his "teacher in psychology" without specifying the conditions under which he studied under that psychologist.⁶⁴

Freud began his scientific research in 1876, after two and a half years as a medical student. He was one of the first students to be sent to Trieste on a grant. His assignment was to find the testes of the mature eel. This study was of great interest to his teacher, Claus, who was responsible for the assignment. Claus' main interest was in the hermaphroditism in animals. Freud took two trips to the Adriatic Sea in connection with this project.⁶⁵

In 1879 Freud did his first translation of a book not related to medicine. It was a book by John Stuart Mill. One of the essays in the book was on Grote's Plato. Freud was later to remark on how impressed he was by Plato's theory of reminiscence and that he had given it a great deal of thought.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Max Eastman, Visit in Vienna, The Crotchety Greatness of Sigmund Freud, in Heroes I Have Known, Twelve Who Lived Great Lives, N.Y., Schuster, 1942, p. 267.

⁶⁵ Siegfried Bernfeld, Freud's Scientific Beginnings, in American Imago, Vol. 6, No. 3, September 1949, p. 165-166.

⁶⁶ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 55-56.

Though he passed his qualifying exams for the Doctorate in Medicine in 1881, Freud continued to work in Bruecke's laboratory until July of 1882, at which time following Bruecke's advice he entered the Vienna General Hospital for final preparation for the practice of medicine. He stayed at the hospital for almost three years working under specialists in surgery, internal medicine, psychiatry, dermatology, nasolaryngology, neurology, neuropathology and nervous diseases.

Some of Freud's teachers were world-famous men. Bruecke and Meynert are known from his writings. Billroth was a great surgeon, Hebra a dermatologist, Arlt an ophthalmologist, and Breuer was not only a prominent physician, but also a research scientist and philosopher of recognition.

In 1885, after he barely finished his three years of residency, Freud was appointed Privatdozent (lecturer) in neuropathology and, in the same year, was given a grant to study under Charcot in Paris. After seventeen weeks there, he spent three weeks in Berlin, studying children's diseases under the famous Baginsky.

In 1886 Freud opened his office as a practising physician, feeling that he had no inclination and but little preparation for the practice of medicine. A surprising attitude on the part of a man barely thirty years old and already a Privatdozent in neuropathology and with 23 scientific

publications to his credit.⁶⁷

A not inconsiderable part of Freud's education can be attributed to his extensive reading. Detailed information on what he read is not available at this date. A partial list of the books in his personal library is found in the appendix. Basic Books announce the second volume of Jones' Biography of Freud, which is reported to contain a chapter on the books that Freud had read.

8.- Freud's recreational interests.

One of the criteria of good personal adjustment, according to Frumkes,⁶⁸ is the ability for playful relaxation. Freud's recreational interests will have to be considered by the research worker interested in the personality of the creator of psychoanalysis.

Freud was a passionate cigar smoker, who was seldom seen without a lighted cigar in his mouth. He would not even give up smoking when he knew how adversely nicotine affected his cancer. During the war the greatest gift, as far as he was concerned, was a box of cigars which he preferred to food.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Horace Grey, Bibliography of Freud's Pre-Analytic Period, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 35, No. 4, April 1948, p. 403-410.

⁶⁸ George Frumkes, Impairment of the Sense of Reality as Manifested in Psychoneurosis and Everyday Life, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 34, Part 2, 1953, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Oskar Pfister in a personal communication.

He was a good walker and enjoyed long walks and mountain climbing. All of his pupils comment on the fabulous physical stamina of this frail looking man.

For a while Freud was interested in chess, but gave up the game later in his life. He remained devoted to a card game, tarock, which he used to play with three friends "at times till one or two in the morning".⁷⁰

Freud was interested in archeology and had a collection of statues from Greece and Egypt.

Alcohol and opiates held no interest for Freud. It is a matter of record that even in his greatest suffering caused by his cancer he refused narcotics of any kind. Only in the last days of his life would he take an occasional aspirin.

Handwritten: "Handwritten! Now!"
9.- Perspectives.

As a child Freud was active, aggressive and willful. He romped with his older nephew and niece, frequently engaging in fights without getting discouraged by being defeated by the older John. When his father reprimanded him for wetting the bed he simply promised to get him another one when he grew up. He is frustrated when, at the age of eighteen months, a new brother demands a share of his mother's affection that had

⁷⁰ Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 332.

been exclusively his own until then. His secret wishes seem to come with dramatic suddenness when the baby dies at the age of eight months.

Other siblings arrive adding to his frustrations and increasing his jealousy of his adored mother, and generating hostility towards the rivals that included his father.

At the age of three he is forced to leave Freiburg, the city where he was born, and change to unfamiliar surroundings. The trip is dramatic. The child is frightened by impressions that remain with him throughout his life. Finally they settle in Vienna.

When he enters school and learns new things he discovers that the father who taught him Hebrew and whom he considered to be omniscient cannot live up to his fantasies. Nor does this father have the power that he, as a child, attributed to him, for did he not himself admit to him that a gentile pushed him off the sidewalk? Freud the child dreams of becoming a famous general to make up for this insult, and the cowardice of his father.

At thirteen the Jewish boy assumes the responsibility before God for his own conduct. This is the age when Sigmund seems to change into Freud. No longer is he expressing his tremendous drives in physical activities but, instead, he becomes interested in by-gone cultures and old civilizations.

He begins to get interested in his dreams, and keeps a record of them and tries to find a meaning hidden in them. The fame that he was going to win as a warrior or a statesman, he now wants to attain in a scientific field of endeavour. He wants to solve the mysteries of the world.

In his family circle he is frequently consulted on matters of importance, such as the name for the new baby brother. He censors his sisters' reading matter and becomes the center point around which the family life revolves. He has his separate study room, even though the living quarters of the rest of the family are somewhat crowded. He is respected and looked up to almost as his father is.

At seventeen he enters the university and finds himself surrounded by two groups who devote their thinking to the understanding of man.

One of these groups studies man through the manifestations of his physical organism. The soul to them is what can be observed, measured and reproduced in the laboratory. Man is a biological machine.

The other group studies the soul by examining the nature of thought, by attempting to chart the process that leads from the idea to the act.

From the first Freud is drawn to the second group. He studies under Brentano, the troubled monk who left the Church to pursue his scientific inquiries unhampered by ecclesiastical

authority. Freud impresses his teacher sufficiently to be remembered by him years later and to be recommended by him to translate Mill for Gomperz.

Neither Darwin nor Brentano's Aristotle can answer the questions Freud is asking of himself. He returns to the laboratory. But the brain, the spine and the central nervous system has no answer either.

Freud is lonesome. People seem to like him, but he can detect rejection in them, and his warm relationships end in cold hostility. He wants to love, finds Martha, but is in constant fear of losing the woman he loves to another man.

With the death of his father Freud takes stock of himself. He finds hatred of and competition with his father. This is the feeling that seems to have permeated all of his attempts to integrate with people. It colours his feelings towards his teachers and friends with alternating love and hate, with a need for submission and a feeling of hatred and destruction. From the people it transfers itself to God, "who is but an exalted father-figure" to him.⁷¹

In his self-analysis Freud discovers that the reason for all this is his love for his mother and his jealousy of his father. And while the hostility towards his father interfered with his relationship with other men, his love for his

⁷¹ Freud, Psychologie des Gymnasiasten, Op. Cit., p. 206.

mother made him fearful of loving a woman and jealous of losing that love to a rival.

If Jones' remark that "the genesis of Freud's discovery of the Oedipus conflict lies in his unusual family constellation"⁷² is true, it is equally true that his denial of religion was motivated by a wish to deny the existence of his father.

Freud created psychoanalysis by having the strength to look into his own soul and the daring to declare what he found there to be universally true. His teachings are now claimed by some to belong to the science of medicine, by others to the field of psychology, and to still others it has become a whole philosophy of life.

72 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 11.

CHAPTER III

SIGMUND FREUD: PHILOSOPHER? PSYCHIATRIST? OR PSYCHOLOGIST?

Is psychoanalysis a science or a philosophy? That any evaluation of Freud and/or psychoanalysis is to be attempted only after this question has been answered seems axiomatic and so self-evident as to hardly merit mention. A perusal of the literature on the subject reveals however that the greatest majority of writers ignored it.

Whether psychoanalysis is a scientific discipline or a special philosophy is also of practical importance, in that it would answer the question pondered by the different psychoanalytical groups as to the nature and subject matter of psychoanalytic training.

In a paper written in 1914, Freud reserves himself the right to define psychoanalysis and "how it differs from other ways of investigating the life of the mind";¹ he does not however answer this question. Nor does he define and set down a practical curriculum for the training of psychoanalysts beyond stating that it should include psychology, history of civilization and sociology, besides anatomy, biology and evolution.²

1 Sigmund Freud, On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement, in Collected Papers, Vol. 1, London, Hogarth, 1950, p. 289.

2 -----, Concluding Remarks on the Question of Lay Analysis, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 8, Part 3, July 1927, p. 393.

Freud described psychoanalysis as (a) a procedure for the investigation of mental processes, (b) a method of treatment of neurotic disorders, and (c) a collection of psychological information in the process of being accumulated into a scientific discipline.³ This definition of Freud's was used by medical men and psychologists alike to claim Freud for their particular disciplines.

1.- Freud and Philosophy.

The Freud who, in 1896, said that "When I was young, the only thing I longed for was philosophical knowledge, and now that I am going over from medicine to psychology I am in the process of attaining it."⁴, was to state in 1925 that "I have carefully avoided all contact with philosophy proper. This avoidance has been greatly facilitated by constitutional incapacity."⁵ Dorer⁶ quotes Freud as having recommended the study of philosophers not in their original writings, but in popular interpretations to facilitate the understanding of the difficult language in which they usually wrote.

³ Freud, Psychoanalysis, in Collected Papers, Vol. 5, Op. Cit., p. 107.

⁴ -----, The Origins of Psychoanalysis, Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887-1902, New York, Basic Books, 1954, p. 162.

⁵ -----, Autobiography, N.Y., Norton, 1952, p. 114.

⁶ M. Dorer, Die Geschichtliche Grundlagen der Psycho-Analyse, Leipzig, Meiner, 1932, p. 62.

Bernfeld's discovery⁷ that Freud did study philosophy under Brentano for two years seems to be a contradiction of Freud's professed avoidance of philosophy, were it not for the fact that no one can claim with any justification any dishonesty on his part. One must assume that Freud's main interest in his study of Aristotle was in line with his concern in the intellectual and cultural history of man.

Zilboorg⁸ flatly states that "Freud was not a philosopher but a scientist." This does not preclude, however, an evaluation of Freud from the standpoint from which any social scientist is subject to a philosophical evaluation.

The research worker should be aware that three altogether distinct philosophical orientations can be gained depending on what period of Freud's writings are being put under scrutiny, and whether or not the theory or the method of psychoanalysis is being investigated.

The early philosophy of Freud is contained in his theoretical writings about psychoanalysis during the "formative years" 1893-1910. Here Freud can best be considered a psychophysical parallelist. Man is a machine producing energy that

⁷ Siegfried Bernfeld, Sigmund Freud, M.D., 1882-1885, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 32, Part 3, July 1951, p. 204-217.

⁸ Gregory Zilboorg, A Monument and an Epitaph, in The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1954, p. 258.

is constant, measurable, and subject to the laws of all physical energy. Freud is a pupil and follower, as will be seen later, of Herbart, Helmholtz, Fechner, Darwin and Bruecke. Man's behaviour, the forms of his diseases are functionally determined, and are the results of wasted energy generated by the sexual instincts.

In his later years Freud attempted to write a philosophy of his own. This he called "metapsychology" and set it forth in his Totem und Tabu, Die Zukunft einer Illusion, and, finally, in Jenseits des Lustprinzips.⁹ Here Freud rejects religion as a universal neurosis, defines behaviour as a neurotic repetition of traumatic episodes, postulates a death instinct that is an inner urge gravitating towards an original inorganic state. This philosophy of Freud is strongly reminiscent of Nietzsche.

Strangely, however, these metapsychological writings of Freud are largely ignored by those who evaluate him from a philosophical standpoint. The majority of his critics prefer to base their evaluations of the philosophical aspects of psychoanalysis on an examination of the axioms underlying the psychoanalytical method as postulated by Freud in his theoretical writings. The probable reason for this preference is due to the fact that a scientific theory is more often

⁹ Freud, Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vols. 8, 9, 14.

amenable to a philosophical evaluation than a method, since the latter is subject to conscious or unconscious modifications by the individual practitioner.

Allers¹⁰ and Nuttin¹¹ are probably the most active and serious critics of psychoanalysis. Their influence can be seen in the orientation of many scholastic psychologists. Both of these writers give a critical evaluation of the philosophy of Freud, and their conclusions have been presented to the members of the Chicago Psychoanalytical Society without being seriously challenged.¹²

Dalbiez¹³ also evaluates Freud as a philosopher and finds him unsophisticated. He states that Freud's choice of words to represent certain psychic processes is unfortunate because they usually constitute something different from existing meanings attached to those words. This results "in a tiresome confusion in his mind between the ordinary meaning of the word and the new meaning he wishes to ascribe

10 Rudolf Allers, The Successful Error, New York, Sheed, 1940, ix-266 p.

11 Joseph Nuttin, Psychoanalysis and Personality, New York, Sheed, 1953, xiv-310 p.

12 Mortimer Adler, What Man Has Made of Man, N.Y., Longmans, xix-246 p.

13 Roland Dalbiez, Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud, Vol. 2, Discussion, N.Y., Longmans, 1941, xii-311 p.

to it."¹⁴ He attributes this naïveté to a lack of systematic study in philosophy, but he nevertheless finds traces of Aristotelianism in Freud's thinking.

The criticism of ~~Freudian~~ philosophy by some of the scholastic psychologists can probably be summarized in the following:

- (a) In his analyses of the neuroses Freud makes no distinction between mind and matter. He treats the sensory and intellectual aspects of man in the same way, and can thus justly be classified as a materialist.
- (b) By postulating a monogenetic cause of all the neuroses, and by his definition of the process of free association, Freud, by implication, denies the existence of free will, and gives further evidence of his materialistic, causal orientation.
- (c) Psychoanalysis depreciates higher values, like ethics, and fosters an irreligious attitude leading to atheism.
- (d) Freud equates the pathological with the normal personality. He has no theory of the normal personality.

It may be worth noting that these criticisms come from people whose familiarity is restricted to psychoanalytic theory, and who have not been exposed to the method. Allers specifically equates the two.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 103.

At least two outstanding writers with a scholastic orientation feel that there is a fundamental difference between Freudian theories and method. Maritain¹⁵ and Dalbiez¹⁶ see the need for another theoretical framework for this system of psychotherapy that has proven effective in fifty years of practice.

There is danger in the uncritical acceptance of the Freudian theories in that they lead to a concept of man as a self-correcting electrical machine operating on the feedback principle,¹⁷ and the process of thinking as the effects of a small scale model of external reality that each individual carries in his head.¹⁸

The concept of a deep emotional experience as a "biological condition characterized subjectively as an excited, tense feeling with a considerable tendency to act, but with some uncertainty as to what to do, and characterized objectively by motor restlessness or activity (...) together with sudden changes in visceral activity"¹⁹ cannot be accepted by the

15 Jacques Maritain, Cuatro Ensayos Sobre el Espiritu en su Condicion Carnal, B.A., Brouwer, 1943, 200 p.

16 Op. Cit., Footnote 13.

17 Norman Wiener, Cybernetis, or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine, N.Y., Wiley, 1948, 194 p.

18 K. J. W. Craik, The Nature of Explanation, Cambridge, University, 1943, viii-123 p.

19 -----, The Inter-Relationship of Mind and Body, in the Proceedings of the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Diseases, Vol. 19, Baltimore, Williams, 1939, xx-381 p.

scholastic psychologist who conceives of man as body and soul in a hylomorphic union.

Freud's neurosis and his theoretical convictions led to his denial of religion. It is only natural that some of his followers postulate that "the statements of a philosopher do not directly express facts about the universe but symptomatically express facts about himself - they form his unconscious autobiography."²⁰

Probably the most outstanding example of the dichotomy between the theories Freud postulated as the basis for his psychoanalytic principles and his actual practice of the method is contained in Wortis' report of his analysis with Freud.²¹

In his work with individual patients Freud does not seem to have the mechanical approach characteristic of his theories. He seems to consider psychoanalysis as a therapeutic method, the postulates of which have been developed for our Western society, and refuses to consider it applicable to mankind in general without evidence of further investigation.

Stern considers the psychoanalytic method to be "essentially" different from the theory. He feels that "psychoanalysis contains, perhaps contrary to the intention of most

²⁰ John Oulton Wisdom, The Metamorphosis of Philosophy, Cairo, Al-Maaref, 1947, vii-224 p.

²¹ Joseph Wortis, Fragments of an Analysis with Freud, N.Y., Simon & Schuster, 1954, x-208 p.

of its adherents, a movement toward personalism. To disregard this would be (...) disastrous."²²

Since Freud's interest was in the individual and his difficulties in adjusting to his environment, and not in mankind in general, he cannot be classified as a philosopher. A philosophic evaluation of psychoanalysis is made difficult because of the fundamental difference between the theories and the method.

2.- Freud and Medicine.

In claiming psychoanalysis to be a branch of medicine, the medical adherents of Freud point to his formal training in the Vienna University School of Medicine, define psychoanalysis as a healing method, and - in the case of the American Psychoanalytical Association - forbid the training in psychoanalysis of non-medical people regardless of "whether such training is offered for research in therapy, or for any other purpose."²³

Opponents to this claim point out that all 19th century psychologists were medically trained. This was partially due

²² Karl Stern, The Third Revolution, A Study of Psychiatry and Religion, N.Y., Harcourt, 1954, p. 306.

²³ From the minutes of the Meeting of the Board on Professional Standards of the American Psychoanalytical Association, in the Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association, Vol. 3, No. 2, April 1955, p. 334.

to the fact that a knowledge of physiology was required for research in psychology, which at that time was mainly oriented toward the investigation of sensory perception, and that the acquisition of a scientific discipline was a part of medical training also.

The fact is that Freud took three years more than it was usual in those days to complete his medical training. He spent two years in the study of a subject that was no longer required by the medical curriculum, namely philosophy. Even after he obtained his medical degree, he spent over three years in obtaining specialized training, mostly in a hospital situation, and still felt unprepared when he opened his office in 1886 as a medical practitioner.²⁴

Freud, when in his sixties, states that "after forty-one years of medical activity (...) I have never been a doctor in the proper sense."²⁵ He even states that medical training is harmful to the future psychoanalysts in that "it gives them a false and positively harmful attitude towards (the neuroses)."²⁶

²⁴ Bernfeld, Freud M.D., Op. Cit., p. 207.

²⁵ Sigmund Freud, Concluding Remarks on the Question of Lay Analysis, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 8, Part 3, July 1927, p. 394.

²⁶ -----, The Question of Lay Analysis, New York, Norton, 1950, p. 94.

As far as Freud was concerned, "people who study medicine have a thirst for knowledge (Wissensdrang)"²⁷ that drives them into a field of study that offers the greatest satisfaction of that thirst.²⁸

His opposition to medicine is a leitmotiv in Freud's writings through the years. In 1913 he claims that psychoanalysis demands psychological and not medical training, and that "in the practice of psychoanalysis most physicians have been found to lack preparation and to be inclined to failure."²⁹ As late as 1939, a few weeks before his death, Freud warned the American psychoanalysts against their "medical fixation", expressing regret about "the alliance between psychiatry and psychoanalysis (...) stating with deep conviction that psychoanalysis is a part of psychology."³⁰ As a matter of fact, Freud stated: "all psychology is psychoanalysis, what is left is the physiology of the senses."³¹

27 Wortis, Op. Cit., p. 108.

28 The meaning of this remark is understood if one considers that medical training was not a narrow scientific discipline that it is today. In the 19th century, especially the early part, medical training included a thorough familiarity with philosophers, and knowledge of the history of civilization.

29 Freud, Geleitwort zur Pfister's Psychoanalytische Methode, in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vol. 10, p. 450.

30 Martin Peck, A Brief Visit with Freud, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 205-206.

31 Wortis, Op. Cit., p. 46.

Zilboorg³² and Goshen³³ attempted to evaluate Freud as a psychiatrist. Zilboorg concluded that Freud did not understand the language of the psychiatry of his day and cared about it less. Freud's diagnostic ability is questioned by Goshen who disagrees with all the diagnoses of the cases that Freud had used as a basis for the psychoanalytic method in his first book on hysteria.

Freud's opposition to medicine is considered by the medical analysts to be but a neurotic reaction to the rejection Freud suffered from his colleagues when he first spoke to the members of the Vienna Medical Society of his experiences with Charcot in Paris.

In spite of the protestation that any activity that involves healing by whatever means is a medical activity, it is difficult to conceive of psychoanalysis within the medical frame of reference. Apart from the objections raised by Freud, consideration must be given to the fact that, by rule, psychoanalysts are forbidden to give a physical examination to the patient for diagnostic purposes. This restriction limits the activities of the medical analyst to the degree of the non-medical analyst. Since the psychoanalyst cannot prescribe

32 Gregory Zilboorg, Freud's Fundamental Psychiatric Orientation, in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 35, Part 2, April 1954, p. 1-5.

33 Charles E. Goshen, The Original Case Material of Psychoanalysis, in American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 108, No. 11, May 1952, p. 829-834.

medication for his patient, and must keep his relationship an impersonal one, the usual doctor-patient relationship is completely changed in the psychoanalytic situation, assuming a uniqueness of its own.

A physician in our culture is a person who examines patients and diagnoses their illnesses. He prescribes compounds that hasten the healing effects of nature and removes, surgically if necessary, matter that is harmful to the organism. By this definition Freud can hardly be called a medical doctor or physician.

The function of psychoanalysis seems to be more related to the study of the individual under emotional stress, and is aimed at the change of his behaviour by the giving of insight into his emotional conflicts, by enabling him to use his intellect that is temporarily blinded or misled by the conflict that is of an emotional nature.

Under this definition one would tend to classify Freud as a psychologist and not a physician.

3.- Freud and Psychology.

Is psychoanalysis a tool in the hands of the psychologist interested in the assessment of change of human behaviour? The answer to this question lies chiefly in the examination of the psychoanalytic method, and in part in Freud's psychological training.

The nature and content of the psychoanalytic theory has been presented by Freud in several concise papers, the method is only indirectly referred to, scattered throughout his various writings. Since it is evident that there is a basic difference between the method and the theory, it is felt that both should be at least indicated to the research worker.

Since Freud has written a concise paper on theory, it could be included in this paper in the form of an appendix. Because of the limits of this paper, the method will be discussed only in the very briefest outline.

One of the primary postulates of psychoanalysis is the concept of the unconscious. In his theoretical paper Freud defines the unconscious as "any experience beyond cognition and not subject to recall at will."³⁴ These unconscious experiences determine the activities of each individual, his dislikes and preferences, in short, his way of life. If one calls this total activity of the individual his inclinations, one can state that the inclinations of man, according to Freud, depend on his accumulated experiences and are subject to the changing effects of new learning. It is important to stress here that Freud believed the unconscious to be the result of experiences, a concept that does not seem emphasized in psychoanalytic literature.

³⁴ Freud, The Unconscious, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 98-136.

WHAT IS PSYCHOANALYSIS?

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Awareness of the operation of one's own unconscious is indispensable to the understanding of others, as Freud states it, "A person who has not seen the operation of his own unconscious cannot see it in others."³⁵

The contents of the unconscious are compared by Freud to the "instinct in animals",³⁶ and given the name of libido. These libidinal urges are primarily sexual in nature and, because of their baseness, "are a menace to a person's self-respect."³⁷ It is important to note that Freud uses sexuality in a special sense and differentiates it from animal sexuality, "the goal of animals is genital satisfaction as differentiation from human sexuality."³⁸

At birth, Freud postulates, "one's needs are essentially of a pleasure-satisfaction nature. With growth the child learns that these satisfactions will bring about conflict with the external world. It learns to think and either to substitute other, better, satisfactions or to renounce these desires."³⁹ This judging, intellectual aspect of the person, Freud calls the ego, in contrast with the pleasure-seeking animal-like id.

³⁵ Wortis, Op. Cit., p. 126.

³⁶ Freud, The Unconscious, Op. Cit., p. 127.

³⁷ -----, On the Difficulties in Psychoanalysis, in Collected Papers, Vol. 1, Op. Cit., p. 348.

³⁸ Wortis, Op. Cit., p. 90.

³⁹ Freud, Difficulties, Op. Cit., p. 348.

EGO

EGU

WHAT IS PSYCHOANALYSIS?

Emergent evolution

The ego has developed from the id and is the result of various identifications that start during childhood and continue during the developmental years of the individual, even into mature adulthood. Its main function is an intellectual one, in that it tests reality and controls the unreasonable demands for satisfactions that emanate from the unconscious.

A third division of the personality postulated by Freud is named the super-ego. This is a sort of internalized code of ethics, the demands of which tend to spur the individual to attain a high ethical goal, the ego ideal.

In the normal personality there is a smooth working order between the demands of the id, the denials of the super-ego, and the results attained by the mediations of the ego.

In the neurotic individual, the demands of the id are too strong for the ego to cope with either because of the intensity of the instinctual demands or some weakness in the individual. "(Neurotics) would never have fallen ill had they possessed the art of sublimating their impulses, (...) many people succumb to illness in the very effort towards sublimation beyond the limit of their capacity."⁴⁰

If the intellect comprises part of the ego, so does the will which is affected by the intellect. When in an emotional

⁴⁰ -----, Recommendations for Physicians on the Psychoanalytic Method of Treatment, in Collected Papers, Vol. 2, Op. Cit., p. 331-332.

conflict, "a part of the activity of your own mind has been withdrawn from your knowledge and from the command of your will"⁴¹ making an intelligent choice difficult. Or later, "but in some cases (as in the neuroses) the intelligence department breaks down and your will then extends no further than your knowledge."⁴²

Since all of these conflicts rage beyond the cognitive awareness of the individual, it is logical that to Freud "psychoanalytic treatment may in general be conceived as a re-education."

As evidence of the unconscious Freud uses free association and dream interpretation.

Though Freud claimed that he was aware of free association ever since childhood, having read about it in a book by Boerne when he was 14 years old, his use of it is probably based on a study of Galton,⁴³ who showed that random thoughts had a direct relationship with their significance to the subject. Since important elements in the unconscious will have a tendency to emerge into consciousness, the frequency of a subject mentioned is directly correlated with its subjective importance.

41 -----, Difficulties, Op. Cit., p. 353.

42 Ibid., p. 354-355.

43 Francis Galton, Psychometric Experiments, in Brain, A Journal of Neurology, Vol. 2, No. 2, July 1879, p. 149-154.

The dream to Freud is psychic existence continued in sleep. The wishes and fears of everyday life continue in sleep and are the contents of the dream. They are disguised, however, and can be understood only after their true meaning is discovered. The nature and meaning of the dream is treated in great detail in his Die Traumdeutung and Ueber den Traum⁴⁴ and is one of the basic books on the psychoanalytic method.

Free association is used as the tool for the investigation of the unconscious in general and the interpretation of the dream in particular. As noted before, the successive associations are not caused by the trauma, but are associatively related to each other. When the patient's associations show a symbolic identity with the dream, or with other factors being investigated, the analyst believes to have "tapped the patient's unconscious".

It should be mentioned here that, according to psychoanalysts, "the idea of a direct causal relationship between a symbol and the symbolized is not essential to symbolism".⁴⁵ That is, there is no direct causal relationship, for example, between whiteness and purity or innocence.


As noted before, Freud conceives of neurotic illness as an imbalance between the id (pleasure-seeking) urges and

⁴⁴ Freud, Die Traumdeutung, etc., in Gesammelte Werke, Op. Cit., Vols. 2/3.

⁴⁵ Dalbiez, Op. Cit., p. 101.

the ego (intellectual, judging aspect) of the individual. This imbalance, according to Freud, creates a conflict and the patient "is not in a position to form a reliable judgment."⁴⁶ By strengthening the ego Freud aims to strengthen the intellectual capacities of the patient.

In the beginning of Treatment, according to Freud, it is the obligation of the analyst "to enter into an alliance with the ego of the patient to subdue certain uncontrolled parts of the id"⁴⁷ and to make conscious the repressed drives that create the conflict. The assumption being that an urge that is known to the patient loses its strength and is easier to handle.

By postulating the goal of therapy to be the strengthening of the intellect (ego) and thus facilitate judgment, Freud postulates free will and its gravitation ~~to~~ a higher object choice (good). 

The tool of the psychoanalyst is his Einfuehligkeits-Gefuehl, which enables him to participate in the emotional experiences of his patients. All through this emotional encounter, the analyst remains intellectually apart. He is not only a participant but also an observer. Observation, and the evaluation of the reality factor, are his primary functions.

⁴⁶ Freud, Further Recommendations in the Technique of Psychoanalysis, in Collected Papers, Vol. 4, Op. Cit., p. 345.

⁴⁷ -----, Analysis Terminable and Unterminalable, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., Vol. 5, p. 337.

Freud prescribes his attitude when he warns the analyst against taking notes during the treatment and recommends, instead, an "evenly-hovering attention (...) in which one's unconscious memory is given full play."⁴⁸

In short, the psychoanalytic method is an experimental situation in which the observer attempts to understand psychological dynamics by means of a comparison to corresponding experiences of his own. The analogousness here does not refer to actual experiences, but is used in a much wider sense to include dreams, thoughts and emotional experiences during the analyst's own analysis. This ability is postulated on the axiom that whatever is in the abnormal exists in a lesser degree in the normal, and that the analyzed psychoanalyst will have learned to become aware of the unconscious meaning of his emotions.

Considerable space has been given here to the psychoanalytic method of Freud. This was found to be necessary to show that in no part of the treatment of a patient by this method does one use or need medical knowledge. As a matter of fact, neither the word "treatment" nor the word "patient" is a very good choice to describe the relationship between the analyst and the analysand.

By definition a psychologist is interested in the behaviour of individuals and the conditions under which this

48 -----, Recommendations, etc., Op. Cit., p. 324-325.

behaviour can be changed. Under this definition Freud must be called a psychologist.

4.- Recapitulation.

Before attempting research on psychoanalysis it is necessary to determine whether it belongs to philosophy, or one of the sciences.

A study of Freud's writings by some philosophers lead them to the conclusion that he lacked in both preparation and clarity of ideas to be considered a philosopher, noting the fact, however, that both his theories and his method can be subject to a philosophical evaluation. Since there is a wide difference between the theories and the method, this evaluation should be made separately.

Freud disclaimed being a physician. Evaluations of his ability as a psychiatrist resulted in something less than an indication of success in a competitive situation in that field.

The psychoanalytic method is best suited to the psychologist who has been trained in the tradition of philosophy and ethics. The training of the physician, who is introduced to the human being as a biological entity, precludes the ready identification and co-feeling so indispensable in the psychoanalytic method.

CHAPTER IV

FREUD'S PRECEPTORS

Loose organization.

Who were Freud's teachers? The answer to this question poses complications that are not apparent at first. To study the ideas and orientation of his teachers at the Sperl Gymnasium and the Vienna University Medical School will not be sufficient, because Freud continued to learn long after he ceased to be a student enrolled in a school, and it is in this later learning that some of the roots of the psychoanalytic theory is to be found.

A critical student, Freud was familiar with the classical and modern literature of his time when in his early teens, and in his early thirties he was already deeply steeped in the intellectual and cultural history of man. Always a voracious reader, he was rarely satisfied with accepting a teacher's statements on faith, and would make a strenuous effort to verify them by checking on references, sources and predecessors. Jones mentions an interesting instance of this when he recounts Freud's residency in Meynert's Clinic: "He was determined to master the subject and read assiduously in it - Esquirol, Morel, etc.; he remarked how little psychiatrists seemed to understand it."¹ (This writer's italics)

¹ Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 1, 1856-1900, The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries, New York, Basic Books, 1953, p. 65.

Before publishing his book on hysteria, regarded by many as his first psychoanalytic work, Freud had published a total of 65 papers. He had developed a method of research and a style of writing by then that was characteristic of him. His method of presentation is somewhat reminiscent of Aristotle in his careful citation and critical evaluation of all previous postulates before presenting his own.

The care with which Freud reviewed previous literature on the topics of his research in his early days is indicated by the fact that in his paper on the Petromyzon, in 1878, he had no less than 18 pages of bibliography, and subsequently published an apology for having overlooked one, published in Russian some 13 years before his study was written.²

The Studies in Hysteria, which appeared in 1891, show a radical change in the methodology. The few references that are made are general in nature. Only the style, consciously formulated after Lessing, is that of Freud.

Psychoanalysts in general attribute the lack of references to the conviction that Freud was the first one who had dared to see the aetiology of hysteria in sexuality and dared to make his findings public. A perusal of early 19th century medical literature will show this assumption to be in error.

² Ibid., p. 47.

Parish points out that Griesinger and Krafft-Ebbing described hysterical hallucinations "associated with delusions of sin" in 1864, de Montyel speaks of "insane ideas of paranoia arising out of sexual paraesthesia", and that Kraepelin held that "the overwhelming power of hallucinations are due to the sufferer's usual train of thought, and their close correspondence with his secret fears and longings."³

With the publication of the "Fliess Letters"⁴ one is able to trace Freud's psychological education to some extent, and trace some of the influences at work in his attempts to formulate a theory that was to serve as a rationale for the psychoanalytic method.

Freud was 31 years old, trained in the rigorous discipline of Bruecke, when he returned from Charcot. He came convinced that "one must turn to psychology for the explanation of the hysterical neurosis."⁵

³ Edmund Parish, Hallucinations and Illusions, A Study of the Fallacies of Perception, London, Scott, 1897, p. 20-31.

⁴ Sigmund Freud, The Origins of Psychoanalysis, Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887-1902, Translated by Eric Moshbacher and James Strachey, New York, Basic Books, 1954, p. xi-486.

⁵ -----, Some Points in a Comparative Study of Organic and Hysterical Paralyses, in Collected Papers, Vol. 1, London, Hogarth Press, p. 57.

The man who once wrote to his fiancée: "Just wait, and you will see that I will have only myself to thank for any success that I may achieve."⁶, was fired with the ambition to create a "psychology for neurologists", the character of which was described by Freud in 1895 as follows:

The intention of this project is to furnish us with a psychology which shall be a natural science: its aim, that is, is to represent psychical processes as quantitatively determined states of specifiable material particles and so to make them plain and void of contradictions. The project involves two principal ideas:-

1. That what distinguishes activity from rest is to be regarded as a quantity (Q) subject to the general laws of motion.

2. That it is to be assumed that the material particles in question are the neurones.

(...) Experiments of a similar kind are now common.⁷

That Freud chose hysteria as the subject matter for his investigations was probably due to the fact that this disease entity presented explosive behaviour that was particularly suited to be investigated as representing the discharge of a highly volatile energy quantum.

Freud proceeded, in his accustomed manner, to read all he could on psychology. He was already familiar with the works

6 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 75.

7 Fliess Letters, Op. Cit., p. 355.

of Johannes Muller⁸ and Helmholtz⁹. He read Baldwin, Beard, Bernheim, Charcot, Havelock Ellis, Erb, Exner, Forel, Friedjung, Gattl, von Hartmann, Hughlings Jackson, Jerusalem, Lipps and Preyer, to mention but a few of the names he discussed in his correspondence with Fliess.

"I am continually occupied with psychology", he writes on February 13, 1896, "Taine's book L'Intelligence gives me especial satisfaction".¹⁰ "This psychology is really an incubus... (...) I found myself wrestling with the problems of quality, sleep, memory - in short, the whole of psychology."¹¹

One of Freud's favourite methods of learning was the study of journals and monographs. In 1890 Ebbinghaus founded the Zeitschrift fur Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane, enlisting the aid, as assistant editors, of Aubert, Exner, Hering, Lipps, Stumpf, von Kries, Georg E. Muller and Preyer. How much of Freud's psychological knowledge was gained from the papers in this journal could be made the subject of a future study.

In 1897 Freud realizes "that the whole of my brand-new theory of the primary origins of hysteria is already

8 See Index II, Items 541 and 740 in this paper.

9 Fliess Letters, Op. Cit., p. 10.

10 Ibid., p. 157.

11 Id., p. 123.

familiar and has been published a hundred times over, though several centuries ago"¹² and orders a copy of the Malleus Maleficarum in the course of his research.¹³

By the end of the year he writes: "Incidentally what horrifies me more than anything else is all the psychology I shall have to read in the next few years."¹⁴ A month later he speaks of his interest in the unconscious, and indicates that he is studying his own unconscious processes.¹⁵

In view of Freud's reticence to quote sources and predecessors in his later analytical writings, a definition of "preceptor" is necessary. For purposes of this paper a connection of antecedence will be considered as established, if there is an undeniable similarity between the postulates of Freud and an outstanding thinker of his time, and if it is proven at the same time that Freud was acquainted with the work of the authority he is being compared with.

It was, however, not only Freud's methodology that had changed with his psychoanalytic writings. Many of his original postulates underwent a gradual change after 1905. An example of this change is the causality principle inherent

12 Id., p. 187.

13 Id., p. 189.

14 Id., p. 228.

15 Id., p. 236.

in his theoretical postulates regarding hysteria. In 1896 cause and effect are strictly interrelated. A cause has a certain effect and no other. Freud mentions two women, patients of his, who after an identical traumatic (sexual) experience in childhood developed the identical hysterical symptom in adulthood.¹⁶ In his later writings Freud's ~~determinism can~~ be described more accurately as the choice of a preferred alternative of several possible actions.

NO.

In view of this change in theory only a selected number of Freud's writings are made the subject of this study. These are the papers containing original postulates, based on fresh impressions, not influenced by later learning or by some of his students.

In selecting the Three Essays on Sexuality as the last of the works to be included in this study the writer was considering that this work contains, together with the Interpretation of Dreams, all that is fundamental of the original theories on which Freud rested his Psychoanalytic Method.

The following is a list of Freud's works to be compared for points of similarity with the ideas of thinkers of his time who are assumed here to have influenced Freud in his theoretical formulations:¹⁷

16 Freud, The Aetiology of Hysteria, Op. Cit., p. 202.

17 Unless otherwise stated, the titles are from Vol. 1 of the Collected Papers, Op. Cit., numbers in brackets refer to the original publication date.

Zur Auffassung der Aphasien, ^{Wien} Wein Deuticke, 1891,
107 p.

(In collaboration with Josef Breuer), Studies in Hysteria, (1895) Translated by A. A. Brill, N.Y.,
Coolidge Foundation, 1950, ix-241 p.

On the Psychological Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena,
(1893).

Some Points in a Comparative Study of Organic and Hysterical Paralysis, (1893).

The Defence Neuro-Psychoses, (1894).

The Justification for Detaching from Neurasthenia a Particular Syndrome: The Anxiety-Neurosis, (1894).

A Reply to Criticisms on the Anxiety-Neurosis, (1895).

Obsessions and Phobias; their Psychological Mechanisms and their Aetiology, (1895).

Heredity and the Aetiology of the Neuroses, (1896).

Further Remarks on the Defence Neuro-Psychoses, (1896).

The Aetiology of Hysteria, (1896).

Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses, (1898).

The Interpretation of Dreams, (1900), Translated by James Strachey, N.Y., Basic Books, 1955, xxx-692 p.

Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, (1905),
Translated by James Strachey, in The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 7, London,
Hogarth, 1953, p. 123-243.

Before proceeding to investigate and evaluate the work and theories of thinkers assumed here to be teachers of Freud, a short review of his works mentioned above will be necessary.

1.- The Basic Theories of Psychoanalysis.

Freud's work on aphasia appeared in 1891 and was dedicated to Josef Breuer. It was apparently not considered to be a contribution to psychoanalysis by him, for it is not included in his Gesammelte Werke, nor is it mentioned in the psychoanalytic literature except when Freud's neurological contributions are under consideration. Gray¹⁸ lists it as the 34th of Freud's 65 pre-analytical papers.

To the research worker the Auffassung is important in that here, for the first time, Freud brings psychology into the realm of physical medicine when he considers it a factor in organic disease.

In his thesis Freud takes issue with the then current theories, advocated by Meynert among others, that attempted to explain various aphasias on the basis of subcortical lesions in the associative paths. In place of the localization theory Freud offers his own dynamic explanation. He differentiates three main categories of aphasia each due to damage in a specific brain area. The three main categories are: motor aphasia, sensory aphasia and alexia. Other aphasia syndromes are due to damage to more distant areas affecting the most recently acquired capacities first.

¹⁸ Horace Gray, A Bibliography of Freud's Pre-Analytic Period, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 35, No. 4, Oct. 1948, p. 407.

Freud then proceeded to disprove Meynert's theories of the role of the cortex in man's intellectual life. The arguments he advances will not be considered here in detail, except for the statements in which Freud advances the thesis of a dynamic relationship between the physical and psychical aspects of man. There is, however, no causal relationship between the physiological and the psychological. Nor is the one a continuum of the other. These are two different processes existing side by side, parallel and synchronous.

The physiological processes do not cease with the beginning of the psychological. Rather, the physiological chain continues, but to each link there is a corresponding psychological link. The psychical is thus a 'dependent concomitant' of the physiological.¹⁹

Freud does not offer any explanation as to how these processes come about, contenting himself with the observation that "it is complicated beyond present understanding."²⁰

Dorer²¹ notes that Freud uses the English phrase "dependent concomitant" in a German text. She traces the expression to Hughlings Jackson²² indicating that Freud was familiar with Brain since its first issue was published.

19 Freud, Auffassung, Op. Cit., p. 56.

20 Ibid., p. 64.

21. M. Dorer, Die Geschichtliche Grundlagen der Psychoanalyse, Leipzig, Meiner, 1932, p. 10.

22 Hughlings Jackson, On Affections of Speech from Disease of the Brain, in Brain, A Journal of Neurology, Vol. 1, Part 2, 1879, p. 304, and Vol. 2, p. 203 and 323.

This fact will be important in the tracing of the origins of Freud's concept of free association.

His psychological explanation of the dynamics of aphasia is supported, Freud continues, by philosophy. Since more than thirty years will elapse before Freud again is tempted to philosophical dissertations, this should be of interest to the researcher.²³

In his Auffassung Freud conceives of perception and sensation as part of a uniform and indivisible process, evidenced by their inseparability. Because of this identity they must logically have the identical physiological correlate. It is thus against all logic, Freud concludes, to assign them correlates at separate points of the cerebral cortex (Meynert).

23 Freud is difficult to translate. He uses Vorstellung to mean idea, image or sensation. When using idea he uses the word in the Lockean sense, that is including image. For the convenience of the reader the original text is given along with the writer's translation.

Wir wissen dass beide Namen (Empfindung und Assoziation) von einem einheitlichen und unteilbaren Process abstrahiert sind. (...) Wir können keine Empfindungen haben, ohne sie sofort zu assoziieren. (...) Die Lokalisation des physiologischen Korrelates ist also für Vorstellung und Assoziation dieselbe, und da Lokalisation einer Vorstellung nichts anderes bedeutet als die Lokalisation ihres Korrelats, so müssen wir ablehnen, die Vorstellung an den einen Punkt der Hirnrinde zu verlegen, die Assoziation an einen andern. (...) Vorstellung und Assoziation sind untrennbar. (in Auffassung, p. 58)

Psychology considers, Freud continues, the work to be the unit of speech, consisting of a fusion of images that are composed of acoustic, visual and kinesthetic elements. Related to each word there is a complicated process of association in which these elements coalesce.

The word, however, only obtains its actual meaning when it is linked with an object-image. The word-image is linked to the object-image by means of the auditory image produced by tonal perception.

The object-image is also a complex process of associations, consisting of the fusion of the most manifold visual, acoustic, tactile and kinesthetic sensations. We learn from philosophy that the object-image is nothing but (such fusion). The appearance and the different "qualities" of a "thing" are due to the various impressions registered by our sense organs

Für die Psychologie ist die Einheit der Sprachfunktionen, das 'Wort', eine Komplexe Vorstellung, die sich als Zusammengesetzt aus akustischen, visuellen und kinästhetischen Elementen erweist. Dem Wort entspricht ein verwickelter Assoziationsvorgang, den die aufgeführten Elemente visueller, Herkunft miteinander eingehen.

Seine eigentliche Bedeutung erhält das Wort erst in Verbindung mit der Objectvorstellung. Die Wortvorstellung ist mit ihrem sensiblen Ende (vermittels der Klangbildern) and die Objectvorstellung geknüpft.

and a countless variety of possible new sensations all fitting into a chain of associations. The object-image, when compared with the word-image, appears to us to be unlimited, the latter being expandable within limits.

A footnote reference of Freud's in the text is worth noting. He refers to John Stuart Mill's Logic, Chapters one and three, and to his An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, as his sources.

So much for the Auffassung. In the three years between 1892-1895, before he publishes his book on hysteria with Breuer, Freud writes six papers on neuroses. These show that Freud is developing a mechanical concept of man and tends to view all behaviour as a method of disposition and utilization of psychic energy by the individual. He states that "every occurrence, every psychic impression carries

Die Objectvorstellung ist wiederum ein Assoziationskomplex, aus den verschiedenartigsten visuellen, akustischen, taktilen und anderen Vorstellungen. Wir entnehmen der Philosophie dass die Objectvorstellung ausserdem nichts enthält, dass der Anschein eines 'Dinges', für dessen verschiedene 'Eigenschaften' jene Sinneseindrücke sprechen, nur dadurch zustande kommt, dass wir bei der Aufzählung der Sinneseindrücke, die wir von einem Gegenstande erhalten haben, noch die Möglichkeit einer grossen Reihe neuer Eindrücke in derselben Assoziationskette hinzunehmen. (J. St. Mill). Die Objectvorstellung erscheint uns also nicht als eine abschliessbare, während die Wortvorstellung als etwas Abgeschlossenes, wengleich der Erweiterung fähiges erscheint. (from Auffassung, p. 58-59)

a certain affective charge",²⁴ and "the amount of affect, the sum of excitation (is) capable of increase, decrease, displacement and discharge."²⁵

Whether a neurotic illness occurs at all depends upon a quantitative factor, upon the total load on the nervous system in relation to its capacity for resistance (of a particular energy charge). Anything which can keep this factor below a certain threshold, or bring it back below it, is effective therapeutically, since the aetiological formula is thus kept unfilled.²⁶

Psychological help to an individual, within the frame of reference of this theory, becomes similar to the repair of some electric machine with a reduced "capacity" for "resistance" against "the pressure of the total load of accumulated energy". All the therapist has to do is find the point at which there is "a deflection of somatic sexual excitation from the psychical field, and an abnormal use of it, due to this deflection",²⁷ and re-direct this energy into its proper channel.

Freud relates how he found this point: "(...) going back into the patient's life step by step, guided always by this structural connection between symptoms, memories and associations, I finally came to the starting-point of the

24 Collected Papers, Op. Cit., p. 58.

25 Ibid., p. 75.

26 Ibid., p. 126.

27 Ibid., p. 97.

pathological process."²⁸ With time he found that this starting-point was usually "an estrangement between the somatic and the psychical in the course taken by sexual excitation."²⁹

The trauma, according to Freud, strictly determines the symptom. Two different women developed the identical neurotic illness because of a traumatic sexual experience in early childhood.³⁰

The Studies in Hysteria³¹ is recommended by its translator as "the fons et origo of everything that was later formulated by Freud."³²

Freud's causal orientation is still unchanged. "The connection (between symptom and trauma) is often so clear that it is perfectly manifest how the causal event produced just this and no other phenomena."³³

The trauma, however, is hard to find. It "enters into the great complex of associations, joins other experiences and thus undergoes corrections through other ideas."³⁴

28 Ibid., p. 148.

29 Ibid., p. 100.

30 Ibid., p. 202.

31 Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, Studies in Hysteria, Op. Cit., see p. 8.

32 Ibid., p. 2.

33 Ibid., p. 3.

34 Ibid., p. 6.

Nor is the equation of the human being with the machine renounced, instead it is developed in much more detail:

Let us imagine an elaborate electrical system for transmission of light and motive power, which is to put into operation every light and motor by the simple production of a contact. In order to make this possible for the purpose of preparedness for work, it requires a certain sum of tension in the whole conduction net, even during the functional rest, which in turn necessitates an expenditure of a definite sum of energy by the dynamo.³⁵

This energy Freud calls "intracerebral excitement", stating that "in the organism there is a tendency to preserve at a constant level the intracerebral excitement."³⁶ This constant level is maintained through motor or emotional behaviour that is comparable to reflex action leading to discharge.

If the original affect was discharged not in a normal, but in an "abnormal reflex", the latter too is again released by the memory, and the excitement emanating from the affective idea becomes converted into a physical phenomenon.³⁷

We have considered the hysterical symptoms as remnants of excitements. (...) Such remnants do not remain if the original excitement has been discharged. (...) We can no longer reject the consideration of quantities (even if not measurable), and to conceive the process of hysteria, as if a sum of excitement had entered into the nervous system and was transformed into a lasting symptom. (...)

35 Ibid., p. 140.

36 Ibid., p. 151. Quotes and italics are Freud's unless specifically stated.

37 Ibid., p. 61.

We are now in the habit of finding in hysteria that a considerable portion of the "sum of excitement" of the trauma changes into a physical symptom.³⁸

This transformation of the psychic into the physical Freud designates as "conversion". A symptom then is but a sum of excitation that was not permitted to enter into psychic association and was deflected to the wrong road of bodily innervation.

Of no little interest to the researcher is Freud's concept of the unconscious during this beginning period. He still refers to the "splitting of consciousness" in the early pages of the book, but this soon becomes an "unconscious superior intelligence" and, in effect, a second consciousness. Freud speaks of

a more or less highly organized rudimentary second consciousness, a condition seconde. A persistent hysterical symptom, therefore, corresponds to an impingement of this second state upon bodily innervation otherwise controlled by the normal consciousness.³⁹

The unconscious, however, is not only an active, dynamic intelligence, it is also a storage place into which ideas, in accordance with Herbartian principles, are banished until they can be utilized. In general, Freud states, when ideas conflict, the weaker one is repressed to avoid the conflict.

38 Ibid., p. 143.

39 Ibid., p. 11.

Such banishment does not annihilate the opposing idea, but merely crowds it into the unconscious /so that/ the unbearable idea actually becomes "repressed" as only an idea of very little intensity could be repressed.⁴⁰

Emotional and motor behaviour that seem unexplainable in terms of sexual trauma, such as tics, handwriting, etc., are viewed by Freud as "expressions of emotions which, as Darwin taught us, originally consisted of sensible and expedient actions",⁴¹ but which have become a motor discharge on the level of the "tail-wagging of dogs."⁴² One can detect here the influence of Claus on Freud, his teacher in General Biology and Darwinism during Freud's first year in Medical School in 1874.⁴³

In their book the authors refer to writings of Benedikt, Bleuler, Darwin, Delboeuf, Hecker, Mach, Meynert and Liebault.

Students of Freud seem to get lost in these scientific postulates and appear to miss some other aspects that Freud touches on in the last part of the book. The concept of transference is formulated and described. Freud foresees the importance of this concept that has now become the cornerstone

40 Ibid., p. 88-120.

41 Ibid., p. 132.

42 Ibid., p. 65.

43 Bernfeld, Sigmund Freud, M.D., Op. Cit., p. 217.

of psychoanalytic therapy when he warns: "No analysis can be brought to an end if one does not know how to meet the resistances resulting from the causes mentioned. (Transference)⁴⁴

With his amazing sensitivity and honesty, Freud had perceived and written of counter-transference: "I could not imagine myself entering deeply into the psychic mechanism of an hysteria in a person who would impress me as common and disagreeable and who would not (...) be able to awaken in me human sympathy."⁴⁵

He is not very sure that all of his cases can be fitted into his quantum theory and "the assumption of an unconscious intelligence appear (to him) more and more alluring."

In his subsequent papers written before the Dreams Freud continues with his scientific orientation, except that more and more importance is given to sexuality. Several times Freud states that hysterics suffer from reminiscences.

The Traumdeutung is considered by psychoanalysts the fundamental work of Freud, a knowledge of which is indispensable to one who is interested in psychoanalysis. Not only is it the crystallization of Freud's theory of personality, it has the rudiments of the concepts that he was to develop in his

⁴⁴ Studies in Hysteria, p. 230.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 148.

later works. Since a great majority of the dreams are his own, Freud had repeatedly called the book a record of his own psychoanalysis.

The conscious is considered as "only a sense organ for the perceptions of psychical qualities",⁴⁶ while "the unconscious must be assumed to be the general basis of psychical life".⁴⁷

Though "strictly speaking there is no need for the hypothesis that the psychical systems are actually arranged in a spatial⁴⁸ order", Freud adds space to his previous concept of time and energy. The unconscious has no access to consciousness "except via the preconscious",⁴⁹ which is pictured as a narrow chamber where "there is a lowering of the resistance which guards the frontier between the unconscious and the preconscious."⁵⁰

In the unconscious "wishes are always on the alert, ready at any time to find their way to expression"⁵¹ by means

46 Dream Interpretation, Op. Cit., p. 615.

47 Ibid., p. 612.

48 Ibid., p. 537.

49 Ibid., p. 541.

50 Ibid., p. 542.

51 Ibid., p. 553.

of "establishing a connection with an idea which already belongs to the preconscious, by transferring their energy to it."⁵²

The energies now acquire quantity expressed in cathexis, and the organism is being seen as striving for inertia.

Man is now perceived as an electrical "apparatus", constructed on scientific principles, and subject to the laws to which any other machine is subject.

We shall suppose that a system in the very front of the apparatus receives the perceptual stimuli but retains no trace of them and thus has no memory, while behind it lies a second system which transforms the momentary excitations of the first system into permanent memory traces.⁵³

Our perceptions are linked with one another in our memory /according to simultaneity of occurrence and time, similarity, etc./ We speak of this fact as "association".⁵⁴

During the day there is a continuous current (...) flowing in the direction of motor activity; but this current ceases at night and could no longer form an obstacle to a current of excitation flowing in the opposite sense.⁵⁵

"The whole apparatus must be constructed like a reflex apparatus", and is set in motion when the state of inertia is upset by some instinctual demand.⁵⁶

52 Ibid., p. 562.

53 Ibid., p. 538.

54 Ibid., p. 539.

55 Ibid., p. 544.

56 Ibid., p. 538.

Amidst the formulations of the scientific laws governing the behaviour of the human "apparatus", Freud reveals the person that is hidden, so to speak, in that machine. And this is a concept of a feeling and thinking human being, striving to strike a compromise between strong biological needs and ethical demands.

Freud starts out by subjecting the process of thinking to investigation. Thinking consists of interpreting a present situation in terms of a past situation on the basis of some similarity. Freud distinguishes a primary and a secondary process in thinking.

"The primary process endeavours to (...) establish a 'perceptual identity'"⁵⁷ and is similar to the thinking of children. It is based on images, perceptual representation of things, and motivated by wishes for sensory gratification. Thus, in the primary process, the identity between the past and the present situation is established on the basis of a concrete identity.

"The secondary process (has as its aim) the establishment of a 'thought identity'".⁵⁸ It avoids the identification of experience with an object on the primitive, perceptual identity level, establishing the analogousness, linking the two

57. Ibid., p. 602.

58. Ibid., p. 602.

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situations on the basis of abstract identity.

Thinking on the primary level is based on images, while on the secondary level it is based on ideas.

The secondary process can be influenced, however, when the ideas are "affect-cathexed". Under too much emotional stress the primary process will influence the secondary process or, as in the case of mental illness, take over completely.

The dream is characterized by the primary process.

Psychoanalysis, a re-educational process, is aimed at teaching the individual to function on the level of the secondary process. Resistance is considered here as anything that interferes with the progress of analytical work,⁵⁹ and is an effort at self-deception. Freud distinguishes several methods, or mechanisms, of this self-deception.

Displacement of affect occurs when another object, more acceptable, is substituted in the place of the real unconscious one. An example of displacement is given "When a lonely old maid transfers her affection to animals, or when a bachelor becomes an enthusiastic collector."⁶⁰

Reversal, later to be called reaction formation, is the mode of defence by which the unconscious urge is repressed and the opposite activity is engaged in.

59 Ibid., p. 517.

60 Ibid., p. 177.

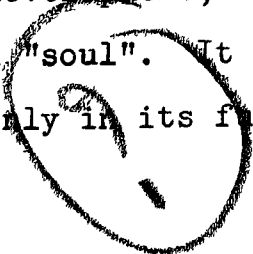
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The above is similar to denial, where the unconscious need is simply denied and "isolated" by the individual.

Regression is conceived as "a revival of childhood, of the instinctual impulses which dominated it and of the methods which were then available to the (individual)".⁶¹

Freud's definition of identification will be of interest here, especially in regard to his concept of the unconscious. "Identification is not simple imitation", Freud states, "but assimilation on the basis of similar aetiological pretension; it expresses a resemblance and is derived from a common element which remains in the unconscious."⁶²

When Freud speaks of the symbolism in the dreams, he names several "popular" symbols, mostly of sexual significance, the interpretation of which seems to be valid only to the degree to which the interpreter is able to identify with the dreamer. It would seem then that the ability to interpret unconscious symbolism depends on the number of experiences in the interpreter's unconscious and the degree to which he is aware of his own unconscious processes. In this, the early phase of his development, the unconscious seems to have the qualities of a "soul". It is in union with the body, coming to awareness only in its functioning, with the two constantly interacting.



61 Ibid., p. 548.

62 Ibid., p. 150.

Many of Freud's theories in the Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality⁶³ are too well-known to warrant a detailed review. Lack of space prevents an exposition of the points often misunderstood. As with the previous papers, only the salient points, pertinent to the present discussion, will be mentioned.

In this book, Freud again speaks of the "sexual apparatus that is set in motion by stimuli",⁶⁴ and in which these "sexual instincts struggle against certain mental forces which act as resistances."⁶⁵

Freud also draws attention to the pleasure-seeking behaviour of children and postulates that they are a sexual-equivalent. This is done in order to establish his thesis that sexual perversion is a neurotic behaviour that is a regression to an infantile level of behaviour.

"As a sample of sexual manifestation in childhood" Freud mentions thumb-sucking. He refers to the "Hungarian paediatrician, Lindner, who already in 1879 saw and wrote on sexual aspect of this behaviour in children."⁶⁶

With this work Freud definitely took the stand and postulated sex as the monogenetic trauma in the neuroses and

63 Op. Cit., see p. 95.

64 Ibid., p. 208.

65 Ibid., p. 162.

66 Ibid., p. 179.

the sole motivating factor in human behaviour.

He sets up his well-known stages of psycho-sexual development, consisting of vaguely separated temporal periods in the development of a human being. The oral period lasts approximately 18 months from birth, the anal period from the age of 8 months to 4 years, the phallic phase from the age of 3 to 6 years, and the latency period from 5 to about 10 years of age. The last phase is the genital phase appearing any time around the age of ten. Frustration during any one of these phases of development results in neurotic (abnormal sexual) behaviour.

As evidence of the fact that sexual aberrations are but a regression to childish behaviour, Freud postulates a sexual behaviour in children "containing all the germs of perversion."⁶⁷

In addition to the defence mechanisms cited in his book on Dream Interpretation, Freud mentions two more: sublimation and fixation. Sublimation "enables excessively strong excitations arising from particular sources of sexuality to find an outlet and use it in other fields".⁶⁸ Artistic creativity is, according to Freud, an instance of such sublimated sexuality. Fixation is a standstill at some particular phase

67 Idem.

68 Ibid., p. 238.

of psycho-sexual development.

Since references have been made several times in this paper about the fundamental differences between the psycho-analytic theory and the method, a comment about the method will be necessary at this point.

Before the end of 1905, the date that marks the end of the period under consideration here, Freud has written very little about the method. Some remarks he made in the Interpretation of Dreams and three short papers will be considered here.

From remarks on the method of interpreting dreams, in those days most of the treatment, one gathers that the interpretations were not forced on the patient, but advanced, after conscious material was brought out by the patient that seemed to support the hypothesis suggested by the dream, in the form of a leading question or a tentative suggestion.

Freud wrote his first paper on the psychoanalytic method⁶⁹ in 1903. He describes in it the treatment situation as follows:

Without exerting any other influence he invites them (the patients) to recline in a comfortable position on a couch, while he himself is seated on a chair behind them outside their field of vision. He does not ask them to close their eyes, and avoids touching them as well as any other form of procedure which might remind them of hypnosis. The consultation thus proceeds like a conversation between two equally wakeful persons.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Freud's Psychoanalytic Method, in Collected Papers, Vol. 1, Op. Cit., p. 264-271.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 265-266.

The therapist attends to the patient's associations, marking gaps in the chronology, temporary amnesias, contradictions and other signs of "resistance". His task is, Freud wants it remembered, "to remove amnesias and (...) to make the unconscious accessible to consciousness, which is done by removing the resistances".⁷¹

In his second paper on technique,⁷² one written in 1904, Freud calls the investigation of the unconscious a "play upon the instrument of the soul"⁷³ and warns against the dangers of an attempt to do so by persons not trained in his method. He sets up criteria for the selection of people who are amenable for psychoanalytic treatment. These include a capacity for normal mental functioning, voluntary choice by the individual for the treatment, a reasonable degree of education and ethical strength. On the part of the physician, "Not only must his own character be irreproachable, (...) but he must also have overcome in his own mind that mixture of lewdness and prudery with which, unfortunately, so many people habitually consider sexual problems."⁷⁴

71 Ibid., p. 269.

72 On Psychotherapy, in Collected Papers, Op. Cit., p. 249-263.

73 Ibid., p. 255.

74 Ibid., p. 262.

The sexual aspect of the neurosis is here spoken of as "the neurotic's aversion from sexuality, his incapacity for loving".⁷⁵

The last of Freud's works on the method of treatment to be considered here has remained untranslated until recently.⁷⁶ In view of the concepts expressed in his theoretical postulates in other previous writings, some of his statements here will seem surprising if not contradictory.

Instead of advocating a psycho-physical parallelism he states that "The relation between body and mind is a reciprocal one".⁷⁷ That "all mental states (...) are to some degree 'affective', and not one of them is without its physical manifestations or is incapable of modifying somatic processes."⁷⁸

His objection to hypnosis is related, among other reasons, to its tendency in making a person unduly docile, obedient and credulous. One gets the impression that apart from its uselessness in accomplishing a permanent cure, hypnosis is rejected by Freud because it disregards human dignity.

75 Ibid., p. 263.

76 Psychical (or Mental) Treatment, in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Translated by James Strachey, et. al., London, Hogarth, 1953, p. 263-302.

77 Ibid., p. 284.

78 Ibid., p. 288.

Freud considers the will as a factor in both illness and health, and proceeds to evaluate miraculous cures effected by religion. Freud's later opinions about religion are well-known, but at this date he still believes in the "power of religious faith", though he feels that it is "reinforced by a number of eminently human motive forces." Yet, "they do really occur and have occurred at every period of history."⁷⁹

It is not the writer's intention to make Freud look like a religious person. This certainly he never was. But he is a long way from declaring all religion as a mass neurosis.

The foregoing has been a short summary of some of the concepts that will be used as a comparison in the search for teachers of Freud. They will be considered teachers only in the sense that their ideas have been absorbed by him in constructing the postulates on which psychoanalytic theory has been built.

As a first step in this search, the known teachers of Freud will be scrutinized before examining predecessors not mentioned by other researchers for the germinal cells of psychoanalysis.

79 Ibid., p. 290.

2.- The Known Teachers.

Johann Friedrich Herbart. In attempting to prove that psychoanalysis is a school of psychology, von Karpinska⁸⁰ compared Herbart and Freud. She found that the two psychologists agreed in their theories and method of presentation, except that Freud replaced Herbart's dynamics of ideas with a dynamic of affects.

Herbart and Freud both postulate, von Karpinska states, that psychic events are part of a causal chain. Conscious psychic events are the result of unconscious psychic powers, effective and understandable, in a constant struggle for supremacy beneath the threshold of consciousness. Their activity consists in a readiness to enter consciousness.

Herbart, like Freud, presented his analogies illustrating his hypotheses in the form of mechanical concepts, and conceived of ideas as elastic substances. Ideas, according to Herbart, are psychic elements used by the psyche as a means of self-preservation from inner threats. The unity of the psyche can cause a connection, but also prevent a connection of ideas with one another.

⁸⁰ Luise van Karpinska, Über die Psychologischen Grundlagen des Freudismus, in Internationale Zeitschrift für Ärztliche Psychoanalyse, Vol. 2, 1914, p. 164-170.

Dorer⁸¹ was interested in finding some evidence of Freud having been influenced by Herbart. She pointed out that the official philosophical orientation in the Austrian school system was that of Herbart. She quoted, in support of her statement from Die Geschichte der Wiener Universitaet, (The History of the Vienna University) showing that Robert Zimmermann, Franz Exner and Franz Brentano, all leaders in the Austrian educational system and all followers of Herbart, were behind this official orientation.

Her comparison shows that both, Herbart and Freud, strove for a method to investigate mental phenomena that is similar to the methods employed by natural sciences. Both can be called mechanistic and individualistic. Both deal with psychic energy as subject to quantification and mathematical treatment. Both attempted to formulate mathematical rules according to which psychological behaviour can be categorized. Herbart's threshold is the same as Freud's preconscious, and the concept of repression that leaves traces in the conscious is identical in both psychologists.

Evidence that Freud had actually studied Herbart is offered by Jones⁸² who credits Bernfeld with the discovery.

81 M. Dorer, Op. Cit., p. 97-106.

82 Jones, Biography, Op. Cit., p. 374.

Jones quotes Bernfeld's information as follows:

In Freud's last year at the Gymnasium the following textbook was in use: Gustaf Adolf Lindner, Lehrbuch der empirischen Psychologie nach genetischer Methode (Textbook of Empirical Psychology by Genetic Method) (1858). The author's teacher was Franz Exner, the father of Freud's instructor at the Brucke Institute. Now in the preface to the book the author states categorically that only thinkers of the Herbart School come into consideration, and in fact the book may be described as a compendium of the Herbartian psychology. It contains, among other things, this passage: 'A result of the fusion of ideas proves that ideas which were once in consciousness and for any reason have been repressed (verdraengt) out of it are not lost, but in certain circumstances may return.' There is a detailed account of the conflict between the stronger and weaker ideas along the correct Herbartian lines.⁸³

As will be seen later, many of Freud's teachers at the University of Vienna Medical School were followers of Herbart. For some of these teachers Freud had a great admiration and he may have assimilated their ideas. Since Freud invariably read the source material of his teachers, it is reasonable to assume that he had read Herbart even after his student days at the Sperl Gymnasium.

It should also be pointed out at this point that Herbart's concept of insanity, affects that are frozen in the nervous system and thus unable to be expressed by the body or become ideas, is very similar to that of Freud.

There is a striking similarity between Herbart's concept of what psychology should be, and Freud's description of the aims of his project quoted above. Herbart states in the

83 Idem.

introduction to his Lehrbuch that his purpose is to establish "a psychology that is similar to natural science, postulating a relationship between psychic phenomena, looking for this relationship by means of shifting the facts, careful conclusions, and daring, proven and valid hypotheses. And, finally, by means of measurements and careful calculations."

Ernst Brucke, in whose laboratory Freud studied and did research for almost ten years, was respected and admired by him. He named one of his sons after him and, according to Jones, many of Freud's later theoretical formulations can be traced to Brucke's influence on him.

Brucke was a student of Johannes Muller, known as the developer of the theory of specific nerve energies. He was a life-long friend and schoolmate of Helmholtz, with whom he remained in constant correspondence. His interest in color, on which he published several papers, was probably due to the influence of Helmholtz.

In 1842 Emil Du Bois wrote:

Brucke and I pledged a solemn oath to put in power this truth: No other forces than the common physical chemical ones are active within the organism. In those cases which cannot at the time be explained by these forces one has either to find the specific way or from their action by means of the physical mathematical method, or to assume new forces equal in dignity to the chemical physical forces inherent in matter, reducible to the force of attraction and repulsion.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Estelle Du Bois-Reymond, Zwei Grosse Naturforscher des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Emil Du Bois-Reymond und Karl Ludwig, Leipzig, Barth, 1927, p. 19. Quoted Siegfried Bernfeld, Freud's Earliest Theories and the School of Helmholtz, in Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 3, July 1944, p. 350.

Brucke was an admirer of Fechner with whom he shared the belief that perception is energy transmitted to the brain by the nerves where, at the moment of perception, consciousness results. In his lectures Brucke would constantly refer to Weber, Fechner, Purkinje and Exner's experiments.

Helmholz often expressed himself with admiration on Brucke's scientific ideas. He credited Brucke with giving him all the ideas for the ophthalmoscope. "I was endeavouring to explain to my pupils the emission of reflected light from the eye, a discovery made by Brucke, who would have invented the ophthalmoscope had he only asked himself how an optical image is formed by the light returning from the eye."⁸⁵

In his published lectures, Bernfeld states, Brucke claimed that humans differ from machines only "in possessing the faculty of assimilation", but that all behaviour can be explained by Helmholtz's principle of the conservation of energy.

Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz.⁸⁶ Knowing of Freud's habit of acquainting himself with his teachers' masters, one is not surprised to read of his acquisition of Helmholtz's books for his own library.

⁸⁵ John Gray McKendrick, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, London, Unwin, 1899, p. 73.

⁸⁶ Information on Helmholtz contained in this chapter is based on the above cited source.

Around 1838-1840 a small group of bright students clustered around the feet of the greatest physiologist of their time, Johannes Muller, who taught Anatomy and Physiology at the University of Berlin Medical School. Among them were Helmholtz, later to inherit the academic chair from his teacher, Brucke, who was to be professor of Physiology in Vienna during Freud's attendance there, Virchow, later to be known as "the greatest pathologist of the 19th century, Du Bois-Reymond, who filled the professorial chair between Muller and Helmholtz, and Ludwig, who was to teach Freud Pathological and Physiological Chemistry in Vienna.

Muller has been teaching his theory of specific nerve energies, according to which a particular sense organ reacts in its own way regardless of the nature of stimulation. Thus, the retina will react with a flash of light, or possibly some colour, no matter what the stimulation is. But the thing that made the organ work was some sort of vital force, the effect of the soul. Phenomena in living things, according to Muller, were different in living things not only in degree, but also in kind, from inorganic matter. Muller was an Aristotelian in the sense in which Aristotle was understood in his time.

These were the days of the search for a scientific theory that would enable man to express the secret of the universe in one all-embracing scientific formula. Muller's brightest students, the group mentioned above, decided to

join forces to fight Muller's vitalism, his view that life involves forces other than those found in the interaction of inorganic bodies.

They joined a group of students, physicists and chemists, studying under Gustav Magnus and formed the Physikalische Gesellschaft with intent to find the physical laws to the nature of man.

Shortly before this Helmholtz read a paper of his on the conservation of energy, in which he established mathematically that force (energy) is constant, that is, its quantity can neither be increased nor decreased regardless of the changes to which the matter containing it is subjected. From this it was but a step to formulate that sensations are due to nervous energy which may vary in intensity but not in quality, and that physiological research would reveal that any sensation, or variety of sensations, can be broken down in its component parts, and sum of which would be the energy quantum that can be generated by that particular nerve.

What this whole theory meant to Helmholtz and his group, who called Brucke "our Ambassador to the Far East", is shown by the following quotation from the introduction to his Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen:

An intelligence which at any given instant should know all the forces by which nature is urged, and the respective situation of the beings of which nature is composed; if, moreover, such a mind were sufficiently comprehensive to subject these data to calculation, such

an intelligence would include in the same formula the movements of the largest bodies of the universe and those of the smallest atoms. Nothing would be uncertain to such an intelligence, and the future no less than the past would be present to his eyes.⁸⁷

Helmholz in his philosophy was in general agreement with Darwin and Herbart. His concept of unconscious inferences is similar to Freud's "conclusions reached by the unconscious".

As can be seen from the above, Freud not only had studied Helmholz, but there is a great similarity between some of the theoretical postulates of psychoanalysis and the teachings of Helmholz.

Theodor Meynert is, according to Dorer, the source of all of Freud's later postulates. She points out that he, like Freud, constantly used mechanical concepts to illustrate his lectures. His analogies were popular and somewhat similar to Freud's illustrations from everyday life.

The similarity, however, seems to be no more significant than it would be between any other physiologist who has been influenced by the scientific Naturphilosophische orientation of those days.

Both Meynert and Freud seem to perceive of ideas as links in a chain of associations. Psychological existence is a play of associations dominated by goal-motivated ideas. The associations are affect-connected, and these affects have both

⁸⁷ McKendrick, Op. Cit., p. 191.

psychic and physical qualities. They are quantitative factors amenable to mathematical treatment. As such they are called "sums of excitations" or "sums of energy", or "energy". Qualitatively they are divided into pleasure and un-pleasure, but this is modified by the demands of the environment. Consciousness is a secondary process in the organism which is compared to a reflex apparatus reacting to excitations from the environment. The process between the stimuli and the reflex action is largely unconscious. Insanity is only quantitatively different from the normal, both being subject to the same psychic laws, the former being only proportionately or quantitatively different.

Dorer describes Meynert as an associationist, follower of Herbart, and a great admirer of Fechner.⁸⁸

Dorer quotes the following sentence from Meynert's translated lectures: "I trace our knowledge in psychiatry to Esquirol and appreciate the importance that Griesinger had on him."⁸⁹ As stated before, Freud studies "assiduously" both these men while working in Meynert's clinic.

Josef Breuer.⁹⁰ In the psychoanalytic literature

88 Dorer, Op. Cit., p. 142.

89 Dorer, Op. Cit., p. 129.

90 C. P. Oberndorf, Autobiography of Josef Breuer, in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 34, Part 1, 1953, p. 64-67.

Breuer is usually referred to as a "practising physician in Vienna", giving a completely erroneous impression of the man who had befriended Freud over many years, who helped him financially and who co-authored Freud's first major psychoanalytic work with him. This friendship can best be evaluated when considering that even though the rift between the two men was quite strong, Breuer did not withdraw from the co-authorship.

Breuer's personal history is similar to that of Freud. He too was Jewish, got his education from his father until he was old enough to enter the gymnasium. Like Freud, he graduated when he was young, and he spent a year studying various subjects at the university with the aim of improving his "general education" before he started his medical training.

There he became Brucke's student and, through him, interested in physiology. He was primarily a scientist and a philosopher, and practised medicine to insure a livelihood. As a physician he attended the members of the faculty and the social and artistic elite of Vienna.

Breuer was a member of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, where he was nominated for membership by Mach, Hering and Exner. He was also a member of the Philosophical Society and a close friend of Franz Brentano.

In 1863, independently of Mach, he discovered the function of the semicircular canals in the labyrinth of the inner ear and the function of the otoliths, and demonstrated

their function in laboratory experiments. He was a great admirer of Goethe, Fechner and Schopenhauer.

Gustav Theodor Fechner. Freud frankly stated in his autobiography that "I was always open to the ideas of G. T. Fechner and have followed that thinker upon many important points."⁹¹ Fechner, like Herbart, thought along the lines of conservation of energy. His experiments of the just noticeable differences were constructed to prove that even the pleasure - un-pleasure principle can be subjected to quantitative treatment.

In his treatment of unconscious, not noticeable phenomena, Fechner invented the famous analogy of the iceberg with only one tenth showing.

In his book Das Buchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode, (The Little Book of Life After Death) Fechner strove to show we are, as it were, all parts of one another, living in each other so fully that as long as human life continues no individual can really die.⁹²

Boring⁹³ sums up Fechner's conception of psychophysics as "an exact science of the functional relations of dependency between body and mind."

⁹¹ Freud, An Autobiographical Study, Translated by James Strachey, N.Y., Norton, 1952, p. 114.

⁹² G. Stanley Hall, Founders of Modern Psychology, N.Y., Appleton, 1912, p. 125-177.

⁹³ Edwin G. Boring, A History of Modern Psychology, N.Y., Appleton, 1950, p. 286.

Wilhelm Griesinger⁹⁴ has stressed the importance of the unconscious processes of thinking and emotion. He observed that certain hysterical behaviour was dependent on morbid emotional states, and were capable of disappearing with them. He attempted to differentiate between hysterical hallucinations and malignant ones "that are incurable and pass over into the state of secondary psychical weakness (insanity)".

According to Zilboorg,⁹⁵ Griesinger stated in the foreword to his textbook that he followed the psychological principles of the philosopher Herbart. On the same page, however, Zilboorg quotes Griesinger as stating: "I'd rather read Muller's physiology than be dictated to by old theories." Griesinger tried to observe in his patients' deviations from the normal in their intellectual and emotional behaviour. He differentiated between sensing, thinking and imagining.⁹⁶ This approach is more along the lines of Muller's vitalistic than Herbart's mechanistic orientation.

J. E. D. Esquirol. Following in the footsteps of his teacher, Pinel, Esquirol had a humane approach to the mentally ill. He originated the term hallucination and used it to

94 Wilhelm Griesinger, Über Psychische Reflaxtionen. Mit einem Blick auf das Wesen der Psychischen Krankheiten, in Archive für Physiologische Heilkunde, Vol. 2, July 1843, p. 76-113.

95 Gregory Zilboorg, A History of Medical Psychology, N.Y., Norton, 1941, p. 435-436.

96 Ibid., see also Parish, Op. Cit., p. 21.

describe cerebral or psychological phenomena which occur independently of reality, consisting of impressions which the patient experiences without any outward material cause acting upon his senses. Esquirol postulated that the content of the hallucinations are mental images reproduced by the memory, and elaborated by the imagination, that have become personified through habit.⁹⁷

J. M. Charcot is mentioned so often in psychoanalytic literature as the man who first got Freud interested in hysteria, the unconscious, and in the exploration of psychology, that there is not much to add.

Janet⁹⁸ states that Charcot spent a great amount of time discussing miraculous healing. The work he used as a textbook in his classes⁹⁹ contained the record of the miracle cures at or about the year 1736 in the Saint Medard Cemetery at the tomb of the Deacon of Paris. The book contained "detailed medical descriptions and excellent medical observations, together with the description of the miracles."

The above constitutes a review of the thoughts of Freud's known teachers. It is undeniable that if one considers

97 Parish, Op. Cit., p. 13-14.

98 Pierre Janet, Psychological Healing, 2 Vols., London, Allen, 1265 p.

99 Louis Basile Carré de Montgeron, La vérité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de M. de Paris, /Paris/, Utrecht, 1737, (no pagination given), Cited by Janet on p. 26.

Freud's formal presentation of his ideas as the proper subject for research, there is a striking similarity between Freud and Herbart, or Helmholtz, or Fechner, or Meynert, or Brucke; or, for that matter, any physiological psychologist who follows the conservation of energy theory. This writer has no doubt that a good case could be made out for Wundt as a precursor of Freud, especially since Freud had made some references to Wundt in his writings.

The ideas that Freud postulated within this scientific frame were of a dynamic unconscious that influences man's emotional and intellectual behaviour, of methods of self-deception employed by man to justify his behaviour, and the nature of some mysterious urge that is striving for self-expression in spite of ethical and intellectual reasons to the contrary. This mysterious power Freud called the sexual urge or sexual instinct.

Further research is needed then to find the thinker whose ideas contain all, or the majority of the above ideas before it can be concluded that this or that person or persons have furnished Freud with the germinal cells of psycho-analysis. The question then is, who were the unknown teachers of Freud?

3.- The Unknown Teachers.¹⁰⁰

Franz Brentano. In 1874, one year after he started his studies at the University of Vienna Medical School, Freud enrolled in a course titled Reading of Philosophical Works given by Franz Brentano. The same year, in the next semester, he is taking two more courses from the same teacher: Logic and Reading Seminar. The immediate question facing the researcher is the possible reason for this extra-curricular study.

The decision to study under Brentano was taken by Freud after he had studied under Brucke and Claus, the two teachers he admired a great deal, and after he had been attracted to the work on which Brucke lectured.

The explanation for the underlying reason to study philosophy is probably to be found in Freud's need to know as much as his teachers did, and his desire to evaluate their statements by reaching his own conclusions.

Freud enrolled in the University one year after the study of Philosophy and Logic was removed from the list of required subjects for future Doctors of Medicine. In his first semester he had listened to Claus lecture on Darwin

¹⁰⁰ The term "unknown" is used here to designate people who may have influenced Freud but who have not been studied for comparison to date.

and Brucke on the rejection of the "old" philosophical concepts postulating a soul or a vital force that distinguishes man from inorganic matter. Freud may have been motivated by an urge to know what the old philosophers said, but he certainly wanted to have the background in philosophy and logic that his teachers had.

What the content of these courses, and the two later ones entitled: Reading of Philosophical Works and Philosophy of Aristotle, consisted of is not known. But a study of Brentano and his philosophical orientation may supply the answer.

Franz Brentano¹⁰¹ is known as a scholastic philosopher who, in his lectures, quoted lengthily from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. Though no longer a priest, his basic orientation was that upheld in those days by the Catholic Scholastics following the teachings of Aristotle-Aquinas.

It is not the writer's intention to analyze the psychology of Brentano,- he is not prepared for that,- but to note a few salient points for purposes of comparison with some of Freud's later ideas.

101 Much of this material is based on lecture notes taken during a course by Prof. R. H. Shevenell, and the writer's subjective interpretation of those notes. It is not the intention of the writer to compare Brentano and Freud, this would properly be the subject of an independent study. Since this comparison is superficial, it was felt that secondary references might be permissible.

As stated before, in the days of Freud, psychologists investigated psychical phenomena by analyzing the way in which the sensory faculties would become aware of an outside object. Since perception was equated to experience, experience became possible without cognition of its existence. Brentano drew a distinction between an experience and the act of recognition by the subject of the existence of the experience. This distinction was between experience as a structure, and experience as a way of acting. For example, in the case of sensation, there is a difference between the sensing of red and the quality "red". The experience as one looks at a red object is a way of behaving, which is to be distinguished from the quality of redness as such. Thus seeing is an act having as its object the colour red. Brentano divided the acts into ideating, judging and love-hating.

Brentano's concept of method includes self-observation as based on the recall of memory by experiences, observation of experiences of others, a study of children, abnormal individuals and different grades of civilization.

A few words on human cognition as seen by Scholastic psychologists is in place here. There is differentiation between external senses and internal senses.

The external senses are ~~the~~ the sense organs, producing physiological conditions of sensation that tend to communicate to the internal senses qualities of the object under observation.

These external senses concern themselves with seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling and touching things. They are the physical organs of perception.

The internal senses: the ability to recall sensory impressions is called imagination. The ability to organize the individual sensory impression into a representation of the whole object is called the synthetic or common sense. The ability by which one can differentiate objects representing pleasure or unpleasure is known as cogitative sense. Finally, the ability of associative recall is named memory.

In thinking (intellection) the intellect abstracts the essential characteristics of the observed object deriving a universal concept or an idea.

Knowledge, according to Scholastic philosophers, postulates a knowing subject and a known object. Knowledge becomes an act when the essence of the known object becomes united knowing subject or mind. This act of knowledge is immaterial, and the actuality illustrating it is fundamental to all psychic experience.

This seeming digression was necessary to show the possible origins of Freud's "primary process" and his "secondary process".¹⁰²

The Freudian theory of knowledge as "incorporation" seems also to have its Scholastic origins.

102 cf. p. 109-110 of this paper.

Brentano's Psychologie vom Empirischem Standpunkt (1874) contains two discussions of the "unconscious". One finds in Book I, Chapter 3, para. 6, where Brentano presents and refutes the doctrines of Henry Maudsley. Maudsley rejects introspection, which he wants to replace by the observation of physiological conditions - though he speaks of bodily conditions underlying mental manifestations - and insists on the latent existence and influence in the unconscious. (...) Maudsley asserts 'that the most important part of the activities of the soul, the most essential process on which thinking depends, consists in an unconscious activity of the soul'.¹⁰³

Henry Maudsley, incidentally, had given much importance to unconscious motivation of human behaviour. The following quotation is offered in lieu of a detailed description:

Anything which has existed with any completeness in consciousness is preserved, after its disappearance therefrom, in the mind or brain, and may reappear in consciousness at some future time. That which persists or is retained has been differently described as a residuum, or relic, or trace, or vestige, or, again, as potential, or latent, or dormant idea; and it is on the existence of such residua that memory depends. Not only definite ideas, however, but all affections of the nervous system, feelings of pleasure and pain, desires, and even its outward reactions, thus leave behind them their residua, and lay the foundations of modes of thought, feeling and action.¹⁰⁴

From Brentano's discussion of Maudsley one must conclude that in at least one of his courses he had made it a point to discuss contemporary and past philosophers who had expressed themselves on the concept of the unconscious, a concept that had occupied the attention of many philosophers and psycho-

¹⁰³ Philip Merlan, Brentano and Freud, in Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. 6, No. 3, June 1945, p. 375-6.

¹⁰⁴ Henry Maudsley, The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind, N.Y., Appleton, 1867, p. 15.

logists of the 19th century. The most important of these would be Carus, von Hartmann, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

Eduard von Hartmann will not be quoted here in any detail. His book¹⁰⁵ is available to the researcher in the English translation. First published in 1868, it was in its tenth edition when Freud attended Brentano's lectures. It has been in those days what could be called a "controversial" book, much discussed by physiologists and psychologists and it seems inconceivable that Freud, who always read everything on the topic that interested him, should have ignored it. Yet, he makes but a superficial reference to it in The Interpretation of Dreams.

Von Hartmann felt that knowledge was the result of an unconscious process, that associations of ideas were influenced by the current interests of the subject, and that the will was but an expression of an unconscious demand. In his introduction he cites Schopenhauer as his preceptor.

Arthur Schopenhauer must be included in this review for several reasons. Besides having most probably been discussed by Brentano, Freud would have been interested in this philosopher because he has been mentioned so often by Meynert, Brucke and Breuer, in fact, by all of the people whose

105 Eduard von Hartmann, Philosophy of the Unconscious, Speculative Results According to the Inductive Method of Physical Science, London, Routledge, 1931, xxxvi-368 p.

intellectual accomplishments earned the respect of Freud.

The similarity between the ideas of this philosopher and Freud had been noted by several writers and had been pointed out as a coincidence.¹⁰⁶ Freud himself published a statement of having read Schopenhauer only "very late in life",¹⁰⁷ and thus closed the way for further speculation.

Schopenhauer's concept of the unconscious, as far as mental activity is concerned, is compared by him to a sheet of water of some depth. The surface is the consciousness to which conscious thoughts rise. Past experiences, thoughts, images, impressions and ideas are in a constant turmoil in the mass of the water. The process which selects these impressions, etc., and forms them into conscious thoughts and opinions is unconscious. "Hence it is that we can often give no account of the origin of our deepest thoughts. They (...) rise out from that deep unexpectedly and to our own surprise."¹⁰⁸

However, in order to find some similarity between Freud and Schopenhauer, one would have to substitute the former's "sex" with the latter's "will". And even then the similarity would be far from identity.

106 cf. footnotes 2 and 11, Chapter 1, of this paper.

107 Freud, Autobiography, Op. Cit., p. 114.

108 Arthur Schopenhauer, The World as Will and Idea, Translated by R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, 3 Vols., London, Trubner, 1883, Ref. in Vol. 2, p. 327.

Carl Gustav Carus. Among the books in New York that used to be on the shelves of Freud's study¹⁰⁹ Carus' Psyche¹¹⁰ shows evidence of much use. The researcher will find many things in there that were later said by Freud.

Carus starts with the postulate that "The key to the understanding of conscious existence lies in the region of the unconscious. (...) If it were an absolute impossibility to recognize the unconscious in the conscious, man would have to despair of ever reaching self-knowledge. If this impossibility is only apparent, then it is up to psychology to find the manner in which the soul of man arises from these depths."¹¹¹ He further states that "the key to a true psychology can be found only (in the unconscious)."¹¹²

According to Carus the most important aspects of existence are unconscious, ideas are stored in the unconscious awaiting their being needed, but can be recognized by their symbolic identity. He suggests that a knowledge of the function of the unconscious would hold the secret to the nature of abnormal behaviour.

109 cf. Index II, Items 482, 483.

110 Carl Gustav Carus, Psyche, Zur Entwicklungs-Geschichte der Seele, Pforzheim, Flammer, 1846, viii-493 p.

111 Ibid., p. 1.

112 Ibid., p. 15.

Franz Anton Mesmer is known to be the originator of hypnotism but no one has ever studied his writings with the aim of finding points of similarity between him and Freud. Wydenbruck¹¹³ in her well-documented biography shows that the concept of transference was familiar to him¹¹⁴ and that he felt that emotional factors can cause illness by "throwing the system out of equilibrium."¹¹⁵ Freud had read Mesmer both in translations and the original.¹¹⁶

Two more psychologists will be pointed out as possible precursors of Freud, but in order to do so a slight digression will be necessary.

In 1890, the first issue of Ebbinghaus' new journal, the Zeitschrift fur Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnes-Organe, appeared. This journal was to dedicate itself exclusively to psychology and to the sphere of physiology that dealt with psychology. Among its assistant editors were: H. Aubert, S. Exner, H. von Helmholtz, J. von Kries, Th. Lipps, G. E. Muller, W. Preyer and C. Stumpf.

A detailed study showing the progress of development of Freud's psychological concepts, as evidenced in his letters

113 Nora Wydenbruck, Doctor Mesmer, An Historical Study, London, Westhouse, 1947, 208 p.

114 Ibid., p. 88 and 99.

115 Ibid., p. 124.

116 cf. Index II, Items 195, 195a, 196.

to Fliess and his published writings, and the papers published in this journal would be beyond the scope and intention of this paper. This fact is brought out to justify future research, and to permit some comparison between Freud and some of the psychologists mentioned above.

W. Preyer had been interested and wrote about the psychology of the infant. He was also interested in the unconscious and in hypnotism. In 1893 he published a book containing material on which he lectured since 1880-1881. In this book¹¹⁷ he states that during suckling "the sensory nerves of the lips are stimulated unusually long and intensely. Here is the source of the greatest pleasure."¹¹⁸ Later he states that "the instinct is the inherited memory",¹¹⁹ a statement similar to the concept of the inherited (Ur) unconscious, postulated by Freud later on.

Theodor Lipps' concept of empathy (Einfuhlung) is given much consideration in the psychoanalytic method. His books are part of Freud's library, and Freud had stated that his book on humour was the result of his reading of Lipps.

117 Die Geistige Entwicklung in der Ersten Kindheit, Berlin, Union, 1893.

118 Ibid., p. 18.

119 Ibid., p. 46.

Interestingly enough, on one occasion, Freud referred to Lipps as "my teacher of psychology here in Vienna".¹²⁰ Since Lipps never taught in Vienna, one can only interpret this statement as a reference to the many papers Freud had read by Lipps, papers that first came to his attention in Ebbinghaus' Zeitschrift.

Friedrich Nietzsche. In a previous paper¹²¹ this writer compared the similarities that existed between Freud and this philosopher. He showed that Nietzsche, like Freud, was convinced that the dream was a psychic reality. The concept of a psychological homeostasis, and the idea of a basic sexual drive affecting all activities of a person was stated by Nietzsche twenty-five years before Freud stated it. Freud's defence mechanisms, such as ambivalence, repression, isolation, reaction-formation, sublimation, projection, etc., were described by Nietzsche in his aphorisms years before Freud."¹²²

Even some of the earliest formulations of Freud can be found in Nietzsche's writings, phrased similarly to Freud.

Freud's postulate that the hysteric suffers from reminiscences is expressed by Nietzsche as follows:

120 Max Eastman, Visit in Vienna, The Crotchety Greatness of Sigmund Freud, in Heroes I have Known, Twelve Who Lived Great Lives, N.Y., Simon & Schuster, 1942, p. 243-268.

121 Rudolf J. Brandt, Freud and Nietzsche: a Comparison, in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. 25, April-June 1955, p. 225-234.

122 Ibid., p. 233.

But like infection is the petty thought: it creepeth and hideth, and wanteth to be nowhere - until the whole body is decayed and withered by petty infection.¹²³

Freud's definition of identification as a common experience in the unconscious is also found in Nietzsche:

It is not sufficient to use the same words in order to understand one another; we must also employ the same words for the same kind of internal experience, we must in the end have experiences in common.¹²⁴ (Nietzsche's italics)

Freud sees affect as a qualitative charge (cathexis) by which the strength of an instinct can be measured. This energy is additive and can enable a weak urge to gain the necessary strength to enter consciousness. Nietzsche says:

The will to overcome an emotion is ultimately only the will of another, or several other, emotions.¹²⁵

And what Freud calls repression, Nietzsche calls:

The active forgetfulness, which is a very sentinel and nurse of psychic order, (...) there can exist no happiness, no gladness, no hope, no pride, no real present without forgetfulness.¹²⁶

Nietzsche's concept of the unconscious is identical to that of Freud.¹²⁷ And even his later theories, such as

¹²³ The Philosophy of Nietzsche, N.Y., Modern Library, 1927, p. 95.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 592.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 460.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 669.

¹²⁷ The Philosophy of Nietzsche, Op. Cit., p. 536-537.

the "nirvana principle", and his concept of religion as a buffer against bad conscience, because of the primal sin, is to be found in the writings of Nietzsche.

Freud's denial of having read philosophy in general, and Nietzsche in particular, will have to be quoted here in full. He stated:

The large extent to which psychoanalysis coincides with the philosophy of Schopenhauer - not only did he assert the dominance of the emotions and the supreme importance of sexuality but he was even aware of the mechanism of repression - is not to be traced to my acquaintance with his teaching. (...) Nietzsche, another philosopher whose guesses and intuitions often agree in the most astonishing way with the laborious findings of psychoanalysis, was for a long time avoided by me on that very account.¹²⁸ (Writer's italics)

There are several arguments that can be advanced at this point to justify the inclusion of both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche as possible precursors of Freud.

Freud's statement that psychoanalysis is "not to be traced to my acquaintance with his teaching" does not preclude that the acquaintance existed. Freud merely denies having consciously remembered what he had read of Schopenhauer. With a person who had read as much and as widely as Freud did, this is not impossible.

It is true that Freud definitely stated that he had "carefully avoided philosophy proper"¹²⁹ (die eigentliche

128 Freud, Autobiography, Op. Cit., p. 114.

129 Idem.

Philosophie), he probably meant the avoidance of what is strictly speaking (eigentlich) philosophy. That is, Freud was not interested in the abstract philosophical discussion, but differentiated these from the psychological concepts of these philosophers.

Dorer¹³⁰ points out that by stating that he avoided Nietzsche "on the very account" of the similarities, he ~~had~~ ^{was} revealed ^{his} knowledge of the ideas of this thinker. For, she asks, how else would he have known why to avoid him. One does not have to read the writings of a thinker in order to know something of his thoughts.

The fact remains that there is no single concept postulated by psychoanalysis to date that cannot be found stated in almost identical terms by Nietzsche.

Freud's scientific curiosity points against his not having read Nietzsche. This philosopher was the most popular in Freud's time and was widely read in all circles that Freud moved in. The most characteristic action on Freud's part was his reading all of John Stuart Mill's works after he translated a paper for him.

In his Interpretation of Dreams Freud uses the term "transvaluation of psychic values" on several occasions.

130 Dorer, Op. Cit., p. 62-63.

In the first edition this was in quotes.¹³¹ This is a most typically Nietzschean expression, and the fact that Freud uses the quotation marks indicate that he had some other author in mind. Not much evidence, but enough to encourage further research in this direction.

To summarize: Previous research for the preceptors of Freud had concentrated on finding the source for the scientific form in which he presented the theory of psychoanalysis to the world.

Since these formulations bore the characteristics of the times in which Freud lived, the results of the studies pointed to Herbart, Helmholtz, Meynert or Brucke, all of whom were representatives of the group advocating psycho-physical parallelism, and studied man on the principle of the theory of conservation of energy.

The theories that Freud presented within this scientific frame can be traced back to the psychologists with whom he came in contact during the years 1874-1900.

Some of the ideas on which the psychoanalytic method rests can be found in the teachings of Brentano, Lipps, Preyer, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. This latter has so many points of similarity that the conclusion of origin is difficult to avoid.

131 Interpretation of Dreams, Op. Cit., p. 330.

Freud postulated his theories to explain phenomena that he observed while practising his method. His explanations may or may not be correct. Research oriented toward a closer examination of psychoanalytic phenomena and their explanation seems to be indicated.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The life, times and works of Sigmund Freud have been studied to determine to what degree psychoanalytic theories have been influenced by the personality, the Zeitgeist and, in particular, the teachers of their creator, Freud. Some of the results of the study can be formulated in the following hypotheses, which are tentative and are meant to serve as guideposts for future studies:

1. Freud's outstanding personality trait was his competitiveness with his father, a trait that showed in his relationship with all authority figures in his life. There seems to be a close correlation between this trait and the topics he selected for study. His Critical Study on Aphasia, seems to be dominated with the intent to disprove the localization theory that was advocated in those days by Meynert; his Project, outlined in his letters to Fliess, seems to be inspired by a book on the mind that Exner wrote the previous year; his share in the Studies in Hysteria was a rebellion against Breuer, and his Wit and the Unconscious followed closely on the writing of Lipps and Jerusalem on a similar topic.

2. Freud's Zeitgeist was that of Naturphilosophie, an orientation to explain man and the universe in terms of laws of the conservation of energy and the assumption of equivalency between man and the machine. The formal aspects of the psychoanalytic theories correspond to that Zeitgeist

represented by Meynert and Brucke, who were both students of the Herbart-Helmholz School.

3. There is a fundamental difference between the form and the matter of the theories postulated by psychoanalysis, the latter being the ideas presented within the above-mentioned scientific frame work. These ideas can be traced back to the different philosophers discussed by Brentano during the years that Freud was a student of his.

4. The ideas contained in the theories of psychoanalysis as formulated by Freud show a striking similarity to the ideas of the philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche.

5. Freud's interest in psychology dates from his return from Paris, where he was a student of Charcot. His psychological reading follows closely the expositions in the Zeitschrift fur Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane, a periodical dedicated to psychology and the aspects of neurology that concern psychology. The possibility that the phases of psychology that interested Freud at any particular time corresponded to the material published in the Zeitschrift during that time has not been precluded.

6. Since the psychoanalytic theories are an attempt to explain psychological phenomena noted during the psychoanalytic situation, the assumption of a positive correlation between the two is not warranted. A phenomenon can be explained by more than one theory, and the condemnation of all

of psychoanalysis because of its theoretical postulates seems to be a disservice to psychology.

7. Since the present Freudian theory of psychological defences does not differentiate between the animal and rational nature of man, there is a need for the revision of this theory in which consideration is given to the nature of man involved in the particular defence mechanism.

8. In line with the above, it is necessary to investigate the concept of the Unconscious and that of Transference, as manifested in the psychoanalytic situation before any new theory for the psychoanalytic method can be postulated. This would result in a theory that is acceptable to Scholastic Philosophy.

or could

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APPENDIX 1

TWO ENCYCLOPAEDIA ARTICLES

(1922)

(A) PSYCHO-ANALYSIS¹

Psycho-analysis is the name (1) of a procedure for the investigation of mental processes which are almost inaccessible in any other way, (2) of a method (based upon that of investigation) for the treatment of neurotic disorders and (3) of a collection of psychological information obtained along those lines, which is gradually being accumulated into a new scientific discipline.

History.² The best way of understanding psycho-analysis is still by tracing its origin and development. In 1880 and 1881 Dr. Josef Breuer of Vienna, a well-known physician and experimental physiologist, was occupied in the treatment of a girl who had fallen ill of a severe hysteria while she was nursing her sick father. The clinical picture was made up of motor paralyses, inhibitions and disturbances of consciousness. Following a hint given him by the patient herself, who was a person of great intelligence, he put her into a state of hypnosis and contrived that, by describing to him the moods and thoughts that were uppermost in her mind, she returned on each particular occasion to a normal mental condition. By consistently repeating the same wearisome process, he succeeded in freeing her from all her inhibitions and paralyses, so that in the end he found his trouble rewarded by a great therapeutic success as well as by an unexpected insight into the nature of the puzzling neurosis. Nevertheless, Breuer refrained from following up his discovery or from publishing anything about the case until some ten years later, when the personal influence of the present writer (Freud, who had returned to Vienna in 1886 after studying in the school of Charcot) prevailed upon him to take up the subject afresh and embark upon a joint study of it. These two, Breuer and Freud, published a preliminary paper 'On the Psychological Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena' in 1893, and in 1895 a volume entitled Studien Uber Hysterie (which reached its fourth edition in 1922), in which they described their therapeutic procedure as 'cathartic'.

¹ Sigmund Freud, Collected Papers, Vol. 5, London, Hogarth, 1950, p. 107-130.

² Italics through this paper those of Freud.

Catharsis.— The investigations which lay at the root of Breuer and Freud's studies led above all to two results, and these have not been shaken by subsequent experience: first, that hysterical symptoms have sense and meaning, being substitutes for normal mental acts; and secondly, that the uncovering of this unknown meaning is accompanied by the removal of the symptoms--so that in this case scientific research and therapeutic effort coincide. The observations were carried out upon a series of patients who were treated in the same manner as Breuer's first patient, that is to say, put into a state of deep hypnosis; and the results seemed brilliant, until later their weak side became evident. The theoretical ideas put forward at that time by Breuer and Freud were influenced by Charcot's theories upon traumatic hysteria and could find support in the findings of his pupil Pierre Janet, which, though they were published earlier than the Studien, were in fact subsequent to Breuer's first case. From the very beginning the factor of affect was brought into the foreground: hysterical symptoms, the authors maintained, came into existence when a mental process with a heavy charge of affect was in any way prevented from equalizing that charge by passing along the normal paths leading to consciousness and movement (i.e. from being 'abreacted'), as a result of which the affect, which was in a sense 'strangulated', was diverted on to the wrong paths and found its discharge into the somatic innervation (a process named 'conversion'). The occasions upon which 'pathogenic ideas' of this kind arose were described by Breuer and Freud as 'psychical traumas', and, since these often dated back to the very remote past, it was possible for the authors to say that hysterics suffered to a large extent from reminiscences (which had not been dealt with). Under the treatment, therefore, 'catharsis' came about when the path to consciousness was opened and there was a normal discharge of affect. It will be seen that an essential part of this theory was the assumption of the existence of unconscious mental processes. Janet too had made use of unconscious acts in mental life; but, as he insisted in his later polemics against psycho-analysis, to him the phrase was no more than a make-shift expression, 'une manière de parler', and he intended to suggest no new point of view by it.

In a theoretical section of the Studien Breuer brought forward some speculative ideas upon the processes of excitation in the mind. These ideas determined the direction of future lines of thought and even to-day have not received sufficient appreciation. But they brought his contributions to this branch of science to an end, and soon afterwards he withdrew from the common work.

The Transition to Psycho-analysis.- Contrasts between the views of the two authors had been visible even in the Studien. Breuer supposed that the pathogenic ideas produced their traumatic effect because they arose during 'hypnoid states', in which mental functioning was subject to special limitations. The present writer rejected this explanation and inclined to the belief that an idea became pathogenic if its content was in opposition to the predominant trend of the subject's mental life so that it provoked him into 'defence'. (Janet had attributed to hysterical patients a constitutional incapacity for holding together the contents of their minds; and it was at this point that his path diverged from that of Breuer and Freud.) Moreover, both of the innovations which led the present writer to move away from the cathartic method had already been mentioned in the Studien. After Breuer's withdrawal they became the starting-point of fresh developments.

Abandonment of Hypnosis.- The first of these innovations was based upon practical experience and led to a change in technique. The second consisted in an advance in the clinical understanding of neuroses. It soon appeared that the therapeutic hopes which had been placed upon cathartic treatment in hypnosis were to some extent unfulfilled. It was true that the disappearance of the symptoms went hand-in-hand with the catharsis, but total success turned out to be entirely dependent upon the patient's relation to the physician and thus resembled the effect of 'suggestion'. If that relation was disturbed, all the symptoms reappeared, just as though they had never been cleared up. In addition to this, the small number of people who could be put into a deep state of hypnosis involved a very considerable limitation, from the medical standpoint, of the applicability of the cathartic procedure. For these reasons the present writer decided to give up the use of hypnosis. But at the same time the impressions he had derived from hypnosis afforded him the means of replacing it.

Free Association.- The effect of the hypnotic condition upon the patient had been so greatly to increase his ability to make associations that he was able to find straightaway the path--inaccessible to his conscious reflection--which led from the symptom to the thoughts and memories connected with it. The abandonment of hypnosis seemed to make the situation hopeless, until the writer recalled a remark of Bernheim's to the effect that things that had been experienced in a state of somnambulism were only apparently forgotten and that they could be brought into recollection at any time if the physician insisted forcibly enough that the patient knew them. The writer therefore endeavoured to press his unhypnotized patients into giving him their associations, so that from the material thus provided he might

find the path leading to what had been forgotten or warded off. He noticed later that such pressure was unnecessary and that copious ideas almost always arose in the patient's mind, but that they were held back from being communicated and even from becoming conscious by certain objections put by the patient in his own way. It was to be expected--though this was still unproved and not until later confirmed by wide experience--that everything that occurred to a patient setting out from a particular starting-point must also stand in an internal connection with that starting-point; hence arose the technique of educating the patient to give up the whole of his critical attitude and of making use of the material which was thus brought to light for the purpose of uncovering the connections that were being sought. A strong belief in the strict determination of mental events certainly played a part in the choice of this technique as a substitute for hypnosis.

The 'Fundamental Technical Rule' of this procedure of 'free association' has from that time on been maintained in psycho-analytic work. The treatment is begun by the patient being required to put himself in the position of an attentive and dispassionate self-observer, merely to read off all the time the surface of his consciousness, and on the one hand to make a duty of the most complete candour while on the other not holding back any idea from communication, even if (1) he feels that it is too disagreeable or if (2) he judges that it is nonsensical or (3) too unimportant or (4) irrelevant to what is being looked for. It is uniformly found that precisely those ideas which provoke these last-mentioned reactions are of particular value in discovering the forgotten material.

Psycho-analysis as an Interpretative Art.— The new technique altered the picture of the treatment so greatly, brought the physician into such a new relation to the patient and produced so many surprising results that it seemed justifiable to distinguish the procedure from the cathartic method by giving it a new name. The present writer gave this method of treatment, which could now be extended to many other forms of neurotic disorder, the name of psycho-analysis. Now, in the first resort, this psycho-analysis was an art of interpretation and it set itself the task of carrying deeper the first of Breuer's great discoveries--namely, that neurotic symptoms are significant substitutes for other mental acts which have been omitted. It was now a matter of regarding the material produced by the patients' associations as though it hinted at a hidden meaning and of discovering that meaning from it. Experience soon showed that the attitude which the analytical physician could most advantageously adopt was to surrender himself to his own unconscious mental activity, in a state of easy and impartial attention, to avoid so far as possible reflection and the

construction of conscious expectations, not to try to fix anything that he heard particularly in his memory, and by these means to catch the drift of the patient's unconscious with his own unconscious. It was then found that, except under conditions that were too unfavourable, the patient's associations emerged like allusions, as it were, to one particular theme and that it was only necessary for the physician to go a step further in order to guess the material which was concealed from the patient himself and to be able to communicate it to him. It is true that this work of interpretation was not to be brought under strict rules and left a great deal of play to the physician's tact and skill; but, with impartiality and practice, it was usually possible to obtain trustworthy results--that is to say, results which were confirmed by being repeated in similar cases. At a time when so little was as yet known of the unconscious, the structure of the neuroses and the pathological processes underlying them, it was a matter for satisfaction that a technique of this kind should be available, even if it had no better theoretical basis. Moreover it is still employed in analyses at the present day in the same manner, though with a sense of greater assurance and with a better understanding of its limitations.

The Interpretation of Parapraxes and Chance Actions.-

It was a triumph for the interpretative art of psycho-analysis when it succeeded in demonstrating that certain common mental acts of normal people, for which no one had hitherto attempted to put forward a psychological explanation, were to be regarded in the same light as the symptoms of neurotics: that is to say, they had a meaning, which was unknown to the subject but which could easily be discovered by analytic means. The phenomena in question were such events as the temporary forgetting of familiar words and names, forgetting to carry out prescribed tasks, everyday slips of the tongue and of the pen, misreadings, losses and mislayings of objects, certain mistakes, instances of apparently accidental self-injury, and finally habitual movements carried out seemingly without intention or in play, tunes hummed 'thoughtlessly', and so on. All of these were shorn of their physiological explanation, if any such had ever been attempted, and were shown to be strictly determined and were revealed as an expression of the subject's suppressed intentions or as a result of a clash between two intentions one of which was permanently or temporarily unconscious. The importance of this contribution to psychology was of many kinds. The range of mental determinism was extended by it in an unforeseen manner; the supposed gulf between normal and pathological mental events was narrowed; in many cases a useful insight was afforded into the play of mental forces that must be suspected to lie behind the phenomena. Finally, a class of material was

brought to light which is calculated better than any other to stimulate a belief in the existence of unconscious mental acts even in people to whom the hypothesis of something at once mental and unconscious seems strange and even absurd. The study of one's own parapraxes and chance actions, for which most people have ample opportunities, is even to-day the best preparation for an approach to psycho-analysis. In analytic treatment, the interpretation of parapraxes retains a place as a means of uncovering the unconscious, alongside the immeasurably more important interpretation of associations.

The Interpretation of Dreams.- A new approach to the depths of mental life was opened when the technique of free association was applied to dreams, whether one's own or those of patients in analysis. In fact, the greater and better part of what we know of the processes in the unconscious levels of the mind is derived from the interpretation of dreams. Psycho-analysis has restored to dreams the importance which was generally ascribed to them in ancient times, but it treats them differently. It does not rely upon the cleverness of the dream-interpreter but for the most part hands the task over to the dreamer himself by asking him for his associations to the separate elements of the dream. By pursuing these associations further we obtain knowledge of thoughts which coincide entirely with the dream but which can be recognized--up to a certain point--as genuine and completely intelligible portions of waking mental activity. Thus the recollected dream emerges as the manifest dream-content, in contrast to the latent dream-thoughts discovered by interpretation. The process which has transformed the latter into the former, that is to say into 'the dream', and which is undone by the work of interpretation, may be called 'dream-work'.

We also describe the latent dream-thoughts, on account of their connection with waking life, as 'residues of the previous day'. By the operation of the dream-work (to which it would be quite incorrect to ascribe any 'creative' character) the latent dream-thoughts are condensed in a remarkable way, they are distorted by the displacement of psychical intensities, they are arranged with a view to being represented in visual pictures; and, besides all this, before the manifest dream is arrived at, they are submitted to a process of secondary elaboration which seeks to give the new product something in the nature of sense and coherence. But, strictly speaking, this last process does not form a part of dream-work.

The Dynamic Theory of Dream-Formation.- An understanding of the dynamics of dream-formation did not involve any very great difficulties. The motive power for the formation of dreams is not provided by the latent dream-thoughts or day's residues, but

by an unconscious impulse, repressed during the day, with which the day's residues have been able to establish contact and which contrives to make a wish-fulfilment for itself out of the material of the latent thoughts. Thus every dream is on the one hand the fulfilment of a wish on the part of the unconscious and on the other hand (in so far as it succeeds in guarding the state of sleep against being disturbed) the fulfilment of the normal wish to sleep which set the sleep going. If we disregard the unconscious contribution to the formation of the dream and limit the dream to its latent thoughts, it can represent anything with which waking life has been concerned--a reflection, a warning, an intention, a preparation for the immediate future or, once again, the satisfaction of an unfulfilled wish. The unrecognizability, strangeness and absurdity of the manifest dream are partly the result of the translation of the thoughts into a different, so to say archaic, method of expression, but partly the effect of a restrictive, critically disapproving agency in the mind, which does not entirely cease to function during sleep. It is plausible to suppose that the 'dream-censorship', which we regard as being responsible in the first instance for the distortion of the dream-thoughts into the manifest dream, is a manifestation of the same mental forces which during the day-time had held back or repressed the unconscious wishful impulse.

It has been worth while to enter in some detail into the explanation of dreams, since analytical work has shown that the dynamics of the formation of dreams are the same as those of the formation of symptoms. In both cases we find a struggle between two trends, of which one is unconscious and ordinarily repressed and strives towards satisfaction--that is, wish-fulfilment--while the other, belonging probably to the conscious ego, is disapproving and repressive. The outcome of this conflict is a compromise-formation (the dream or the symptom) in which both trends have found an incomplete expression. The theoretical importance of this conformity between dreams and symptoms is illuminating. Since dreams are not pathological phenomena, the fact shows that the mental mechanisms which produce the symptoms of illness are equally present in normal mental life, that the same uniform law embraces both the normal and the abnormal and that the findings of research into neurotics or psychotics cannot be without significance for our understanding of the healthy mind.

Symbolism.-- In the course of investigating the form of expression brought about by dream-work, the surprising fact emerged that certain objects, arrangements and relations are re-presented, in a sense indirectly, by 'symbols', which are used by the dreamer without his understanding them and to which as a

rule he offers no associations. Their translation has to be provided by the analyst, who can himself only discover it empirically by experimentally fitting it into the context. It was later found that linguistic usage, mythology and folklore afford the most ample analogies to dream-symbols. Symbols, which raise the most interesting and hitherto unsolved problems, seem to be a fragment of extremely ancient inherited mental equipment. The use of a common symbolism extends far beyond the use of a common language.

The Aetiological Significance of Sexual Life.- The second novelty which emerged after the hypnotic technique had been replaced by free associations was of a clinical nature. It was discovered in the course of the prolonged search for the traumatic experiences from which hysterical symptoms appeared to be derived. The more carefully the search was pursued the more extensive seemed to be the network of aetiologically significant impressions, but the further back, too, did they reach into the patient's puberty or childhood. At the same time they assumed a uniform character and eventually it became inevitable to bow before the evidence and recognize that at the root of the formation of every symptom there were to be found traumatic experiences from early sexual life. Thus a sexual trauma stepped into the place of an ordinary trauma and the latter was seen to owe its aetiological significance to an associative or symbolic connection with the former, which had preceded it. An investigation of cases of common nervousness (falling into the two classes of neurasthenia and anxiety neurosis) which was simultaneously undertaken led to the conclusion that these disorders could be traced to contemporary abuses in the patients' sexual life and could be removed if these were brought to an end. It was thus easy to infer that neuroses in general are an expression of disturbances in sexual life, the so-called actual-neuroses being the consequences (by chemical agency) of contemporary injuries and the psycho-neuroses the consequences (by psychical modification) of bygone injuries to a biological function which had hitherto been gravely neglected by science. None of the theses of psycho-analysis has met with such tenacious scepticism or such embittered resistance as this assertion of the preponderating aetiological significance of sexual life in the neuroses. It should, however, be expressly remarked that, in its development up to the present day, psycho-analysis has found no reason to retreat from this opinion.

Infantile Sexuality.- As a result of its aetiological researches, psycho-analysis found itself in the position of dealing with a subject the very existence of which had scarcely been suspected previously. Science had become accustomed to consider sexual life as beginning with puberty and regarded

manifestations of sexuality in children as rare signs of abnormal precocity and degeneracy. But now psycho-analysis revealed a wealth of phenomena, remarkable, yet of regular occurrence, which made it necessary to date back the beginning of the sexual function in children almost to the commencement of extra-uterine existence; and it was asked with astonishment how all this could have come to be overlooked. The first glimpses of sexuality in children had indeed been obtained through the analytic examination of adults and were consequently saddled with all the doubts and sources of error that could be attributed to such a belated retrospect; but subsequently (from 1908 onwards) a beginning was made with the analysis of children themselves and with the unembarrassed observation of their behaviour, and in this way direct confirmation was reached for the whole factual basis of the new view.

Sexuality in children showed a different picture in many respects from that in adults, and, surprisingly enough, it exhibited numerous traces of what, in adults, were condemned as 'perversions'. It became necessary to enlarge the concept of what was sexual, till it covered more than the impulsion towards the union of the two sexes in the sexual act or towards provoking particular pleasurable sensations in the genitals. But this enlargement was rewarded by the new possibility of grasping infantile, normal and perverse sexual life as a single whole.

The analytic researches carried out by the writer fell, to begin with, into the error of greatly overestimating the importance of seduction as a source of sexual manifestations in children and as a root for the formation of neurotic symptoms. This misapprehension was corrected when it became possible to appreciate the extraordinarily large part played in the mental life of neurotics by the activities of phantasy, which clearly carried more weight in neurosis than did the external world. Behind these phantasies there came to light the material which allows us to draw the picture which follows of the development of the sexual function.

The Development of the Libido.- The sexual instinct, the dynamic manifestation of which in mental life we shall call 'libido', is made up of component instincts into which it may once more break up and which are only gradually united into well-defined organizations. The sources of these component instincts are the organs of the body and in particular certain specially marked erotogenic zones; but contributions are made to libido from every important functional process in the body. At first the individual component instincts strive for satisfaction independently of one another, but in the course of

development they become more and more convergent and concentrated. The first (pre-genital) stage of organization to be discerned is the oral one, in which--in conformity with the suckling's predominant interest-- the oral zone plays the leading part. This is followed by the sadistic-anal organization, in which the anal zone and the component instinct of sadism are particularly prominent; at this stage the difference between the sexes is represented by the contrast between active and passive. The third and final stage of organization is that in which the majority of the component instincts converge under the primacy of the genital zones. As a rule this development is passed through swiftly and unobtrusively; but some individual portions of the instincts remain behind at the prodromal stages of the process and thus give rise to fixations of libido, which are important as constituting predispositions for subsequent irruptions of repressed impulses and which stand in a definite relation to the later development of neuroses and perversions. (See the article upon the Libido Theory page 131 below .)

The Process of Finding an Object and the Oedipus Complex.-- In the first instance the oral component instinct finds satisfaction by attaching itself to the sating of the desire for nourishment; and its object is the mother's breast. It then detaches itself, becomes independent and at the same time auto-erotic, that is, it finds an object in the child's own body. Others of the component instincts also start by being auto-erotic and are not until later diverted on to an external object. It is a particularly important fact that the component instincts belonging to the genital zone habitually pass through a period of intense auto-erotic satisfaction. The component instincts are not all equally serviceable in the final genital organization of libido; some of them (for instance, the anal components) are consequently left aside and suppressed, or undergo complicated transformations.

In the very earliest years of childhood (approximately between the ages of two and five) a convergence of the sexual impulses occurs of which, in the case of boys, the object is the mother. This choice of an object, in conjunction with a corresponding attitude of rivalry and hostility towards the father, provides the content of what is known as the Oedipus complex, which in every human being is of the greatest importance in determining the final shape of his erotic life. It has been found to be characteristic of a normal individual that he has learnt how to master his Oedipus complex, whereas the neurotic subject remains involved in it.

The Diphasic Onset of Sexual Development.- Towards the end of the fifth year this early period of sexual life normally comes to an end. It is succeeded by a period of more or less complete latency, during which ethical restraints are built up, to act as defences against the desires of the Oedipus complex. In the subsequent period of puberty, the Oedipus complex is revived in the unconscious and embarks upon further modifications. It is only at puberty that the sexual instincts develop to their full intensity; but the direction of that development, as well as all the predispositions for it, have already been determined by the early efflorescence of sexuality during childhood which preceded it. This diphasic development of the sexual function--in two stages, interrupted by the latency period--appears to be a biological peculiarity of the human species and to contain the determining factor for the origin of neuroses.

The Theory of Repression.- These theoretical considerations, taken together with the immediate impressions derived from analytic work, lead to a view of the neuroses which may be described in the roughest outline as follows. The neuroses are the expression of conflicts between the ego and such of the sexual impulses as seem to the ego incompatible with its integrity or with its ethical standards. Since these impulses are not ego-syntonic, the ego has repressed them: that is to say, it has withdrawn its interest from them and has shut them off from becoming conscious as well as from obtaining satisfaction by motor discharge. If in the course of analytic work one attempts to make these repressed impulses conscious, one becomes aware of the repressive forces in the form of resistance. But the achievement of repression fails particularly easily in the case of the sexual instincts. Their dammed-up libido finds other ways out from the unconscious: for it regresses to earlier phases of development and earlier attitudes towards objects, and, at weak points in the libidinal development where there are infantile fixations, it breaks through into consciousness and obtains discharge. What results is a symptom and consequently in its essence a substitutive sexual satisfaction. Nevertheless the symptom cannot entirely escape from the repressive forces of the ego and must therefore submit to modifications and displacements--exactly as happens with dreams--by means of which its characteristic of being a sexual satisfaction becomes unrecognizable. Thus symptoms are in the nature of compromise-formations between the repressed sexual instincts and the repressive ego instincts; they represent a wish-fulfilment for both partners to the conflict simultaneously, but one which is incomplete for each of them. This is quite strictly true of the symptoms of hysteria, while in the symptoms of obsessional neurosis there is often a stronger emphasis upon

the side of the repressive function owing to the erection of reaction-formations, which are assurances against sexual satisfaction.

Transference.- If further proof were needed of the truth that the motive forces behind the formation of neurotic symptoms are of a sexual nature, it would be found in the fact that in the course of analytic treatment a special emotional relation is regularly formed between the patient and the physician. This goes far beyond rational limits. It varies between the most affectionate devotion and the most obstinate enmity and derives all of its characteristics from earlier emotional erotic attitudes of the patient's which have become unconscious. This transference alike in its positive and in its negative form is used as a weapon by the resistance; but in the hands of the physician it becomes the most powerful therapeutic instrument and it plays a part that can scarcely be overestimated in the dynamics of the process of cure.

The Corner-stones of Psycho-analytic Theory.- The assumption that there are unconscious mental processes, the recognition of the theory of resistance and repression, the appreciation of the importance of sexuality and of the Oedipus complex--these constitute the principal subject-matter of psycho-analysis and the foundations of its theory. No one who cannot accept them all should count himself a psycho-analyst.

Later History of Psycho-analysis.- Psycho-analysis was carried approximately thus far by the work of the writer of this article, who for more than ten years was its sole representative. In 1906 the Swiss psychiatrist Bleuler and C. G. Jung began to play a lively part in analysis; in 1907 a first conference of its supporters took place at Salzburg; and the young science soon found itself the centre of interest both among psychiatrists and laymen. Its reception in Germany, with her morbid craving for authority, was not precisely to the credit of German science and moved even so cool a partisan as Bleuler to an energetic protest. Yet no condemnation or dismissal at official congresses served to hold up the internal growth or external expansion of psycho-analysis. In the course of the next ten years it extended far beyond the frontiers of Europe and became especially popular in the United States of America, and this was due in no small degree to the advocacy and collaboration of Putnam (Boston), Ernest Jones (Toronto; later London), Flournoy (Geneva), Ferenczi (Budapest), Abraham (Berlin), and many others besides. The anathema which was imposed upon psycho-analysis led its supporters to combine in an international organization which in the present year (1922) is holding its eighth private Congress in Berlin and now includes

local groups in Vienna, Budapest, Berlin, Holland, Zurich, London, New York, Calcutta and Moscow. This development was not interrupted even by the World War. In 1918-19 Dr. Anton v. Freund of Budapest founded the Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, which publishes journals and books concerned with psycho-analysis, and in 1920 Dr. M. Eitingon opened in Berlin the first psycho-analytic clinic for the treatment of neurotics without private means. Translations of the writer's principal works, which are now in preparation, into French, Italian and Spanish, testify to a growing interest in psycho-analysis in the Latin world as well.

Between 1911 and 1913 two movements of divergence from psycho-analysis took place, evidently with the object of mitigating its repellent features. One of these (sponsored by C. G. Jung), in an endeavour to conform to ethical standards, divested the Oedipus complex of its real significance by giving it only a symbolic value, and in practice neglected the uncovering of the forgotten and, as we may call it, 'prehistoric' period of childhood. The other (originated by Alfred Adler in Vienna) reproduced many factors from psycho-analysis under other names--repression, for instance, appeared in a sexualized version as the 'masculine protest'. But in other respects it turned away from the unconscious and the sexual instincts, and endeavoured to trace back the development of character and of the neuroses to the 'will to power', which by means of over-compensation strives to check the dangers arising from 'organ inferiority'. Neither of these movements, with their systematic structures, had any permanent influence on psycho-analysis. In the case of Adler's theories it soon became clear that they had very little in common with psycho-analysis, which they were designed to replace.

More Recent Advances in Psycho-analysis.— Since psycho-analysis has become the field of work for such a large number of observers it has made advances, both in extent and depth; but unfortunately these can receive only the briefest mention in the present article.

Narcissism.— The most important theoretical advance has certainly been the application of the libido theory to the repressing ego. The ego itself came to be regarded as a reservoir of what was described as narcissistic libido, from which the libidinal cathexes of objects flowed out and into which they could be once more withdrawn. By the help of this conception it became possible to embark upon the analysis of the ego and to make a clinical distinction of the psycho-neuroses into transference neuroses and narcissistic disorders.

In the former the subject has at his disposal a quantity of libido striving to be transferred on to external objects, and use is made of this in carrying out analytic treatment; on the other hand, the narcissistic disorders (dementia praecox, paranoia, melancholia) are characterized by a withdrawal of the libido from objects and they are therefore scarcely accessible to analytic therapy. But their therapeutic inaccessibility has not prevented analysis from making the most fruitful beginnings in the deeper study of these illnesses, which are counted among the psychoses.

Development of Technique.- After the analyst's curiosity had, as it were, been gratified by the elaboration of the technique of interpretation, it was inevitable that interest should turn to the problem of discovering the most effective way of influencing the patient. It soon became evident that the physician's immediate task was to assist the patient in getting to know, and afterwards in overcoming, the resistances which emerged in him during treatment and of which, to begin with, he himself was unaware. And it was found at the same time that the essential part of the process of cure lay in the overcoming of these resistances and that unless this was achieved no permanent mental change could be brought about in the patient. Since the analyst's efforts have in this way been directed upon the patient's resistance, analytic technique has attained a certainty and delicacy rivalling that of surgery. Consequently, everyone is strongly advised against undertaking psycho-analytic treatments without a strict training, and a physician who ventures upon them on the strength of his medical qualification is in no respect better than a layman.

Psycho-analysis as a Therapeutic Procedure.- Psycho-analysis has never set itself up as a panacea and has never claimed to perform miracles. In one of the most difficult spheres of medical activity it is the only possible method of treatment for certain illnesses and for others it is the method which yields the best or the most permanent results--though never without a corresponding expenditure of time and trouble. A physician who is not wholly absorbed in the work of giving help will find his labours amply repaid by obtaining an un hoped-for insight into the complications of mental life and the inter-relations between the mental and the physical. Where at present it cannot offer help but only theoretical understanding, it may perhaps be preparing the way for some later, more direct means of influencing neurotic disorders. Its province is above all the two transference neuroses, hysteria and obsessional neurosis, in which it has contributed to the discovery of their internal structure and operative mechanisms; and, beyond them, all kinds of phobias, inhibitions,

deformities of character, sexual perversions and difficulties in erotic life. Some analysts (Jelliffe, Groddeck, Felix Deutsch) have reported too that the analytic treatment of gross organic diseases is not unpromising, since a mental factor not infrequently contributes to the origin and continuance of such illnesses. Since psycho-analysis demands a certain amount of psychical plasticity from its patients, some kind of age-limit must be laid down in their selection; and since it necessitates the devotion of long and intense attention to the individual patient, it would be uneconomical to squander such expenditure upon completely worthless persons who happen to be neurotic. Experience upon material in clinics can alone show what modifications may be necessary in order to make psycho-analytic treatment accessible to wider strata of the population or to adapt it to weaker intelligences.

Comparison between Psycho-analysis and Hypnotic and Suggestive Methods.- Psycho-analytic procedure differs from all methods making use of suggestion, persuasion, etc., in that it does not seek to suppress by means of authority any mental phenomenon that may occur in the patient. It endeavours to trace the causation of the phenomenon and to remove it by bringing about a permanent modification in the conditions that led to it. In psycho-analysis the suggestive influence which is inevitably exercised by the physician is diverted on to the task assigned to the patient of overcoming his resistances, that is, of carrying forward the curative process. Any danger of falsifying the products of a patient's memory by suggestion can be avoided by prudent handling of the technique; but in general the arousing of resistances is a guarantee against the misleading effects of suggestive influence. It may be laid down that the aim of the treatment is to remove the patient's resistances and to pass his repressions in review and thus to bring about the most far-reaching unification and strengthening of his ego, to enable him to save the mental energy which he is expending upon internal conflicts, to make the best of him that his inherited capacities will allow and so to make him as efficient and as capable of enjoyment as is possible. The removal of the symptoms of the illness is not specifically aimed at, but is achieved, as it were, as a by-product if the analysis is properly carried through. The analyst respects the patient's individuality and does not seek to remould him in accordance with his own--that is, according to the physician's--personal ideals; he is glad to avoid giving advice and instead to arouse the patient's power of initiative.

Its Relation to Psychiatry.- Psychiatry is at present essentially a descriptive and classificatory science whose orientation is still towards the somatic rather than the psychological and which is without the possibility of giving

explanations of the phenomena which it observes. Psycho-analysis does not, however, stand in opposition to it, as the almost unanimous behaviour of the psychiatrists might lead one to believe. On the contrary, as a depth-psychology, a psychology of those processes in mental life which are withdrawn from consciousness, it is called upon to provide psychiatry with an indispensable groundwork and to free it from its present limitations. We can foresee that the future will give birth to a scientific psychiatry, to which psycho-analysis has served as an introduction.

Criticisms and Misunderstandings of Psycho-analysis.-

Most of what is brought up against psycho-analysis, even in scientific works, is based upon insufficient information which in its turn seems to be determined by emotional resistances. Thus it is a mistake to accuse psycho-analysis of 'pansexualism' and to allege that it derives all mental occurrences from sexuality and traces them all back to it. On the contrary, psycho-analysis has from the very first distinguished the sexual instincts from others which it has provisionally termed 'ego instincts'. It has never dreamt of trying to explain 'everything', and even the neuroses it has traced back not to sexuality alone but to the conflict between the sexual impulses and the ego. In psycho-analysis (unlike the works of C. G. Jung) the term 'libido' does not mean psychical energy in general but the motive force of the sexual instincts. Some assertions, such as that every dream is the fulfilment of a sexual wish, have never been maintained by it at all. The charge of one-sidedness made against psycho-analysis, which, as the science of the unconscious mind, has its own definite and restricted field of work, is as inapplicable as it would be if it were made against chemistry. To believe that psycho-analysis seeks a cure for neurotic disorders by giving a free rein to sexuality is a serious misunderstanding which can only be justified by ignorance. The making conscious of repressed sexual desires in analysis makes it possible, on the contrary, to obtain a mastery over them which the previous repression had been unable to achieve. It can more truly be said that analysis sets the neurotic free from the chains of his sexuality. Moreover, it is quite unscientific to judge analysis by whether it is calculated to undermine religion, authority and morals; for, like all sciences, it is entirely non-tendentious and has only a single aim--namely to arrive at a consistent view of one portion of reality. Finally, one can only characterize as simple-minded the fear which is sometimes expressed that all the highest goods of humanity, as they are called--research, art, love, ethical and social sense--will lose their value or their dignity because psycho-analysis is in a position to demonstrate their origin in elementary and animal instinctual impulses.

The Non-Medical Applications and Correlations of Psycho-analysis.- Any estimate of psycho-analysis would be incomplete if it failed to make clear that, alone among the medical disciplines, it has the most extensive relations with the mental sciences, and that it is in a position to play a part of the same importance in the studies of religious and cultural history and in the sciences of mythology and literature as it is in psychiatry. This may seem strange when we reflect that originally its only object was the understanding and improvement of neurotic symptoms. But it is easy to indicate the starting-point of the bridge that leads over to the mental sciences. The analysis of dreams gave us an insight into the unconscious processes of the mind and showed us that the mechanisms which produce pathological symptoms are also operative in the normal mind. Thus psycho-analysis became a depth-psychology and capable as such of being applied to the mental sciences, and it was able to answer a good number of questions with which the academic psychology of consciousness was helpless to deal. At quite an early stage problems of human phylogenesis arose. It became clear that pathological function was often nothing more than a regression to an earlier stage in the development of normal function. C. G. Jung was the first to draw explicit attention to the striking similarity between the disordered phantasies of sufferers from dementia praecox and the myths of primitive peoples; while the present writer pointed out that the two wishes which combine to form the Oedipus complex coincide precisely with the two principal prohibitions imposed by totemism (not to kill the tribal ancestor and not to marry any woman belonging to one's own clan) and drew far-reaching conclusions from this fact. The significance of the Oedipus complex began to grow to gigantic proportions and it looked as though social order, morals, justice and religion had arisen together in the primaeval ages of mankind as reaction-formations against the Oedipus complex. Otto Rank threw a brilliant light upon mythology and the history of literature by the application of psycho-analytical views, as did Theodor Reik upon the history of morals and religions, while Dr. Pfister, of Zurich, aroused the interest of religious and secular teachers and demonstrated the importance of the psycho-analytical standpoint for education. Further discussion of these applications of psycho-analysis would be out of place here, and it is enough to say that the limits of their influence are not yet in sight.

Psycho-analysis an Empirical Science.- Psycho-analysis is not, like philosophies, a system starting out from a few sharply defined basic concepts, seeking to grasp the whole universe with the help of these and, once it is completed, having no room for fresh discoveries or better understanding.

On the contrary, it keeps close to the facts in its field of study, seeks to solve the immediate problems of observation, gropes its way forward by the help of experience, is always incomplete and always ready to correct or modify its theories. There is no incongruity (any more than in the case of physics or chemistry) if its most general concepts lack clarity and if its postulates are provisional; it leaves their more precise definition to the results of future work.

Libido is a term used in the theory of the instincts for describing the dynamic manifestation of sexuality. It was already used in this sense by Moll (1898) and was introduced into psycho-analysis by the present writer. What follows is limited to a description of the developments which the theory of the instincts has passed through in psycho-analysis--developments which are still proceeding.

Contrast between Sexual Instincts and Ego Instincts.-- Psycho-analysis early became aware that all mental occurrences must be regarded as built upon a basis of the interplay of the forces of the elementary instincts. This, however, led to a difficult predicament, since psychology included no theory of the instincts. No one could say what an instinct really was, the question was left entirely to individual caprice, and every psychologist was in the habit of postulating any instincts in any number that he chose. The first sphere of phenomena to be studied by psycho-analysis comprised what are known as the transference neuroses (hysteria and obsessional neurosis). It was found that their symptoms came about by sexual instinctual impulses being rejected (repressed) by the subject's personality (his ego) and then finding expression by circuitous paths through the unconscious. These facts could be met by drawing a contrast between the sexual instincts and ego instincts (instincts of self-preservation), which was in line with the popular saying that hunger and love are what make the world go round: libido was the manifestation of the force of love in the same sense as was hunger of the self-preservative instinct. The nature of the ego instincts remained for the time being undefined and, like all the other characteristics of the ego, inaccessible to analysis. There was no means of deciding whether, and if so what, qualitative differences were to be assumed to exist between the two classes of instincts.

Primal Libido.-- C. G. Jung attempted to resolve this obscurity along speculative lines by assuming that there was only a single primal libido which could be either sexualized or desexualized and which therefore coincided in its essence with mental energy in general. This innovation was methodologically disputable, caused a great deal of confusion, reduced the term 'libido' to the level of a superfluous synonym and was still confronted in practice with the necessity for distinguishing between sexual and asexual libido. The difference between the sexual instincts and instincts with other aims was not to be got rid of by means of a new definition.

3 -----, The Libido Theory, Ibid., p. 131-135.

Sublimation.-- An attentive examination of the sexual impulses, which were accessible only to psycho-analysis, had meanwhile led to some remarkable detailed findings. What is described as the sexual instinct turns out to be of a highly composite nature and is liable to disintegrate once more into its component instincts. Each component instinct is unalterably characterized by its source, that is, by the region or zone of the body from which its excitation is derived. Each has furthermore as distinguishable features an object and an aim. The aim is always discharge accompanied by satisfaction, but it is capable of being changed from activity to passivity. The object is less closely attached to the instinct than was at first supposed; it is easily exchanged for another one, and moreover, an instinct which had an external object can be turned round upon the subject's own self. The separate instincts can either remain independent of one another or--in what is still an inexplicable manner--can be combined and merged into one another to perform work in common. They are also able to replace one another and to transfer their libidinal cathexis to one another, so that the satisfaction of one instinct can take the place of the satisfaction of others. The most important vicissitude which an instinct can undergo seems to be sublimation; here both object and aim are changed, so that what was originally a sexual instinct finds satisfaction in some achievement which is no longer sexual but has a higher social or ethical valuation. These different features do not as yet combine to form an integral picture.

Narcissism.-- A decisive advance was made when the analysis of dementia praecox and other psychotic disorders was ventured upon and thus the examination of the ego itself was begun, which had so far been known only as the agency of repression and opposition. It was found that the pathogenic process in dementia praecox is the withdrawal of the libido from objects and its introduction into the ego, while the clamorous symptoms of the disease arise from the vain struggles of the libido to find a pathway back to objects. It thus turned out to be possible for object-libido to change into cathexis of the ego and vice versa. Further reflection showed that this process must be presumed to occur on the largest scale and that the ego is to be regarded as a great reservoir of libido from which libido is sent out to objects and which is always ready to absorb libido flowing back from objects. Thus the instincts of self-preservation were also of a libidinal nature: they were sexual instincts which, instead of external objects, had taken the subject's own ego as an object. Clinical experience had made us familiar with people who behaved in a striking fashion as though they were in love with themselves and this perversion had been given the name of narcissism. The libido of self-preservative instincts was now described as

narcissistic libido and it was recognized that a high degree of this self-love constituted the primary and normal state of things. The earlier formula laid down for the transference neuroses consequently required to be modified, though not corrected. It was better, instead of speaking of a conflict between sexual instincts and ego instincts, to speak of a conflict between object-libido and ego-libido, or, since the nature of these instincts was the same, between the object-cathexes and the ego.

Apparent Approach to Jung's Views.- It thus seemed on the face of it as though the slow process of psycho-analytic research was following in the steps of Jung's speculation about a primal libido, especially because the transformation of object-libido into narcissism necessarily carries along with it a certain degree of desexualization, or abandonment of the specifically sexual aims. Nevertheless, it has to be borne in mind that the fact that the self-preservative instincts of the ego are recognized as libidinal does not necessarily prove that there are no other instincts operating in the ego.

The Herd Instinct.- It has been maintained in many quarters that there is a special innate and not further analysable 'herd instinct', which determines the social behaviour of human beings and impels individuals to come together into larger communities. Psycho-analysis finds itself in contradiction to this view. Even if the social instinct is innate, it may without any difficulty be traced back to what were originally libidinal object-cathexes and may have developed in the childhood of the individual as a reaction-formation against hostile attitudes of rivalry. It is based upon a peculiar kind of identification with other people.

Aim-inhibited Sexual Impulses.- The social instincts belong to a class of instinctual impulses which need not be described as sublimated, though they are closely related to these. They have not abandoned their directly sexual aims, but they are held back by internal resistances from attaining them; they rest content with certain approximations to satisfaction and for that very reason lead to especially firm and permanent attachments between human beings. To this class belong in particular the affectionate relations between parents and children, which were originally fully sexual, feelings of friendship, and the emotional ties in marriage which had their origin in sexual attraction.

Recognition of Two Classes of Instincts in Mental Life.- Though psycho-analysis endeavours as a rule to develop its theories as independently as possible from those of other sciences, it is nevertheless obliged to seek a basis for the

theory of the instincts in biology. On the ground of a far-reaching consideration of the processes which go to make up life and which lead to death, it becomes probable that we should recognize the existence of two classes of instincts, corresponding to the contrary processes of construction and dissolution in the organism. On this view, the one set of instincts, which work essentially in silence, would be those which follow the aim of leading the living creature to death and therefore deserve to be called the 'death instincts'; these would be directed outwards as the result of the combination of numbers and unicellular elementary organisms, and would manifest themselves as destructive or aggressive impulses. The other set of instincts would be those which are better known to us in analysis, the libidinal, sexual or life instincts, which are best comprised under the name of Eros; their purpose would be to form living substance into ever greater unities, so that life may be prolonged and brought to higher development. The erotic instincts and the death instincts would be present in living beings in regular mixtures or fusions; but defusions would also be liable to occur. Life would consist in the manifestations of the conflict or interaction between the two classes of instincts; death would mean for the individual the victory of the destructive instincts but reproduction would mean for him the victory of Eros.

The Nature of the Instincts.- This view would enable us to characterize instincts as tendencies inherent in living substance towards restoring an earlier state of things: that is to say, they would be historically determined and of a conservative nature and, as it were, the expression of an inertia or elasticity present in what is organic. Both classes of instincts, Eros as well as the death instinct, would, on this view, have been in operation and working against each other from the first origin of life.

APPENDIX 2

A PARTIAL LIST OF TITLES IN FREUD'S PERSONAL LIBRARY.

In 1939 the Nazis occupied Austria and, through the intervention of Marie Bonaparte, Ernest Jones and his many friends in America, Freud was permitted to leave for England. Apart from other considerations, his ransom included a large portion of the books in his own library. These books were put on sale by the Government through a book dealer named Heinrich Hinterberger, Hegel Strasse 17, Vienna, and were purchased in America. At present the books are in the Freud Memorial Room, at the Library of the American Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, 722 W. 168th St., New York City.

With the permission of Doctor Jacob Schatzky, Chief Librarian of the Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, the original catalogue offering the Freud Library for sale is reproduced herewith as an aid to research relating to Freud.

One must note, however, that this list is by no means to be considered as a complete inventory of Freud's library. It must be noted that several important items are missing. There are no volumes of periodicals included, and Freud certainly must have had copies of the Imago, the Zeitschrift, and others of his early psychoanalytic publications. There are no copies of the Psychoanalytic Almanachs either in the list.

It would almost seem that the items contained in this list are of importance not to Freud but to his "captors".

For instance, the autographed set of Charcot's works are included but not the first edition of the Traumdeutung.

There are, however, in the list some items which may be of interest to the researcher looking for Freud's antecedents. Especially the items relating to hypnosis, the dream, and some very early studies in psychopathology should be interesting.

This list should serve as a valuable addition to The Books that Freud Read, soon to be published by Ernest Jones.

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and allied Branches of Science

(This collection, brought together in nearly fifty years by a famous Viennese scientific explorer, is very apt to constitute the nucleus of a library for neurology and psychiatry, therefore we have the intention to find a buyer for the whole collection.)

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APPENDIX 3

ABSTRACT OF

The Origins of Psychoanalysis, A Propaedeutics.

A survey of the literature on psychoanalysis reveals that almost without exception previous workers considered the psychoanalytic method and the psychoanalytic theories as identical concepts, and assumed that the validity, or lack of validity, of one was a criterium of the validity of the other. Many of the writers rejected psychoanalysis altogether because the theoretical postulates that attempted to explain the psychological phenomena observed during the practice of the method failed to differentiate between the sensory and the intellectual natures of man.

Since the history of psychoanalysis is intimately linked with the history of its originator, and since an understanding of psychoanalysis is impossible unless it be based on the history of it, the life and teachers of Freud were studied and an attempt was made to collect all pertinent facts that may be needed for future research in the origins and development of this science.

Freud was born of his father's second marriage. At the time of his birth his half-brother, Emanuel, was already the father of a one-year-old child. Thus Freud was born an uncle.

Upset by the strange family configuration and driven by a need to compete with his father, it would be legitimate to consider that his later postulate of the Oedipus situation and its universality was potentially facilitated by his own unusual family constellation, the spur it gave to his curiosity, and the opportunity it afforded of a complete repression.

Freud enrolled in the University of Vienna Medical School stimulated by a lecture on Goethe's essay on Nature, not with the intention of practising medicine but in the hope of learning the answer to "the great problem of how man came to be what he is."

Not satisfied with the curriculum offered to the prospective physician in those days, Freud studied philosophy under Brentano for three years and spent six years working in Brucke's laboratory before starting in private practice.

As was the case with most neurologists in private practice in those days, Freud's patients consisted largely of neurotic people who were popularly diagnosed as suffering from hysteria.

Hysterical patients were of particular interest to physicians and psychologists in those days, for the patients suffering from it usually manifested cyclic behaviour which lent itself to observation under the then popular law of the conservation of energy. Freud wanted to discover a cure for hysteria because such a discovery would have given him prominence among his contemporaries.

After experimenting with hypnosis and laying of the hands, Freud applied the method of "free association" and found that he could cure hysteria by utilizing the patient's will to health, and by getting the patient to understand the nature of the conflict that was responsible for the illness.

Freud's psychoanalytic postulates attempted to explain the psychological phenomena he observed while practising his method. As a scientific explanation it bears the characteristics of the Herbart-Helmholtz School. Many of Freud's teachers at the University represented this school of thought.

However, among Freud's preceptors was also Franz Brentano, a follower of the teachings of Aristotle and Aquinas, who was one of the most popular lecturers of his time and under whom Freud studied for three years.

When divested of their Naturphilosophical "scienticism", many of Freud's postulates show the influence of the teachings of Brentano, but there is also a striking similarity between Freud and Nietzsche.

It would be erroneous to accept the psychoanalytic postulates of Freud as the ultimate explanation of all aspects of the method.

In spite of the voluminous literature about psychoanalysis, very little is known about the psychoanalytic method. There is, for instance, no definition of the psychoanalytic situation. Though transference is admittedly the most important

concept in psychoanalytic therapy, its present definition of it being a form of interpersonal relationship learned in childhood and repeated through habit, is inadequate.

Though analysts accept the fact that the ability to manipulate the transference during therapy determines in the end the success of the treatment, nothing has been attempted to study the nature of transference or to analyze it into its component parts.

A further study of the psychoanalytic method may result in clarifications that would take into account not only the sensory but also the intellectual aspects of man, and make this science acceptable to a much larger group than it is at present.

Transference and its Significance in Therapy and Training

THOMISTIC PSYCHOLOGY AND FREUD'S PSYCHOANALYTIC METHOD.

The purpose of this thesis is the examination of the psychological phenomena observed in the practice of Freud's psychoanalytic method in the light of Thomistic psychology.

It is postulated that psychoanalysis is a form of interpersonal relationship between two people that can result in a basic change in the personality structure and almost always results in a change in behaviour. It is defined in this study as a valid method of operation leading to the assessment and reconstruction of the personality. As such, it is in the nature of learning, hence the laws of learning should apply to it.

Since the object of psychoanalysis is the human psyche, the postulates drawn from the phenomena observed in it should not be contrary to the basic tenets of psychology.

In this study, the psychoanalytic method will be treated from three aspects:

1. The formal aspects of the psychoanalytic situation:
 - (a) The supine position.
 - (b) The basic rule.
 - (c) The method of interpretation.
2. The material aspects of the psychoanalytic situation:
 - (a) The productions of the unconscious.
 - (i) Free association.
 - (ii) Dream interpretation.
 - (b) Communication between subject and object.
3. The nature of psychoanalysis.
 - (a) Transference.
 - (b) Learning.

Some definitions arrived at in this study.

The psychoanalytic situation is an experimental situation in which a subject observes an object in order to determine the conditions under which the will of the object makes its choice.

The subject's communication with the object is established by analogy of his own experiences.

Within the concept of "unconscious" is encompassed man's non-rational nature, the images and memories of the past, the non-rational remnants of all of his experiences.

Precision, Accuracy, Validity in Research

Within the concept of "ego" is encompassed all attributes and qualities that are understood in Thomistic psychology under "the synthetic sense", hence the ego is a sense organ. *the internal senses.*

Within the concept of "super-ego" is understood the rational nature of man. Intellect and will are included in this concept.

Transference is a situation analogous to learning and consists of four stages: imitation, introjection, identification and working through. The surprise in psychoanalysis, first mentioned by Theodor Reik, is the joy of knowledge.

THE ORIGIN OF FREUD'S STUDY ON APHASIA

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THE ORIGINS OF FREUD'S APHASIA STUDY

There has been a tendency, especially in the American literature, to an exaggerated adulation of Freud. That "Freud discovered the mind and divested it of its mysteries"¹ or that Freud's character did not contain "even some pardonable human weaknesses"² are such manifest overstatements that the reader pauses with some wonderment. For it does not take much psychological astuteness to suspect some unconscious factors underlying exaltations of this kind, especially when they are about a man whose genius and whose contributions to the psychological welfare of mankind are undisputed.

A similar mechanism must be at work with writers who insist on claiming that everything that Freud wrote was "original" and try to portray him as prophet in possession of some mysterious revelation. That this is just not so should be obvious. Freud was a scientist. All of his theories rest to some extent on work done by other scientists with whose work he was familiar. To his credit is the fact that he was able to discard the useless theories and to put to new uses some of the old ones. It would not occur to anyone to credit Einstein with the invention of mathematics in order to insure that the Theory of Relativity is properly attributed to him.

¹ A. A. Brill, Professor Freud and Psychiatry, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 18, No. 3, July 1931, p. 246.

² Ernst Simmel, Sigmund Freud, The Man and his Work, in Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1940, p. 174.

A good example of this latter tendency is Stengel's³ authorized translation of Freud's study on aphasia.⁴

As a translation this is a very creditable job. Any attempt to translate Freud's use of philosophical concepts is to say the least difficult. Especially in this paper, where he does not seem to differentiate between perception, image, concept or idea and uses the word Vorstellung in so many different contexts that even a Lockean would be confused.

It is not the translation, however, but Stengel's introduction that stimulated this paper. It is so full of errors and contradictions that its call for comment is irresistible.

Doctor Stengel claims that Freud was stimulated to the study of the subject by a paper by Exner and Paneth (p. x). In a footnote he obligingly gives the date of the paper as 1887. But on page 66 Freud states that he had reported the main contents of this study at the Wiener Physiologischer Club (sic) as early as 1886.

That Freud in his book uses the words besetzung and besetzen is not sufficient justification to demand consideration for it "as the most significant forerunner of the author's

³ Sigmund Freud, On Aphasia, A Critical Study, Authorized translation by E. Stengel, N.Y., International Universities Press, 1953, xv-105 p.

⁴ -----, Zur Auffassung der Aphasien, Eine Kritische Studie, Leipzig und Wien, Deuticke, 1891, 107 p.

later work" (p. x). These expressions were used by Herbart, Meynert, Bruecke, and practically every physiological psychologist in those days. As a matter of fact, Dorer⁵ based her whole thesis on the similarity of vocabulary between Freud and Meynert.

Doctor Stengel also states that: "Freud was the first in the German speaking world to subject the current theory of localization to a systematic critical analysis. In challenging both a powerful scientific trend and its most influential representatives he showed himself an independent thinker of considerable courage." (p. x)

This statement is worth some consideration. Freud had the potential for being a genius. But, in order for this potentiality to become actualized, he needed a stimulus. This was provided by his urge to correct some respected father figure,- and so his earlier neurological papers were thus "corrections" of Paneth and Fleischl, the Aphasia of Meynert, his Project of Exner and, finally, his Studien of Breuer.⁶

Nor did Freud pick the topic of aphasia out of the clear sky. Just as hysteria was of interest to medical

⁵ M. Dorer, Die Geschichtliche Grundlagen der Psychoanalyse, Leipzig, Meiner, 1932, 184 p.

⁶ Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 1, 1856-1900, The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries, N.Y., Basic Books, 1953, xiv-428 p.

practitioners in those days, aphasia was subject to much investigation by neurologists. Charcot was especially interested in aphasia.

There is something about this study though that is reminiscent of Freud's later psychoanalytical writings. Not in his stressing psychology for the first time; that, as will be seen in a moment, has been done before him. Freud's study on aphasia shows a departure from his previous method of presentation in that he gives unusually few references to precursors. This is a characteristic that has been evident and commented upon in his later psychoanalytical writings.

On page 83 of his aphasia study Freud makes a very fleeting reference to Ballet.⁷ Since Ballet's book represented the official Charcot view in those days, a short review of it may be of interest.

The first part of the book undertakes to present some psychological aspects of speech disturbances. Ballet stresses the need to connect psychological analysis with clinical observation, that is the use of both psychological and biological methods. Psychologically, Ballet states, the "word" is a "collective concept" consisting of a "sound image",

⁷ G. Ballet, Le langage intérieur et les diverses formes de l'aphasie, Paris, (No publisher) 1886. Translated into German by P. Bonger, Die innerliche Sprache und die verschiedenen Formen der Aphasie, Wien, Deuticke, 1890, 196 p.

a "visual-letter image", the "glosso-kinaesthetic" and the "cheiro-kinaesthetic" images or impressions.

The degree to which people make predominant use of any one of these images will determine the kind of aphasia to which they may succumb. Thus people who think predominantly by the "sound image" will get sound deafness, the loss of the "visual-letter image" will result in word blindness, and so on.

In contrast to the then prevailing German localization theories, Ballet stresses the differentiation of these four basic types (Idealtypen) which, according to him, makes for easy comprehension of aphasia.

Ballet flatly refuses to recognize the existence of anatomical centres in the cerebral cortex that would account for the different forms of aphasia. He feels that the predominance of a specific image in the collective concept of words and thinking is due to psychological reasons: pre-disposition (Anlage) and training (Ausbildung).

Though he generally feels that the main forms of aphasia are psychologically determined, Ballet, like Freud, ends up by assigning a centre in the cortex for each of the four main aphasias, providing both psychological and physiological signs for differential diagnoses.

This short review will be sufficient to point out that Freud was indeed not the first one who attacked the localization theory that was advocated in those days mainly

by Wernicke and Meynert, nor was he the first one who recommended the investigation of the psychological aspects of aphasia.

How much the German physiological psychologists were preoccupied with the problem of aphasia can be seen from a perusal of the titles in the Zeitschrift fur Physiologie and the Zeitschrift fur Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane.

The last mentioned periodical was published by Ebbinghaus in 1890. In his own words, the journal was dedicated exclusively to psychology and only to the aspects of neurology that is related to psychology, i.e. the physiology of the sense organs. "This limitation", continued Ebbinghaus, "will be better understood if the names of the people who so willingly accepted the editorship and gave their cooperation are considered." The editors referred to were: Aubert, Exner, Helmholtz, Hering, Kries, Lipps, G.E. Muller, Preyer, Stumpf and Pelman.

Besides the editors, the following were some of the contributors: Jelgersma, Bechterev, Maudsley, Jerusalem, Munsterberg, Dubois, Eichhorn, Laneth, Meynert, Moebius, Fleischl, Brentano, etc.

Knowing of Freud's predilection to "study from monographs and journals", and of his relationship to some of the people connected with this publication, it is hardly conceivable that Freud did not read the Zeitschrift.

As a matter of fact, if one is willing to relinquish the need of considering Freud as the originator of everything that is related to psychology, one would find that his interests were for a long time parallel to the contents of this journal.

In pointing out the similarity between Ballet and Freud on the question of aphasia one does not detract in any way from Freud's scientific accomplishments. Freud moved with his times, and his scientific thinking was characteristic of his Zeitgeist. His discovery of psychoanalysis will make him immortal without blaming him for the existence of all of psychology.

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