The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

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To cite this article: Sydney G. Margolin (1951) The Behavior of the Stomach During Psychoanalysis, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 349-373, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925847

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925847

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

THE BEHAVIOR OF THE STOMACH DURING PSYCHOANALYSIS

A CONTRIBUTION TO A METHOD OF VERIFYING PSYCHOANALYTIC DATA

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Psychosomatic medicine, in the view of some critics, is another area for the application of psychoanalytic psychology, in that somatic processes in health and disease are always accompanied by a psychic component of varying intensity *(1)*. The boundary at which psychoanalysis can be described as entering into an applied phase with respect to medicine is often obscure, especially in the light of the hypothetical biological basis of the instinct and libido theories. Perhaps a useful distinction between applied and nonapplied psychoanalysis arises from the answer to the pragmatic question as to whether the given investigation contributes more to psychoanalysis than to a non-psychoanalytic field within the arts and the natural and social sciences.

It has been said with some justification that no scientific discipline has contributed to the verification of psychoanalytic data and to the validation of its theory since Freud found it necessary to abandon biology and to venture into psychology. Although this departure was expediently determined by the limitations of the biology of his time, Freud never relinquished the monistic conception that the mental life of man was a

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Read before the New York Psychoanalytic Society, January 17, 1950.

From the Psychiatric Service of the Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City. This research was made in collaboration with Dr. M. Ralph Kaufman, Chief of Psychiatry at Mount Sinai Hospital, and members of the Gastroenterological Clinic and Laboratory, Drs. Asher Winkelstein, Franklin Hollander, and David Orringer—without whose association this work would not have been done. This study is based on the psychoanalysis of a patient and must be distinguished from the body of work collaboratively accomplished and reported elsewhere *(2, 3)*; therefore, any errors in conceptualization or other defects in this presentation should be attributed to the author alone.

biological activity *(4)*. In Instincts and Their Vicissitudes *(5)* he defined an 'instinct' as a 'borderland concept between the mental and the physical' in that the manifestations of instinctual activity were invariably both psychological and somatic. It may be inferred that by 'somatic' Freud meant not only the metabolic activity of the nervous system incident to the mental perception of the stimuli of instinctual needs, but also those alterations in function of organs that were the internal stimuli of an instinct. The somatic activity which is a consequence of ego function is a secondary process and not part of the primary psychosomatic complex of an instinct. As a result, the organs and functions involved in this 'borderland concept' would not be under direct and unconditional control of the ego. It is most probable that the involuntary nervous system and the internally homeostatically regulated metabolic processes (the physical basis of primary narcissism?) comprise the somatic substrata of an instinct. The stomach and its functions would be links in the chain reactions of this unconscious physical system. A corollary of this hypothesis, therefore, is that observation of gastric activity should, like mental activity, throw light on an instinct and its vicissitudes. The application of physiological techniques and the analysis of the ensuing data would then furnish an independent corroboration of psychoanalytic methodology.

Psychosomatic medicine is a term as diffusely inclusive as psychoanalysis in that it also represents a system of theory and practice *(6)*. Perhaps it may make it possible for biology in the form of human medicine to contribute again to psychoanalytic theory. Psychoanalysis is brought into the foreground of psychosomatic research because of its comprehensive systematization of the empirical data and observations of human psychology. Its use as an investigative tool not only yields new information but provides opportunities as well for validation of its operational premises *(7)*.

A twenty-two-year-old, unmarried Negro college girl, Helen, was admitted to Mount Sinai Hospital in the fall of 1947. She

stated that about two years previously she had swallowed a solution of caustic lye by mistake. She was immediately hospitalized at that time and subsequently a gastrostomy was performed in order that she could be fed. There had developed total cicatricial stenosis of the esophagus from the pharynx to the cardia. Various surgical and other procedures to dilate the closed esophagus were unsuccessful. Her condition was further complicated by an infection and necrosis of the gastrostomy. This resulted in an extraordinarily large fistulous opening about two inches in diameter, which permitted almost direct total visualization of the gastric mucosa. The entire interior of the stomach, including the pylorus and the cardia, was accessible to digital examination.

From the point of view of physiological research, she provided a rare opportunity. In the past hundred years in America only three human beings have been thoroughly investigated who had this lesion and who were healthy in every other respect *(8, 9)*. In the most recent study *(10)*, Wolf and Wolff applied the mechanistic and quantitative techniques of modern physiology in conjunction with psychological observation. The latter, though descriptively dynamic in character, was not psychoanalytic. Their careful observations and the conclusions derived from them were phenomenological and without reference to the influence of the patient's unconscious (in the psychoanalytic sense) on the physiological activity of his stomach.

Helen was maintained in fairly adequate physical health by means of feedings through the gastrostomy. Crider and Walker, at the hospital to which she was originally admitted, took the opportunity to make some psychosomatic observations *(11)*. In brief, they noted that her gastric secretion was inhibited by anger, resentment or fright. These observations were contrary to those reported by Wolf and Wolff of their male patient. This apparent sexual difference in the physiological reactions of the stomach under emotional stress justified the speculation that it might be related to the greater incidence of duodenal ulcer in males *(12)*.

Both groups of investigators made their physiological observa-

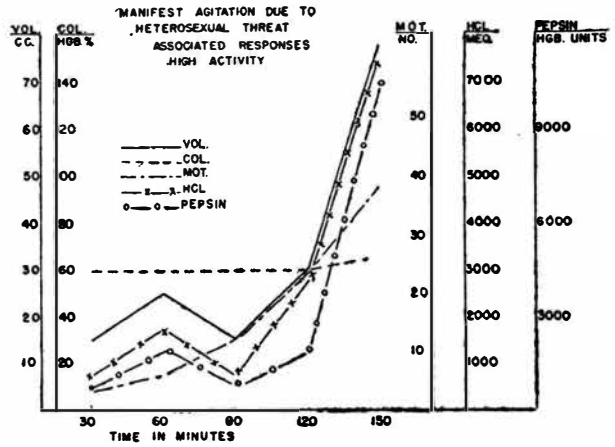
tions while the patients were subjected to acute psychic stresses. The psychological data which were correlated were conscious to the patient and phenomenologically apparent to the observers. It should be pointed out that Helen, while under psychoanalytic observation, showed inhibition or increase of gastric activity in association with the conscious emotions of anger, guilt, and anxiety (Figures 1 and 6). The unconscious mental content provoked by stimuli in the physiological observation situation appeared to be an essential determinant in the psychophysiological reaction manifested. Nunberg, in a pioneer study, correlated changes in respiration, electrical resistance of the skin, and tonic stability of the hand with unconscious reactions to word association stimuli. He clearly differentiated conscious from unconscious responses *(13)*. Mirsky, Kaplan, and Broh-Kahn, after studying the urinary pepsinogen excretion of patients in psychoanalysis, similarly noted a correlation with unconscious material *(14)*.

Soon after Helen's psychoanalytic investigation was begun, it became apparent that the swallowing of the poison was not an accident but a deliberate suicidal attempt. While at college she had entered into a homosexual relationship with a classmate whom she had actively pursued and finally seduced. It was characteristic that her homosexual objects, both in reality and in fantasy, were women she considered superior according to her conception of their intellectual and social status. For the most part, she preferred white women who had achieved some education and prestige in their community. For example, she was able to establish relationships with white nurses in the hospitals in which she had been a patient. She was always the aggressor, maintaining her hold by ingeniously and persistently invoking relentless feelings of guilt in her partners. She was often abusive, sometimes physically, reacting with pitiful despair when her homosexual partner rebelled or retaliated. Her primary erotic interest was the breasts—touching, sucking, and biting them. Mutual masturbation was indifferently practiced. Cunnilingus was constantly in her fantasies but attempted only once, on the occasion that led to her suicidal attempt. The fact that she used a toilet bowl cleanser, caustic

lye, as the lethal agent was significant of the meaning of cunnilingus and the female genitals for her.

Briefly, Helen's homosexuality as it evolved in her analysis was based on her sado-masochistic attachment to a rejecting

FIGURE 1



1. *Overt Behavior*
   A. On ward: Quiet, coöperative, well-behaved.
   B. During Experiment: Tense, cringing, withdrawing; suppressing tears with varying success.

2. *Conscious mental content:* Hostility, resentment and humiliation; fear of angry rejection by hospital if she is uncoöperative.

3. *Unconscious mental content:* The erotization of the gastrostomy. The activities of the physiologist are an intolerable and frightful sexual violation. Fantasy of vulnerability of female genitals to sexual penetration.

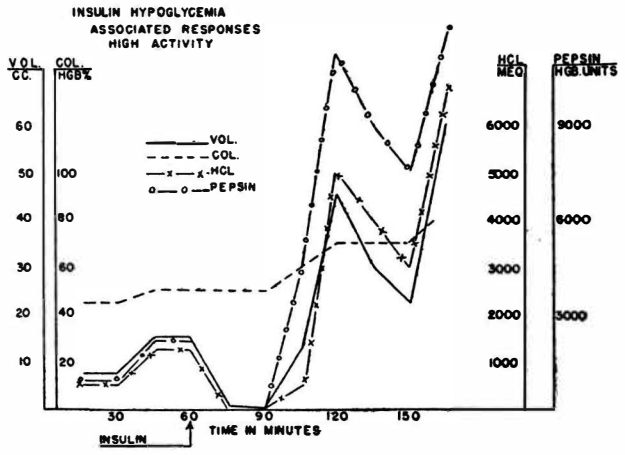
4. *Gastric responses:* The functions are synchronous, associated and of high activity.

precœdipal mother. Her observation of the mother suckling a younger half-sister both caused regression and reinforced an earlier fixation. The fact that she was a Negro played an important part in her homosexuality. Light and dark skins were equated with sexual differences and preferences as well as with social distinctions.

It was always necessary for her to punish and degrade her partner. In fact, one nurse was detected and severely punished

by the hospital authorities. Helen came very close to exposing another nurse by her impulsive acting out. A curious factor of social revenge was fused into this behavior which was derived genetically from the rejection by her mother. Her painfully self-conscious status as a Negro in a white community provided a reality reinforcement of this drive. She treated the 'superior'

FIGURE 2



20 units of insulin given intravenously after one hour of control observation. Control blood sugar was 93 mg. per cent.

30 minutes later: hypoglycemic symptoms.

Gastric Responses: The functions are synchronous and associated and of high activity.

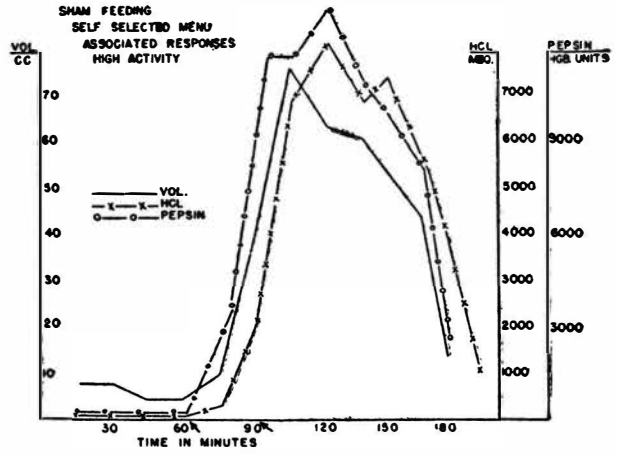
The control period response corresponds to the phase shown in Figure 6.

white women (also an inaccessible mother figure) as she thought the white man sexually treated the Negro woman. At the age of thirteen she fantasied telling her mother an invented story that the mother's paramour had made sexual advances to her. By representing herself as sexually abused, she hoped to win back her mother. On learning the unconscious determinants of her homosexual behavior, she remarked of herself, 'My God, a one-man race war!'.

Helen was an intelligent, sensitive girl who had been scarred

by a broken home and a series of pathogenic incidents and experiences in her infancy and childhood. She was the youngest of three siblings, of whom the other two were brothers. The father was a taciturn, kindly, withdrawn and undemonstrative man, who always made her feel that she was his special object of affection and concern. He was hard-working and

FIGURE 3



Sham feeding with self-selected menu.

Patient unable to swallow, but enjoys masticating and savoring food which she expectorates. Feeding given after one hour control observation and lasted about 30 minutes (indicated by arrows).

Gastric Responses: The functions are synchronous and associated and of high activity.

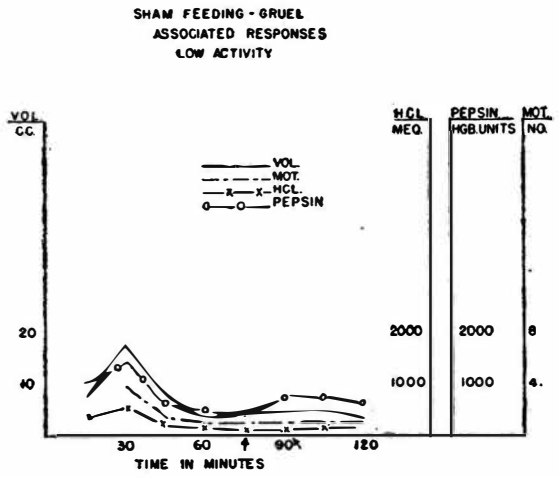
able to provide college educations for his children. The mother was a high-strung, somewhat unstable woman who took excellent material care of the household, but who also sought to lead a sexual life outside the home.

When Helen was six years old, the mother gave birth to a baby girl who had been conceived extramaritally. It was this child whom Helen had observed with mingled feelings of rage, envy, and helpless frustration, suckling at her mother's breasts. A few years later the home broke up and Helen, her two

brothers and father set up an establishment separate from the mother, her lover and their child.

Helen reacted to this confused and pathological situation in her early years by developing marked exhibitionistic character traits, and a very great sensitivity to slights. There was a tendency to evaluate all her relationships according to whether or not she was the passive recipient of attention. The slightest

FIGURE 4



Sham feeding with gruel provided by observer.

Feeding given after 75 minutes of control observation and lasted about 15 minutes (indicated by arrows).

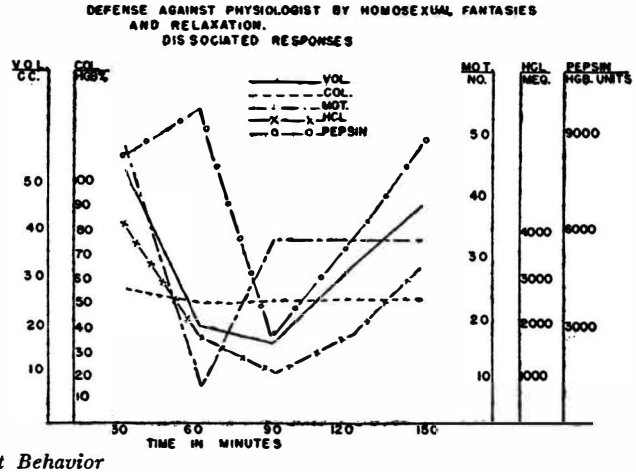
Gastric Responses: Functions are synchronous and associated and of very low activity.

deprivation or frustration of what she felt was her due would cause aggressive outbursts, which were frequently followed by dark moods of guilt and depression. She was strongly predisposed to envy and jealousy, especially in relation to her friends toward whom she was demanding and possessive. She became adept and ingenious in provoking quarrels which would lead to an abject apology on the part of her victim.

Her original conscious motive in submitting to an elaborate psychophysiological investigation at Mount Sinai Hospital was

an exaggerated altruistic desire to be of service to mankind. This attitude was consistent with the reactions of intense guilt and worthlessness which led to the attempted suicide. By offering herself as a sacrifice to science, she hoped to satisfy the demands of her guilt, which was now related to her suicidal

FIGURE 5



1. *Overt Behavior*
   A. On ward: Alternating provocative and guilty withdrawn behavior.
   B. During Experiment: Quiet, relaxed, coöperative, drowsing.

2. *Conscious mental content:* Overt homosexual fantasies of touching, sucking and biting the partner's breasts. The partner is seduced by being made guilty after a quarrel.

3. *Unconscious mental content:* Deep wish to degrade and savagely injure the woman who is the rejecting mother figure.

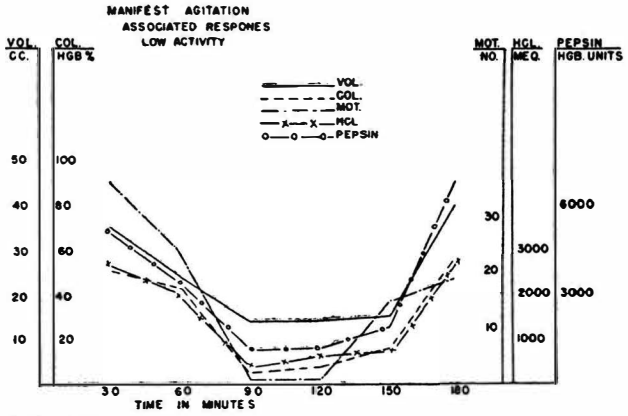
4. *Gastric Responses:* The functions are asynchronous, tend to be dissociated and to fluctuate in a random, independent manner.

attempt as well as to its precipitating circumstances. She stoically endured the investigative procedures which were for the most part directed toward establishing a baseline in her gastric physiology.

It was decided to study her stomach in relation to her unconscious. In January 1950 this research program had been in progress for almost two and one half years. She was placed

under psychoanalytic observation and therapy for three to five sessions a week. The usual technique of psychoanalysis was employed. It should be emphasized that psychologically stressful material and situations were not deliberately contrived.

FIGURE 6



1. *Overt Behavior:*
   A. On ward: Noisy, provocative, quarrelsome.
   B. During Experiment: Tense, talkative but not withdrawing.

2. *Conscious Mental Content:* Hostile, bewildered, frightened. Conscious of fantasies of seducing the physiologist. Deliberately inducing homosexual fantasies.

3. *Unconscious Mental Content:* Wish to destroy the physiologist (a brother figure, who violated her during childhood); a wish to be the child of the father-figure analyst. (The latter is a defense against the aggressions toward the physiologist.)

4. *Gastric Responses:* The functions are synchronous, associated, with a depressed, saddle-back phase of low activity.

The life situation of the patient, especially the periods of the physiological observations, spontaneously determined her psychic state and behavior. The psychiatrist, in accordance with the technique of psychoanalysis, limited his activity to interpretations of her verbalizations and behavior. At no time did he participate in the actual performance of the physiological observations.

The psychoanalyst functioned as Helen's therapist, and as far as she was concerned, she was in psychotherapy. She was completely innocent of any knowledge of psychoanalysis, but not of psychotherapy. Her contacts with other psychiatric patients on the ward and the exchange of psychotherapeutic experiences with them soon gave her a good deal of sophistication about these matters. The spectrum of transference range exhibited toward the analyst was manifestly free and was never irreversibly fixated by the physiological experiments. The physiologist, however, was the object of potent and highly constricted transference activity.

Independently of the psychotherapeutic sessions and without the participation of the psychoanalyst, three times a week Helen was subjected to prolonged periods of physiological observation and experimentation. The actual experimental procedures will be described in some detail. Legitimate and valid questions can be raised concerning the relation between these conditions and their reconstruction in the analytic hours, for the analyst was not present while she was experiencing the actual experiment. This issue exists, however, in all psychotherapy inasmuch as the therapist is presented with the elaborations and dramatizations of life situations as these are perceived by the patient, even when the event and the subsequent psychic reaction are presented in the psychotherapeutic session. In the psychoanalysis of a patient's report of an experience, the stimuli or the responses, or both, which are suppressed or repressed, are recovered, and the defensive devices are exposed. The distortions in the patient's account are the earmarks of what is unconsciously significant. Moreover, the observation of an experimental situation, of which a patient is only a part, is qualitatively different from the investigation of the same patient while in psychoanalysis. The presence of the analyst during an experiment would be a different experiment from one in which he is absent. It is not that one experiment is superior or inferior to the other with respect to the data; rather it is that two different experiments are involved and that, therefore, two different constellations of data should be anticipated.

The physiological observations dealt with the following variables of gastric function: 1, gastric motility which was recorded by a conventional balloon-tambour-kymograph method; 2, the color of the gastric mucosa (as an index of mucosal blood flow), estimated by colorimetric comparison; 3, the volume of gastric secretion; 4, quantitative determination of hydrochloric acid concentration; 5, quantitative analysis of pepsin concentration.

The alterations in these five functions were observed under varying conditions: 1, continuous night readings without stimulation; 2, daytime readings with the application of physical stimuli such as heat and cold; 3, administration of pharmacological agents such as histamine, insulin, prostigmin, acetylcholine, urecholine, and adrenalin; 4, sham feedings under various conditions, such as allowing the patient a free choice of food, and others in which the food was chosen for her; 5, observations of the secretory activity of different regions of the mucosa.

Her exalted altruistic state was dispelled psychotherapeutically by bringing her to see its relationship to profound guilt and to the need to defend herself against her most unfortunate crippled condition. As a consequence, her behavior during the periods of physiological observation changed from passive stoicism to tense, cringing and withdrawing actions. She would often weep. At no time, however, did she refuse to permit the experiment. She believed this reaction was appropriate. She found being a 'guinea pig' humiliating and an invasion of her privacy and modesty. In addition, the attention focused on her gastrostomy was a constant reminder of her calamitous state. No amount of reassurance by the physiologist could alter this.

During this phase of observation, the five gastric functions frequently varied in a synchronous way. This is illustrated in Figure 1. These curves were similar to those obtained pharmacologically by using the insulin hypoglycemia test (Figure 2), and gastronomically by sham feeding with a self-selected menu

(Figure 3). All of these are of course very complex stimuli, in that there are involved: the type of test, its method of administration, the subject's relation to the observer, the conscious and unconscious emotional and somatic feelings provoked by the situation, and the process of observing and recording. From the psychological point of view, there is a potential error in making untested assumptions as to what is the effective factor in a complex psychophysiological stimulus. For example, there is the familiar fact that the effect of sedatives and analgesics can be inhibited by anxiety *(15)*, and that the threshold of sensitivity to drugs like prostigmin and atropine can be raised or lowered by a variety of psychic states. Similarly, depending on its nature and the circumstances of its administration, food can have markedly different effects on gastric function (Figures 3 and 4, [*16*]). There is, however, a common factor in the reaction to diverse stimuli, a psychological component of varying intensity acting over common neural and humoral pathways.

Psychoanalytic investigation revealed that Helen had entirely different reasons for her disturbed reaction to the manipulation and instrumentation of the physiologist. These were mostly unconscious and consisted of three main parts. First, in response to an interpretation of a dream about the experimental situation, she suddenly perceived that the sensations of cleaning, handling and rubbing the gastrostomy were pleasurable in a distinctly erotic way.[1] This led to her recognition that while routine care was being given to her lesion, she often lapsed into a pleasurable revery. She experienced clearly voluptuous feelings in her abdomen and pelvis. Occasionally she felt a diffuse sense of excitement in her skin which appeared to radiate from the fistula *(17)*. She came to the conclusion that she had unconsciously responded to her gastrostomy as

[1] This observation, incidentally, that external fistulous openings are often unconsciously used in the service of erotic gratification, has been made many times on our psychiatric service. This is a vivid example of a common stressful life situation associated with a remarkable unconscious reaction. It has been noted in such lesions as colostomies and ileostomies.

though it were a sexual organ.[2] She was conscious of the second part of her reaction to the experiment but unconscious of its relevence to the situation. This was the fantasy that the external female genitalia were extraordinarily fragile and that sexual penetration, of necessity, was so violent and destructive that it could lead to death. She readily admitted the irrationality of these thoughts, yet she was compelled to be guided by them as though they were a reality.

The analysis of this fantasy which had many determinants revealed a genetic relationship with certain childhood experiences involving an older brother. Helen believed she was eight or younger when he and a friend brought young girls to her home for the purpose of having intercourse with them. She was bribed with candy to keep these escapades a secret. She witnessed the rape of these girls, their screaming and struggles. These incidents, and others which she observed, such as a man's seduction of a childhood playmate, had been completely repressed. The oral bribe and sexual assault are significantly fused in her psychosexual behavior.

The third factor was also entirely repressed. Because of the erotic significance of her fistula and the compelling nature of her fantasy about sexual penetration, she unconsciously regarded the activities of the physiologist as an intolerable and frightful sexual violation. The physiologist's solicitous inquiry as to whether he was *hurting her* and his routine question as to whether she *felt anything* reinforced the fantasies. The fact

[2] This is the psychological reaction of a patient deprived of the basic oral gratification of eating, chewing and swallowing. She is one of three such patients who are under observation at the present time. The data derived from them will throw some light on the psychological and behavioral adjustments to this condition. Preliminary studies on patients with ileostomies and colostomies who have been surgically deprived of the satisfaction of defecation per anum indicate analogous reactions. One of the unconscious solutions for this fixed libidinal frustration is in the quantitative displacement of the erotic component to another structure, usually one associated with anxiety. This affect may facilitate the displacement or be a consequence of it. In any event, the dissociation of the physiological functions (nutritional or excretory) from the erotic functions provides a unique opportunity of examining the libido theory and some of its underlying assumptions and propositions.

that she found the occasional bloody oozing from the delicate gastric mucous membranes particularly distressing was consistent with her feelings.

After this unconscious constellation was brought into consciousness, a remarkable change took place in her behavior during the experimental observations. Her agitated, tearful remonstrances disappeared and she was relaxed and apparently comfortable. She frequently became drowsy during this period and had many daydreams. Their content was uniformly homosexual, frank sado-masochistic enjoyment of touching, sucking and biting the breasts of her homosexual partners following the typical quarrel and her victim's capitulation. Coincident with this new behavior, the pattern of synchronous fluctuation which was shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3 became at times one of random, asynchronous fluctuation (Figure 5). The gastric functions tended to vary independently of each other.[3]

Subsequent psychoanalytic insight made it apparent that her homosexual fantasies were a flight from the unacceptable heterosexual implications of the physiologist's activities. This defense, associated with childlike seductive attitudes toward him, threw some light on what she was attempting to avoid. On various occasions the physiologist inserted a metal tube into the gastrostomy in order to visualize more effectively the interior of the stomach. The proximity of his head to her body in general and to her abdomen in particular provoked fleeting and rapidly suppressed fantasies which contained a wish for sexual gratification, especially cunnilingus, from him. The inappropriateness of this impulse and the fixed fantasy of the danger of heterosexuality induced its suppression. Her homosexuality thus became a defense against and a means of dissipating her sexual tension through which her reaction to the experimental situation was isolated and denied.

[3] The phenomenon of dissociation or random fluctuation of the gastric functions has been reported by occasional observers. But apparently it has not been stressed or emphasized. Its significance has not been examined to date. It can be induced pharmacologically and can occur in fixed pathophysiological states such as achlorhydric diarrhea. Its relation to the varieties of functional gastric diseases may be of great significance.

She reacted violently when she became aware of her unconscious wish to seduce the physiologist. Her disturbance radiated beyond the laboratory to the ward where she became raucously aggressive. The resident staff was astonished by this change in her behavior and sought advice about her management. At this time her gastric functions assumed the pattern of synchronous fluctuations (Figure 6).

On occasion, physiological observations were inadvertently made during her analytic hours when of course no manipulation occurred. In the course of discussing her reactions to one of the physiologists toward whom she was attempting to suppress her resentment, she pressed the analyst to tell her whether she would still be his patient if she were a drug addict, an alcoholic, or a thief. These questions were accompanied by fantasies motivated by intense oral cravings in which the analyst, cast in the role of the mother imago, was cannibalistically consumed. By eating and incorporating him there would be no question to whom he belonged. At this, the gastric secretions became so profuse that they welled out of the gastrostomy through the dressings and her clothing and ran onto the couch. Here the conscious content consisted of resentment and intense dependency wishes. The unconscious contained a cannibalistic appetite.

There are a few comments from the psychoanalytic point of view to be made about aggression about which so much is said in discussions of etiology in psychosomatic medicine. It should be stressed that variations in the origin, in the aim, and in the object of the aggression appeared to be accompanied by different physiological manifestations in Helen's stomach. In discussions of psychosomatic etiology it is a misleading oversimplification to speak of aggression as a dissociated instinctual force without taking into account the libidinal levels with which it may be fused *(18)*. For example, early in her analysis Helen wished to express the aggression provoked by the physiologist's manipulation of the gastrostomy in the form of physical violence and rejection of the physiologist. This was accompanied by synchronized gastric activity. When this was terminated

by making her aware of what was going on in her unconscious, it was replaced by another form of conscious aggression in which in homosexual fantasies she quarreled and sadistically used her mouth and teeth. At this time the gastric functions changed from synchronized fluctuation into a pattern of random dissociation. When she learned that her homosexuality was a defense against heterosexuality, especially against her unconscious wish to seduce the physiologist, she was thrown into a state of marked anxiety and was furiously angry with the analyst. These aggressive impulses provoked the fear that she would be rejected and abandoned. She became preoccupied with fantasies of being the analyst's child and of being cared for in his home as one of his family. At this time her gastric functions were in a state of highly synchronized activity very similar to those associated with the sham feedings of a self-selected menu.

To summarize, the unconscious is a potent determinant of organ functioning. This fact must profoundly influence physiological and pharmacological experimentation in the human being. Every situation involving manipulation and instrumentation by an observer invokes psychic stresses of varying intensity. The psychological responses of the subject, as in this case, can significantly and meaningfully influence the physiological data. The application of the technique of psychoanalysis made it possible to control what would otherwise act as an uncertain variable. In other words, the conditions under which an experiment is performed can enter into the yielded data to an undetermined degree.

It remains to discuss whether or not the methodology utilized in this investigation has made a contribution to psychoanalysis. From the point of view of psychophysiology it is undoubtedly an essay in applied psychoanalysis which has extended the knowledge of gastric physiology.

The graphs of gastric function (Figures 1 to 6) show three regularly recurring patterns: synchronized high activity, synchronized low activity, and a state of asynchrony or dissociation. Each pattern contains individual quantitative variations in the

amounts of total secretion, acid, pepsin, blood flow, motility, while at the same time demonstrating its gross qualitative character. These quantitative differences are undoubtedly significant of psychophysiological states. For the moment the key for their comprehension is lacking. Unfortunately, there is no means of translating all of the details of these silent visual representations of physiological function into their psychic representations. To decipher them completely, as in their discovery, adherence to the principles of determinism in mind and nature will be required.

The problem is to correlate these three gross patterns of gastric physiology with aspects of a mental apparatus that is almost infinitely varied in its content and affect. It would be irrational to assume that the limited interpretation of these few graphs could communicate any precisely distinguished details of mental content. If this is to be done at all, it must await clarification and interpretation of the quantitative changes in the gastric functions; moreover, the stomach is but one organ of very many, each of which undoubtedly expresses some aspect of the total situation in the mind.

For these reasons correlation of each of these three recognizable patterns can be made only with correspondingly gross categories of psychic activity. The concept that characteristic somatic behavior can be regularly associated with a given personality profile is an unsuccessful formulation of this same idea. It fails because it is an attempt to identify a single manifestation, a disease entity, with the changing, complex, enormously variegated structure of the personality.

The various physiological states express interactions of a defense mechanism, an instinctual impulse or a transference manifestation in a specific, repetitive and predictable way. At the risk of appearing overschematic, this statement, as far as Helen is concerned, could be formulated as follows. When the repressed instinctual need mobilized by a stimulus in the experimental situation is about to emerge into consciousness, the gastric functions are in a state of associated high activity. Should reaction-formation become the dominant defense, as in

the sham feeding with gruel, the pattern is one of associated low activity. If the defense mechanisms succeed in establishing psychic equilibrium, then the pattern of random fluctuation or, in the language of general physiology, dissociation is manifested.

The thesis that these gastric patterns are meaningful might be further supported by suggesting that the interpretation of gastric activity is like the psychoanalysis of very young children in a preverbal state. The difficulty in preverbal psychoanalysis is the inability to comprehend all of the behavioral communications of the infant in terms of its internal and external adaptive economy. With the development of language or of communicable symbols of this economy, such as physiological facts, a mode of understanding the unconscious is acquired. The converse is true as well, and here one scientific basis of psychoanalytic psychology becomes apparent: when the content of the unconscious is known by clinical methods and the psychophysiological response to known stimuli can be predicted, psychoanalytic data can be verified, and the hypothetical constructs and propositional concepts by which these data are systematized can be validated.

An attempt in this direction was made by predicting the type of gastric behavior from the psychoanalytic data. The crude patterns of gastric function had been correlated with stimuli affecting the patient, the instinctual needs which were thus aroused, and the defense mechanisms which were evoked by the instinctual threat. The psychoanalyst then could make predictions concerning the state of synchrony or dissociation of the gastric functions which were subsequently proven to be correct in each instance. This result is beyond any statistical probability of correct guesses.

Hence, to the objectification of psychoanalytic methods *(19, 20)*, the direct experimental and statistical testing of psychoanalytic theory and data *(21, 22)*, and the genetic developmental studies of human beings, may be added psychoanalytically oriented psychophysiological research. The importance of the last lies in the fact that the application of the psychoanalytic

method can yield reproducible and predictable physiological data.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The functions of an involuntary organ, the stomach, are manifestations of unconscious mental states that can be objectively interpreted.

2. The relationship of these gastric functions to each other can be changed by altering the alignment of forces within the unconscious by psychoanalytic methods.

3. Given constellations in the unconscious are repetitively and predictably associated with specific patterns of these gastric functions.

4. These facts serve as a method of verifying psychoanalytic data and of validating psychoanalytic theory.

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DISCUSSION BY LAWRENCE S. KUBIE, M.D. It is a pleasure to predict that this paper will some day be recognized as inaugurating a new era in psychosomatic research. The work which it describes is in the great tradition of William Beaumont's studies of Alexis St. Martin and of Walter Cannon's fundamental researches on bodily changes in acute emotional states. Nor is it an accident that the stomach is once again the subject of a basic investigation of psychosomatic interrelationships.

The obvious fact that human beings vary is a lesson which we tend to forget both in physiology and in psychoanalysis. Wolf and Wolff observed that emotional stresses caused increased secretion in a male patient with a gastrostomy. A second group of workers noted that the same type of emotional stress caused decreased secretion in a female patient, and jumped prematurely to the conclusion that this might account for the higher incidence of duodenal ulcers in males. Margolin and his co-workers find that the same patient can on certain occasions react with increased secretion and on other occasions with decreased secretion, a variability not only among individuals but also in the same

individual. No one human subject can be used as a basis for generalizations, no matter how carefully and in how much detail he is studied.

Most investigators have been content to look for correlations between physiological process and spontaneous or imposed conscious emotional states. Sometimes a distinction is made between emotional states which are expressed and those which are in some measure suppressed; however, no attention has been paid to the correlation between physiological states and the unconscious. We find a great deal of speculation about such correlations, and a recognition of the fact that the correlation with conscious emotions is superficial and inadequate; but beyond that the effort to correlate physiology and unconscious psychic state has been entirely speculative. Here for the first time we find direct experiment and psychoanalytic investigation of this basic correlation: i.e., between physiological process and the unconscious.

It becomes evident that psychoanalytic interpretations are a potent new experimental tool. The design of any experiment is essentially simple: it is a contrived situation in which a certain sequence of events can be observed consistently (unless the experimenter introduces into that sequence some variable of his own choosing), to justify the conclusion that a similar sequence can occur in nature. The variable Margolin introduced into the sequence was his interpretations of the unconscious. A detailed review of the physiological responses to such interpretations will open a new chapter in our understanding of the interrelationships of organ functions and psychological processes; for the effects of the interpretations on the physiological processes were striking. For instance, the synchronization of various components of gastric function, which was the organ's initial response to a complex emotional stimulus, was altered subsequently when the unconscious meaning of one component of the complex stimulus was made clear to the patient; further changes occurred in the pattern of gastric function when a second series of interpretations was given. This is the raw material for a new study of psychophysiology.

This technique confronts us with a basic methodological problem. We must estimate what it means to a human being to have a gastrostomy, for four years in this case, and in some other reported cases much longer. Inevitably any such dramatic and distressing condition must come to occupy a central position in the patient's emotional life. This consideration makes one hesitate to accept at their face value some of the earlier descriptions of gastric psychophysiology such as those of Carlson and of Wolf and Wolff, none of which takes into account the pathological inflation or distortion of the emotional correlations of a mutilated organ. The mutilated organ becomes the primary organ for the expression of everything that the patient thinks and feels, consciously and unconsciously. We have no right to assume that under these circumstances the gastric responses of a gastrostomy patient will represent the gastric functions of an intact human being, without exaggerations or distortions or both. This reservation has been overlooked in all previous studies.

In Margolin's studies the first group of interpretations served the fundamental preparatory function of eliminating the artifact which had been introduced into the patient's gastric psychophysiology by the four years during which she had had the gastrostomy. It was only after this first group of

interpretations had been digested psychologically that the organ could begin to resume its native functional pattern. This may force us to the conclusion that no patient with a gastrostomy can be looked upon as an accurately representative experimental animal (in the sense of representing what happens in the normal human being) until that patient has been led analytically through certain interpretative steps, which free the organ from the superimposed distortions and inflations which have been caused by the trauma of the gastrostomy and the associated conscious and unconscious fantasies.

The effect of the second group of interpretations will, I believe, prove to be a series of successive steps in the further freeing of the organ from the masking psychological influence of the trauma, until finally the stomach is free to reflect what goes on in subtler levels of the patient's psyche. Thus when the analyst interpreted to the patient the meaning of her homosexuality as a defense against unconscious, passive, cunnilingual, seductive impulses toward the physiologist, a sharp change occurred in her overt behavior, turning her into an angry and difficult patient, and simultaneously the separate functions of the stomach were synchronized again.

This leads us to a consideration of Dr. Margolin's differentiation of gastric function into three phases correlated with certain psychological states. The stomach was sometimes in a state of high activity in which all of its part-functions were synchronously overactive; an opposite state in which all functions of the stomach were synchronously in a state of low activity; an asynchronous state in which some stomach activities were overactive and others underactive. The correlations of these three states could not be made simply in terms of conscious dependent or aggressive needs alone, partly because each is so frequently associated unconsciously with its opposite, and also because the gastric economy is influenced quite as much by unconscious as by conscious psychological forces. Nor could the total gastric economy be correlated with a personality profile, if this profile omitted considerations of unconscious as well as conscious components. Finally he correlated these three states of gastric physiology with the play of the patient's instinctual needs and the patient's defenses against them in her life in general, and more specifically in the transference with the physiologist and with the analyst. Thus it was evident that there are at work not *one* psychological stimulus but many, and these frequently mutually contradictory. It is clear, therefore, that there can be no satisfactory understanding of the interplay between psychological experience and its somatic language if any part of these complex psychic processes is omitted.

This patient's stomach, before the basic freeing interpretations were given, responded as a unit to any chemical stimulus, and on any provocation. This is precisely what one would expect of an organ which has been exposed to the outside through an operation and which has therefore become the major focus of a patient's entire life. This is not a true measure of gastric functioning in more normal circumstances. It is an artifact produced by the operation.

The second phase of the study began, therefore, when the first group of interpretations had in some measure freed the stomach from its bondage to its traumatic experience, freeing the various gastric functions to respond individually to the influence of various psychic functions. This freedom came after the

initial interpretations of the masturbatory meaning of the patient's manipulations of the gastrostomy and of the sexual nature of the pleasure which she derived from this. Thereupon the stomach manifested psychophysiological reactions which can be attributed to a normal intact stomach.

The third phase came when the analysis explored deeper and stormier areas of her psychosexual life. The functions of the stomach again became synchronized into unitary expressions of protecting anger, rejection, incorporation, and oral destruction. It is this third phase of psychophysiological integration which in all probability is the one which in the normal intact human being carries the potentiality of structural change in an organ.

The most difficult of our methodological limitations for which as yet we have no solution is the impossibility of repeating the experiment of testing the effect of an interpretation. In the laboratory the ideal experiment is always one which can be repeated—preferably on the same animal after restitution to the initial state, or repeated with a nearly identical animal. In any experiment which involves the psychoanalytic study of a human being, once an interpretation has been given, the patient can never again be the same. There can never be an opportunity to repeat the experiment on the same patient. Consequently, every analytic experiment should be a perfect experiment, which is patently impossible. This problem is peculiar to our field of work, and challenges us to the highest degree of self-criticism. It is also one further reason why complete recordings are essential.

A point of great interest is this patient's own discovery that the manipulation of the transitional mucosa around the gastrostomy produced a diffuse sexual pleasure. Evidently the transitional zone between the lining of this body cavity and the outside skin constituted an artificial genital, and the characteristically sexual quality of the sensation suggests that every organ which has a cavity has a latent sexual potential which can be brought into consciousness when some operative interference or a wound connects the cavity with the outside world. Once a communicating aperture is produced, one may find at the transitional zone a sensory quality which is similar to that of the genitals themselves. This would establish an experimental demonstration of the libidinization of internal organs, once these are externalized.

My own attention was arrested by Dr. Margolin's use of the term 'synchronization' with respect to gastric processes, and of the other term 'asynchronous fluctuation'. In my own recent study of instinctual processes this contrast played a major role. In that study it was pointed out that the state of instinctual rest in the body is not a state of biochemical, neuromuscular or glandular inactivity, but one of asynchronous fluctuation in which the body processes move in all directions at once, so that they neutralize one another by algebraic summation. Consequently, before the body can be mobilized for action as a whole in the service of any instinct, there must be a synchronizing of its processes. On the intake side this synchronization is produced by some measure of *deprivation,* deprivation which gradually involves all body tissues until finally the body as a whole is forced to do something about it; and what the body does about it is what we call an instinctual act. The extrusive instincts are mobilized by *accumulation,* precisely as the intake instincts are mobilized by deprivation.

Therefore it was to me a striking aspect of Dr. Margolin's study to find that the same principle applies to the mobilization of instinctual functions of a single organ such as the stomach. In Dr. Margolin's experiments the asynchronous partial functions of the stomach are synchronized by certain types of experience, and are again made asynchronous by other types of inner experience; and it is this which plays the determining role in the way in which the various activities of the organ correlate with conscious and unconscious levels of psychological function. This observation has many implications.

In any complete study of psychosomatic interrelations there is a need and a temptation to make multiple simultaneous observations. Thus, for example, as physiological changes in the stomach are being examined, it would be illuminating to know what is happening in the cardiovascular apparatus, in the secretory processes at other points in the intestinal tract, in the fluid balance, in water and electrolyte distribution in the body, and in the electroencephalogram; however, all such procedures introduce variables, the effects of which must themselves be studied. A patient who is strung up to a dozen different machines is like Gulliver pinned to earth by a thousand threads, any one of which he could snap with ease, but the sum total of which is sufficient to imprison him. Under multiple simultaneous physiological investigation a patient's spirit can be similarly incarcerated, and how to isolate each variable and simultaneously to observe the others to get an adequate sampling not only of the total psychological process but also of the total physiological state confronts us with extremely complex technical difficulties. It is inconceivable that the psychological distortions introduced by complex physiological studies can be appraised unless the patient is under close analytic scrutiny throughout the experiment.

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

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To cite this article: Jacob A. Arlow (1951) The Consecration of the Prophet, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 374-397, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925848

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925848

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE PROPHET

BY JACOB A. ARLOW, M.D. (NEW YORK)

Recorded in the Old Testament are several passages of vivid imagery and terrifying magnificence portraying the consecration [1] of the prophets. The occasion is usually an intensely dramatic experience, signalized by supernatural portents, accompanied by auditory and visual hallucinations; a commingling of passive abnegation with ecstatic grandeur in which the prophet, having humiliated himself and proclaimed his unworthiness, accepts, as it were, the awful burden of prophecy. Revelations of this nature are most striking in the instances of Moses, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.[2]

Since it represents a special psychological experience in exceptional types of individuals whose influence upon the moral history of Western civilization is paramount, the consecration of the prophet would in any event excite the interest of psychoanalysts. Variations of such experiences in attenuated or distorted forms, moreover, have been known in every age. Prophetic experience is an important element in the heritage of civilization.[3]

Read before the New York Psychoanalytic Society, October 30, 1949.

[1] The term consecration here differs from the special sense in which it occurs in ecclesiastical literature. No definite term covers directly the phenomena of revelation, religious ecstasy, and dedication. The experience of 'receiving the call', which occurs frequently in the lives of many clergymen and converts, is only one aspect of the prophet's consecration, and it does not approach the dramatic intensity and supernatural proportions which the prophets described. The word consecration is derived from the Latin, *sacer,* meaning to set aside, designate as something special. This is perhaps the outstanding element of the experiences studied in this essay.

[2] These experiences are recorded in the following passages in the Old Testament to which the reader is referred: Exodus, III: 2 to 18; IV, 1 to 12; I Samuel, III; Isaiah, VI; Jeremiah, I; Ezekiel, I to III: 12.

[3] The prophesying by oracles during ecstatic trances is analogous to only part of the prophetic experience as it is observed in the Old Testament. It is not an essential element of the Hebrew version of prophecy. This distinction is developed below in part. For a further discussion of the differences, one is

Freud's study of Moses [4] approached the problem from an interest in demonstrating the historical recurrence of certain unconscious forces, persistently vital in the mythology of a race and representing, he felt, a prehistoric truth whose effects linger to this very day. The intrapsychic struggles of the individual prophet and the manner in which the prophetic calling represented a solution of these conflicts he did not discuss.

Because of the methodological difficulties inherent in such a study it is essential that its scope and nature be clearly defined.[5] In certain instances, as of Moses and Ezekiel, grave doubts have been cast as to whether these prophets ever existed. Almost everything we know about the prophets is derived from their writings or from books about them or ascribed to them. These documents have been demonstrated by critical scholarship to be quite frequently of composite authorship. Fortunately, the records of the consecrations of Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are fairly well-integrated literary units and appear to have suffered relatively less from contradictory distortions and additions than do other sections of the Old Testa-

referred to Buber, Martin: Symbolical Existence in Judaism. In: *Hasidism.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1948, p. 118, and Ahad, Ha' Am: *Selected Essays.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1912, pp. 125 and 306. Personality structure must in any event be viewed within the historical and cultural context of the age in which it occurs. Although the prophets were undoubtedly regarded by their contemporaries as different, they were not necessarily regarded as pathological or insane. With the advance of science, later ages have taken an increasingly sceptical attitude toward the phenomenon of divine or supernatural revelation. Yet even in our age, the attitude of society toward such problems is rather ambivalent. Individuals who profess experiences of communication with divine or supernatural agencies ordinarily escape commitment, and are not necessarily regarded as pathological provided they do not enter into too violent conflict with the social order, and/or if they manage to gather about them sufficient followers to constitute a sect. The founders of the Mormon Church and Father Divine are only two examples. One also observes the reluctance of official church hierarchies to recognize contemporary miracles except when the element of mass belief becomes evident.

[4] Freud: *Moses and Monotheism.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939.

[5] Loewenstein, Rudolph M., in his article, Historical and Cultural Roots of Anti-Semitism (In: *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences,* Vol. I, New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1947), has outlined the various methods by which psychoanalytic theory has been applied to historical problems.

ment; however, no unequivocal stand can be maintained concerning their textual accuracy.

Whether or not the prophets ever existed as historical persons, and whether or not the documents connected with them are authentic, it cannot be disputed that the prophets and their teachings exerted a profound influence upon the imagination and the moral development of the Hebrew people, who enshrined them as their heroes, canonized their writings, and accepted their words as revelations of God's will. The prophet served as a model of consummate devotion to and identification with the cause of righteousness experienced by the prophet as the will or the voice of God.

Not a psychoanalytic study of individual prophets, this is the study of a composite, a type of person motivated chiefly by the conviction that his spoken words were the words of God. This is clearly the Hebrew version of prophecy. The Hebrew word for prophet, *nabi,* is of obscure origin but it does not carry the implication of prediction. This element, according to many authorities, was introduced as a result of a misunderstanding of the term used to translate the word *nabi* from the Hebrew into Greek.[6] The central theme of the Book of Jonah, for example, is the prophet's prediction of the imminent destruction of Nineveh which did not materialize. What is paramount in this example is the exhortation to turn from evil and to repent, rather than a forecast of the future. Martin Buber[7] states, 'The biblical *nabi* conception is seen most clearly in the passage, Exodus, VII:1, in which it is used as a simile of the relationship between two people who are to each other exactly what the *elohim* . . ., God, and the *nabi,* its herald, are to each other. "See", says God to Moses, "I give you to pharaoh for an *elohim* [God] and Aaron, your brother, shall be your *nabi*".' A similar passage, Exodus, IV:16, parallels this relationship of Moses and Aaron in which God says, 'He shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and he shall be, even he [Aaron] shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou [Moses]

[6] Elmsie, William A. L.: *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 1947, Vol. XVIII, p. 586.
[7] Buber, Martin: *Op. cit.*

shalt be to him instead of God [*elohim*]'. According to Buber, '. . . to be the *nabi* of an *elohim* [God] means to be his mouth'. This use of the term *nabi* makes it clear that in the Old Testament prophecy was understood to mean speaking in the name of God.

Why the prophet's preachment proved so apt a solution to the trying problems of his people in those critical moments of historical travail remains in the province of the historian. More intriguing is how the prophet was able to transcend the limitations and the comprehension of his contemporaries to perceive the path his countrymen were ready to follow.

Prophets exist in every age as outstanding personalities distinguished by missionary zeal with attributes of leadership and dedication to a cause. Inspiration is regularly ascribed to prophets, either by their own declaration or by attribution. The impression is created that they operate in response to some force beyond their own persons.[8]

In the cultural milieu of the Old Testament this relationship was stated explicitly by the Hebrew prophet. He regarded himself as a mere instrumentality in the service of a greater cause, a timeless, omnipotent, irresistible force before which all other considerations, including current vicissitudes of his community and the fortunes of the prophet himself, paled into nothingness. Lawgivers or reformers might call for enlightenment and betterment, but the prophet thundered for redemption and salvation. His inner turmoil was intense and ceaseless. In moving poetic language, employing every device of cadence and imagery, he transcended the barrier of reason and played on the unconscious emotions of his listeners, exhorting them to participate in his exultation and to share with him his vision of glory. In this respect he fulfilled the social function of the artist,[9] not only in his message but in his entire life; his stage was the national scene. Specific to the prophet, however, is his peculiar relationship to his mission or his peculiar relation-

[8] Kris, Ernst: *On Inspiration.* Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939.

[9] Sachs, Hanns: *The Creative Unconscious,* especially the essay, The Community of Daydreams. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942.

ship to his God for whose ministry he has been consecrated. For this mission the prophet left the land of his fathers, the comforts of home, the ties of friends, wife, and children, prepared to withstand, without complaint, all manner of trials and humiliation and to surrender even life itself in the pursuit of his calling. The lives of the prophets lead one to suspect that suffering and death were sometimes sought as fulfilments of their destinies.

This utter subjugation to the will of God results in a peculiar combination of meekness and grandeur. Toward his master, the prophet is the passive 'rod of his wrath' but in so doing he is permitted to share in God's omnipotence. He exhorts the multitudes, berates kings and high priests, and proclaims God's will. This ambivalent attitude appears clearly in the consecration of Jeremiah. After having been informed by the Lord that he was selected to proclaim his message throughout the world, Jeremiah states, 'Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak: for I am a child'; whereupon '. . . the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth. . . . I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.' [10]

Of the personal lives of the prophets we usually learn little. God's service alone gives meaning to their lives. The poignant foibles of human relationships, the joys and sorrows which bind his fellow men in ties of affection, the prophet has put behind him. Such ties as he does maintain are recorded only in terms of his dedication: thus Hosea, at God's command, chooses a harlot for a wife in order to illustrate the parable of redemption through love; Isaiah gives his children names to dramatize the events of his calling. To the prophets, ordinary human relations have become meaningless and insignificant; they are emotionally impoverished. Feeling is withdrawn from all other relationships and reinvested in a special relationship with God. There exist no other attachments to compete with the prophet's

[10] Jeremiah, I: 6 to 10.

love for God or to subvert it. His entire life is inexorably centered in his mission. The prophet is sacred (*ka-dosh*), that is, set aside or separated from the rest of humanity. This is the price of consecration. From that moment the prophet's existence has no other meaning.

That such withdrawal of object libido characterizes the creative efforts of artists is well known. This element in the constitution of the poet and the prophet is clearly and beautifully expressed in the first and third stanzas of O'Shaughnessy's Ode.[11]

We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;
World-losers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams.
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world forever, it seems.

We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing,
And Babel itself with our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth;
For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth.

In the phrases, 'lone sea-breakers' and 'desolate streams', one perceives the projection of the poet's mood onto objects in the external world which the poet consciously experiences as the sources of his inspiration.[12] In 'world-losers' and 'world-forsakers', the withdrawal of cathexis from the external world is evident.

If the essence of prophecy is an all-encompassing labor of love for God, we may ask, from what elements in the preprophetic personality might such world-shaking powers be derived? What

[11] O'Shaughnessy, Arthur: Ode: We are the music-makers. In: *Modern American and British Poetry*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1923.

[12] Kris, Ernst: *Op. cit.*

are its precursors? Do there exist earlier human relations which may serve as models for the devotion of the prophet to his God? The answer to these questions becomes apparent almost at once. In Judaeo-Christian tradition, God is experienced in terms of the father.[13] From the earliest period when he was conceived of as an irascible warrior who contended with the archetypal Behemoth and the primordial Leviathan to his later moral elevation as the benevolent ruler of the universe, God is uniformly a masculine deity. That the prophet Jeremiah identified God with his father is stated in the passage in which God says, 'Before I formed thee in thy mother's womb, I knew thee'.[14]

It was Freud who demonstrated the origin of the male god from the attitude of the son toward his father. The experiences and fantasies which center in this relationship reach a climax of intensity in the œdipus conflict. Before the resolution of this conflict, which is so momentous in shaping the personality of the boy, assumes its definitive character, many emotional crises must be endured and mastered. In the eyes of the child the image of the father looms as a giant, possessed of insuperable physical prowess and limitless magical knowledge. He seems an autocrat who can punish parricidal wishes with unspeakable mutilation and yet can bestow all measure of blessing upon those who gain his favor. This is the image after which the little boy must model himself if he is to achieve man's estate. It is an image toward which he has variously felt hatred and love, scorn and envy, withdrawal in angry defiance, reconciliation in submissive love. To emulate the father he must master the anxiety connected with the fear of retaliation for competitive aggression. Clinical analytic experience demonstrates how frequently this goal is not reached. According to Freud,[15] in the monotheistic religion of the Old Testament as in the

[13] Freud: *Totem and Taboo.* In: *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud.* New York: The Modern Library, 1938.

[14] Jeremiah, I: 5.

[15] Freud: *Totem and Taboo. Op. cit.*

patriarchal family, this conflict in the son is decided in favor of the father.

One form of resolving these conflicting anxieties and wishes deserves special mention. This is the plight of the son who, overcome by fear and guilt, surrenders his active, aggressive, masculine strivings and, by becoming passive, masochistic and, as it were, feminine, seeks reunion and reconciliation with a loving and forgiving father. This early relationship with the father governs subsequent relations with older men in authority and male competitors. These unresolved conflicts remain repressed, ready to burst forth with overwhelming intensity to the ego should some event disrupt the mechanism of defense.

In the course of uncomplicated development, the image of the prohibitive and threatening father is incorporated into the personality as the nucleus of the superego. In regressive mental states the direction of this process may be reversed, and the relationship to one's own superego may once again be experienced as a relationship with an external object. A similar transformation takes place in the origin of the masculine deity. The reprojection of the superego to a graven image, or to some anthropomorphic heavenly figure or, in a deanthropomorphized form, in pantheistic moral philosophy, is what is subjectively experienced as God. The vicissitudes of the process are many and complex, but its essence remains unchanged. The feeling for God is derived from the feeling for the father. Upon this emotional basis is founded the relationship between the prophet and his God.

The dynamic instability of a personality is to a large extent determined by the persistence of ambivalent attitudes. This is particularly true in the case of the prophets. Impressive as the prophet and his unswerving devotion to God may be, his attitude toward authority is steeped in ambivalence, if not outright rebellion.

The intense ambivalence toward the father is portrayed in a most straightforward fashion in the consecration of the prophet

Samuel.[16] The simplicity of this experience may be accounted for by the fact that it took place when Samuel was still a young child. This is the only instance of prophetic revelation in childhood recorded in the Old Testament. It is also the only experience which Samuel had in which he both heard and saw God.

From the time of his weaning Samuel had been dedicated by his mother to the service of God. For this purpose she had entrusted her son to the kindly and indulgent Eli, the aged priest whom thereafter Samuel served. To the child Samuel, ministering to Eli and ministering to God would be synonymous, as Eli from that time, for all practical and emotional purposes, filled for Samuel the role of a father. In the text he refers to Samuel as 'my son'.

In Eli's household Samuel was at a disadvantage. His natural aspirations, reinforced by his mother's hopes for him, were to succeed to Eli's position. This wish was thwarted by the fact that he was not of the clan of the priests nor even of the tribe of Levi. Toward Eli's sons, Samuel would have felt inferior, handicapped in the competition for the father's affection by the knowledge that he was an outsider. Eli's sons were a disappointment to their father because of their arrogance and licentiousness.[17] Samuel tried to overcome the natural advantage of blood ties which Hophni and Phineas enjoyed by offering himself to Eli as a different and better son, fashioning himself in obedience and humility according to Eli's ideals. The presence of this worthy lad in his household must have afforded

[16] The inclusion of Samuel among the prophets requires a note of explanation. As far as recorded scripture is concerned, he does not attain the stature of the other prophets discussed in this paper. He shares with them, however, the position of a historical model of a pre-eminent moral figure whose words were taken by him and the nation as the words of God. It is in this sense that the prophetic figure is understood throughout this study.

[17] The Hebrew version charges specifically that 'They lay with the women who did service at the door of the meeting tent'. This charge is not found in the Greek version. If this passage is a later addition, as many scholars indicate, it would represent how some unknown scribe interpreted the meaning of the rebelliousness of Hophni and Phineas and the loyalty of Samuel.

the aged Eli some measure of surcease from the painful awareness of his own sons' abominable behavior.

The consecration of Samuel occurred as a hallucinatory experience during the interval between waking and sleep when the mind slowly divests itself of the impediments of logical thinking. The emotional setting for Samuel's consecration is set forth explicitly in the Bible: 'And it had come to pass at that time, when Eli was laid down in his place, and his eyes began to wax dim, that he could not see'. Samuel knew that the death of his beloved guardian was imminent. Lying on his couch, oppressed by this knowledge, Samuel could have realized that the death of his master would signalize his own defeat. The knavish Hophni and Phineas would succeed to the priesthood while his position would be rendered most insignificant. This jealousy of his rivals would have been compounded with anger at the gentle Eli who never could summon up enough forcefulness to make his usurping sons desist from their abominations. Engaged in such thoughts, Samuel's feelings may be assumed to have surged to heights of hitherto unattainable intensity. At this point his inner feelings seemed to have become external realities: he began to hallucinate. He heard his name being called and thought it was the voice of Eli.

That the hallucinatory God is Eli is evident from the fact that Samuel cannot distinguish between their voices. The identification of God with Eli was, in any event, an easy substitution since the name Eli in Hebrew is practically the equivalent in sound to 'My God'. Throughout this section, Eli and God are addressed by Samuel in precisely the same terms.

In his revelation from God, Samuel's instinctual wishes are fulfilled. God decrees annihilation for Eli's sons, Samuel is to succeed to the pre-eminent position in Israel, and Eli is to be punished for his vacillation. This is Samuel's victory. What he could not get from Eli, God gives him in his revelation.

Plagued by feelings of guilt for the hostility toward his rivals as well as the rebuke to Eli in his vision, Samuel '. . . feared to show Eli the vision'. At Eli's insistence he unburdens himself of his revelation. What follows proves that Samuel's wishes

were no empty illusions. They were based upon a correct intuitive perception of Eli's feelings. That is why Eli, who was no prophet and never had a vision, was able to confirm Samuel's revelation and could say, 'It was the Lord. His will be done.' For in the previous chapter[18] Eli had, in fact, searched his conscience, in the words of 'a man of God', had weighed his sons in the balance, had concluded that they warranted destruction and that he deserved to share their fate.

More dramatic is the consecration of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which is recorded in the sixth chapter of the Book of Isaiah. In a passage of great beauty and sublimity, we are afforded perhaps the best opportunity for insight into the prophetic experience of consecration.

> In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.
>
> Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.
>
> And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.
>
> And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke.
>
> Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts.
>
> Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar:
>
> And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.
>
> Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, Here am I; send me.

[18] I Samuel, II: 27 to 32.

> And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.
>
> Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.
>
> Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate.
>
> And the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.
>
> But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten: as a teil tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them, when they cast their leaves: so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof.

This hallucinatory incident portrays graphically the prophet's agony of dedication.

The event which led to this consecration was the death of a king, Uzziah. Uzziah's reign had been long, prosperous, and successful, and with the exception of one dereliction, he had walked in the way of the God of Israel, a most uncommon path for the corrupt court of Judah. Throughout this passage, Isaiah's conception of God is in terms of a monarch. He refers to God as a king and sees him seated on a throne surrounded by fiery courtiers. Uzziah was a great military leader,[19] outstanding in the days of Judah's declining powers. He conquered the Philistines and the Arabians and exacted tribute from the Ammonites so that 'his renown spread abroad, even to Egypt' ; moreover, 'Uzziah had a host of fighting men, that went out to war by bands'. His army numbered two thousand six hundred officers and three hundred seven thousand five hundred men. In the desert he built outposts, and Jerusalem he fortified with ingenious military machines. Isaiah, furthermore, had applied for the ministry like a courtier volunteering for an ambassadorship, a scene which Isaiah surely must have witnessed during his attendance at court.

[19] II Chronicles, XXVI.

Since Uzziah had reigned for fifty-two years, and since Isaiah continued to prophesy during the reigns of the three succeeding kings of Judah, it is a certainty that Uzziah had been king at the time of Isaiah's birth and throughout the formative years of the prophet's personality. Those who recall the universal grief and felt the very personal emotion which was occasioned by the death of President Roosevelt will readily understand how deeply stirred the patriotic Isaiah might have been by the death of the good king. Precisely how Isaiah felt toward the recently deceased monarch we cannot know, but the image of the king or president is usually identified with the image of the father. For Isaiah, this identification was accentuated by the fact that the prophet, according to most authorities, was of noble if not of royal lineage. Mourning for the king is reconstructed as reactivating in Isaiah conflicting feelings connected with his father. The passions that swept through Isaiah are expressed in the line, 'And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke'. This might well represent a projection of the prophet's ecstatic bodily shuddering and the clouding of his consciousness.

That the prophet should assert he had seen the Lord face to face is in itself remarkable. The taboo of forbidden or aggressive looking was strong and explicit in ancient Israelite tradition. God said to Moses, 'No man may see me and live'. For the crime of forbidden looking, Adam and Eve were expelled from paradise, and Noah condemned Ham and his descendants to eternal servitude. This taboo has survived into modern orthodox Jewish lore, where there exists a superstition that looking at the hands of the priests in the act of bestowing the triple blessing will be punished with instantaneous blindness. The strength of this scoptophilic taboo must be related to the most basic of all taboos, the prohibition against incest. The taboos of scoptophilia and of incest are expressed in the Bible in identical terms, *Gi-looy ar-ah-yoth,* namely, the uncovering of nakedness. The conflict over looking at God is expressed in Isaiah's vision symbolically in relation to God's

surrogates, the seraphim, who are described as covering their faces and their feet with their wings.

Psychoanalytically, the face and feet are found in dreams and hallucinations to be symbols of male nakedness. Kent,[20] the eminent biblical scholar, translates the 'feet' in this passage as 'loins', explaining that 'feet' is introduced as a euphemism. It is also striking that the medieval Jewish biblical commentator, Rashi, in commenting on this passage, states that the seraphim did so, 'in order not to appear before their creator in their total nakedness'.

Isaiah's exclamation of guilt, 'I am a man of unclean lips ... for mine eyes have seen the King, Lord of Hosts', is puzzling. Since his aggression is visual, it would seem more correct for him to have imputed uncleanliness to his eyes, in which case the 'live coal' should have been applied there instead of to his lips in accordance with the *lex talionis*. We conclude that aggressive looking and speaking are equated and that Isaiah had at one time felt guilty of both. The Mosaic code provided the death penalty for those who raised their voices in curses against their parents.[21] So strong was the taboo against blasphemy that 'to curse God' is rarely found in the Bible.[22] The taboo against saying the Tetragrammaton, Yahweh, is probably derived from this prohibition. This connection between looking and irreverence is by no means fortuitous. Fenichel,[23] in commenting on the prohibition against looking at God's face, states that this prohibition is directed at the aggressive wish to become like God through an act of scoptophilic introjection. If we add to this Bornstein's [24] observation that the inhibition of looking at people's faces results from the displacement upward

[20] Kent, Charles Foster: The Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets. In: *Student's Old Testament*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, p. 107.

[21] Exodus, XXI: 17.

[22] See, for example, Job, II: 9.

[23] Fenichel, Otto: *The Scoptophilic Instinct and Identification*. Int. J. Psa., XVIII, 1937.

[24] Bornstein, Berta: *Zur Psychogenese der Pseudodebilität*. Int. Ztschr. f. Psa., XVI, 1930.

of the wish to stare at their genitals, it is probable that the wish to see God's face must, in part, be related to genital competition with the father. That other wishes may enter into this conflict one cannot doubt.

In the application to his lips of the burning coal, Isaiah indicated his wish to renounce forever all aggressive, masculine, competitive strivings with the image of God the Father. The organ of aggression having been purged of its rebellious sinfulness, it is now placed at God's disposal for the execution of his mission. By this submission he is reunited with God and, as his emissary, he now shares in his omnipotence. The auditory elements in this experience are striking. What Isakower [25] indicated about the spoken word in the hallucinatory experience of dreaming would apply very well to the prophet's hallucination of consecration: the voice of the Lord represents the projection of the prophet's superego. Through the introjection of the word of God, the prophet's ego is united with the superego. The prophet is identified with the God-Father image. Isaiah proclaims [26]

> Hear, O heavens, and give ear O earth
> For the Lord hath spoken.

The subjective awareness of his loss of emotional ties with other objects in the real world finds expression, again through the mechanism of projection, in the statement, 'Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate'. This corresponds to the well-known delusion of the world coming to an end, a delusion which very frequently announces the onset of schizophrenia. This delusion, Freud [27] demonstrated, signalizes awareness of

[25] Isakower, Otto: *On the Exceptional Position of the Auditive Sphere.* Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939. Also, contribution to the panel on *Dream Theory and Interpretation* at the midwinter meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, December 1948.

[26] Isaiah, I: 2. A literal translation from the Hebrew is: 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for God's mouth is speaking'.

[27] Freud: *Psychoanalytic Notes Upon an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia.* Coll. Papers, III, p. 456.

a change in the libidinal economy of the individual: a withdrawal of libidinal cathexis from the external world of objects and its reinvestment in the ego. In this instance this process was initiated by the withdrawal of libido from the highly cathected object, the recently deceased king, a paternal superego figure. What resulted was a regression from love to incorporation, from object relation to identification, from object libido to narcissism. It is essentially an incorporation of a superego figure, a fusion of ego and superego cathexes. This structural reorganization of the personality corresponds to the psychopathology which Freud,[28] Abraham,[29] Lewin,[30] and others have indicated characterizes the hypomanic state.[31] In this heightened narcissism, analogous to hypomania, the prophet embarks upon his mission. Freed from doubt or ambivalence, exuding conviction and certainty, he pursues his mission with unswerving devotion, heedless of the wishes of kings or the importunities of commoners. This narcissistic regression, achieved through the reorganization of the psychic structure of the prophet, ensures the success of his ministry. The aura of omnipotence exerts a fascinating effect upon dependent individuals passively

[28] Freud: *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego.* London: Hogarth Press, 1940.

[29] Abraham, Karl: Development of the Libido. In: *Selected Papers on Psychoanalysis.* London: Hogarth Press, 1942.

[30] Lewin, Bertram D.: *Analysis and Structure of a Transient Hypomania.* This QUARTERLY, I, 1932, p. 43.

[31] Subsequent variations between elation and depression in the prophet's mood would reflect the shift from harmony to discord, between the ego and the superego. The brief 'prophetic' experiences of Saul, first king of Israel, clearly illustrate this point. Saul prophesied on only two occasions. Both occasions were critical turning points in the relation between Saul and Samuel. Samuel at the time represented the pre-eminent moral figure in Israel. Immediately after Samuel had invested him with the kingship Saul, in a state of elation, fell into a trance and began to 'prophesy'. Later, when it became clear to Saul that Samuel had deposed him and had gone over to the camp of David, Saul fell to the ground in grief and mourning, tore at his clothes, and 'prophesied' for the second time. The first instance of Saul's prophetic experience is comparable to a transient mania; the second, to a depression. In the first instance there was harmony between Saul and the superego figure; in the second, discord.

seeking salvation.[32] In periods of catastrophe the number of such persons is ostensibly much greater than in more stable eras. In this fashion the prophet gathers about him disciples who are ready to follow him blindly, who find in him the lost omnipotence of their childhood.

For these reasons the prophet's influence may extend through the centuries. In every generation individuals with similar conflicts may find, through identification with the prophet, a model for the resolution of their own conflicts. Like the prophet's disciples, individuals in all generations seek adherence to prophetic, seemingly omnipotent figures who infuse in them a sense of certainty and safety against the torments of guilt and ambivalence. In this fashion, the prophet is an auxiliary superego in the struggle against one's own ambivalence, a phenomenon frequently encountered in the analysis of obsessional patients.

An analysis of the vision of Isaiah's consecration would be incomplete without reference to the promise of restoration contained in God's message. In spite of the forecast of utter annihilation, God does not withdraw his love entirely: a 'holy seed' survives. Grasping this tenuous libidinal tie, the prophet begins his quest for salvation. The nation, whose utter and fitting devastation he had visioned, he now seeks to restore to greater glory. This promise gives his life a new and exalted meaning. His new interest in mankind is intensified with wondrous significance.

A comparison with Freud's [33] analysis of the Schreber case is unavoidable, especially since Messianic delusions occasionally characterize attacks of paranoia. Freud demonstrated that the delusion of persecution is an attempt to restore the libidinal ties which have been abandoned. 'Such a reconstruction after the catastrophe is more or less successful but never wholly so. . . . [The world which] the paranoiac builds up again is not more

[32] Freud: *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. Op. cit.* See also: Olden, Christine: *About the Fascinating Effect of the Narcissistic Personality.* American Imago, II, 1941.

[33] Freud: *A Case of Paranoia. Op. cit.*

splendid than before . . . but at least he can once more live in it.' In contrast to the delusion of the paranoiac, the mission of the prophet successfully restores libidinal ties and may, indeed, build up a world more splendid than before.

Oral incorporation, only an intimation in the consecrations of Isaiah and Jeremiah, is the central theme of the consecration of the prophet Ezekiel. Exactly what event initiated the psychic processes which led to his experience of consecration we do not know. It must, however, have been some very specific incident, for the precise day of the event is recorded. Because of the frequency of his hallucinatory experiences and the vividness of their details, Ezekiel has been said to be psychotic by many authors. Such long-range diagnosis is hazardous and not particularly illuminating.

The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel is introduced with most detailed descriptions of the presence of God and of the train of his attendants. The mystical symbology of these chapters continues to baffle the interpretative efforts of biblical scholars, and has been a rich source of esoteric speculation for the cabalists.

Most pronounced in his vision is the impression which the element fire made upon the prophet. His awareness of a fiery presence reappears several times.

> And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it. . . .[34]

> As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.[35]

> . . . above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it.

[34] Ezekiel, I: 4.
[35] Ezekiel, I. 13.

> And I saw as the color of amber, as the appearance of fire round about within it, from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about.
>
> As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. And when I saw it, I fell upon my face, and I heard a voice of one that spake.[36]

This bears a resemblance to a repetitive dream wish, recurring in various editions, with increasing transparency, the final version having a nightmarish quality. The symbol, fire, is ascribed to the entire cloud which encompasses God and his attendants. (In the vision of Isaiah, fire is associated with God's surrogates, the angels and the holy creatures.) The entire body of Jehovah is invested with fiery brilliance, but finally it is upon the 'appearance of his loins even downward' that the eyes of the prophet focus. When this scoptophilic crescendo reaches its phallic climax, the prophet is completely overwhelmed, falls upon his face, and begins to hear the voice of God speaking.

The introjection of Jehovah and the divine phallus first conceived in visual terms continues at the auditory and oral levels.

> And [Jehovah] said unto me, Son of man, stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee.
>
> And the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me.
>
> And he said unto me, Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious nation that hath rebelled against me. . . .[37]

> But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee; Be not thou rebellious like that rebellious house: open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee.

[36] Ezekiel, I: 26 to 28. The fiery glow about the superego figure brings to mind the study of Greenacre, Phyllis: *Vision, Headache and the Halo.* This QUARTERLY, XVI, 1947.

[37] Ezekiel, II: 1 to 3.

And when I looked, behold, a hand was sent unto me; and, lo, a roll of a book was therein;

And he spread it before me; and it was written within and without: and there was written therein lamentations, and mourning, and woe.

Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, eat that thou findest; eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel.

So I opened my mouth, and he caused me to eat that roll.

And he said unto me, Son of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this roll that I give thee. Then did I eat it; and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness.

And he said unto me, Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them.[38]

The Hebrew word for 'caused me to eat' almost carries the connotation of a coercive act. In the original Hebrew the word for stomach is synonymous with the word for womb and is indeed the same word which occurs in Jeremiah's vision when Jehovah says,

> Before I formed thee in thy mother's womb,
> I knew thee.

Ezekiel's concentration on God's loins is expressed by the prophet in terms reminiscent of a fellatio-impregnation fantasy. The fiery phallus of the vision has been transformed at this point into the roll which tastes like honey. This symbolism is in accord with Freud's interpretation of the Prometheus myth in which the hollow fennel stalk is equated with the penis, and the fire, through representation by its opposite, with water.[39]

This association by the opposite is also explicit in the passage from Ezekiel,

. . . from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about.

As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about.

[38] Ezekiel, II: 8 to 10, and Ezekiel, III: 1 to 4.

[39] Freud: *The Acquisition of Power Over Fire.* Int. J. Psa., XIII, 1932.

In this fashion, God's word was literally ingested by the prophet. It has been demonstrated by many authors [40] that words written or spoken may represent feces in the unconscious. In his study of unconscious factors in reading, Strachey [41] refers to the printed word as 'the author's thoughts, fertilizing and precious . . . [equated with] the father's penis or feces'. In a footnote he refers to Ezekiel's vision as a fantasy of fecal impregnation by the word of God. This form of impregnation brings to mind Jones's [42] essay on the Madonna's conception through the ear. Jones interpreted this famous myth as a displacement upwards of a fantasy of anal gaseous fertilization in which the reception of divine speech represented the introjection of the father's flatus. The prophet states, 'and the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me'. The Hebrew word *Ru-akh* means spirit, wind, and breath.

The introjection of God through the various orifices of the body demonstrates the symbolic equivalence of phallus-fire-speech-breath-flatus-feces. The coprophagic fantasy is particularly striking in Ezekiel. One of the first missions assigned to him was to symbolize the coming of famine and national pollution by storing various grains in one vessel for a long period of time and then eating them baked in the form of a cake mixed with human dung. As a result of Ezekiel's protestations cow dung is substituted for 'dung that cometh out of man', a very insignificant displacement of the coprophagic impulse.[43] This incident illustrates very clearly how the sublimation of prophecy permits the emergence of and indulgence in perverse, pregenital forms of sexuality.[44] Similar illustrations can be culled from

[40] *Cf.* Ferenczi, Sandor: Obscene Words. In: *Contributions to Psychoanalysis.* Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1916. Strachey, James: *Some Unconscious Factors in Reading.* Int. J. Psa., XI, 1930. Spring, William J.: *Words and Masses: A Pictorial Contribution to the Psychology of Stammering.* This QUARTERLY, IV, 1935.

[41] Strachey, James: *Op. cit.*

[42] Jones, Ernest: The Madonna's Conception Through the Ear. In: *Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis.* London: International Psychoanalytic Press, 1923.

[43] Ezekiel, IV: 9 to 12.

[44] For this suggestion I am indebted to Dr. Ernst Kris.

the lives of the other prophets. That Ezekiel's incorporation of God's word was an identification with Jehovah is evident. After receiving God's message Ezekiel is told to go to the people of Israel and speak to them in God's name in the first person, introducing his message with the phrase, 'Thus saith Jehovah'.

The withdrawal of object libido from the external world during consecration was experienced by Ezekiel not only psychically but also physically. The revelation of God's presence culminated in the command to withdraw from the world, to lock himself up in his house and to utter a word to no person. Only after a period of isolation did Ezekiel emerge to proclaim his message.

During the exercise of his calling, the prophet speaks to the people in the same tenor as his conscience (God) has spoken to him. Isaiah, who reproached himself for having been a bad son, states, 'I have nourished and brought up children [sons], and they have rebelled against me'.[45] This neatly condenses the idea of God, father, and king. In the pursuit of his ministry, what had been an exclusively intrapsychic relationship between the prophet and his superego is now replaced by a relationship between the prophet and his people. In this way the prophet restores his object relationships but on a new and different plane in the exercise of his mission.

The shift in emphasis from the exclusively intrapsychic relationship between the prophet and the superego to a relationship between the prophet and his people accounts for contradictory attitudes taken by the prophets. Thus Moses, for example, when identified with God, behaves as superego and berates the erring nation. When identified with the nation, he suffers their torments, very much as does the ego in depression, and he implores God (the superego) to be lenient with the nation.[46]

[45] Isaiah, I: 2.

[46] By identifying with the prophet, individual members of the group may dramatize their own conflicted relationship with the ideals and authority of the group.

Without a mission, a prophet could have no existence. He would be living in an emotionally depopulated world. His mission fulfilled, Moses had to die just as the children of Israel stood at the threshold of the Promised Land. In the legend of the death of Moses, he retired in lone splendor to the top of Mount Nebo, and no creature in heaven or earth could be found to do God's bidding and bring the soul of Moses aloft. Finally God himself drew the soul of Moses out of his body with a kiss.[47] His mission having been completed, no emotional ties bound Moses to his fellow men; he was reunited in love with God, the father.

SUMMARY

The consecration of the prophet is a temporary schizophrenoid abandonment of reality and withdrawal of object libido. The schizophrenic tries in vain to re-establish these ties by involving his fellow men in the distorted relations of his delusions. The prophet, however, through his mission, succeeds in re-establishing the emotional bonds with the world of reality because his message truly corresponds to a deep emotional reality waiting to be stirred in the soul of his contemporaries. The apocalyptic dream of Isaiah of an era of universal peace, when 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation',[48] is a true representation of the aspirations of humanity.

In accepting the vision of the prophet, the nation completes the process of his consecration. The people install him in the office of their collective ego ideal. The universal selection of the prophet or his memory as the collective ego ideal gives unity and cohesion to the group.[49] In this sense the prophet symbolizes a stage in the historical evolution of the moral conscience of his people. Only the historical test of mass acceptance and the course of history itself validate the truth of the prophet's vision, and this is what distinguishes the true prophet from the false prophet. The true prophet is one who correctly divines

[47] Midrash—Deuteronomy.

[48] Isaiah, II: 4.

[49] Freud: *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. Op. cit.*

and expresses the emergent, but still inarticulate dreams and aspirations of his people. In this respect prophecy is like great art and both survive for the same reason.

> For each age is a dream that is dying,
> Or one that is coming to birth.

At the threshold of the ages stands the prophet, midwife of humanity's dreams.

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

Cultural and Characterological Traits of the Mohave Related to the Anal Stage of Psychosexual Development

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To cite this article: George Devereux (1951) Cultural and Characterological Traits of the Mohave Related to the Anal Stage of Psychosexual Development, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 398-422, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925849

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925849

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

CULTURAL AND CHARACTEROLOGICAL TRAITS OF THE MOHAVE RELATED TO THE ANAL STAGE OF PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

This study of the cultural and characterological implications of the anal stage of psychosexual development in Mohave society begins with a description of Mohave toilet training practices, followed by an analysis of fantasies rooted in the anal stage of development, and of the cultural and behavioral effects of these fantasies. To co-ordinate anally determined fantasies with the preceding oral, and the succeeding phallic-œdipal stages of development, one subsection presents orally tinged anal material, a second anal material only, and a third describes phallic-genital repercussions of the anal stage. This grouping is suggested by W. C. Menninger's study of the anal stage of psychosexual development *(44)*. A third section is the study of anally determined aspects of the character structure and behavior of the Mohave, with special reference to Menninger's tabulation of these traits *(44)*. This method of presentation is chosen not merely for convenience, but also because it makes our data readily comparable with the clinical findings of psychoanalysts, thus making possible a cross-cultural testing of certain aspects of the psychoanalytic theory of psychosexual development.

The compatibility of Mohave data with psychoanalytic theories pertaining to the anal stage and the anal structure of character came somewhat as a surprise because the great leniency of Mohave toilet training led to the expectation of finding an almost total absence of traits rooted even partially in reaction-formations to the anal expulsive phase, or of direct carry-overs

From the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, France.

from the anal retentive phase. This expectation was confirmed to the extent that such traits are, on the whole, far smaller in number than are traits derived in an unmodified form from the anal expulsive stage. The fact that reaction-formations to anal expulsion and survivals of anal retention are not altogether lacking even in the basic personality of persons belonging to a tribe characterized by an extreme leniency toward free instinctual expression confirms Freud's thesis that even when external events fail to stimulate certain anxieties and inhibitions, some of these inhibitions, and certain fantasies determined by them, will nonetheless arise through infantile misinterpretations of reality, and through fantasies of frustration and punishment. It is highly significant for educational theory that fantasies of frustration and punishment cause far less distortion or molding of character and behavior than do frustrations and threats actually imposed.

It is unnecessary to resort to the theory that such frustrations and threats are phylogenetic; it is far more reasonable to account for such fantasies by the fact that the child is extremely sensitive and capable of great empathy *(7)*, which causes it to overreact to the least hint of displeasure from its environment upon whose good will it is so dependent. This suggests that the child's extreme sensitiveness and capacity for empathy is one of its basic homeostatic mechanisms. Its exaggerated reactions enable the child to benefit from each superficial surge of tenderness in its unstable human environment, and to derive a great many needed narcissistic supplies from the most casual caresses. This, for example, leads to the gross magnification of the love between child and mother *(5)*, which is not an unmixed blessing since it leads to equally gross exaggerations at the least hint of maternal displeasure. Anxiety and frustration are, in other words, the price the child pays for its useful capacity to overreact to the least sources of narcissistic gratifications. This hypothesis, an economical one, supports Freud's thesis regarding the occurrence and power of threatening fantasies unsupported by real threats, without assuming that such fantasies are phylogenetic.

TOILET TRAINING

The Cradle Period. According to my informants Mohave cradles are padded with a mattress which absorbs the infant's urine and feces. Such mattresses are the most prized gifts relatives can give to newborn children, and especially to twins *(12)*. Until the child is able to walk around freely, it is permitted to defecate wherever it wishes. Wallace's informants fully confirmed these data: 'When an infant wets or soils itself, it is taken out [of the cradle] and wiped, and the mattress is removed and hung up to dry, or if soiled, soaked in water and then dried. Mattresses are used over and over again, and two or three are always kept on hand' *(52)*.

The Onset of Toilet Training. When a child begins to walk about, it will leave the house and void its feces or urine behind a nearby bush and then seek assistance from its mother or father, who will wipe its buttocks with tufts of arrowweed leaves. 'Toilet training begins when a youngster starts to walk about with some sureness. If the child urinates or defecates on the floor, the mother wipes it up and shows her displeasure by saying, *"a:k"* [my informants said *'a:kay hi:wa'*, i.e., nasty]. In this manner, the child gradually learns not to relieve itself in the house, but instead to go outside. A two-year-old is taken by its mother into the brush close by the house. Adults tease youngsters who are slow in learning bladder and bowel control. . . . Toilet training, already begun in infancy, is continued, though it is not unduly stressed. A mother continues to take her offspring out into the brush with her until the child is old enough to go alone. A youngster is instructed to "go behind a bush", "out of sight," and "to wipe with leaves or grass, using only the left hand". Children are told to cover their feces "so the rabbits will not get into it and give us sickness, because people eat rabbits". [My informants denied this.] Boys are less modest than girls in their excretory habits, and often urinate near houses. If a little girl should do this, she is told "to go away" because "it does not look nice for girls to do that". . . . The right hand is always used in eating because "it

is bad to be left-handed" and because "the left hand is used in going to the toilet". Parents discourage a child from using its left hand by slapping the fingers' *(52)*.

Completion of Toilet Training. My informants specified that toilet training is seldom completed before the fourth or fifth year of life. Children are only then able to clean themselves after defecation without having to seek—or without being offered—parental assistance.

Some Implications of Toilet Training Practices. The almost identical data secured by Wallace and by myself clearly indicate that Mohave toilet training is uncompulsive and very gradual. Such training is not completed, and the child is not entirely independent of parental help, until some time after the onset of the climax of the œdipal period. This, of course, means that the child's anal erotism is constantly stimulated, as well as gratified, during a particularly intense period of instinctual development, which probably explains the high degree of 'genitalization' of the anal tract. Psychologically, this type of toilet training prevents the formation of a compulsive character, but leads to a flowering of very elaborate and by no means unconscious anal fantasies. It probably also motivates the extreme generosity of the Mohave, which sometimes goes to such lengths that it creates unconscious resentment and leads to almost spiteful acts of generosity which practically reduce *ad absurdum* the extremely stringent tribal demand that people should be generous. Instinctually, this takes the form of excesses in anal expulsive behavior, such as soiling while giving 'anal gifts', while on the ritual level it manifests itself in the guise of frantic orgies of destruction of property during funerals *(13)*.

ANALITY IN MOHAVE CULTURE

ORAL—ANAL FANTASIES

The overlapping of the long nursing period with much of the period of toilet training—as well as with the onset of the œdipal period—leads to a number of culturally standardized

fantasies, in which oral elements are intimately blended with anal ones.

Coprophagic Fantasies are strikingly revealed by the fact that children are taught to cover their feces lest rabbits (which are most frequently taboo [*18, 26*] and yet the most common venison eaten by the Mohave) should get into them *(52)*. The practice of eating only with the right hand which is not used to wipe the buttocks, has a similar significance *(52)*. On a more recondite level, Mohave medicine men specializing in the treatment of psychosomatic conditions believe that certain dreams, in which the dreamer's body is covered with the nasal mucus, saliva, feces, urine, and vaginal secretions of his wife, lead to a form of mental disorder which is characterized by a reaction of nausea to food, and by depression with retardation.

Oral-Sadistic, Cannibalistic and Castrative Fantasies. Dreams of eating food with ghosts, or of cohabiting (perhaps incestuously) with ghosts, are believed to cause the dread *weylak nyevedhi:* (a contraction of *hiwey-lak nyevedhi:* ['anus-pain ghostly']) disease, which is closely connected with the psychology of Mohave alcoholism. One of the major symptoms of this disease is pseudocyesis, thought to be caused by the return of the dead baby into the maternal womb (probably uterine fibromata) *(23)*. The most striking example of culturally standardized oral-castrative aggression directed against the anus is the legend describing the first act of witchcraft. The ailing god, Matavilye, offended his daughter, Frogwoman, by touching her genitals. She emerged from the ground while her father was defecating and swallowed his feces, thus killing him 'by means of witchcraft'. Swallowing the paternal feces represents a fantasy of incorporating an anal phallus which, according to the legend, may have resulted in an incestuous pregnancy *(22)*.

Coprophagy and Suicide. Dreams of cohabiting or eating with one's dead relatives are believed to cause the *weylak nyevedhi:* disease. The identity of eating and fellatio in the unconscious of the Mohave has been described elsewhere *(14)*. This suggests a close association between incest and fellatio. In the legend of the god Matavilye's death by witchcraft, incest

by fellatio is implied in Frogwoman's murderous coprophagy. The fact that such dreams elicit so intense a longing to die *(23)* as to produce the *weylak nyevedhi:* disease suggests that the psychological link between coprophagy and suicide is a very strong one. This inference is confirmed by Róheim *(46),* who, in discussing the allegedly 'prenatal' dream of a shaman of the related Yuma tribe, reports that a dream incident, in which the infant in utero is suffocated and prevented from speaking by having dirt stuffed into its mouth, was almost immediately followed by a dream in which a female fly was unable to talk because the penis of a certain male insect was stuffed into its mouth.[1] As regards the Mohave, it is known that suicide by self-suffocation, accomplished by packing one's mouth with earth, was one of the traditional aboriginal forms of suicide. It is important to note that the only relatively recent instance of such a suicide was that of an old and ailing woman who was neglected and deserted by her children in violation of all the basic tenets of Mohave ethics. That this embittered old woman chose precisely this form of suicide was probably psychologically overdetermined. Matavilye's daughter bore a child which was conceived after she swallowed her father's feces *(22).* We know that *weylak nyevedhi:* dreams produce gastrointestinal disturbances which the Mohave equate with ghost pregnancy (pseudocyesis). In addition, the present technique of infanticide consists in burying alive illegitimate children who, in Mohave fantasy, are probably believed to be incestuously conceived *(15).* Infanticide originated in mythical times when the parents were too hungry to permit their babies to live; this practice was abolished—so the legend goes—when seeds defecated by a coyote, which appeared almost immediately after parents had drowned their baby, sprouted in the ground and bore pumpkins

[1] A subsequent field trip to the Mohave revealed that this dream is also part of a Mohave rite whereby a medium seeks to learn the whereabouts of persons killed in battle or while traveling. The medium goes into a trance by having dirt stuffed into his mouth. If—motivated by the traditional Mohave reluctance to have anything to do with the dead—a relative of the lost person wishes to abort the rite, he simply bares his penis while the medium is trying to go into a trance. This practice also reveals the close nexus between death, dirt, fellatio, and the aggressive use of the penis.

and melons *(15)*. I have, moreover, suggested that the many food taboos obtaining in the course of pregnancy and after childbirth constitute a reaction-formation against parental cannibalistic wishes *(26)*, which appear thinly disguised in the above legend. In brief, it is probable that the suicidal geophagy of this old woman was determined by hostile and cannibalistic wishes directed at her irresponsible children who would not feed her, and by self-punitive mechanisms elicited by these wishes.

Summing up, our cultural data indicate a close nexus between coprophagy, fantasies of fellatio and child cannibalism on the one hand, and suicidal trends acted out in self-suffocation by means of dirt stuffed into one's mouth.

Nausea is closely connected with coprophagic fantasies. Whenever the notoriously voracious shaman Hivsu: Tupo:ma had to go to the toilet—almost invariably after a meal—he would excuse himself by saying, 'I go to throw up'. The significance of this idiosyncratic expression lies in the fact that although he spoke only broken English, my interpreter assured me that he was quite aware of the fact that 'throwing up' meant vomiting and not defecation: 'It is only his way of trying to be polite'. It is also noteworthy that Hivsu: Tupo:ma had so notorious a liking for 'roast beef with lots of *brown* gravy' that whenever I invited him to the local restaurant, the waiter did not even trouble to wait for his order, and simply set down before him his favorite dish. Since one of the standard fantasies of Yuma *(46)* and Mohave shamans is that, while they were still in the maternal womb, the paternal penis inserted into the mother's vagina was feeding them with sperm *(18)*, it is quite likely that nausea is rooted in a denial of the fantasy of being impregnated orally either by the paternal penis or its anal equivalent. This impression is reinforced both by the fact that oral dreams and digestive disturbances are said to accompany the *weylak nyevedhi:* disease, and that the reactions of nausea to all food are caused by dreams of being covered with one's wife's bodily secretions. (Cf. the name *Hima:t hipili:ya:k,*

contracted to *Pelyák,* signifying 'everything sweating', i.e., all secretions.)

Both psychoanalytic clinical experience and Mohave data suggest that nausea rooted in coprophagic fantasies is ultimately connected with intrauterine fantasies. Several facts support this inference. The Mohave intensely dislike the smell of blood, and particularly the odor of menstrual blood and of the female genitals; hence, when some playful boon companions pushed a drunken man's face against the vulva of an intoxicated woman with whom they had cohabited serially, the man became nauseated and 'could not stop vomiting' for quite a while *(25).* An additional bit of evidence is the fact that the Mohave wipe their buttocks with the left hand which, according to their beliefs, stands for the maternal side of the family, and eat with the right hand which represents the paternal side of the family *(42).* While this practice alone does not suffice to prove the existence of an unconscious nexus between oral, anal, and intrauterine fantasies, the occurrence of nausea and fantasies of fecal-oral impregnation *(22),* when associated with the evidence presented here, further reinforces the plausibility of this reconstruction. In fact, only in the light of this interpretation does the practice of eating with the right hand become psychologically meaningful. This practice reflects a defense against coprophagous wishes and, since the right hand is the paternal one, it simultaneously gratifies the fantasy of being fed by the father's penis. This fantasy is also a distinctly intrauterine one, since the Mohave believe that the fœtus is fed by the paternal sperm *(18).* That Hivsu: Tupo:ma, who was a shaman (a person who, by definition, recalls the events of intrauterine life [*37, 43*]), habitually referred to defecation as 'throwing up' is in accordance with the inferences drawn from these data. Our Mohave data tend to support, and even to expand, Angyal's analysis of the nausea reaction *(4).*

The fusing of oral and of anal elements is probably due to the fact that weaning is sometimes delayed until after the onset of the œdipal stage *(14).* This overlapping of oral and anal

interests and gratifications may be presumed to bring about a more or less permanent fusing of oral and anal interests and traits.

ANAL FANTASIES

The anal stage of psychosexual development plays an important role in Mohave character formation, although its significance is due to factors which differ radically from those which determine the importance of this developmental stage in the formation of character in our own society. In Western society an early, strenuous and severely moralistic sphincter training determines a tendency to fixation on the phase of anal mastery with traits of compulsiveness. In direct contrast, Mohave toilet training affects Mohave character chiefly through its leniency toward infantile anality—toilet training being extended over the first four or five years of life.

Anal Expulsiveness. It is striking to note that whenever a Mohave shaman described some disease, he almost invariably mentioned diarrhea as one of the major symptoms. Anal expulsiveness also plays a role in anal intercourse, since in several instances this form of cohabitation ended with the woman defecating upon the penis of her husband or lover *(25)*. In fact, heterosexual *(25)* and homosexual *(9)* anal intercourse alike are believed to cause hemorrhoids and 'loose bowels'. This belief is carried to the extreme that fœtuses, whose pregnant mothers practice anal intercourse, are believed to suffer from 'loose bowels' in later life *(18)*, which suggests that the man cohabiting anally with a pregnant woman also cohabits in the same manner with the fœtus, just as, should he cohabit with her orally, one infers that he is believed to have done the same with the fœtus *(24)*. The spiteful character of anal soiling is known to the Mohave, who describe in great detail the appearance of the feces of children who make themselves 'sick from spite' when, because of the mother's advanced pregnancy, they have to be weaned at last *(14)*.

Another practice closely related to anal expulsion is the staging of mock battles in which opposing groups sling mud at each

other from the end of flexible willow poles *(52)*.[2] A personal name, 'Sweethearts-Slinging-Mud-At-Each-Other', shows that mutual mock insults play a significant role in courtship. This is partly confirmed by the tradition that if a girl speaks profanely of her suitor or of his dead relatives *(28)*, he immediately declares, 'She is as good as mine!'. The application of mud in the care of the hair *(49)* may be interpreted as a socially accepted persistence of anal smearing.

Anal Retentiveness plays only a negligible role in Mohave society. Constipation is never mentioned by shamans discussing the symptomatology of various diseases; the only formal reference to constipation pertains to the mock childbirth of male transvestites *(9)*. Of a dozen or more anal names, only one: *Hiwey kahapet'a* (Anus-Plugged), refers to constipation, and none of the traditional pejorative expressions of the Mohave *(28)* refer in any way to anal retentiveness. The only reference to anal loss is a legendary episode which is actually a disguised anal castration fantasy *(22)*.

Anal Scoptophilia and Anal Names are closely interrelated, the connecting links being the fantasy of the anal penis, which leads to phallic voyeurism, and the fantasy of the fecal child, which is responsible for obstetrical voyeurism *(19)*. Mohave scoptophilia is, furthermore, often quite aggressive in character, both in its voyeuristic and in its exhibitionistic forms.

The cultural sphere in which this scoptophilia manifests itself in the least inhibited form is the Mohave naming pattern. Many Mohave possess several names, some of which were chosen by the bearer himself, either because the name or names happened to amuse him, or seemed striking to him, or else because they cast an aspersion upon some person or practice which the bearer of the name happened to dislike or disapprove. Thus, a man who disapproved of drinking called himself 'Whisky-mouth'. Another man, who disliked promiscuous women whose genitals are believed to 'darken from use', called himself 'Charcoal-Vagina' *(14)*. Nicknames are based upon some real or fancied characteristic of a person, or upon some scurrilous

[2] This practice may be related to the Mexican spear-throwing technique.

incident in that person's life. Some nicknames are resented, while others are accepted with some pride, if they happen to be scurrilous enough. Anal names fall into several categories.

Configuration of the Buttocks and Anus. Hiwey Kunâhuly (Drags-Her-Buttocks) is the much resented nickname of a large-buttocked woman of the Hualy gens, who is the sister-in-law of the shaman Hivsu: Tupo:ma. *Matha:tc nuhui:lye* (Matha:tc-Drags-It) is the nickname of a woman of the Matha:tc gens. *Hiwey ahmat hanyu:tc* (Buttocks-Pumpkin-Covered-Over) is a male name ridiculing women whose large buttocks, when covered by their skirts, resemble pumpkins roasted under a fire. *Hiwey kuvlye:o:* (Anus-Wide): 'He was given that name by other people while he was still a child. It was his real name at that time, since he was too young to know that it was an insulting one. However, now that he is grown up, *and his parents are dead* (sic!), he resents being called by that name, and chose for himself the name *Ikweny-aha* (Water-From-The-Clouds) [The drinking water of twins *(12)*].' The Mohave ascribe extraordinary feats to another man's allegedly capacious anus. 'One day, while riding horseback, one of his remarkably large testicles slipped into his anus. He tried to get it out, but it only went in deeper and deeper. Finally he knocked it out with his breath.' [3] He has 'syphilis with spells' (convulsions), and an 'atrophy of the optic nerve'. *Tinyam hiwey* (Night-Anus)—the origin of this masculine name could not be explained. It may, conceivably, be connected with the belief that the sexual organs, especially those of women, darken from use. *Hiwey kusaha* (Anus-Rotten) is a masculine name which may possibly constitute a derogatory reference to the anal syphilitic lesions of certain women. *Hiwey kahapet'ȧ* (Anus-Plugged) is the real name of a man who, my informants stated, was neither a homosexual nor a male transvestite (who constipates himself in order to produce a fecal child [*9*]). It is an unusual name,

[3] The relationship between breath and flatus has been discussed by Jones *(36)*. In this incident 'breath' presumably refers to a tightening of the abdominal musculature, as in defecation, rather than to mere flatulence. The incident is probably related to fantasies of 'withdrawal of the penis'*(25)*.

since it seems to refer to constipation which is exceedingly rare among Mohave Indians. *Kari vaha:* (Basket-Guts), being the name of a man, may be simply descriptive of a sagging abdomen. When speaking English, the Mohave sometimes use the expression 'she got fat', or 'he made her fat', to describe impregnation and pregnancy; however, the personal name 'Fattening-A-Women' is a slur upon men who dance attendance upon their wives, and serve them food instead of being served by them.

The Anus of Animals and of Inanimate Things. Elefant hiwey (Elephant's-Anus) is the name of a man who had been circumcised for phimosis, and who has a whole series of obscene names, including significantly *Modhar taa:p* (Penis-Cover), meaning both foreskin and condom *(17). Hattcok hiwey* (Dog's-Anus) is the nickname of a man. *Tuhum hiwey* (Goods'-Anus, or the anus of dry goods or textiles) is the name of the man who invented it, and who is said to be very proud of it. To test this I tried to 'buy' his name from him, pretending that I wished to assume it. He considered the offer seriously, but refused a bid of several dollars because he liked his name too much to part with it.

Flatulence. Hiwey kupu:p (Anus-Fart)—kupu:p being onomatopoeic—and *Hivthet u:tat* (Fart-Sharp or Loud) and *Su:k^{w}etcȧ* (Gut-Rumbling) are men's names.

Defecation and Feces. Hima:t hipili:ya:k, shortened to *Pelyȧk* (All-Sweating, i.e., All-Bodily-Secretions), is a masculine name which includes sweat, mucus, saliva, urine, feces, sperm, and sometimes milk. Dreams of being covered with this *pelyȧk* of one's wife are said to cause a disease characterized, among other things, by nausea, vomiting, and retarded depression. *Hipa: kwitcierk^{a}* (Hipa:-Feces) is the nickname of a woman of the Hipa: gens. *Sȧtimu:ly itcerk* (Indian's-Feces) and *Huski:v itcerk* (Dove's-Feces) are male names. *Amayk itcerktce* (On-Top-Feces, i.e., Defecated-Upon) is the nickname of a man who had anal intercourse with a virgin, 'too young for vaginal intercourse'. When discovered by the girl's grandparents, he had to withdraw his penis in such a hurry that the girl 'accidentally'

defecated upon it. The bearer of this nickname is rather proud of it because it refers to the kind of scurrilous sexual exploit in which the Mohave take a great deal of pride *(25)*. *Pork'upork'a* (derived onomatopoeically from defecation) is the nickname of a man whose mistress defecated upon his penis at the end of an act of anal cohabitation. *Tahuak an* (Two-Squatting)—a dubious male name—may, perhaps, also belong to this group.

Anal Exhibitionism (*aggressive*). *Hiwey kavadhe:qa* (Buttocks-He-Spreads) is the Mohave nickname of a Chemehuevi Indian who, when he was a young boy, frequently thus exhibited his anus. The Mohave know him only by this name and, as far as they are concerned, it is his real name.

These names strongly suggest that, like all scurrilous sex acts, anal-erotic activities delight the Mohave Indian and titillate his sense of humor. The deliberate choice or bestowing of such names, as well as the fact that only two of the anal nicknames are resented, clearly indicates the presence of strong anal voyeurism and exhibitionism in Mohave society, especially since names in primitive society tend to be rather highly cathected and to be thought of as an integral part of the person *(50)*.

ANAL-GENITAL FANTASIES

The Anal Penis Fantasy is closely interwoven with scoptophilic and castrative tendencies. 'One day some people were spying upon *Lavur Modha:r* (Burro's-Penis), famous for the large size of his penis, while he was squatting to defecate. When they saw a huge object which dangled from between his legs, they "mistook" it for a partially expelled fecal mass, and wondered when it would break off. Finally they realized that what they had "mistakenly" identified as his feces was actually his penis.' This mistake is determined by the fantasy of an anal penis, while the 'wondering when it would break off' expresses the castrative envy of the penis. The illusory hugeness of the envied penis corresponds to the enormous discrepancy which, in the estimate of the small boy, exists between his penis and that of his father. The desire to castrate the huge penis is reflected in the remark, 'Your penis is so rotten that it will fall

off at once' *(21)*, which old Mrs. Tcatc addressed to a friendly white, i:e., to a member of a race believed to possess huge penes *(25)*.

The close association of the penis with feces is exemplified by a humorous anecdote. 'Two men were once discussing a certain unpopular man, whose penis was so short that one of his former mistresses spoke of him as "the biggest man with the smallest penis". One of the men held his hands about a foot apart and said, "He is *that* long! ". "Do you mean his penis?" "No", the first man retorted, "I mean his feces".'

The legend of the death of the god Matavilye, whose feces were swallowed by his daughter, is also a direct expression of castrative aggressions directed against the anal penis *(17, 22)*. The prominence of the anal penis fantasy may explain why the act of defecation is so closely integrated with scoptophilia and the primal scene *(19)* among the Mohave Indians whose anal character traits are rooted in the expulsive phase of the anal stage of development.

The Fecal Child Fantasy is intimately connected with constipation. Male transvestites deliberately constipate themselves by drinking a decoction of mesquite beans; then, in a mock act of childbirth, they pass a huge scyballum which they call their 'stillborn child'. This habit of transvestites was so well known that when normal men happened to walk with the 'husband' of a transvestite, they kicked every pile of excrement they passed and exclaimed, 'That is your child' *(9)*. The fact that those Mohave, who speak only broken English, refer to impregnation as 'making her fat' also suggests a nexus between the fecal child and fantasies of oral impregnation (Cf. also Frogwoman's impregnation).

The 'Analization' of the Vagina. An incident is described in which the woman's vagina emitted embarrassingly loud noises after the withdrawal of the penis *(25)*. The Mohave name *Hulo:kum-k'o:k'* (Withdraws-The-Penis-With-A-Click) refers to this phenomenon and suggests fantasies of moist vaginal flatus. The well-known tendency of Mohave women to relax all sphincters after intercourse also points to such an association.

An adolescent girl is reported to have urinated upon the hand of the man masturbating her *(27)*, and semen mixed with saliva 'bubbled' from the mouth of a woman who had just performed fellatio *(14)*. It is safe to say that the leniency of Mohave toilet training has led to a high degree of erotization of the anus, and also to an expulsive 'analization' of all body sphincters. The opinion that the Mohave tend to view the anus as a sort of imperfect and infantile vagina is conclusively proven by the practice of cohabiting anally with virgins 'too young for vaginal intercourse' *(25)*.[4] Mud, which is a very common fecal symbol, is used extensively in autoerotic practices. Boys insert their penes into piles of soft mud, while girls rub their vulvae against little mounds made of mud *(27)*. Slippery clay, which has the consistency of soft feces, is used for lubricating the penis before inserting it into the anus or into the vagina *(25)*.

The 'Vaginalization' of the Anus. The tendency of women and men to use the anus as a sex organ is quite evident. Anal intercourse is a common practice with almost all women, and although they sometimes complete the act by defecating on their partners' penes *(25)*, they admittedly enjoy it. Male transvestites habitually refer to the anus as vagina *(hispan [9])*. A heterosexual man, who enjoyed having his wife practice fellatio on him, described the sensation: 'It felt as though my anus were being sucked inward—as though I had a large hole where my anus is'. This suggests intense prostatic, collicular *(30)* and anal orgastic sensations which, as psychoanalysis has shown, are closely connected with phallic passivity *(40, 41)*.[5] The most conclusive proof of cloacal fantasies is the instance of a drunken husband who approved when his inebriated boon companions cohabited in turn with his equally drunken wife. When, however, one of them tried to perform anal intercourse, the

[4] Anal 'defloration' is also practiced by the Patwin Indians *(39)*.

[5] The occurrence of phallic passivity among the Mohave is confirmed by obscene gestures, which suggest that the penis is often inserted in a semiflaccid state, causing the woman to take the active role during the second part of intercourse *(17, 28)*.

husband threatened to fight, stating that his wife's anus was his exclusive property *(25)*. The anus for him, through hypercathexis, had become a supervagina, and by paranoid feminine identification, the focus of the husband's monopolistic, erotic jealousy. This represents an infantile cloacal and homosexual conception of the vagina, not as a heterosexual organ, but primarily as the maternal birth canal. That this regressive definition of the vagina occurred during acute alcoholic intoxication supports the interpretation *(23)* that cannibalistic fantasies and intense preoccupations with the body content of women play a significant role in the psychology of Mohave alcoholism.

Cloacal Fantasies cannot be demonstrated directly, but may be inferred from the fact that the Mohave abhor the smell of blood, and particularly the odor of menstrual blood as well as the odor of the female genitalia. Thus when a drunken man's companions pushed his face against the genitalia of a drunken woman with whom they had cohabited, he was so nauseated that he vomited. The 'pathogenic' nausea dreams, in which the dreamer is covered with the various secretions of his wife, likewise suggest the existence of unconscious cloacal fantasies, as do conscious feces = baby fantasies, and the frequency of anal intercourse. This practice induces a 'vaginalization' of the anus not only in women *(25)* and in male transvestites *(9)*, but apparently even in 'normal' men (cf. the description of male sensations during fellatio).

'When a certain young boy, who later became a shaman and a witch, cohabited with a hen, he caused her guts to fall out and she died' *(22)*. In this sadistic anecdote, the female organ is, in fact, a cloaca. If there be any recognition of this anatomical structure of hens, it may spring from an intuitive 'readiness' *(2)* deriving from cloacal fantasies.

Mohave women terminate their menses by standing above a small fire of dried animal droppings covered with leaves and fumigating the genitals. This is the only instance known to the author in which the Mohave utilize droppings as fuel in either

a ritual or in any other manner.[6] According to Tickles-Girls'-Navel-At-Night, in aboriginal times the Mohave used either weeds, or else the dried excrements of the girl's family; the latter further substantiating the anal penis theory of pregnancy. That this rite is also the only one in which fire is permitted to come, at least indirectly, in contact with menstrual blood[7] is also noteworthy, since the Mohave believe that if fire consumes the menstrual blood, or objects stained with menstrual blood, or such substitutes as the cradles of babies *(20)*—who are formed of menstrual blood *(18)*—it will sterilize the woman. As pregnancy, like sterility, causes a cessation of the menstrual flow, and since excrement is equated with the impregnating paternal anal penis *(22)* and with babies, this ritual may be a distorted symbolization of intercourse with the fecal penis. This interpretation is purely speculative and may well prove to be erroneous.

ANAL CHARACTER TRAITS

Characterological Implications. The distinctive character of Mohave toilet training should, if psychoanalytic theory is correct, lead to appreciable differences between Mohave and American character, especially in regard to traits known to be related to the anal stage of development as described in the writings of Freud *(32)*, Abraham *(1)*, Jones *(35)*, William C. Menninger *(44)*, and others. Menninger's detailed analysis of anal factors in character development is perhaps the most convenient starting point for a study of those Mohave traits which are rooted in the anal stage. Listed below are the traits mentioned by Menninger, divided into traits usually found and

[6] The use of manure as fertilizer is borrowed from the whites. In the past, Mohave fields were fertilized by mud deposited during the annual overflow of the Colorado River. This, of course, contributes to the link between mud and feces.

[7] The term 'menstrual blood', rather than 'vagina', was used since some intoxicated wags once set fire to the pubic hair of some drunken women who extinguished it by starting to urinate *(23)*. Among the related Yuma, urinating into fire is believed to cause sterility *(31)*.

traits usually absent in Mohave character and behavior. Comments in brackets refer to specific Mohave practices or traits.

(A) Anal Repercussions of Oral Traits
  1. Direct Carry-Overs
    (a) Present: Eating chocolate [?]. Soiling words— profanity *(28)*. Fecal-anal stories *(16)*. Looking at excreta *(9)*. Nose-picking [?].
    (b) Absent: None.
  2. Socially Unacceptable Character Traits (by American standards)
    (a) Present: Dietary fads [ritual only; acceptable to the Mohave if connected with ritual]. Oral attacks. Mud slinging [standardized in the literal sense *(38)* and very rare in the figurative sense of the word]. Bag of wind [very rare]. Coprophilic humor [fairly acceptable]. Sarcasm [half humorous]. Belching.
    (b) Absent: 'Blowhard'.
  3. Socially Acceptable Character Traits (by American standards)
    (a) Present: Oratory [highly cathected]. Satire [mostly good-natured].
    (b) Absent: Fondness for laxatives.
  4. Reaction-Formation
    (a) Present: None.
    (b) Absent: Excessive purity of speech.
  5. Symptoms and Signs
    (a) Present: Spitting, vomiting, eructation, stammering [not observed; reported to be exceedingly rare].
    (b) Absent: None.

(B) Anal Expulsive Stage
  1. Direct Carry-Overs
    (a) Present: Erotic gratification in expulsion. Flatus expulsion for pleasure *(10)* with occasional soiling [?]. 'Chick Sale' stories. Interest in product and act. Relation to seeing and listening.

(b) Absent: Reading on toilet. Importance of daily bowel movement [except in the case of small children]. 'Throne'.

2. Socially Unacceptable Character Traits (by American standards)
   (a) Present: Messiness, slovenliness, dirty personal habits *(37)*. Painting things red [ritually only].
   (b) Absent: Writing on toilet walls; carving names. Overemphasis on order, punctuality. Excessive devotion to 'duty'. Conceit. Dominating attitude ('Do all, because no one else can do anything.'). Lack of initiative. Inability to organize or classify [within limits].
3. Socially Acceptable Character Traits (by American standards)
   (a) Present: Creation in 'writing' [folklore]. Handicraft [poor]. Making money [but not keeping it]. Musical interests, especially in wind instruments *(8, 37)*. Cleanliness [ritual]. Inappropriate 'dirt' [moderate]. Self-confidence, pride in production, conscientiousness [not compulsive]. Exploring [very highly developed]. Painting [nonrepresentative].
   (b) Absent: Sculpture. Aversion to signboards (nature despoiled). Orderliness, punctuality, research, indexing, analyzing, diagramming, organizing, classifying, scheduling.
4. Reaction-Formation.
   (a) Present: None.
   (b) Absent: Overcleanliness, externally clean, internally dirty, excessive purity re sexuality [conspicuously absent]. Excessive use of perfumes ['only fit for whores']. Inferiority feelings, excessive humility [except as a joke *(25)*] Sacrificial without capacity to love. Attention to detail, to detriment of major issues. Pessimism. Excessive or purposeless interest in statistics, indexing, classifying.

5. Symptoms and Signs
   (a) Present: Playing with feces *(9)*. Anal perversions *(9, 25)*. Dirt phobia [in a certain mental disease only]. Anal pruritis [inferential]. Aggressive smearing [very rare, and then only as humor]. Diarrhea as aggression [common in weaned children *(14)* and probably also in adults]. Manic productiveness [within limits only *(37)*; not pathological].
   (b) Absent: Megalomanic delusions of wealth, power [except in one case of manic-depressive psychosis].

(C) Anal Retentive Stage
1. Direct Carry-Overs
   (a) Present: Diarrhea from fear or anger. Flatus expulsion as an aggression *(10)*. 'Bronx cheer' [?]. Constipation as retaining a valued possession [in male transvestites as 'pregnancy' *(9)*]. Flatus [?] and urinary expulsion contests *(27)*.
   (b) Absent: Constipation from fear or anger. Constipation as retaining a valued possession [among normals].
2. Socially Unacceptable Character Traits (by American standards)
   (a) Present: Daredevil, foolhardy [acceptable in war *(47)*]. Passive aggression [one shaman acting as informant]. Procrastination. Stinginess [exceedingly rare and highly penalized *(11)*]. Sensitiveness to interference [within limits]. Extravagance [approved generosity].
   (b) Absent: Sit-down strikes [?]. Stinginess [in the majority], pedantry. Activity alternating with inhibition [sometimes alternating with loafing, when they lose interest or have worked enough to attain a limited, short-range objective *(37)*]. Exhibitionistic giving [except at funerals *(13, 33)*]. Giving as reaction to impotency.
3. Socially Acceptable Character Traits (by American standards)

(a) Present: Courage, 'guts', bravery [to a fantastic degree, especially a stubborn courage against odds in warfare *(37, 42)*]. Perseverance [under stress]. Collecting, thrift [in old women only *(37)*, for their funerals; imputed to twins *(12)*]. Productiveness. Philanthropy [highly cathected].

(b) Absent: Collecting [as hobby].

4. Reaction-Formation

(a) Present: Wastefulness [within limits].

(b) Absent: Indecision, timidity or meekness, lack of assertiveness, stubbornness and contrariness [except after long aggravation]. Neurotic complacency [as distinct from easygoing oral optimism]. Liberality without interest in cause or person. Refusal to give lest one be accused or suspected of attempting bribery.

5. Symptoms and Signs.

(a) Present: Dreams and fantasies of soiling. Mutism [one boy]. Self-punitive or destructive giving [at funerals only *(13)*]. Thwarted giving [to stingy and selfish dependents only].

(b) Absent: Persecutory delusions [except in psychosis]. Negativism, constipation as inhibited aggression [?]. Vindictiveness. Surliness. Sadism, parsimony and avarice [highly penalized traits]. Compulsions and obsessions [incomprehensible to the Mohave].

(D) Anal Repercussions of Phallic-Genital Traits

1. Direct Carry-Overs

(a) Present: Persistent anal pleasure zone. Forepleasure in intercourse [to a limited extent *(25)*].

(b) Absent: None.

2. Socially Unacceptable Character Traits (by American standards)

(a) Present: None.

(b) Absent: Unproductive work [one dubious ritual *(37)*]. 'Making a mess of things'.

3. Socially Acceptable Character Traits (by American standards)
   (a) Present: No traits listed.
   (b) Absent: No traits listed.
4. Reaction-Formation
   (a) Present: None.
   (b) Absent: Overproduction without interest further than in object produced.
5. Symptoms and Signs
   (a) Present: Constipation from fear of castration [male transvestites only *(9);* dubious case].
   (b) Absent: None.

It would be appropriate to add to this list the striking absence of ritualism among the Mohave, and the great flexibility of their few rituals. In other respects the traits listed by Menninger permit us to present not only a complete picture of the anal aspects of Mohave character, but also a good picture of the basic structure of the Mohave personality *(11)*.

Appraisal of Mohave Character on the Basis of Anal Traits. In Western culture, some of the least attractive of all human traits are related to the anal stage of development. It is, therefore, rather striking to note that even if one discusses the Mohave character strictly in terms of anal traits, the result is nonetheless likely to appeal to observers who are not neurotically inhibited. This impression is confirmed by the fact that every author who has written about the Mohave on the basis of personal knowledge has described them in terms which range from esteem to glowing enthusiasm *(3, 6, 37, 34, 45, 29, 42, 47, 51)*. Even Stratton *(48)*, who wrote from hearsay only, and who, in attempting to write a lurid account of the captivity of the Oatman girls, was trying hard to depict the Mohave as brutal savages, did not succeed in omitting entirely many traits revealing the generosity and good nature of the Mohave. The ability of the Mohave Indians to give and to accept love and to work creatively for the good of all, their fine and quick minds, and their warm-hearted dispositions create a doubt regarding

the validity of the thesis that instinctual frustration is a *sine qua non* of educability and socialization. Our Mohave data indicate that exceedingly limited instinctual frustration and a wide range of instinctual gratification are capable of producing a society which, admittedly lacking the amenities of civilization, is nonetheless capable of reaching considerable human heights, individually and as a group.

The structure of Mohave character, therefore, supports psychoanalytic theories regarding the characterological influence of the anal stage of psychosexual development, tends to validate these theories by means of cross-cultural data, and lends support to the role of fantasy in the formation of character and in the etiology of neuroses.

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The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

Orestes

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To cite this article: Joel Friedman & Sylvia Gassel (1951) Orestes, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 423-433, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925850

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925850

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

ORESTES

A PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH TO DRAMATIC CRITICISM II

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When an art form, like dramatic literature, draws upon myths of a culture for its content, it automatically adopts the basic features and functions of the myth itself. It becomes, in effect, a more sophisticated culture fantasy in which the innermost needs and repressed wishes of the society can be traced. Drama differs from myth in that it usually can be traced to an individual, the playwright, who brings to bear on it his own experiences and creative imagination. In spite of this fact, the play reveals not only the personality of the playwright, but the patterns of the society for which he is writing.

This is particularly true of Greek tragedy. It is an interesting phenomenon that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all gave their individual treatment to the same mythological themes without altering the basic structure, outcome, or intrinsic content of the myths themselves. Rank's description of the heroes of mythology as 'collective egos' is equally applicable when they appear in dramatic literature. The special advantage of the heroes in dramaturgy to students of culture is that they reveal not only the design of the society in which they were created, but by their incorporation in the traditional myth, they represent also the design of the societies preceding them.

In our studies of the hero, Œdipus,[1] as presented in mythology and in Sophocles' Œdipus Tyrannus, we discovered an extraordinary similarity between the plot of the play and the 'primal horde' described by Freud. We demonstrated that the tragedy was an artistic formulation and re-enactment of that original sociopsychological situation, and reconstructed the psychological demands and attitudes which must have existed

[1] *Cf.* Friedman, Joel and Gassel, Sylvia: *The Chorus in Sophocles' Œdipus Tyrannus.* This QUARTERLY, XIX, 1950, pp. 213–226.

at such a time. This analogy was drawn through a minute analysis of the chorus—which was found to bear a marked similarity in action and attitude to the 'band of brothers'—and through an analysis of the hero, Œdipus.

These investigations have led to the study of Orestes, another great hero of Greek tragedy in both myth and literature. Little psychoanalytic research has been accorded him (despite his frequent appearance as a hero in Greek tragedy), although he commits the reverse of the œdipal crimes and yet appears to be a contemporary of Œdipus.

Obviously, there must be a link of great importance between these two heroes. We believe that a clue to the nature of their relationship lies in determining whether Orestes and Œdipus were truly contemporary in origin.

It would be of great significance to discover that one of these heroes antedated the other. Although a chronological precedence may not be possible to establish, it is possible to determine a psychological sequence from the personality and deeds of these heroes, based on Freud's conception of the primal horde. Since these heroes are collective egos, they give us an insight into the societies of which they were a part, and thus an idea of the changes and social upheavals which took place in them.

As the Greek tragedians treated the same themes without distorting the basic functions of the myths, we have felt free to draw from the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides dealing with the Orestes story as one body of material. We have ignored the special qualities given the character by the playwrights—except in especially pertinent instances—and have concentrated on a generalized story content in addition to the myth as it is commonly known.

To investigate the society which created Orestes, it is first necessary to establish the particular psychological mechanisms given him as an individual; then from his function as a collective ego are deduced the forces at work within the society he reflects.

It is important to realize that by the very nature of myth,

all the elements it contains are projections of the hero. The figures and events contained in it are shaped and colored according to the dictates of the hero's demands. In the study of Orestes, or of any hero, the other characters in the myth and play are important only in how Orestes causes them to behave and how he evaluates them.[2]

The story of Œdipus, briefly, is of having unwittingly killed his father and married his mother, thereby committing the two crucial taboo acts of primitive society—patricide and incest. He is ignorant of the fact that he himself is the evil-doer in his community until all evidence completely damns him. Upon the discovery of his guilt, he blinds himself, suffers great anguish and remorse, and is banished.

In the story of Orestes, his father, Agamemnon, is murdered by his mother, Clytemnestra, with the aid of her lover, Ægisthus. Orestes' sister, Electra, rescues him from his mother and sends him to live in safety in another land. When he returns a man, he avenges his father's death by slaying his mother and her lover. After the deed he goes mad, pursued by the Furies until he finds haven in the Temple of Apollo. Ultimately, he is absolved of his guilt.

Toward his dead father, Orestes maintains an attitude of great love and respect. Toward his mother, he feels great antagonism and hostility. The act of murdering her is of pivotal importance, for it is from the charge of matricide that Orestes is finally absolved. Henry Alden Bunker believes that matricide is a form of acting out of repressed incest. Plunging the sword into his mother's body is a symbolic act of intercourse.[3]

[2] The structure of the myth can be likened to the dream and can, in this respect, be considered the dream of a culture. The myth, too, is a highly subjective experience and the hero's relation to it is similar to the individual's relation to his dream.

[3] Bunker, Henry Alden: *Mother Murder in Myth and Legend.* This QUARTERLY, XIII, 1944, pp. 198–207.

In Euripides' Electra, Orestes throws his mantle over his eyes before plunging the sword into his mother's body. This is reminiscent of the castration symbolism of Œdipus' blinding himself.

The basic question is, why should two heroes, who supposedly embody the same wishes, express them in such opposite forms?

The hero, Œdipus, acts out the repressed incestuous striving by direct gratification. In the light of Bunker's analysis of matricide, it seems logical to suspect that Orestes must be, in some way, a reaction to Œdipus. It is interesting to find in the Orestes legend that the queen's lover was guilty of the same crimes as Œdipus—Ægisthus, a blood relative of Agamemnon, having killed the father-king, entered into sexual relations with the queen-mother. In this respect, Ægisthus has committed these deeds as a son against the father, thus serving as the Œdipal component in the situation which Orestes is impelled to avenge. Clytemnestra not only plotted her son's death but bestowed her love on a substitute. She is, in fact, the wicked mother.

In connection with Orestes' relationship with his mother, the following is quoted concerning the homosexual personality.

> The homosexual is incapable of becoming reconciled to his disappointment at being deprived of the breast and accepts the male penis as a substitute also because it reminds him of his own half-successful mechanism of denial of loss of the breast. He seeks in the penis of the male, so to speak, the reduplication of his own defense mechanism: 'I have not lost the breast; I have one in the penis'.[4]

It is little short of astonishing to find in Æschylus' The Choëpheri,[5] the following dialogue between Orestes and the Leader of the Chorus in which an account is spoken about the queen's dream which is reported to have caused her much concern.

> Orestes: Heard ye the dream, to tell it forth aright?
> Leader: Yea, from herself; her womb a serpent bare.
> Orestes: What then the sum and issue of the tale?

[4] Bergler, Edmund: *Eight Prerequisites for the Treatment of Homosexuality.* Psa. Rev., XXXI, 1944.

[5] Æschylus: *The Choëpheri.* Trans. by E. D. A. Morshead in *The Complete Greek Drama,* edited by Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill, Jr. New York: Random House, 1938, Volume I.

Leader: Even as a swaddled child, she lull'd the thing.
Orestes: What suckling crave the creature, born full-fanged?
Leader: Yet in her dreams she proffered it the breast.
Orestes: How? did the hateful thing not bite her teat?
Leader: Yea, and sucked forth a blood-gout in the milk.
Orestes: Not vain this dream—it bodes a man's revenge.

This dialogue is followed by Orestes' interpretation of the dream.[6]

I read it in each part coincident
With what shall be: for mark, that serpent sprang
From the same womb as I, in swaddling bands
By the same hands was swathed, lipped the same breast,
And sucking forth the same sweet mother's milk
Infused a clot of blood; and in alarm
She cried upon her wound the cry of pain.
The rede is clear: the thing of dread she nursed,
The death of blood she dies; and I, 'tis I,
In semblance of a serpent, that must slay her.[7]

It is certainly true that Orestes was denied his mother's love, represented here by her breast, as well as by her destruction of his father, and by giving her love to Ægisthus-Œdipus. That Orestes is strongly identified with the murdered father is noted by the Chorus in The Choëpheri which says to him, 'And by her hand [Clytemnestra] strove, with strong desire/ Thy life to crush, O child, by murder of thy sire'.[8] In his interpretation of the dream, Orestes anticipates his crime, and associates himself directly with the phallic serpent.

In this context, the serpent biting the mother's breast can be construed as an action of revenge for the loss of the breast.

[6] Sophocles, in his Electra, also uses the device of having the queen report a prophetic dream. It is possible that a dream was at one time included in the myth. In Sophocles' version, the queen dreams that Agamemnon returns to take his scepter back from Ægisthus. This would seem to confirm the role of Ægisthus as Œdipus, and it is also a good example of the principle that the basic 'idea' of the myth remains constant regardless of the individual playwright's treatment of it.

[7] Æschylus: *Op. cit.*

[8] *Ibid.*

This is a 'denial of the loss of the breast'; biting his mother's breast is an act which hides the disappointment at having been deprived of the breast. Thus the murder of Clytemnestra becomes, on the one hand, a symbolic act of intercourse, and on the other, a complete repudiation of her.

Orestes' parental relationships and the parallel between the dream content and Bergler's observations warrant considering Orestes as a homosexual. Every element in the myth and literature tends to support this assumption, and in one instance it clarifies an otherwise meaningless relationship: the close tie between Orestes and his constant companion, Pylades, who appears in every version, although he is always passive, sometimes mute, and contributes practically nothing to the dramatic action.

John Addington Symonds's study of sexual inversion gives Orestes and Pylades as an example of implied pederasty.[9] It is very interesting to find that Euripides (who is frequently regarded as being the most intuitive of the Greek playwrights) marries Orestes' sister, Electra, to Pylades in the denouement of his play, Electra—a triangular relationship consummating Orestes' desired relationship with them both.[10]

Orestes is never complete without his sister, Electra; indeed, in the dramatic representations Electra is invariably the chief character to whom is assigned the presentation of the relations between the parents and the children, even though it is always Orestes who commits the deeds. Although Electra is the protagonist and her brother given a secondary role, both characters should be considered a unit. Psychologically, the drama of Electra is the female counterpart to the œdipal phase of development in the male, and she is, therefore, a projection of Orestes' male inversion. Electra thus becomes a dramatic character without action: Orestes performs the acts, and Electra is the socially acceptable representation of Orestes' femininity.

[9] Symonds, John Addington: *A Problem in Greek Ethics: Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon in Sexual Inversion.* London: 1901.

[10] Cook, A. B., in *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1925, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 453), translates the names Orestes and Pylades as 'mountain man' and 'gate man' respectively. The symbolism obviously assigns to Pylades the passive feminine role.

Electra, however, serves in still another capacity for Orestes. She is, in effect, Orestes' 'good mother', saving him as she does from his wicked mother. Actually much younger than she, Orestes directs to her his undisguised incestuous wishes, and in all the dramatizations the intensity of their attachment is revealed in a 'recognition scene' which, in our opinion, is best written by Sophocles. Regardless of the playwright, however, the scene is always unmistakably a love scene of great ecstasy and lyricism.

In this regard, the reason for emphasizing Euripides' betrothal of Pylades and Electra becomes apparent. Their wedding becomes the homosexual's reconciliation to the 'denial of loss of the breast' by returning to the breast (Electra) by way of the penis substitute (Pylades).

The community in which Orestes performs his deeds and through which he maintains his relationships with the other characters is the Chorus. The Chorus, in all of Greek tragedy, is a dramatic device for introducing public opinion (the audience) at the time when this literature flourished. The Chorus expresses most clearly the prevailing attitudes and the hidden repressed wishes of the general community outside the theater. In the Chorus one can usually discover the 'unheroic' aspects of the hero's character and his actions.

In light of this fact, a comparison of the Choruses in the Œdipus and Orestes stories, dramatized by the same playwright, Sophocles, shows them to be as opposite to each other as are their respective heroes. Whereas the Œdipal Chorus maintains only a surface respect for its hero and actively wishes and propels his downfall, the Oresteal Chorus openly incites him and Electra to their crimes and supports them when they falter. This difference reflects the basic differences in the societies which produced the two heroes. In an attempt, therefore, to reconstruct the society he represents, it is necessary to summarize briefly what can be gleaned about Orestes' personality.

Orestes, an invert, reveres his dead father, and is incited by the people of his community to slay his mother and her lover. The act of matricide constitutes a total rejection of his mother, there are implications of a homosexual relationship

with Pylades and, in addition, he is the murderer of a man guilty, psychologically speaking, of the crime of Œdipus.

We are now in a better position to reconstruct the nature of the collective ego of this community and to examine how the hero's actions are affected by the demands of that community.

It will be recalled that Freud's hypothetical 'primal horde' was ruled by a jealous and violent father who possessed all the women and who was eventually killed by the 'band of brothers'. The subsequent guilt and remorse attendant upon this deed led the brothers to set up the totem and established the incest taboo. Unfortunately, Freud did not elaborate his thesis beyond the introduction of the totem and taboo into primitive society. The striking parallel between the œdipal formulation in art and 'primal' culture warrants a similar treatment of the myth of Orestes, and a speculative formulation of social growth and development subsequent to the institution of the totem and taboo. It does not seem likely to have led to a psychology which went no further than a simple repetition and repression ad infinitum of the œdipal wishes. Since the tragic outcome of Œdipus was incorporated in their cultural experience, it is more probable that they sought to affirm and uphold the newly found security under the rigors of the totem and taboo.

This conjecture is supported by the very special characteristic of Orestes, that he is eventually cleared of his guilt, which distinguishes him from the other great heroes of tragedy. The most reasonable explanation for this would be that Orestes was born into a society in transition, a society which reacted strongly to the œdipal mechanism itself and therefore projected into art a hero who performed deeds they would have liked to do themselves, but of whose consequences and new experiences of guilt they were not yet certain. The Oresteal community would have wanted desperately to rid itself of its mother attachment in order to avoid or throw off the guilt of the œdipal wishes; but they were not yet able to estimate the amount of guilt which should attach to such a solution.

It has been stated that Orestes must be in some way a reaction to Œdipus. Orestes is in effect denying his own œdipal wishes

by destroying Œdipus-Ægisthus. The Oresteal community creates him to express a new and desired orientation. His attitude toward his dead father conforms with totemistic psychology, his rejection of his mother, the preferred incestual attitudes. The œdipal equivalent, Ægisthus, in the Orestes myth, is always represented as a weak and effeminate person.

It appears that Orestes has not violated any taboo and therefore, from the point of view of the community, there is no need for him to be destroyed. Matricide is evidently not taboo. In The Eumenides of Æschylus the community attitudes as here reconstructed are expressed almost literally in the proceedings of a trial held to determine the extent of Orestes' guilt.

The 'prosecuting attorney' is represented by the Furies, collectively a projection of the mother. The 'attorney for the defense' is Apollo, who had originally incited Orestes to the deeds. The jury of twelve Athenian citizens obviously facilitated a strong identification with them from the audience watching the play. The charge against Orestes is made by the Leader of the Furies in answer to Apollo who asks for his acquittal.

Leader: Think yet, for what acquittal thou dost plead:
He who hath shed a mother's kindred blood,
Shall he in Argos dwell, where dwel't his sire?
How shall he stand before the city's shrines,
How share the clansmen's holy lustral bowl?

To which Apollo responds:

This too I answer; mark a soothfast word.
Not the true parent is the woman's womb
That bears the child; she doth but nurse the seed
New-sown: the male is parent; she for him,
As stranger for a stranger, hoards the germ
Of life, unless the god its promise blight.
And proof hereof before you will I set.
Birth may from fathers, without mothers, be:
See at your side a witness of the same,
Athena, daughter of Olympian Zeus,
Never within the darkness of the womb

Fostered nor fashioned, but a bud more bright
Than any goddess in her heart might bear.[11]

Athena, who acts as moderator in the trial, according to legend sprang forth fully armed from the head of Zeus. Having had no mother, her choice as moderator is perfect in its symbolism.

After the Furies have presented their arguments that the ancient laws governing maternal rites are being transgressed, Athena is called upon to cast her vote.

Athena: Mine is the right to add the final vote,
And I award it to Orestes' cause.
For me no mother bore within her womb,
And, save for wedlock evermore eschewed,
I vouch myself the champion of the man,
Not of woman, yea, with all my soul,
In heart, as birth, a father's child alone.
Thus will I not too heinously regard
A woman's death who did her husband slay,
The guardian of her home. . . .[12]

The votes of the jury are equally divided, and Athena casts the deciding vote in favor of Orestes' acquittal. That the vote of the jury is a tie is basis for the speculation that the Oresteal community was in a state of moral ambivalence about their hero. It characteristically places the responsibility for his fate in the hands of the symbol of the denial of the mother-function, Athena.

From the sociological point of view, the community condones Orestes' matricide and releases him of his obligation, an inevitable decision, issuing from the conclusion that Orestes has not violated but upheld the taboos of totem and incest. In this sense, the community through Orestes tests the social attitude, but is not yet prepared to deal with the consequence of this

11 Æschylus: *The Eumenides.* Trans. by E. D. A. Morshead in *The Complete Greek Drama,* edited by Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill, Jr. New York: Random House, 1938, Volume I.

12 *Ibid.*

demand—the rejection of the mother by matricide; hence, the trial.

On the subjective plane the trial of Orestes is a dramatization of the rationalization of the inverted personality's 'denial of loss of the breast'. By ruling that the mother is not of prime importance to the process of procreation, the inverted personality is actually saying, 'I do not need the breast, I have one in the penis'. By taking away this major function from the mother, he justifies his own denial of her to the ultimate degree.

What we can hypothesize then about the Oresteal community and the hero it created was that it was not able, in Freud's terms, to compute the 'price of guilt' which it would be required to pay for its progress. Its reaction against Œdipus and his revolt against the taboos becomes a conservative reaffirmation of the taboos themselves.

SUMMARY

The substance of the legend of Orestes and the Oresteal community, as represented in myth and drama, falls into three major categories: 1, the action—the murder of the mother and her lover; 2, the dream—the unconscious formulation of the denial of the loss of the mother's breast; 3, the trial—the justification of the acts.

The hero, Orestes, embodies a psychology which rejects the œdipal strivings by psychosexual inversion. The psychology which reveres the father (totem) and rejects the mother (incest) is expressed as denial of the loss of the breast. The corresponding social reaction is a denial of motherhood. The myth of Orestes is a complete repudiation of the mother.

The relationship between Orestes and Œdipus is compared to phases of individual psychosexual development. Œdipus represents the positive reaction in the development of genital primacy leading to heterosexuality. Orestes represents the negative phase, the hero of inversion. Together, they represent the genesis of man's bisexuality in the relationship between parents and child.

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

A Psychoanalytic Approach to Mass Production

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To cite this article: Geraldine Pederson-Krag (1951) A Psychoanalytic Approach to Mass Production, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 434-451, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925851

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925851

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

A PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH TO MASS PRODUCTION

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It is an unvarying part of medical training, in taking patients' histories, to note their occupations. The rationale, of course, is to detect such etiological factors as exposure to noxious fumes or to pathogenic bacteria and parasites as may be indigenous to a patient's environment. Psychoanalysts should be especially alert to consider their patients' jobs as possibly contributing to their sicknesses.

Freud showed the reciprocal relationship between the precipitating cause and the neurotic predisposition of the individual in the development of psychic imbalance.[1] Can work itself ever be a precipitant, a trauma? Freud stated, 'Laying stress upon the importance of work has a greater effect than any other technique of living in the direction of binding the individual more closely to reality. In his work he is at least securely attached to a part of reality—the human community. Work is no less valuable for the opportunity it and the human relations connected with it provide for a very considerable discharge of libidinal component impulses, narcissistic, aggressive and erotic, than because it is indispensable to subsistence and justifies existence in a society. The daily work of earning a livelihood affords peculiar satisfaction when it has been selected by free choice, i.e., when through sublimations it enables use to be made of existing inclinations or instinctual impulses that have retained their strength or are more intense than usual for constitutional reasons.' [2]

Róheim observes, 'The life of our European and American

Revised from a paper read before the New York Psychoanalytic Society, June 12, 1951.

[1] Freud: *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis.* New York: Boni and Liveright, 1935.

[2] Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontents.* London: Hogarth Press, 1930.

middle classes gives wide scope for the choice of a profession, but whatever profession a man or woman may ultimately choose, we find the latent element of the choice the infantile situation. A soldier is re-enacting his body destruction fantasies, or his œdipus complex, a lawyer makes a profession of the endopsychical struggle between superego, id and ego, a scientist is a voyeur prying into the secrets of mother nature, a painter continues to play with his feces, a writer of fiction never renounces his daydreams, and so forth.' [3]

Karl Menninger says, 'Of all methods available for absorbing the aggressive energies of mankind in a useful direction, work takes first place. . . . It is easy to see that all work represents a fight against something, an attack upon the environment.' This he illustrates by the example of the farmer, the miner, the butcher, and more remotely by the house painter, the lawyer and the banker.[4]

On the other hand, Hendrick points out that '. . . work is not primarily motivated by sexual need or associated aggressions, but by the need for efficient use of the muscular and intellectual tools, regardless of what secondary needs—self-preservative, aggressive or sexual—a work performance may also satisfy. I shall call this thesis the *work principle'*, says Hendrick, 'the principle that primary pleasure is sought by efficient use of the central nervous system for the performance of well-integrated ego functions that enable the individual to control or alter his environment'.[5]

In answer then to our question, 'Can work be a precipitating factor in the development of psychic ailments?', these authorities seem to unite with an emphatic negative. However, while endorsing everything they have said, we venture to point out that they seem to have ignored two factors of ever-increasing importance in our industrial civilization—the factor of the

[3] Róheim, Géza: *The Origin and Function of Culture.* New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, 1943.

[4] Menninger, Karl A.: *Love Against Hate.* New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1942.

[5] Hendrick, Ives: *Work and the Pleasure Principle.* This QUARTERLY, XII, 1943, p. 311.

widespread mechanization of labor and the factor of mass production. The first of these needs no elaboration, but the meaning of the second should be made explicit, and for this we shall use the excellent definition of Peter Drucker, which states that mass production is 'a general principle of human organization for work . . . not confined to manufacturing . . . the essential new concepts are specialization and integration. . . . In the new specialization, however, no one person turns out the product, everybody is confined to operations and motions. . . . A product can only be made if the operations and motions of a great many individuals are put together and integrated into a pattern. . . . It is this pattern that is actually productive and not the individual.' [6]

'Not confined to manufacturing', 'specialization', and 'integration' are the aspects of mass production, particularly mechanized mass production, which impose on the worker first, a return to infantile living conditions, including the realization of infantile fantasies; second, excessive demands for libidinal output; third, a return to childhood emotional relationships.

How can living conditions for the worker be infantile when, as Freud said, work binds us more closely to reality? To reconcile these differences of opinion, we should consider the reality to which are bound the hundreds of thousands who work in refineries, foundries, steel mills, or large assembly rooms.

Usually the workshop and equipment are immense compared to human stature. A machine shop with turret lathes and drop forges, a foundry with cupolas and overhead cranes resemble nightmare realms inhabited by indifferent but dangerous giants. These monstrous devices are less like men than embodiments of separate human functions, such as the gigantic metal claw that can scrape off steel slivers, the iron fist that punches intractable metal into flatness, the furnace which, fed black iron and coal, defecates a fiery golden stream of molten steel, or retorts, vats, and tanks the size of cottages, and pipes big as mains.

[6] Drucker, Peter: *The New Society*. Harper's Magazine, No. 1192, September, 1949.

These descriptions may sound turgid, but, except for the personification of the machines, they are literally accurate. Seldom have we the knowledge necessary to recognize the apparatus only as the expression of engineering formulæ, as the crystallization of man's logical thinking, and as a reply to a demand for high technical efficiency. Instead, the size and complexity of machines in heavy industry tend to produce in us by comparison a sense of personal inadequacy and of surrounding threat.

Not only is the worker dwarfed by the factory, his ability to measure and appraise his surroundings is diminished. At home, his own strength and experience can be used as gauges: he finds the weight of a log by lifting it, or estimates its span with his eye. But in the factory the most spectacular material changes are accomplished by the least exertion of human power—as when the crane operator lifts and carries ton-weight burdens by pulling a lever with one hand. Similarly, mathematical operations far beyond the worker's mental capacity can be done by pressing buttons on a calculating machine.

Though the worker's strength is fantastically increased by machinery, the result of his efforts seems to him nil. However strenuous his work, it does not appear to affect his environment in any way. Mass production demands that the same process be endlessly repeated and each object on which the process is performed moves on to the man responsible for the next operation. The worker sees the unchanged raw material or partially finished products rolling evermore toward him. How different is the work of the handicraftsman, planned and executed in a definite time to accomplish a tangible result.

Often the sense of unreality which these conditions engender is not dispelled by human companionship. The noise in many factories makes conversation difficult or impossible; moreover, if the worker is paid on a piecework basis, he must concentrate all his attention on his job to earn a satisfactory wage.

Similarly, in many respects, the words and figures manipulated by clerks and bookkeepers are isolated symbols which for the workers have little or no connection with tangible realities.

It is the performance of meaningless rituals. Like the laborers in heavy industry they are bound to a reality in which, with insignificant skill and strength compared to the machines they operate, they are endowed with amazing powers, yet they cannot alter their environments, and can only with difficulty communicate with others. This is directly reminiscent of the existence of the individual in infancy before he could talk readily, when everyone was bigger and stronger, when chairs and tables were mountainous and had sharp injurious edges, when he could flood the dark universe with light if someone lifted him to press the switch, but when usually his greatest efforts were ineffectual to change anything. It is associated too with the later world of fantasy, peopled with giants and genii, where the ordinary laws of cause and effect were suspended.

There are two kinds of reaction possible in such an occupational reality. One type of worker becomes bored with work which has no beginning or end, no reward other than the weekly pay check. He becomes absent-minded, prone to accidents and to unnecessary absences, and develops hostility to authorities who have condemned him to such tedium. If he is intelligent and has sufficient education he will try to understand what he is doing; if not, he drifts from job to job.

The second type retreats from reality. Daydreaming is to him more congenial than accomplishment, and he finds a haven in the noisy isolation of the factory. He gives his work the pittance of attention it demands, and then retreats into the mental refuge of his own private satisfactions. The frequency with which this occurs can be surmised by watching a line of punch presses, a simple, repetitious job, where the operators are isolated by noise. A large proportion of these people frequently wear expressions of emotions inappropriate to what they are doing.

Sometimes the fantasy is the whole of the worker's job. The daydream, 'I am Superman', is realized by the operators of cranes, bulldozers, grab buckets, and by airplane pilots and others who control spectacular machines. In 1930, Freud observed, 'Man has become a god by means of artificial limbs,

so to speak, quite magnificent when equipped with all his accessory organs'.[7] The small boy with outstretched arms making a whirring sound enacts the fantasy of flying. When he grows up, the fantasy may become reality. Comparable is the experience of traffic police, subway guards, bus conductors and the like whose work entails the arbitrary direction of their fellow citizens. The daydream which then becomes an actuality is 'I am a tyrannical commander'.

'Unsatisfied wishes', as Freud said, 'are the driving power behind fantasies'.[8] Besides the wishes connected with unsatisfied libidinal desires, there is the narcissistic wish to hide reality. This reality may be connected with the outside world, as in Freud's example of the poor boy's uncertainty in asking for work at an address to which he had been directed: he was hiding his danger from himself by imagining himself to be a partner and son-in-law to the proprietor he was to encounter. More often the daydreamer has a need to hide an internal reality. Walter Mitty hides his passive timidity from himself by fancying situations in which he is an infinitely resourceful and resolute leader.[9] Here, too, belongs the girl who conceals her sexual fears from herself by reading erotic literature. Usually the dreamer knows about these fantasies, although they are, in Freud's words, 'usually concealed with some shame, as though they belonged to the person's most intimate possessions'.

What happens to those who find their fantasies, known or unknown, realized? The question can best be answered in connection with the worker's reaction to the excessive demands for libidinal output which mechanized mass production entails. Freud observed that 'work is valuable in providing a very considerable discharge of component impulses, narcissistic, aggressive and erotic'.[10] To what extent these impulses are discharged through machines and tools under the worker's control is problematical. Using his nails and his fist as weapons,

[7] Freud: *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis. Loc. cit.*

[8] Freud: *The Relation of the Poet to Day-Dreaming.* Coll. Papers, IV.

[9] Thurber, James: *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty.* The New Yorker, XV, March 18, 1939; also in *The Thurber Carnival.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1945.

[10] Freud: *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis. Loc. cit.*

a man can give vent to much hostility with comparatively little effect on the object. Arming himself with knife and club, he expresses an equal amount of feeling with more damaging results. When his knife is replaced by a turret lathe which can gouge out steel, when his club is a drop forge, both operated by electric power, he can do much harm. How much his aggressive impulses find outlet depends on the extent to which the worker unconsciously feels the machine to be an extension of his own person. This often happens to a marked degree in spheres other than industry. For a patient, an unusually short man who thought his genitals disproportionately small, his large automobile was an extension of himself and a declaration of his potency. While driving, he felt himself a tall, dominating, and attractive male, and any scratch on the surface of his car provoked anxiety, unconsciously a threat of castration.

Machines, furthermore, are personified and reacted to with love or hate, as kindly protectors or tyrants. The one is illustrated by the way in which a ship is considered a mother to the sailors who serve on her, and the habit aviators have of giving their planes feminine names; the other by Chaplin's film, Modern Times, and by such locutions as 'tackling a job', or having it 'licked', to master a problem, or have an arduous task beaten.

Different jobs entail the predominant sublimated expression of one or another component instinctual impulse: the oral, by the salesman whose job is persuasive talking, and by cooks. Though the latter do not necessarily use their mouths, they may think of the food as though they were tasting it. In heavy industry, there are many machines such as paint and sand mixers, into which raw materials are fed to be mixed by rotation. There are also tumbling barrels where rough castings are placed to rub each other's edges off, as in mastication. In fact, most machines into which raw stock is fed to be processed, and reappears in an altered form, reproduce the more obvious digestive functions. Passive receptivity is required of the official who receives all mail for his department. He absorbs and

digests the contents of each incoming letter, and then passes on complaints, inquiries, requests, and so on to the appropriate sections—feeding his associates in turn.

Tolerance of, if not a definite pleasure in dirtiness is requisite for many of the primary processes in industry. All foundry work is done in contact with earth; molders wallow in sticky black dirt; grinders, chippers, and sandblasters are bathed in grime. Even the foreman and the crane operator, the cleanest of all, have a thick layer of sandy dust on them. In chemical plants, though dirt is not visibly all-embracing, the air is laden with pungent or nauseating smells. In paint factories, the paint mixer sees and smells less dirt, but with a machine he makes, and there contemplates, a large, sticky, infolding fecal-like mass. Dirt is not inescapable. Reaction-formations to dirtiness are also much used in manufacturing: precision instruments are assembled in immaculate, air-conditioned rooms, by workers—in uniforms and caps—with well-washed hands. The same order of cleanliness prevails in food factories.

Anal destructiveness may find expression in many processes inherent in mass production. Thus in an iron foundry, coal, scrap iron, and limestone are thrown into a furnace and, appearing to be lost in the flames, become liquid metal. In food factories there are women employed in breaking eggs only. Machines that break up scrap or pulverize raw materials express the same impulse mechanically. The symbolic equivalents of coprophilia and reaction-formations to it, and of defecation, find sublimated expression in the inspector or the editor who finds flaws and eliminates them. The inspector may also be gratifying the strivings of the voyeur. An impulse to peep is traditional in the motivation of those who use lenses and instruments for precise measurement. Exhibitionism finds expression for those who choose work that demands display of their persons: actors, models, demonstrators, uniformed attendants. Others display themselves in their work as window dressers and copy writers.

Masochism is inherent in every job that demands that the worker, day in and day out, whether he is inclined or not, shall

be at a certain place, doing a certain task for a specified number of hours. As the end of this period approaches, the discomfort to be endured increases.

Workers respond to their work situations in three ways according to their conditioning. The first kind of response occurs when, as Freud says, the work 'enables use to be made of existing inclinations or instinctual impulses that have retained their strength or are more intense than usual for constitutional reasons'.[11] In this category we can also place jobs whose performance coincides with the worker's defense against anxiety.

The first of these is exemplified by a man who, in analysis, maintained long silences, broken only by platitudes designed to arouse the analyst's approval. He felt that by presenting himself to authority as a worthy, inoffensive person, or rather as a good child, authority would automatically love and feed him. The most efficient relationship to the world was one of oral dependency. He was a very successful salesman. His job entailed waiting many hours, often fruitlessly, for buyers of large concerns, then ingratiating himself with them. The product he sold was of slight value, affording him no feeling that he was doing his customers any service, but rather that they were feeding him with their orders. This suited him admirably.

A similar case is a man who came to analysis because of social and marital difficulties, and because of the many physical injuries, some severe, which resulted from what he called his 'absent-mindedness'. One of his defenses against his need for love and admiration was the production of paranoid fantasies. This defense he acted out as a successful trial lawyer.

The keeper of a tool crib in a large manufacturing plant recalled as a child having played games that entailed much counting and arranging. Now he was in charge of thousands of bits, drills, punches, screws, and so forth that varied from each other only by minute differences. He had to be able to produce any of these on demand, and to keep an account of

[11] *Ibid.*

their distribution. His job would have been a bewildering chaos without rigid adherence to procedure. The fact that this man had held his job for nearly forty years to everyone's satisfaction indicates how well it suited him.

What happens when the fantasy fulfilled in work is to conceal some unacceptable inner drive one can only infer from a similar occurrence in analysis. A female phobic patient had had the pleasurable fantasy in childhood that sex relations consisted of the sadistic exposure of a woman's defects. She was aware of this fantasy and it continued to please her. But after many years of marriage, her husband seldom if ever made love to her, and usually only noticed her by complaining about her stupidity. This realization of what she had hoped and expected gave her a kind of complacency and hid her hostility which had contributed to bringing about this kind of marital relationship. This hostility had caused her phobias. It may be also that many employed people preserve themselves from anxiety and insight into their real selves by contemplating themselves at work.

When repression or other defense mechanisms fail, and when sublimation is not achieved, we may consider the reaction to the realization of unconscious fantasies. A latent exhibitionist and voyeur was anxious because of the dangerous hostility expressed in these drives. When he looked at someone he was exposing him, and when he dressed up he was exulting over his competitors. These drives led him into becoming a portrait photographer. He became afraid that his subjects would feel themselves humiliated when he illuminated and posed them, and focused his lens upon them. He was fearful also that the finished portrait would lack that distinctiveness and style which would reveal it as peculiarly his own. His aggressiveness and exhibitionism, acted out in his work, caused him anxiety which marred the technical excellence of his work.

An unmarried woman in her late thirties came to treatment for free-floating anxiety of sudden onset, characterized, among other symptoms, by frequent, intense urethral sensations without organic basis. A small boy had exposed himself to her

when she was three years old, and when she imitated him she was ridiculed and punished. She developed a competitive attitude toward boys in school, and rejected marriage for a career. Her symptoms developed while working hard in an important post where she was the equal, if not the superior, of many able men.[12]

When failure of a defense mechanism results in the sexualization of a function, then, says Freud, 'The ego renounces these functions . . . in order not to have to undertake a fresh effort of repression . . . '.[13] Such sexualization of function is represented symbolically in industry. For instance, a gigantic sadistic representation of coitus is the drop forge, a large rod or knob pushed or dropped forcibly onto metal which is thereby punctured or flattened. Punch presses repeat the process on a smaller scale. Castration, as well as the sexual act, is suggested by such devices as the automatic machines for making bolts and screws: smooth metal rods are fed into apertures where they are gripped, grooved, and then cut off. However, no cases of such reactions to machines have been reported psychoanalytically.

The third type of response is associated with a condition which may be considered as the reverse of sublimation. Sublimation is the successful transformation of energy derived from primitive instinctual drives into socially useful activity, usually work. The working conditions in most industries provide little potentiality for sublimation. This is inherent in repetitive processes, especially marked in mechanized labor, when the worker's drives are not linked with his own skill and experience, nor implemented by his own strength, but are carried out by tireless auxiliary organs and limbs of metal. What happens psychologically when an individual is forced to act without any self-expression has not, I believe, been described. The secondary results are more apparent. The individual becomes hostile, probably in response to the tyranny which has trapped and

[12] Freud: *Hysterical Fantasies and Their Relation to Bisexuality.* Coll. Papers, II.

[13] Freud: *The Problem of Anxiety.* New York: The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Inc. and W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1936.

imposed an impossible task on him. He withdraws interest from the outside world, possibly also because of antagonism to it. He becomes much more tired than his expenditure of energy warrants. This fatigue may be as much the result of the impoverishment of the particular drive demanded, which makes a greater effort necessary for the same result, as it is certainly due also to the strain of suppressing other drives whose outlet is choked. The characteristics of hostility, lack of outside interest, and undue weariness are seen at the day's end in a majority of workers in repetitive jobs.

While specialization and mechanization are responsible for a status approximating infantile conditions, and for excessive libidinal demands, childhood emotional relationships result from integration in a pattern demanded by mass production. In practice this means that everyone is subordinate to someone else. In manufacturing many factory hands perform the same operation under the supervision of a foreman who reports to a superintendent. Superintendents report to the manager of a department which produces either one complicated product or several of the same nature. The manager is subordinate to a vice-president who surveys not only manufacturing but allied problems such as cost, design, and demand. The president gives an account of the whole procedure to the chairman of his board of directors. This organization resembles the feudal system, with the squire commanding the peasants, the baron the squires until the final authority, the king, is reached.

The relationship between individuals in this organization is based on fear of aggression from strangers (competing companies) which makes each person submit to the authority of his superior. Superintendents exhort subordinates to work more efficiently to outstrip the production of other firms. This is the equivalent of stimulating the workers' rivalry with unknown competitors to overcome their resentment of authority and aversion to effort. However, a business corporation is organized not so much for industrial warfare as for the production of goods or services for consumers and sustenance for its own members. The corporation is like a vast pregenital

mother who gives her brood security and nourishment, but who loves the eldest and strongest (the top executives) best, since she gives them the most. The weaker and inexperienced newcomers get promotion and wage increases, favors from the mother, only if they are deserving and their superiors approve. This is reminiscent of the hypothetical primal horde where the tribal father kept the women to himself and allowed the sons to remain in the family on sufferance.[14]

The second or family type of relationship is exemplified by the careers of many able executives in large companies. These men prefer small salaries, in familiar surroundings to which they came as young men, to chances of advancement in other concerns. Though their rivalry toward colleagues and superiors is freely expressed, they prefer a kind, protecting, maternal organization to independence. When the pregenital mother plays favorites, and becomes too closely identified with the strong men at the head, a new mother, the union, takes her place and forces her to feed the hungry young.

We are less interested here in labor relations than in the ways in which the infantile conditioning of individuals is reinforced by their working conditions. One outcome of this is anxiety, shown by the case of Henry. His parents' first child, Henry enjoyed their undivided admiration and love until his younger brother and sister were born. Sending the children to school was extremely inconvenient, so that Henry had to wait a year until his brother was ready. He progressed more quickly than did the young brother, not only because he was a year older, but also because he was better endowed. This the parents resented, as they felt remiss in retarding Henry's early education. Unmarried, and in his early thirties, Henry was an accountant. He worked at first as a free lance with a young assistant to whom he was like a kind father. Then it seemed to him more profitable and satisfactory to join a large firm. Henry was placed in a small department where he did most of his work under the nominal supervision of a man who made contacts with clients. He was happy, and his department

14 Freud: *Totem and Taboo.* In: *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud.* New York: The Modern Library, 1938.

so successful that another accountant, his junior, had to be taken on. It was a sort of promotion for Henry to become the senior. The junior was a personable young man whom Henry liked and befriended. But Henry's work suffered; he became slower and doubted his accuracy. He became anxious, developed insomnia, anorexia, and irritability. Analysis revealed that the advent of the junior accountant revived Henry's reactions to his younger brother's birth. His inhibition represented the way he had checked his progress as a small child so as not to incur his parents' resentment. His symptoms showed his inability to deal with his sibling rivalry and fear of losing his superior's love as once before he had lost his parents' undivided admiration.

In contrast to Henry is the case of another patient whose early conflicts fitted him admirably to his job situation. Like Henry he was the eldest of two boys and a girl. He had resolved his œdipal conflicts by renouncing to a degree his masculinity. His chief aim was to be the beloved son of a powerful father. His job was highly technical research, the results of which were given by his superiors to their clients. In treatment, he realized that his joy at the acceptance and praise of his work was excessive, his deference to the partners of his firm exaggerated, and his obsessive speculations about their private lives derived from interest in the primal scene. Being an underling awoke none of the castration fears which had brought him to analysis. He liked his job. Only when he had to represent the firm, or in some other way supplant a superior, did he experience anxiety approximating panic.

Sometimes the pattern of integration in an organization excludes certain individuals who are well equipped for their positions. This is what happened to an able hard-working woman in her early forties, who, after long struggle, became head of a small but important department in a large firm. Her only superior was the manager, whose duties were so numerous and so complex that he wished her to take all responsibility for the department, simply reporting to him that her work was done. But this patient had been thwarted in childhood in her attempts to win the love and attention of her father.

She could not now resist consulting her boss about trivial matters. Her behavior appeared admirably conscientious, but it did not fit in with the pattern of the organization and she lost a job she was well qualified to do.

The symptoms of maladaptation to work noted in analysands are only a small sample of those seen in industry. Some of the common ones are frequent absences, irritability at work or at home, needless complaints about working conditions, proneness to injuries, susceptibility to infections, alcoholism, and impaired quality and quantity of production. When such signs of industrial maladjustment occur, they are usually rationalized and explained as due to one or more of the following or similar causes: 1, immaturity on the part of key men and their need to work out their inner conflicts in the business or industrial situation; [15] 2, insecurity owing to the fluctuating demand for the worker's particular kind of skill depending on the market for the product he helps make; 3, insecurity lest technical improvements destroy his job (a machine that can do the work of eight people is hailed as a great invention but is a threat to the eight whom it will supplant); 4, uncomfortable and dangerous working conditions (these are improving year by year); 5, unfair distribution of the profits of the company (this is the province of the union); 6, workers' inability to relate what they do to the finished product or to any desirable goal such as national defense.

Without denying the importance of the influence of any of these conditions on plant morale, we repeat that the work itself affects the worker, and consider the extent to which this may or may not be healthy.

The first effect of work is exclusion from reality, which occurs to the extent to which the job is incomprehensible, repetitive, nondemanding, and performed under circumstances which isolate the worker socially. Such exclusion means temporary surcease from the worries of reality and immersion in activity so meaningless that it provokes no guilt. Many well-adjusted

[15] McMurry, R.: *Management Mentalities and Workers' Reactions.* Advanced Management, VII, October–December, 1942.

people discover their jobs to be a haven of escape when harassed by social and domestic cares. Others, whose inner conflicts are so intense that ordinary family life and social contacts are unbearably threatening, certain schizoids and obsessives, for instance, find themselves more comfortable working than anywhere else. Yet if these workers have tendencies to paranoid or ruminative thinking, the unlimited opportunities for daydreaming and the few occasions for testing reality or for identification with others threaten to cause them to lose contact with reality altogether. This happens among prisoners and others deprived of object relationships under threatening circumstances. What appears like exclusion from reality occurs when the job coincides with a fantasy which has been important to the worker, as being a superman, or a woman as having a phallus. If this is a simple wish fulfilment without guilt, the individual reacts with elation; if it is the return of the repressed, with much anxiety.

The second effect is the production of hostility, either because of rebellion against a job without meaning, or as a reaction to a demand for libidinal expression greater than the worker can give. Under no circumstances can such hostility be advantageous. It must be rationalized, in which case it has unfortunate social consequences, or it must be suppressed, which is hard on the worker. Luckily, as Menninger has pointed out, industry provides many outlets for aggression which keeps hostility from accumulating.

The third effect derives from the excessive demands for libidinal output and regressive relationships which combine to reinforce the individual's previous conditioning or run counter to it. There are many cases where the reinforcement has been of the utmost benefit. In all ranks of industry one finds people at ease in their positions and feeling satisfaction from their jobs. Their complacency may be exploited by the management paying them less than they would get in less satisfactory circumstances, but usually they earn up to their capacity. They are healthy and well adjusted. On the other hand, when the performance of the job threatens defenses against what has been

repressed, when job relationships repeat old traumatic experiences, anxiety is provoked. This anxiety may interfere with the worker's productive capacity, so that in addition to his other troubles he becomes guilty about his inefficiency. The anxiety may be manifest as irritability, depression, needless worry, or somatic equivalents.

Mechanized mass production is, then, a source of precipitating causes in the development of psychogenic illness. Because of this, industry should be a fertile field for research in psychogenic maladies. For instance, many authorities, notably Saul,[16] Alexander,[17] Binger,[18] Ackerman,[18] Menninger,[19] and Hill[20] have demonstrated correlation between chronic suppressed hostility and essential hypertension. This being so, it would be of interest to study large groups of people whose work—according to the views offered here—generates hostility in them, and other large groups whose work demands expression of destruction, rejection, and apparent sadism. We might expect that where more hostility is aroused than can be expressed, there would be a higher incidence of severe hypertension. Where hostility may be expressed without guilt, one might expect to find the disease to be more often stationary. This investigation could be done on a large scale since there are thousands of hypertensive workers already under the supervision of plant doctors.

According to Van der Heide,[21] Lee,[22] and Alexander,[23] the

[16] Saul, Leon J.: *Hostility in Cases of Essential Hypertension.* Psychosomatic Med., I, 1939.

[17] Alexander, Franz: *Emotional Factors in Essential Hypertension. Ibid.*

[18] Binger, C. A. L.: Ackerman, N. W.; Cohn, A. E.; Schroeder, H. A.; Steele, J. M.: *Personality in Arterial Hypertension.* Published under the sponsorship of the American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Problems, New York, 1945.

[19] Menninger, Karl A.: *Emotional Factors in Hypertension.* Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, II, 1938.

[20] Hill, Lewis B.: *A Psychoanalytic Observation on Essential Hypertension.* Psa. Rev., XXII, 1935.

[21] Van der Heide, Carel: *A Study of Mechanisms in Two Cases of Peptic Ulcer.* Psychosomatic Med., II, 1940.

[22] Levey, Harry B.: *Oral Trends and Oral Conflicts in a Case of Duodenal Ulcer.* This QUARTERLY, III, 1934.

[23] Alexander, Franz: *The Influence of Psychologic Factors Upon Gastrointestinal Disturbances.* This QUARTERLY, III, 1934.

formation of gastric and duodenal ulcer is correlated with an eager passive receptive attitude often repressed. In this connection, one might study groups whose work consists largely of intake, of orders, of letters, of materials, and so on, and another group that occupied itself with throwing out and destroying material. If the theory of the psychogenesis of the ulcer holds good, and if these workers have any capacity to sublimate, one would expect a smaller incidence of gastric symptoms and a lessened tendency for ulcerative conditions to progress in the first group than in the second.

This kind of work could only be done with a management that appreciates the importance of the unconscious in human behavior. Such appreciation is increasingly frequent, with the use of the Rorschach and T.A.T. tests in placement. The employment of these and other tests in industry is well described by Steiner.[24]

In conclusion, let us turn for a moment from the clinical to the sociological aspects of our problem. Mechanized mass production fosters the development of the passive individual, the tool of the demagogue, both directly among its workers and indirectly among all those whom it benefits. The product which once was the outcome of one man's hard-learned craft is now made by a dozen single operations, each too simple to give pride or meaning to the operator. The less initiative and drive a worker has, the better he can tolerate such a job. To the general public the result of all this integrated activity has been an enormous improvement in the standard of living. There never was a time when so many could get about so quickly, comfortably, and with so little effort as we can now (except when they were infants in arms). For more and more people food is plentiful, available, easily prepared. We are regaining that earthly paradise from which we were banished as we grew up, but at the cost of disturbances in our relation to reality, and in increasing pressures of hostility and anxiety.

[24] Steiner, M. E.: *The Psychologist in Industry*. American Lecture Series. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1949.

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child. Volume V. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1950. 410 pp.

Gerard Fountain

To cite this article: Gerard Fountain (1951) The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child. Volume V. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1950. 410 pp., The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 452-487, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925852

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925852

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHILD. Volume V. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1950. 410 pp.

Like its predecessors, this volume opens with a series of papers (several of them presented in a symposium at the 1950 American Psychoanalytic Association meetings in Detroit) concerning that most difficult phase of the child's life, the period of early ego development. Hartmann has contributed a discussion (one of two by this author) which helps to summarize the field, and Kris offers a history of the study of ego development; this is especially welcome because for those who have not to any extent lived through this period, the changes in thinking and approach have been confusing. Also most helpful are discussions of the relationship between clinical observation of infants and developmental theory. Rank and Macnaughton demonstrate convincingly the genesis of the severely arrested development of a four-year-old child; but what particularly distinguishes their work is their discussion of the application of theory to the successful therapy of their very sick subject. By the use of such simple games as knocking foreheads with it, the child was helped to make the long overdue differentiation between itself and the world. This practical application of theory is especially valuable in bringing alive complex theoretical material and proving its validity. Loewenstein offers observations from the analyses of children and adults; however, as Kris implies, diagnostic and preventive use of much of the theory is still little developed, and in that direction should lie the potentially greatest contribution of these studies.

Two papers in this collection deal with the treatment of delinquency. Although Eissler recommends that the deviations from classical analytic technique be held to a minimum, he nevertheless shows in his discussion how great that minimum must be. No wonder this field is becoming a separate and arduous specialty. Eissler's practical suggestions for treatment seem particularly valuable even without regard for their theoretical justification. He writes, for example, of the importance, in the earlier phase of treatment, of 'surprising' the patient, of giving him money, and offers theoretical reasons for the success of these maneuvers. Bettelheim and Sylvester offer a most interesting discussion of the prob-

ability of delinquency in certain family constellations. Their formula should have value in the field of child guidance. The practice of treatment, especially office treatment, of delinquency is in many ways less attractive and less well explored than the analysis of neuroses, and child psychiatrists courageous enough to include it need much more of such practical help.

The observations of children show, for the most part, the striking simplicity and clarity characteristic of child analysts. Hanna Kennedy describes an unusual opportunity for study of the process of formation of screen memories. Selma Fraiberg's discussion of sleep disturbances in two-year-olds has a special interest when considered with the contributions of Hedy Schwarz and Augusta Bonnard because of the skilful use of the mother in treatment. In Bonnard's case the mother carried out the whole treatment under direction, while in Schwarz's and one of Fraiberg's cases the mother took an active part in the therapy. Leo Rangell's case, which is managed entirely by letter between parents and doctor, is disappointing because so many questions are left unanswered; the genesis of the child's illness and the mechanism of therapy remain obscure.

A sociological study by Martha Wolfenstein of 'premoral' and later parent-child relationships raises problems about development when read in the light of some of the earlier contributions in this book. Toilet training, for example, among the Chinese begins at one to three months. Even though it is a particularly gentle kind of training, one wonders how the Chinese ego escapes certain distortions of development. Such studies of other cultures are valuable.

Taken as a whole, Volume V is perhaps less spectacular than the others, but it is fully as important and fully as practical. A remarkable characteristic, often lacking in such collections, is the unity of the book as a whole, so that one feels no need for any general introduction or survey.

The format this year is greatly improved and the proofreading far better; the book is now much easier to read.

GERARD FOUNTAIN (SCARSDALE, NEW YORK)

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND ANTHROPOLOGY. By Géza Róheim, Ph.D. New York: International Universities Press, 1950. 496 pp.

This latest and best work of Dr. Róheim is perhaps the most important contribution to the problem of the relationship between psychoanalysis and anthropology since Totem and Taboo.

One of the most eminent students of culture, A. L. Kroeber, who is also psychoanalytically sophisticated, has characterized psychoanalysis as a 'reductionist' science, in that it attempts to trace culture back to psychology, and psychology back to biology. In this respect psychoanalysis satisfies Émile Myerson's theory of explanations. However, Myerson justly warns that the complete reduction of phenomenon A to a set of other phenomena B, C, and D implies a denial of the existence of phenomenon A. In a sense deviations from scientific psychoanalysis have been reductionistic in the sense of *reductio ad absurdum* in two directions: on the one hand we find the culturalist excesses; on the other, we meet with the biologistic excesses, with 'neurologizing psychiatry'. Both schools appeal to the authority of Freud and of reality, as a means of circumventing both Freud and reality.

Róheim's approach avoids both pitfalls with the sureness of touch characteristic of a past master of psychoanalysis and anthropology alike. His approach is firmly rooted in the psychological universe of discourse, and reaches out to biological and cultural phenomena in terms of this frame of reference. He does not waste time claiming an exclusive, *sui generis* 'existence' for the psychological fact. In fact, his approach perfectly satisfies the criterion proposed by the reviewer some years ago, that a phenomenon is biological, psychological, or cultural only in so far as it is most economically and most fruitfully explainable and analyzable in terms of one of these three frames of reference.

The introductory chapter offers a well-balanced study of the methodology of psychoanalytic research on culture. It points out the numerous fallacies of the 'culturalistic' approach, and rightly castigates the unseemly haste wherewith the baby of analytic theory is thrown out with the bath of culture-bound special findings. Thus, Róheim once more undertakes the weary task of showing that the œdipus complex is present also in matrilineal society, even though the *personnel* of the œdipal triangle may be different from the father-mother-child group.

In a series of constructively critical chapters, Róheim demonstrates that classical psychoanalytic theory, which is built around the œdipus complex, is the one best suited for the interpretation of Australian, Normanby Island, Alorese, Yurok, Kaingang, Marquesan, and Navaho cultures. The choice of these cultures was partly determined by Róheim's own field experiences, and partly

by the fact that some of the authors who have written about some of these cultures have professed to find a modification of psychoanalytic theory necessary for the proper interpretation of their data. At this point we may raise another methodological point. Were the most experimentally-minded physicist to observe a stone falling through thick pea soup, he would have to note that its rate of falling does not seem to be governed by the law $s = \frac{1}{2} gt^2$. However, being a scientist, he would not discard the theory, but would seek to formulate a supplementary theory to account for the observed modification of the rate of falling, and would discover the law of buoyancy. Deviant analysts, on the other hand, have found it simpler to state that psychoanalytic theory does not apply to the X tribe, and have ridden off posthaste into two opposite directions: they formulated a special 'psychology' for each tribe, and, simultaneously, attempted to develop a 'general' depth psychology of culture. Although it may be denied by some, the former of these attempts resulted in a scientifically untenable multiplication of frames of reference and systems of theory—one separate theory per tribe. The 'general' theory, on the other hand, led to a point of view which automatically veered away from everything that is pivotal in psychoanalytic theory, with which it continues to claim some kinship—for no justifiable reason that this reviewer is able to think of.

Róheim's approach shows that if one but takes the trouble to think analytically, the general frame of reference of analysis is both the most accurate and the most economical means of accounting for the phenomena disclosed by the observation of cultural material. In fact, his approach constitutes a vivid illustration of two principles developed by mathematicians: 'Seek simplicity, but distrust it'; and 'Nature is not concerned with analytic difficulties'. Although the latter statement refers to calculus, it is equally true of psychoanalysis. It is unfortunately a fact that analysis is a difficult science, and takes as its point of departure the assumption that things are not what they seem to be. Those who wish to save themselves trouble have found it expedient to sidestep analytic thinking, in order to develop some 'more appropriate' frame of reference. Those who enjoy complexity mongering for its own sake have simply escaped from facts—from the cigar that is sometimes not a phallic symbol, but a cigar—into the realm of autistic ingenuity, and especially into the realm of *pseudobiologia phantastica*.

A chapter on the psychology of the Hungarian nation will be misinterpreted by many as a denial of the validity of culture and personality studies, which Róheim himself initiated years ago in his theory of the characterologically and culturally decisive role of culture-linked infantile traumata. Actually, nothing could be less true. In the first place, the infantile traumata listed in Róheim's earlier studies always involved human beings, and pertained to the fate of the œdipus complex rather than to the structure of cradling boards and similar mechanical trappings. The culturally relevant core of the personality is formed at a stage of development when persons cease to be partial objects, and become autonomous human beings in the sight of the child. In the second place, Róheim's critique of culture and personality studies is directed primarily against naïve oversimplifications and analytic shibboleths. He rightly refuses to participate in the scientific sleight of hand which derives a detailed picture of the character of a large nation—or even a small tribe—from a very partial view of the facts of child training. He is ever mindful of the fact that even small primitive groups contain shamans and laymen, men and women, heroes and cowards, rich and poor. He does not object to the quest for the common denominator of the personalities composing a given social group. He merely protests against the failure to search at the same time for factors responsible for differences, be they local ones, or linked to the general problem of social stratification and social differentiation. It is true, of course, that Róheim failed to state emphatically and specifically the fact that the character formation of a rich man presupposes a complementary character formation of the poor man, and also a society structured about the value system, 'wealth as prestige'. It is, however, implicit in every line of his book that he is very much aware of this fact. His challenge, then, is not directed at the reality of cultural influences upon personality. It is directed at the ignoring of the basic facts of man's humanness on the one hand, and at the great importance of characterologically supported social differentiation on the other hand. This, of course, is in full accord with the point raised by the reviewer on methodological grounds alone as early as his 1939 review of Kardiner's in many respects excellent book, The Individual and His Society, and on two subsequent occasions as well: is the contemporary Reservation Plains Indian primarily a pauper, Indian variety, or primarily an Indian, pauper variety?

The answer offered: that he is an Indian, pauper variety, because his Indianness has an ideological background, whereas his economic marginality has none, is entirely compatible with Róheim's findings. This, in turn, disposes of the mistaken assumption that Róheim denies the validity of a properly defined and suitably constructed national character. Specifically, he does not say that there is no Hungarian national character. He does say, however, that all Hungarians are primarily human beings. He also says that the character of some Hungarians is primarily determined by the fact that these persons are peasants, rather than gentry, or the inhabitants of one village, rather than of another—but with a definite Hungarian way of being peasants, e.g., members of the Palócz subgroup.

The chapter on the Unity of Mankind is a superb synthesis of our knowledge of the most basic of all common human denominators: man's manhood. It is almost a paradigm of how biological 'reductionism' is to be handled in a primarily psychological frame of reference. Man's prolonged fœtality and related matters are seen in terms of their relevance for psychological studies, just as, in preceding chapters, cultures were seen in terms of their relevance for psychological studies. Thus, this chapter, apart from its wealth of data and theory, is methodologically noteworthy especially in view of the fact that it is to the point—the point being its relevance for the psychological universe of discourse. In other words, what is relevant is not merely the set of facts described, but the import of these facts for the central problem of the book, which is the psychoanalytic study of culture.

Man is seldom a prophet not merely in his own country, but also in his own time. Years may elapse before the true magnitude and import of Róheim's work, for psychoanalysis and for anthropology alike, will be properly understood, and before he is recognized as one of the great figures of analytic history. This, however, is of little importance to one who, like Róheim, has, in his writings, 'erected a monument less perishable than brass'.

GEORGE DEVEREUX (TOPEKA)

EMOTIONS AND CLINICAL MEDICINE. By Stanley Cobb, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1950. 243 pp.

Dr. Cobb has long occupied a unique position in his field because of his capacity for sympathetic understanding of the work of others,

the realism of his insights, and the lucidity of thought and exposition into which he distils his erudition. This book, based upon his Salmon Lectures, is a comprehensive and critical digest. In two parts, the first is a review of pertinent neurophysiology. This section provides a great service to the reader through its clear and readable presentation of current knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the brain which underlie psychological phenomena. The anatomy of the archipallium, mesopallium, and neopallium is described and the evidence presented for the connections of these parts of the brain with visceration, emotion, intellect, and action. Experimental extirpation with animals by Bard, Fulton, Kluver, Bucy, and others, as well as other experimental work such as that of Ranson, Spiegel, and others, is reviewed to indicate the relationship of the brain to emotional expression, to docility, aggressiveness, sexuality, and oral behavior. The endocrine and autonomic machinery of emotional expression are also described with special attention to the work of Cannon, Selye, Gellhorn, and others.

Dr. Cobb presents an interesting bipolar classification of emotions —most differentiated in anger, opposite to the least differentiated state of excitement and alertness. Then on the one hand are the pleasant emotions of love, companionship, and joy, and on the other the unpleasant emotions of fear, sadness, and loneliness. Exaggerations of these lead to pathological states. He is not concerned with a long list of types and subtypes of emotion about the primacy of which there might not be general agreement. He sees emotion as having three main parts: first, the private feeling experienced subjectively which must be expressed to others by symbols; second, the changes set up within the body; and third, the pattern of overt behavior which expresses the feeling.

Animal experimentation designed to elucidate some of the machinery of the brain's operation has been supplemented by observations on man through accidental lesions and in recent years through experience with frontal leucotomy. This operation, as is well known, grew out of animal experimentation. Moniz heard Fulton report the effects of this operation upon chimpanzees and forthwith set about trying it on man. The usual results of these operations on the frontal cortical areas is to reduce depression and cause a shift toward euphoria. Observations are inadequate to localize the mechanism of rage. Bursts of laughter and fits of weep-

ing unaccompanied by appropriate emotion have been found in patients with lesions of the upper brain stem. Emotions of fear seem to be associated, at least in certain cases, with lesions in the hippocampus. Excessive sexual drive was reported in a woman with a tumor on the posterior part of the paracentral lobule and on the gyrus cinguli which probably stimulated the area of the postrolandic cortex. Upon removal of this tumor the woman was relieved of her excessive sexual need.

The second part of this book deals with clinical applications. Anorexia nervosa is taken as an example of a condition which must be understood both psychologically and medically. Here one sees the distance science must yet go before daily clinical problems of a psychological nature, that is, involving chiefly integration on the highest level, can be linked up in an intelligible fashion with what is known of the machinery of the brain. It is soon evident that on the psychological side the patient can only be understood on the basis of 'motivational forces' and their relationships to general biological reactions, as well as to the individual's conditioning experiences and life pressures.

The author passes in critical review certain work in the field of psychosomatic medicine, pointing out the caution which must be exercised in studies of profiles and traits in correlation with certain diseases. The final chapter on social psychiatry shows how often the family must be taken as the unit instead of the individual in our efforts to understand the patients whom we see.

It seems likely to this reviewer that no matter how much we learn about the brain as an organ, no matter how much we come to understand the machinery which underlies our psychic lives, this will never replace psychological experience and psychological understanding. Grief will be grief no matter how much we understand of what goes on in the brain and endocrine system. On the other hand, it would be a grave error for the psychoanalyst, psychiatrist, or psychologist to think that he can understand the life of the mind and the emotions in a sphere of its own entirely removed from that which it expresses, namely, the functioning of a biological organism. The specialist in psychodynamics, that is of emotional forces and motivations and their interplay, needs to keep in close touch with advancing knowledge of biology and physiology. It is in this latter regard that this book is of special service.

LEON J. SAUL (PHILADELPHIA)

HECHOS Y TEORÍAS DEL PSICOANÁLISIS (Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis). By Ives Hendrick. Translated into Spanish by Ludovico Rosenthal. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1950. 331 pp.

This volume is the latest addition to the growing Spanish bibliography of analytic works published by the Argentine analysts. Ives Hendrick's work is well known in this country as a clear formulation of analytic concepts. Rosenthal's translation is a faithful rendition of the second edition of Hendrick's book.

In addition to the original text, which is translated in its entirety, there is an introduction by Angel Garma, a short chapter outlining the development of psychoanalysis in Latin America, and a bibliography of psychoanalytic publications in Spanish.

DAVID KAIRYS (NEW YORK)

A GUIDE TO PSYCHIATRIC BOOKS WITH A SUGGESTED BASIC READING LIST. By Karl A. Menninger, M.D., with the collaboration of George Devereux, Ph.D. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1950. 148 pp.

This book is a bibliography selected to meet the needs of psychiatrists and neurologists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychiatric nurses, and social workers. Psychoanalysis is treated as a branch of psychiatry, rather than as a separate discipline. Emphasis is on the coöperation of the therapeutic team in treatment. In the introduction the authors stress the tentativeness of their selections, indicate the direction of their bias, and enter a plea for suggestions for revision. Their basic aim is 'to relate psychiatry as an applied technique to psychiatry as a science, with philosophic, methodologic, biologic, sociologic and psychologic background', and as a corollary, the hope is expressed that practitioners in related fields will discover in what ways they can contribute to the progress of psychiatry.

The compilation of the list was begun in 1944, with the help of numerous colleagues. The result is a systematic organization of eleven hundred ninety-three books published in English prior to July 1, 1949. The titles are presented in four main sections with subdivisions. The authors intend to bring the list up to date annually. For the interim, space for writing additional titles is left at the end of each subsection.

To increase the usefulness of the guide, Menninger and Devereux have starred the outstanding books in each category, basing their

decisions on a mail vote by a large sampling of qualified specialists. In addition, there is a suggested basic reading list of eighty-nine books which are considered vital for the psychiatric resident. These are presented in the order in which they may most profitably be read, with the recommendation that they be completed as early as possible in the three-year training period. There is an index of authors of all books included in both lists.

ALICE BACH (NEW YORK)

L'IPERSESSUALITÀ COME FATTORE DEGENEROGENO (Hypersexuality as a Degenerative Factor). By Marino Benvenuti. Pisa: Edizioni 'Omnia Medica', 1950. 208 pp.

The interrelationships of psychology and endocrinology are so intimate, and the understanding of the endocrine function can make so great a contribution to psychological and biological understanding, that every study of the correlations between endocrine factors and personality, especially its sexual aspects, is apt to arouse the greatest interest. In fact, the writer of this book presents his investigations as a contribution to the understanding of the 'relationships between sexuality and psychic phenomena', which—'always recognized'—are still considered to be 'obscure, notwithstanding the discoveries of endocrinology'. The reader, however, is soon disappointed when he realizes that these relationships are studied only from the point of view allegedly played by endocrine secretions in personality formation and structure. Organic, constitutional elements and heredity are considered the only causative factor, while psychological implications are described only as effects.

Following this line, the writer describes sexual deviations in the members of two Italian families (middle class and working class). He follows the two families through four generations, attempting to show that the deviations tend to increase in severity and to be accompanied by a progressive deterioration of the personality in the descendants. Eventually, by fundamental deviations in the 'moral and mental sphere', they reach the point of overt psychopathological manifestations and 'moral and mental defectiveness'. The pathogenic factor is 'an endogenous, biosomatic process of endocrine character'. In the subjects in question 'the sexual abnormalities are of a purely organic origin and show the degenerative importance of a deviation in excess of the internal secretion'. (In many of the cases, however, there is no evidence that chemical

measurements of hormone secretions were made.) The concept of degeneration, as it was emphasized in the 'positivistic' theories of the last century, is rejected by the writer. He uses it only to describe the following phenomenon: 'in some abnormalities (and diseases) with a . . . hereditary character, an increase in the number of the affected individuals and in the severity of the pathological manifestations can be observed through the generations, and the implication of other functions, besides those originally affected, can also be recognized'. In such a sense, the increase of the sexual function in the members of the first generation developed into an overt abnormality and involved the total personality in the members of the fourth generation.

As we have mentioned above, the possibility of environmental factors is not actually evaluated, and in the clinical histories of single members of the families there is no attempt to give a dynamic formulation, even when the situation would clearly suggest the possibility of an emotional determination of the disturbances.

This one-sidedness, in the reviewer's opinion, spoils the scientific value of the book. But the reader would also question, for instance, the complete lack of a control group. We do not believe that the presence of abnormal individuals—even if in a great number—in two families can have any scientific evidence when we do not know the average percentage of sexual abnormality in Italian middle class and working class families. We find, moreover, statements which show a complete neglect of the more recent literature on sexual problems, such as the following: 'In accepting the intersexual theory (Maranon), which assumes in homosexuality an organic basis of lack of sexual differentiation, we associate this alteration of sexuality, from the point of view of causality, to a corresponding endocrine alteration . . .'; also: 'If at the beginning of puberty masturbation is, as it were, a physiological condition, it assumes a completely different meaning when it appears in subjects under eight years; . . . even if we assume that we have psychosexual development and differentiation in infancy and in the prepubertal period . . . we must recognize that all the manifestations [of] sexuality do not offer, in this period of life, the slightest relationship to activities in which the genital organs are involved, and that the dominant physiological phenomenon in infancy is the absolute absence of a real erotic stimulus connected with psychosexual representations.'

We believe there is enough evidence of the fallacy of an investi-

gation in which the knowledge of endocrinology is not integrated with adequate information in the fields of clinical and physiological psychology and dynamic psychopathology; but even if we try to follow the author in the field of endocrinology, it seems to the reviewer that he does not give sufficient evidence for his diagnosis of endocrine dysfunction in several of the subjects in question, and that it is impossible to write on endocrine problems in relationship to behavioral manifestations without an adequate knowledge of the more recent studies published throughout the world. The literature quoted is, in fact, mainly Italian, and dates principally from 1920 to 1940.

EDOARDO WEISS (CHICAGO)

ÜBER PSYCHISCHE ENERGETIK UND DAS WESEN DER TRÄUME (On the Conception of Psychic Energy and the Nature of Dreams). By C. G. Jung. Second, enlarged and improved edition of Über die Energetik der Seele (On the Concept of Psychic Energy). Zürich: Rascher Verlag, 1948. 311 pp.

This book contains six articles, the titles of which are: 1, On the Concept of Psychic Energy; 2, General Aspects on the Theory of the Complex; 3, General Aspects on the Psychology of the Dream; 4, On the Nature of the Dream; 5, Instinct and the Unconscious; 6, The Psychological Foundation of the Belief in Spirits. Articles 1, 2, and 4 were previously published in English.[1]

In General Aspects on the Psychology of the Dream, Jung's principal statements are first, that dreams have a continuity toward the future as well as to the past; second, the importance of an interpretation which clarifies 'the immanent goal-directed tendencies' in a dream is stressed. This point of view is called finalistic (*finale Betrachtungsweise*) and must be distinguished from the teleological approach. According to Jung the freudian school generally does not accept more than one meaning to a symbol, whereas his finalistic interpretation is more flexible and permits several meanings. Moreover, a symbol does not necessarily disguise an unconscious wish, but works like a 'parable; not disguising but educating or enlightening'. Jung describes Freud's theory of dream functioning as protecting sleep as too narrow, referring to dreams that disturb sleep as having 'a compensatory content'. The more vital this compensa-

[1] *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology.* Second Edition. London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox, 1920.

tory content would be for 'conscious orientation', the more liable are these dreams to interrupt sleep. Jung is convinced that dreams have a telepathic content which appears only in the manifest content and never in the latent dream thoughts.

In Instinct and the Unconscious, difficulties are encountered in translating the German *Instinkt* which is not identical with the English *instinct* which often corresponds to the German *Trieb,* as in sexual instinct. According to Jung an instinct fails every so often to explain certain behavior patterns. Jung feels that Bergson's conception of 'intuition' can help to improve our understanding, and Jung qualifies intuition as 'a sort of unconscious perception'. After discussing intuition and its correlation to instinct, Jung gives the following definition: 'Instincts are typical forms of behavior [*typische Formen des Handelns*] and wherever a uniform and regularly repeated form of reaction takes place, one deals with an instinct, regardless whether there is a conscious motivation associated or not'. A discussion of the collective unconscious and the archetype follows.

The Psychological Foundation of the Belief in Spirits acknowledges three sources as 'a so to speak realistic basis': visions, dreams, and psychopathology. Spirits represent 'unconscious autonomous complexes appearing in a projected form because otherwise they could not have a direct association with the ego'. The complexes stemming from the personal unconscious account for the neurosis, whereas the complexes stemming from the collective unconscious account for the psychosis. The crucial significance of the complexes and their autonomous existence within the psyche is discussed and demonstrated by calling attention to Jung's well-known association experiments.

For a critique of Jung's ideas as opposed to psychoanalysis, Edward Glover's book, Freud or Jung,[2] is by far the best choice.

LACI FESSLER (NEW YORK)

ESSAYS ON A SCIENCE OF MYTHOLOGY. By C. G. Jung and C. Kerényi. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., Bollingen Series XXII, 1949. 289 pp.

This book is a translation from the German *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie,* published in Zürich and Amsterdam. It is

[2] New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1950.

not necessary to introduce Jung to readers of this QUARTERLY but few will have heard of Kerényi, formerly Professor of Greek Philology at the University of Budapest and now undoubtedly the foremost international authority on Greek mythology. For this reason every psychoanalyst should read this book, since a psychoanalyst can read with critical judgment and notice how the authors (Kerényi more than Jung) manage to approximate the truth and then to obfuscate it in a kind of Platonic philosophy.

For instance, Kerényi in discussing Hermes writes about the 'herm': 'Sacred emblems of this kind, in which it is easy to recognize the naked phallus, were said in ancient times to be "in the Kyllenic manner", no doubt because Hermes possessed these emblems not only in the Elian port of Kyllene but also on the Arcadian Mount Kyllene, his birthplace'. Kerényi then explains that Hermes is the phallus, and proves his close relationship with Eros and Aphrodite (pp. 72, 73), but now come 'mythologems', a favorite word of this school; whether it means simply myth or belief or something 'unutterable' I am at a loss to say.

He discusses the episode of the tortoise and the lyre and writes, 'But can we not say that the invention of the first lyre which the Hermes child gave to Apollo as a gift is in a certain sense "cosmic"? We have been speaking of a *cosmic content* that can express itself in a mythological, philosophical, mathematical, musical, or any other way. . . . Of the pictorial wealth of mythology we can best speak in terms of music' (p. 79). To my mind this just makes no sense at all.

Let us see what Jung has to say on the same subject. 'The "eternal child" in man is an indescribable experience, an incongruity, a disadvantage, and a divine prerogative; an imponderable that determines the ultimate worth or worthlessness of a personality' (p. 135).

I am tempted to remark that if the experience is 'indescribable' why write a book about it? On the other hand I can quite see the advantage of this kind of statement; anybody can project whatever meaning he likes into it.

Notwithstanding all this there is something to be said in favor of this book and in general for the publications of the Jungian school. They broaden the vista of the psychoanalyst, they are learned and scholarly in dealing with their specific topics. By giving the opposite view they give us a counterbalance to the 'everything is conditioned' school of thought. In the 'archetype' they have a valid

concept (Bastian's *Elementargedanke*) which, however, is still in need of psychoanalytic clarification.

GÉZA RÓHEIM (NEW YORK)

THE MEANING OF ANXIETY. By Rollo May, Ph.D. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1950. 376 pp.

The author states, 'Anxiety is the apprehension cued off by a threat to some value which the individual holds essential to his existence as a personality'. From this definition he develops his ideas about normal anxiety, neurotic anxiety, and fears. The orientation of the book is primarily that of the school of analysts whose theories are evolved from the cultural point of view. This frame of reference enables the author to pay tribute to Freud for his original work, but to dismiss his discoveries with comments about the Victorian period of culture in which Freud lived. It seems necessary for these authors to repeat that Freud's awareness of the biological environment of the individual was simply a result of his having lived in an era of great biological discoveries. If only he had been born later, then he would have created a more 'modern' form of psychoanalysis. It is implied by the author that most analysts are veering away from freudian concepts to more 'progressive' ideas, such as those formulated by Fromm, Horney, Sullivan, whose conceptions of anxiety are reviewed with those of Kierkegaard and Kurt Goldstein, with a discussion based almost entirely on the idea that cultural factors arouse anxiety.

That the threat of frustration of a biological urge does not cause conflict and anxiety, unless that urge is identified with some value essential to the existence of the personality, is naïvely illustrated by case histories of people who have active, heterosexual lives but still have anxiety; also conversely, in instances of people without adult sexual activity who have no anxiety. Several grossly inadequate case histories are presented. On the basis of four to eight hours of personal interviews with thirteen unmarried, pregnant girls, Rorschach studies, social workers' interviews, and three questionnaires, the author concludes that rejection by parents does not provoke anxiety if the child does not have a subjective image of a good mother (which would provoke inner conflict). On the basis of four cases he tentatively suggests that anxiety is less frequently experienced among the proletariat than in the middle class.

This book hardly fulfils the prefatory promise of enlightening

any intelligent citizen who feels the 'anxiety-creating conflicts of our day and who has asked himself what the meaning and causes of this anxiety may be and how the anxiety can be dealt with'.

SYLVAN KEISER (NEW YORK)

EIGHTY THOUSAND ADOLESCENTS. By the Staff and Students of Westhill Training College. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1950. 188 pp.

Of the one million seventy-six thousand inhabitants of Birmingham, England, there are about eighty thousand between the ages of fourteen and twenty. What are these young people doing with their leisure time? Are they using it constructively and profitably? What organizations exist to help them utilize their leisure time? Eighty Thousand Adolescents attempts to envisage statistically and to evaluate the Youth Service of the city of Birmingham. The term is used to cover all organizations which concern themselves with the leisure time of adolescents and includes those provided officially as well as various voluntary, nonofficial bodies. Although the subtitle of the book—A Study of Young People in Birmingham—indicates a general investigation of the structure of adolescent society in that city, it is in fact mainly limited to the club life, to the afterschool and afterwork life of these boys and girls. It has not the scope of a study like Elmtown's Youth in which the total life of the adolescent in a small American community is examined. Whether the recreational life of the adolescent can be fruitfully considered apart from the social structure is questionable. However, throughout the book there is an implication, although it is nowhere definitely stated and I may have received the wrong impression, that the organizational set-up is primarily concerned with the needs of the underprivileged adolescent. If this is actually so, the study has, of course, a more meaningful social setting than is at first apparent.

The picture of the Youth Service in Birmingham is one of great variety and complexity. There is an intermingling of governmental and nongovernmental organizations (with varying degrees of contact between them), of semimilitary organizations, of groups attached to churches, to industry, and to political parties. In this respect the structure of adolescent club life is similar to our own. Different and instructive is the fact that the specific leisure needs of the adolescent are officially recognized by the Ministry of Education which has

directed the local boards of education to coöperate with the various private organizations. Official bodies may thus give advice, provide trained leaders and equipment for clubs, and grant financial aid. Emphasis appears to be laid on local initiative and freedom.

The complexity of the picture finds its explanation in the historical development of the Youth Service. It can be traced to the Sunday schools which first made their appearance in Birmingham after the middle of the eighteenth century. Approximately a century later, provision for weekday activities came into being at the Y.M.C.A., and some two decades later at the Y.W.C.A. Gradually newer groups arose till the present diversified structure of club life became established.

The original purpose of the early groups was of a moral nature—to deal with the 'problem of boys and girls who spend their childhood on the streets subject to influences of a degrading character'. The disintegration by the industrial revolution of fixed modes of life, of given paths for growing up, had created these new problems. Children who began to work in factories at the age of seven had the benefit of neither religious nor lay education. It is of interest to learn that a considerable percentage of the more than seven hundred brothels in Birmingham in 1840 catered to male and female children between the ages of eight to fourteen.

In our present age, less certain of its goals and even its ideals, the aims and purposes of a Youth Service are less clearly defined. Indeed this study asks the pertinent question as to what the goals of a Youth Service should be. Should it be confined to table tennis and dancing?

The report complains that many youth leaders, from fear of indoctrination, refuse to act as guides to adolescents. Since this investigation has been carried out by the members of the Westhill Training College, which trains leaders for Christian education, it is to be expected that the answers to these questions will be in terms of religious faith. While in general, Christian ethics may be accepted by the Western world as a general guide to moral questions, there is a long distance from such ultimate answers to the more immediate integration of a Youth Service into the total social structure. This problem which is *the* problem of adolescence (in its social aspects) requires a much broader point of view than is utilized in this study.

Indeed this book is excessively concerned with the 'cultural' aspects of club work: whether the members hear good music, present worthwhile plays, etc. It appears to deprecate the time 'wasted' in

just standing around, the fact that many of the members want to come around and talk and do nothing special. There appears to be lacking a knowledge of depth psychology which would link up the club activities with what is known of the deeper changes in adolescence. The fluidity of present-day society does not permit the adolescent to find a secure place for himself, and a Youth Service, valuable as it may otherwise be, which attempts to set goals in terms of 'culture', is offering answers too cerebral to be really helpful in this regard. For example (p. 113), 'The quality of the Youth Service must be judged therefore, in the last resort, by its achievements in the discharge of the dual educational task: by its success or failure in meeting the needs of young people, in acquainting them with all that is of permanent value in their inheritance . . .'. What is their inheritance? Is it '. . . what is good and beautiful in music and the arts' (p. 122) or is it not something much deeper and on a much less conscious level? One of the criticisms of the clubs says that 'twenty-two of the clubs visited seemed to offer nothing at all except table tennis, a cup of tea and a little casual dancing to a tinny gramophone or a hard-used piano'. Such a criticism implies too much concern with 'higher things' and a lack of contact with the deeper needs of the adolescent.

On a more concrete level, the report points out that the various clubs should facilitate the transition to an adult society and finds that they do not do so. A statistical analysis of club membership shows that at sixteen, seventy percent of the boys belong to some club (this figure for actual attendance should be about fifty-five percent). After this age, the membership drops sharply and the report suggests that the clubs offer too juvenile a program and do not keep step with the maturer needs of the older adolescent. There appears to be a tendency to underestimate the 'developing maturity by organizations'.

To some extent such a decline in club membership is inevitable. Just as the early informal adolescent male or female group is subject to the attritional inroads of the opposite sex, so too will similar changes occur in clubs. An interesting consideration in this connection is given of mixed clubs and of attempts to integrate adolescent clubs into 'Family Centers' (Peckham Family Center) and Community Centers which should cater to all ages. The various technical problems arising from such an arrangement are thoughtfully discussed.

This book is the result of a great deal of hard and sincere work. It is of significant value to all concerned with problems of adolescence. It contains interesting data which have not been referred to in this review.

LEO ANGELO SPIEGEL (NEW YORK)

THE ENVELOPE. A Study of the Impact of the World Upon the Child. By James S. Plant, M.D., Sc.D. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950. 299 pp.

Published after fifteen years, this is manifestly a compilation of ill-assorted notes from a seminar on personality development given in 1935. Representing the work of twenty-four years with more than ten thousand children, this static, mechanistic presentation, without any understanding of motivation, is indeed disappointing. During the quarter century in which Dr. Plant worked as director of a juvenile clinic, tremendous contributions have been made in the field of child psychiatry; of these, there is practically no recognition.

The author's specialty is the current trend of inventing new names for familiar concepts. In addition, by taking these concepts out of context and depriving them of their dynamic meaning, he creates so much confusion that the reader is left bewildered. The title of the book is an example. According to the author, The Envelope is a membrane that lies 'between the need of the child and the sweep of social pressures'. One would expect that it corresponds to the 'stimulus barrier'. But this is not so. While it has only a 'cortical' function, it is also the interpreting agency and seems to have something to do with defenses. The author, however, does not discuss defense mechanisms at all, and the individual seems to be reduced by him to an envelope without any content.

The child is a neat little package of 'twenty-one problems' which the author enumerates in an equal number of chapters, for example: security, authority, cadence, adequacy, etc. This is really a superficial catalogue of phenomenological aspects of behavior with no consideration for the dynamics of personality development.

Regarding the sexual urge in children, Dr. Plant argues 'that if the sexual urge were as great a part of the dynamics of life as the psychoanalytic group would have us believe, we should see this mode of expression turned to far more often and we should have more evidence of direct sexual satisfaction arising from it'.

Masturbation, according to Dr. Plant, is prolonged among definitely retarded youngsters and occasionally among more nearly average children. On the whole, he considers it a 'neutral act', misinterpreted by adults who are preoccupied with sexuality. Local irritation in the genital region from lack of cleanliness is seen as an important factor in masturbation and he writes, 'In some of the cases that have come to our attention, masturbation has ceased with improvement of this physical condition or with circumcision'. And among innumerable footnotes, he states, 'Also, in the event of circumcision the pain following the operation furnished a necessary break in continuity of the habit'. Aggression in this book is mentioned in passing in exactly two sentences. Instinct is completely omitted.

Dr. Plant leaves the reader with a feeling that time and effort were wasted unnecessarily in reading The Envelope as well as in writing it. The Commonwealth Fund might indeed have sponsored a more worth-while publication.

MELITTA SPERLING (NEW YORK)

BODY AND MATURE BEHAVIOR. By M. Feldenkrais. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1949. 167 pp.

The subtitle of this book, A Study of Anxiety, Sex, Gravitation and Learning, describes the area in which the author searches for the elements which later determine mature bodily behavior. His interesting viewpoints are presented in a very condensed way, partly in a popularized form, partly on a scientific level. He familiarizes the reader with the pertinent facts about the activity of the nervous system, which, as he emphasizes, participates in every mental act by sending out impulses—sensory, motor, vegetative—always in an integrated way and is involved even in the most abstract thoughts. 'Abstract thinking is possibly only a conjunction with a special configuration or pattern or state of the body.' But it is the bodily behavior of an individual which expresses the achievement of the proper adjustment to those impulses by continually learning new responses to stimuli. Posture and muscular behavior come under the heading of learning and are acquired responses fitting the environment. 'Posture is one of the best clues not only to evolution but also to the activity of the brain', because all perception and sensation take place on a background of muscular activity, and every impression due to a sensory impulse is at least mixed with

kinesthetic sensations. 'We cannot conceive consciousness without fixing the position of our body in relation to the outside world. . . . We cannot perceive unless we are aware of the attitude and orientation of the body.' The author sees in the conscious awareness of clinging to a chosen postural configuration the attempt to avoid anxiety. The origin or first experience of anxiety stems in his opinion from the inborn fear of falling, which is evoked by the stimulation of the vestibular branch of the eighth cranial nerve. He finds remarkable the similarity of the reaction of a newborn to withdrawal of support and of fright in the adult, and considers as inherited the reaction that the adult interprets as fear of falling. (Landis and Hunt suggested some years ago that the startle pattern originated from the rush of the vestibular fluid because of sudden postural changes of the newborn.) All other fears and sensations of the anxiety syndrome are therefore somatically conditioned responses. The author explains the recidivous character of anxiety after psychiatric treatment by the fact that it did not extinguish those responses and left somatic links and the muscular habitus unaltered. It could not prevent the re-establishment of the old conditioned responses because it did not correct earlier stereotyped patterns of behavior.

In the opinion of the author one is able, with the proper technique, to analyze a personality solely by a study of his muscular behavior in the same way and with the same results as by an analysis of his mental processes alone. To every attitude corresponds not only an affective state but also a muscular pattern.

One of the capital points which the author makes throughout his exposition is that psychiatric treatment alone cannot have any lasting effect. 'The psychiatrist will treat emotional instability and immaturity, will make the patient relive the old trauma of childhood, and will obtain an apparent improvement . . . but as long as no radical change of the nervous and body patterns has been wrought, any sharp change of environment, any new shock, or simply time will, by dint of the unchanged muscular and attitudinal patterns, reinstate the whole situation and bring back the old manner of doing . . . every time treatment is given up.' The author apparently overlooks the fact that an analytic treatment, which makes the unconscious motivations and the meaning of muscular patterns conscious and lifts the cathexis to a great extent, changes also by necessity the total bodily pattern. However, he believes that

're-education of the kinesthetic sense and resetting it to the normal course of self-adjusting improvement of all muscular activity—the essence of life—is fundamental. Re-education should start with a direct approach to the motor function, then a great deal of the road to complete recovery will be covered'; but 'the whole self, diet, breathing, sex, muscular and postural habits must be tackled directly and concurrently with the emotional re-education'.[1]

FELIX DEUTSCH (BOSTON)

CLINICAL ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPHY. By Robert Cohn, M.D., New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949. 639 pp.

This book appears to have been written especially for persons who are learning how to interpret electroencephalographic records and fulfils a longfelt need in this field. It combines the functions of an atlas of clinical electroencephalographic material and a textbook, describing in detail the applications and limitations of electroencephalography. It embodies as well the advances made in this field which have been available hitherto only in widely scattered form. The material is divided essentially into three parts. The first part deals with general and theoretical considerations, and here the author has accomplished the difficult feat of condensing highly technical material and preserving clarity of thought and expression. The second section deals with the statistical analysis of a control series of corpsmen and corpswaves which is compared with the analysis of the records of 3,937 patients in histogram form. The patients are placed in fifteen different clinical groups, and these groups are compared with the control series. Excellent general discussions of the findings in each group are given along with the histograms. The third and largest portion of the book is devoted to two hundred twenty-two individual case presentations, including the clinical history, electroencephalographic findings, and the diagnostic impression. The cases chosen represent in the main the type that the ordinary clinical encephalographer is most apt to encounter. The information and wealth of clinical experience packed into the discussions preceding the clinical examples make this book interesting and worth-while reading for even those whose interests lie outside the domain of clinical electroencephalography and make one hope that they will be expanded in succeeding editions. The discussion of

[1] One is here reminded of the teaching of the yogi.

that bête noire of psychiatrists and neurologists alike, the common headache, is simple and to the point. 'The word headache almost seemed to be an individual symbol of an unusual, at times immobilizing, "something" projected intracranially. The only evident common denominators of this group of patients were the resistance of the headache to any kind of therapy and the inability of the examiner to find any evidence of grossly distorted function as a result of structural or physiological action in any system of the body, with particular attention to the nervous system.' He found statistically that 80.7 percent of headache sufferers in general had normal EEG's as compared to 85.6 percent of the control series. The findings relative to anxiety states, manic-depressive disorders, and following shock therapy are of great interest to the psychiatrist but must be omitted for the sake of brevity.

As might be expected, the weakest chapter in the book is the one dealing with disorders of behavior. This is not so much the fault of the author but is due to the complexity of the subject and simply highlights an area in psychiatry where descriptive nomenclature has broken down before the uniqueness and complexity of the human psyche. Defects in dynamic understanding cannot be remedied by platitudes, for instance, 'Thus the remarkably unmodulated voltage recognized in certain patients suggests the possibility that certain of the behavior disorders might be the result of an inability of the individual to respond to his environment in an adequate way'. This type of statement should be explained or, better, omitted. The author is well aware of the pitfalls in this field and later states explicitly that the characteristics observed in the records of individuals with behavior disturbances are not the causes of the disturbances as manifested clinically. He emphasizes the fact that classical histories of psychopathy satisfactory to any school of thought show EEG tracings that in no way can be considered abnormal. A recommended reading list is appended to the three portions of the book.

It is apparent that an enormous amount of labor, clinical experience, and clear thinking have gone into the compilation of this book. The printing and format are excellent and enhanced by nicely drawn illustrations. The author's personal modesty, lucidity of thought, and scientific objectivity permeate the entire volume. At times his caution prevents full advantage being taken of the clinical usefulness of the EEG, and in some cases it would appear that the clinical history has lent as much weight to the final impression as the EEG

findings. A comment also might be made in respect to the number of clinical examples utilized. One has the feeling that one-third of them could be left out without sacrificing a great deal, especially as regards the normal and near normal recordings. However, one might argue in the other direction; i.e., that for the beginner recognition of normal variations is of the greatest importance.

WILLIAM F. MURPHY (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

MONGOLISM (Peristatic Amentia). By M. Engler, M.D. Bristol: John Wright and Sons, Ltd., 1949. 208 pp.

The author has covered the various types found in groups of mental defectives in institutions, clinics, and in private practice, including a study of the treatment and training of special nature available for all levels of intellectual development, as well as an estimation of the trainability in such cases.

At the start he declares: 'What is never absent, however, is mental deficiency. . . mongolism cannot exist without mental deficiency'. This is a refreshing pronouncement in the face of the fact that parents are still promised 'cures' through 'head measurements', 'glandular treatments' and even 'shock therapy'.

A brief postcript is a forceful statement for the acceptance of a new terminology with abandonment of the traditional allusion to the Mongolian race, and use, instead, of the term, Peristatic Amentia, 'the total of all the harmful factors acting on the ovary and the uterus, particularly, however, on the uterus'. The closing sentence contains the stimulating suggestion that 'it might be worth while to review the whole problem of mental deficiency and idiocy in the light of peristatic damage'.

This book is constructively documented and represents the best objective appraisal of this particularly dramatic type of mental defective that has ever been compiled.

CLINTON P. MC CORD (ALBANY)

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN MENTAL DEFICIENCY. By Seymour B. Sarason. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. 366 pp.

We have learned to expect in the last several years that anything that comes out of the Department of Psychiatry or Psychology at Yale is apt to be of a high order. For forty years, particularly during the life of G. Stanley Hall, we were justified in feeling that any

psychologist who got his doctorate at Clark University was well-oriented in a dynamic brand of psychology. The writer of this book took his Ph.D. at Clark and is Associate Professor of Psychology at Yale University.

The bibliography is lengthy, and the inclusion of such names as Goddard, Tredgold, Cornell, Wallin, Woodworth, Terman, from the earlier years, and Doll, Yepsen, Wechsler and Mrs. Sarason, from more recent times, shows that the author has 'grown up', as it were, with the subject. Well-selected case-study material and the exhibition of therapeutic techniques make the presentation distinctively good, up-to-date, applied clinical psychology. The various types of mental deficiency are well delineated without the expensive aid of photographic plates.

This is a book which should surely be studied by psychiatrists, psychologists, social case workers, by all workers of professional grade in institutions, clinics, special schools, and by pediatricians who are seeking to gain orientation in the field of psychological pediatrics.

CLINTON P. MC CORD (ALBANY)

MR. CARLYLE MY PATIENT. A Psychosomatic Biography. By James L. Halliday, M.D. New York: Grune and Stratton, Inc., 1950. 227 pp.

The application of psychoanalytic psychology to the interrelationship between the life experiences of writers and artists and their productions is always entertaining to those acquainted with clinical manifestations of neurotic conflict. It is not so certain how convincing such interpretations appear to readers unfamiliar with psychoanalytic thinking. At all events Dr. Halliday's study of crotchety Thomas Carlyle, whose bodily and mental disturbances continued from childhood to old age, is one of the most successful of these pathographical studies.

The author has chosen as his subject one who was exquisitely sensitive to the conflicting forces to which he was exposed, and whose extraordinary memory and descriptive ability enabled him to record them vividly and incisively. This material is found in Carlyle's journals and notebooks and in his self-revelatory fantasy, Sartor Resartus, which Dr. Halliday regards as an attempt by Carlyle to solve his problem of male inadequacy. The superiority of this study is not due to the wealth of the autobiographical observations

alone, but also to Dr. Halliday's skill in selecting his material and his knowledge of psychoanalytic interpretation.

The author opens his account with a clinical history such as might be taken by the resident of a modern hospital had Carlyle, at the age of twenty-six, applied for admission complaining of sleeplessness, gastric pains, and indigestion. From here, Dr. Halliday studies the patient, not to prescribe for him but to understand Carlyle's symptoms as revealed through his writings. He traces with fluency and rare charm Carlyle's mother identification, ambivalence to his father, the reasons for and the time at which he developed his physical ailments, the turmoil and vacillation of his courtship and marriage to Jeannie Welch who had wanted to be a boy, the effect of his dark moods upon the health of his wife, and finally, his abuse of and dependence upon her up to the time of her death in 1866.

Dr. Halliday is not merely a careful interpreter of the ramifications of Carlyle's unconscious homosexuality and its multiform manifestations, but also analyzes the basis for Carlyle's social philosophy and political attitudes—especially the search for the true or great leader—and shows their derivation from early fantasies of omnipotent destructiveness.

One point of great interest is not considered by Halliday, namely, that notwithstanding Carlyle's continuous mental misery and physical discomfort he lived to the exceptional age of eighty-six, and his literary productivity was extraordinary. This contrasts with the generally accepted notion that neurotic conflict impairs efficiency and is apt to shorten life.

The time between Jeannie's death and Carlyle's in 1881 is covered briefly. One wishes that the author had described these last tormented years with greater detail and thus prolonged an absorbing story which is read with profit not only by those who are interested in psychodynamics of illness but in the problems of social integration and government.

C. P. OBERNDORF (NEW YORK)

CRIME AND THE MIND. An Outline of Psychiatric Criminology. By Walter Bromberg, M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948. 219 pp.

Rather unevenly developed, this book deals with psychological forces that determine criminal behavior and the potentialities of therapy.

While acknowledging the multiple causes of crime and the effects of childhood and later experiences ranging from physical disorders to political corruption, the task of psychiatry is to come to grips with impulsive behavior—'a first cause of antisocial behavior'. All other factors are merely contingencies of antisocial acts: 'Behavior is directly influenced by the complex mixture of emotion, instinct and impulse'.

There is the easily proven fact that in all of us there are antisocial impulses ordinarily repressed and unconscious. Fantasied death wishes or killings are by no means uncommon. The swindler's favorite dictum that there is 'larceny in everyone's heart' is not far from the truth. To what extent such impulses do or do not break through into action depends, of course, upon the development of conscience, early ethical training, the development of an adequate sense of reality, and also the nature of life experiences. Emotional immaturity, Bromberg emphasizes, is closely related to crime, not only in youthful offenders, but in psychopathic personalities of all ages as an arrest or deviation of development.

The longest chapter gives much attention to The Psychopathic Personality with subheadings of special types and with considerable disregard for nosological criteria of which elsewhere the author approves. Since he believes these individuals suffer from basic ego disturbances caused by early libidinal frustrations, they are basically remediable conditions; however, sociopsychological conditions make therapy difficult or even hazardous.

Some interesting instances of fire-setting (incorrectly captioned 'arson') are given in which unconscious dynamisms are interpreted as specific in determining not only the tendency to crime but also the specific forms of offense. Burglary, for example, is said to be 'a passive expression of fundamentally aggressive impulses'. Is not this a little juggling with semantics? Burglary is stealthy, 'the aggression of a passive individual with a feeling of inferiority'. The personalities of burglars and robbers 'vary as widely as the crime techniques differ'. Robbery is a grossly aggressive act and represents less neurosis than is found in burglary. The differing techniques of robbers indicate varying mental mechanisms as motivations. However, while the crime is pre-eminently a display of aggression, the personality of the robber does not always match the implications of this description. Among those convicted, deep feelings of inadequacy and passivity are startlingly common. The

carrying of a gun betrays fear that they may not be aggressive enough. The author's falling back upon inferiority feelings in both these types of criminals does not seem to illuminate enough this contention of wide differences in their personalities.

Dr. Bromberg's extensive experience as director of a psychiatric clinic in a criminal court, as psychiatrist in Bellevue Hospital, and his work in a naval prison prove that this book is no armchair production. But we wish that he had presented data of more cases together with interpretations illustrating the unconscious mechanisms and motivations that, as he says, so frequently form the psychological background of criminality. To be sure, he does give a few instances of successful psychotherapy, though in The Cure for Crime he shows the difficulty of such therapy, particularly psychoanalysis, for incarcerated criminals. So then he has to hark back to prevention and early treatment of tendencies toward crime, the fundamental principles of which those professionally interested in the field know full well, but which are as yet so insufficiently applied.

Projected as an 'outline', the book stands as such—valuable reading though disproportionate in its emphases and not exhaustive. Appended is an extensive bibliography.

WILLIAM HEALY (BOSTON)

THE CRIME PROBLEM. By Walter C. Reckless. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. 537 pp.

This textbook by the Professor of Social Administration of Ohio State University is designed for the field worker and for the university student of criminology, for in-service training courses as well as for college courses in penology and criminology. The author states his conviction that 'inordinate emphasis' on study of causative factors in crime has retarded the field of criminology, and turns to an account of the practical operation of officials and institutions in dealing with crime, and to description of how 'crime gets shaped into careers and business'.

The author's approach to the understanding of criminal behavior is what he calls the 'behavior-sequence' approach, in which an effort is made to study the manner in which delinquent or criminal behavior fits into the 'scheme of life' of the criminal. This is essentially a genetic approach in which primary emphasis is placed upon environmental and social stimuli or influences. Dr. Reckless' attitude toward psychological considerations in determining criminal be-

havior is indicated in a commentary on the work of Kate Friedlander '. . . the cautious recognition that delinquent and criminal behavior is sometimes a symptom of unconscious conflict and is homologous to the neurotic symptom is certainly justifiable'.

Acknowledging an orientation on the part of the author that includes recognition of the importance of personality structure and its determinants in the development of criminal careers, the book as a whole is a well-organized review of sociological studies of crime and criminal careers with particular attention to special categories. The section on control, treatment, and prevention provides excellent commentary on the inadequacy of present methods of detention, of probation and parole. The position or potential of the psychiatrist in prevention or treatment is envisaged in rather good perspective.

GEORGE J. MOHR (CHICAGO)

MODERN DISCOVERIES IN MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Clifford Allen, M.D. Second Edition. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1949. 236 pp.

The first edition of this book was most excellently reviewed by John A. P. Millet in this QUARTERLY, Volume VI, 1937. At that time the reviewer said 'a real debt is owed to Dr. Allen by those interested in acquiring some understanding of the history of modern psychological thought without the necessity of delving into original writings or elaborate expositions of the various points of view which have been developed'.

The popularity and acceptability of this book is attested to by the fact that it has sold continuously since 1937 and has been translated into such diverse languages as Italian and Bengali.

The 'modern discoveries' are those contributions to morbid psychology made by Mesmer, Janet, Morton Prince, Adler, Jung, Kretschmer, Pavlov, and Freud. Two chapters are devoted to the findings of psychoanalysis, and it is obvious that the author considers these to be of signal import.

In his introduction to this second edition, the author notes that in the intervening years there has been a shift in psychiatric interest to organic and physical methods of treating neurotic and mental illness. Perhaps because of this he has added a chapter on physical methods, beginning with Wagner-Jauregg and his discovery of a treatment for paresis, and following with sections on prolonged

sedation, narcoanalysis, the shock therapies, and ending with leucotomy.

It is wise to add such a chapter to bring the book up to date, but even wiser is the author's treatment of the material. He accepts it as a change in fashion common to medicine and says that no harm can be done as long as the more extravagant claims are regarded with a wise scepticism. However, his is not merely passive condonation, for he concludes the chapter and book by a succinct warning that '. . . those physicians who rush to apply mechanical treatments . . . without proper psychological investigations are demonstrating their own ignorance and are maltreating their patients. Man is worthy of better treatment than a car or wireless set, and those who do not give it to him are betraying their trust.'

Exception may be taken to the view implied by the author that Adlerian methods are more successful and to be preferred to analytic treatment in the realm of child psychiatry. Likewise, there is occasional loose thinking in such statements as the author's indication that the response to insulin shown by some schizophrenics suggests an organic basis to that form of insanity (p. 135), or that a Kretschmerian knowledge of physique can do much to prevent the development of mental illness (p. 164).

With the previous reviewer, it is a pleasure to recommend this book to medical students, physicians, clinical psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and psychiatrists alike. Those preparing for Board examinations will find it an enjoyable and easily assimilated review of the history of modern psychiatry.

ROGER C. HENDRICKS (SEATTLE)

PERSONALITY: DEVELOPMENT AND ASSESSMENT. By Charles M. Harsh and H. G. Schrickel. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950. 518 pp.

At a time when clinical psychologists are conscientiously attempting to delimit their field and defend their position, felt by some to be encroaching upon the established territories of the psychiatric social worker and psychiatrist, this book on personology can well be regarded as a major effort in dispelling the confusion and in clearing the issues concerning the objectives of clinical psychology. Exception might be taken to labeling the clinical psychologist as a personologist (a term coined by H. A. Murray to refer to the scientist

investigating the nature and development of personality), yet he consistently employs all of the relevant findings of all branches of psychology, the social sciences, etc., to the better understanding and treatment of the individual.

However, it is not the avowed aim of the authors, professors of psychology at the University of Nebraska, to engage in polemics; but rather, in their preface they indicate that they want to introduce the reader to the field of personality study in such a way as to minimize theoretical biases or blind spots and to develop an inclusive and unified perspective.

To do this, they have divided the book into two parts. The first traces the typical stages of personality development in our society from infancy to old age, discussing 1, the factors influencing personality; 2, major problems and mechanisms of adjustment; 3, changes in motivation; 4, changes in ability and learned adjustments; 5, significance of each phase for later development; and 6, characteristic individual variations. This section provides a most readable recapitulation of personality development, in chronological sequence, based on accepted observations and findings, and emphasizing the multiple determinants affecting character formation.

The second part surveys theories of personality and methods of assessment, with the aim of showing the range of variation in theories and also the possible areas of agreement or divergence. To the reviewer, this second part is more valuable and thought-provoking, particularly the chapters on the theories (including the psychoanalytic and cultural approaches), the known methods of personality assessment, and the concluding chapter entitled Integration in Personality, which is rather a brief for more integration in the study of personality. The comments at the end of each chapter are unbiased and challenging. In their aims, method, and practice, the authors succeed most admirably.

Accepting the fact that psychology is a young science, the authors believe that one of the chief reasons for the diversity of opinion and lack of unified psychological theory is due to terminological differences which they consider essentially a semantic or semiotic problem. They further point out that theorists in their own bias and for other defensive reasons choose methods of validation which seem to support their theories. The result is a confusing mass of individual differences with little agreement concerning the essential aspects of personality. However, they skilfully show that there is

much overlapping in theory, and though theoretical agreement is on the increase, there is still a great need for order and system before a comprehensive theory can be attained that will satisfy all personologists.

When one considers the amount of time, energy, and money expended in psychological research, the need for a more unified approach becomes obvious. This book should not be limited to students, for psychologists and psychiatrists alike can profit by its reading. More especially, those about to engage in personality research would do well to read this book, not only to avoid pitfalls already experienced by others, but also to use it as a guide to more fruitful results.

ROGER C. HENDRICKS (SEATTLE)

PERSONNEL SELECTION IN THE BRITISH FORCES. By Philip E. Vernon, Ph.D. and John B. Parry, Ph.D. London: University of London Press, 1949. 324 pp.

During the second World War psychological methods of personnel selection were applied in the British armed forces on an unprecedented scale, and this book is an attempt to give an account of the procedures that were used and the results that were obtained. The book has a further aim which is to demonstrate in what way the experience that was gained in wartime can be adapted to the educational and industrial purposes of civilian life. It is very doubtful, however, whether the industrialist, for example, will find much appeal in this handbook. For whatever the aim of the authors may have been, the book is in effect little more than a compilation of the methods that were used in the various arms of the services and as such might be of interest to the statistician and the vocational psychologist.

There is one chapter which may be of more general interest, particularly at the present time, and that is the chapter in which the work of the War Office Selection Boards is described. The function of these Boards was to select potential officers, and their methods excited interest and criticism both in army and civilian circles. A serious attempt was made to study the whole problem of 'leadership' and it was in this vitally important matter that the psychiatrist and the psychologist made a valuable contribution. The group methods which were employed and the principles that underlay those methods of testing and observation are in them-

selves of particular interest. Since the war there has been in Britain a growing tendency to select leaders in professional and industrial fields by means of methods which are a modification of those used in the War Office Selection Boards. However, as the authors have undertaken to survey such a vast field their account of this important experiment is meager. Fortunately, the bibliography of this uncommonly dull book contains references to the contributions of those who were responsible in part for devising the tests.

W. N. EVANS (NEW YORK)

THE PSYCHOLOGIST IN INDUSTRY. By M. E. Steiner. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1950. 107 pp.

Industrialists familiar with every idiosyncrasy of their raw materials, who knew to the last split millimeter the possible performance of their equipment, used to consider their workers as machines capable of enduring an almost infinite variety of stresses. The inefficiency resulting from this haphazard use of manpower became apparent in high overhead costs. This led the industrialists, with some reluctance, to call in psychological help, and in this book the psychologist explains how he can come to their aid.

In the first and longest section the writer describes the tools by which men can be selected and placed in the jobs that best suit them. Among other methods he mentions the personal history, the interview, the personality questionnaire in all its variations, tests for aptitude in various fields, and such projective techniques as the Rorschach and TAT methods. The writer explains their use and evaluates their reliability with a precision reassuring to those who are accustomed to count and measure and are somewhat distrustful of the comparative vagueness of psychological concepts.

Observing the Worker on the Job quotes many authorities in suggesting practical measures for improving the working environment and for diminishing accidents, fatigue, absenteeism, and labor turnover. It also deals with the use of ratings, and other aspects of plant morale. This section is introductory and factual.

In his last chapter the author discusses Counseling the Worker, which leads him onto the dangerous ground of psychodynamics. Here he is faced with the necessity of explaining psychic phenomena in a few pages to people with little previous orientation. This he

accomplishes adequately by use of the personality classification devised by Seashore and Jennson. A few case histories prove the usefulness of the methods he has mentioned.

This book clearly, comprehensively, and modestly introduces both industrialist and psychiatrist to the subject of industrial psychology. The extensive bibliography gives the reader access to information encyclopedic in its scope.

GERALDINE PEDERSON-KRAG (NEW YORK)

CONFESSIONS OF A POET. By Paul Verlaine. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. 192 pp.

The unhappy ones seem to have affected the world most for both good and evil. Among these was Paul Verlaine, greatest of French poets, creator of some eighteen volumes of outstanding verse, pioneer of a new French school, and purveyor of delight, nostalgia, and pure joy to generations over the entire intellectual world.

Fortunately the best part of Verlaine remains his poetry. The man himself was a drunkard, libertine, homosexual, etc. Like most drunkards he loved company and was an interesting companion, as a list of his friends, including Victor Hugo, Anatole France, André Gide, Oscar Wilde, and their comments attest.

In his fiftieth year Verlaine wrote 'some notes' which his publisher converted into 'confessions' that cover only the first half of his life, and end where gossip, malicious or factual, has most to say. These first twenty-six years are described in a beautiful style, with enormous and intimate detail, wisdom and lively imagery such as only a fine poet can employ.

There is a noteworthy error in the Confessions. Mr. Martin L. Wolf, in his able preface, says that the poet married an eighteen-year-old girl. Verlaine says: 'My wife. . . [was] sixteen years old'. If Mr. Wolf is correct, then Verlaine confounded the age of his wife with that of his male paramour, Arthur Rimbaud, who was sixteen years old when he first burst upon the sensitive and defenseless Verlaine and came to live in his home.

Like all poets, the relationship of Verlaine to his poetry is very intimate. It is a catharsis of personal problems. A poem is not unlike a dream in its imagery, symbolism, condensation, substitution, and above all, unconscious motivation. The poet must concentrate

consciously on form, color, rhyme, rhythm, etc. Although the accent is on technique, the essential unconscious message emerges in a disguised form in the work of art.

This book is recommended to those, eschewing scandal, who would read of the youth and development of a sensitive, imaginative, creative artist. The style is limpid, the content interesting and delightful.

HENRY HIMMELL (NEW YORK)

EDUCATION THROUGH ART. By Herbert Read. New York: Pantheon Books, 1949. 320 pp.

Read's book is built around the thesis that '. . . the general purpose of education is to foster the growth of what is individual in each human being at the same time harmonizing the individuality thus educated with the organic unity of the social group to which the individual belongs'. He regards æsthetic education as being fundamental in this process.

The technical aspects of æsthetic education comprise (a) visual and plastic training, which is achieved through the eye and the touch of the hand, results in design, and is governed by sensation; (b) musical and kinetic education trains the ear and the muscles, finds expression in music and the dance, and relates to intuition; (c) verbal education is achieved through speech, results in drama and poetry, and expresses feeling; (d) constructive education leads to craftsmanship, and uses thought as its main mode of activity. This classification is further regrouped into basic instincts. The communicative instinct with its desire to talk and to listen, together with the dramatic instinct with its desire to act, form the sympathetic instincts. The desires to draw, paint, model, dance, and to sing are expressions of the artistic and musical instincts, which form the larger group of æsthetic instincts. The inquisitive instinct which wants to know the 'why' of things, and the constructive instinct with its desire to create things are grouped in the scientific instinct.

Regardless of which group of instincts is selected, or which area of æsthetic education is furthered, the following two main principles are always involved: the principle of form, which is a function of perception, and the principle of origination, which is a function of the imagination. 'These two mental activities exhaust, in their dialectical counterplay, all the psychic aspects of æsthetic experi-

ence. But art has other aspects—biological and social—and it is far from my intention to underestimate their importance.'

These introductory definitions, elaborated in two chapters, are followed by discussions of perception, imagination, temperament, and expression. The author is an advocate of progressive education, which has as one of its goals the attempt to achieve the highest correlation between the child's temperament and his mode of expression. The succeeding chapters deal with the art of children, unconscious modes of integration, the natural form of education, the æsthetic basis of discipline and morality, the teacher, and the environment.

This book is more than just a treatise on the art of children. Based on Plato's dictum that art should be the basis of education, an attempt is here made, through original thinking and rich bibliographic documentation, to map out a new road for progressive education. The book is well illustrated with black and white and with colored reproductions of drawings and paintings made by children. Educators, psychiatrists, analysts, social workers, and psychologists will find this volume a very rewarding compilation.

ADOLF G. WOLTMANN (NEW YORK)

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

International Journal of Psychoanalysis. XXX, 1949.

David Beres

To cite this article: David Beres (1951) International Journal of Psychoanalysis. XXX, 1949., The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 488-499, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11925853

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11925853

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

ABSTRACTS

International Journal of Psychoanalysis. XXX, 1949.

Poetical Truth and Scientific Truth in the Light of History. Arnold Joseph Toynbee. Pp. 143–152.

Toynbee views with the perspective of a historian the place of psychoanalysis in the development of human thought. Although mankind has for hundreds of thousands of years possessed and utilized intellect and will, it has been aware of its possession of these faculties for not much more than twenty-five hundred years. Their discovery was made in India, Greece, and perhaps simultaneously in China. Toynbee limits his discussion to the consequences of the Greek contribution.

Following Bergson, Toynbee describes the tendency of mankind to treat a new discovery as if it were the sole and sovereign key to all knowledge and power. The Greek discovery of the intellect led to an emphasis which equated it with the whole of the psyche. All successive schools of Greek philosophy and latter-day Western philosophy have either altogether ignored the existence of any other elements in the psyche or else, in so far as they have taken cognizance of nonintellectual elements, they have tried to describe them in terms applicable to the intellect but not to themselves. Only now, with psychoanalysis, is a new science developing which, though it is itself an intellectual activity, attempts the study of these nonintellectual elements in terms of their own nature.

Toynbee asks how did mankind get along for the hundreds of thousands of years before the Greek discovery of the intellect. He sees a clue to the answer in a 'spiritual vision', the 'first and last' sense of every psyche, which seeks truth through the medium of poetry and prophecy and expresses the truth that it finds in the poet's and the prophet's language. This is the language of the unconscious, and Toynbee pleads that it be permitted to speak for itself through the channels of poetry and prophecy.

He wonders if a scientific-minded age can afford to admit the legitimacy of a poetical truth, which must take over when scientific truth with its limited scope can go no further, and he ventures the answer that ultimate truth might turn out to be unitary if we could survey it from some commanding standpoint not as yet—perhaps never to be—available to human beings.

This paper is the Ernest Jones Lecture read before the British Psychoanalytic Society in 1949. It is impossible to do justice to its provocative charm in an abstract.

DAVID BERES

Forty Years of Psychoanalytic Psychiatry. C. P. Oberndorf. Pp. 153–161.

This paper was the annual address before the Schilder Society of New York on January 27, 1949. It outlines the development of psychoanalytic psychiatry as the author participated in it from the time it was introduced in America.

While the contributions of Freud were ignored at the clinics of Ziehen in Berlin and Kraepelin in Munich during the period 1908–1909, the author found that in May 1909 the dynamic approach to the psychoses had already been introduced by Adolf Meyer and August Hoch at Wards Island, and no functional case could be presented for diagnosis without some investigation of the mechanisms responsible for the illness. Nevertheless, American analysts were largely dependent upon Europeans for both the theoretical and cultural aspects of psychoanalysis. After the first World War the bonds between America and Europe became still closer through the custom of American analysts going abroad for didactic analyses.

Psychoanalysis began in America as an integral part of medical practice and from its inception has been regarded as essentially a branch of psychiatry and medicine. The New York Psychoanalytic Society, founded in 1911, adhered to this principle and required thorough psychiatric training of its members. The paper goes on to trace the acute controversy between the American and European groups over the question of lay analysis and describes the remarkable growth in psychoanalytic practice in America between the years 1920 and 1930 when the extreme opposition to psychoanalytic thinking began to wane.

AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT

The Fear of Sexual Passivity in the Masochist. S. Keiser. Pp. 162–171.

The sexual masochist rarely, if ever, truly seeks pain and suffering as an end in itself. At the most he is playing a role in his sexual perversions or in his everyday life. It reality he is seeking to destroy through his very masochism: he expects his tormenting partner to be punished through exhaustion from physical exertion and harm from sexual excitement. The sexual masochist fears passivity. He experiences little passivity in his sexual relations and cannot tolerate a passive attitude toward the tensions of sexual sensations. The need in all human beings for sexual gratification is accompanied by a seeking for the post-orgastic state of peace, a state without irritating internal or external stimuli. This phenomenon is connected with the physiological momentary unconsciousness that accompanies orgasm. It is suggested that this drive is a possible source of masochistic needs.

AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT

The Magical Function of the Dream. Géza Róheim. Pp. 172–177.

The assumption of a magical function of the dream is a sequel to the dream theory of Jekels and Bergler. The superego's reproach, the unfinished task, is couched in the day residue, and the latent wish fulfilment in the dream is the id's reply to the superego. The latent content is not only pure wish fulfilment on a hallucinatory level, but also an attempt to influence reality by fantasy. The magical principle is the transition from the pleasure principle to the reality principle.

AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT

American Journal of Psychiatry. CVII, 1950

High Fidelity Recording of Psychotherapeutic Interviews. Fredrick C. Redlich, John Dollard, Richard Newman. Pp. 42–48.

Redlich and his co-workers discuss the technique of sound-recording psychotherapeutic interviews as well as the actual effect of the procedure on the course of treatment. The observation is made that it is the psychiatrists, rather than the patients, who resent and fear the innovation. The recordings offer new avenues for research and teaching purposes.

Transition of Obsessions Into Delusions. Evaluation of Obsessional Phenomena from the Prognostic Standpoint. Alfred Gordon. Pp. 455–458.

The possibility that obsessions may be transformed into delusions has long been a subject of dispute among psychiatrists. Gordon presents three cases to demonstrate the possible relationships of these conditions. In one, prolonged obsessional ideas that he might harm his family served as a point of departure for delusions of guilt in a melancholic patient who finally committed suicide. In a second case, a woman with long-standing obsessive fears that she had caused injury to children incorporated these ideas into a delusional system when she developed definite dementia præcox. Then she suffered from hallucinatory experiences in which she was reproached by the children or threatened with violence by their parents. Ultimately she heard the voice of the Lord demanding the sacrifice of her parents and herself and contemplated fulfilling both injunctions. A third patient, who had practiced obsessive prayer rituals for many years, developed a melancholic condition with delusions that the prayers were required as penance for sins against God.

Gordon is of the opinion that obsessions imply the existence of a dissociation of personality which predisposes to the development of psychosis. Obsessions may themselves be symptomatic of more serious disorders or a prelude to their development, may exist without further deterioration, or may subside when delusions have become pronounced.

MARK KANZER

Psychiatric Quarterly. XXIV, 1950.

The Integrative Function in Creativity. Henry Harper Hart. Pp. 1–16.

The integrative functions of the ego are related to creative effort. Integration is not only a normal function of the ego but also a defense against disintegrative tendencies from the id and superego. Creativity is essentially an integrative force based on love and the sublimation of aggression. Intelligence, which is essentially the ability to establish new linkages, is a necessary requisite of the creative synthesis. Freedom and mobility in the use of symbols is another requirement. The act of creation is a synthesis and the result of a synthesis occurring in the unconscious ego. It is prompted by relative freedom from repression.

Creativity reduces instinctual tension, fuses pleasure with reality, and satisfies

infantile cravings for omnipotence. It projects and objectifies conflict, making it more conscious and amenable to ego control. Creativity must therefore be classed with the forces serving mental health. The neurosis in the creative artist is a factor not essential to his creativity and does not distinguish him from the noncreative neurotic. Successful psychoanalysis, therefore, would liberate the artist's creativity instead of diminishing it.

The Family Background of Schizophrenia. Donald L. Gerard and Joseph Siegel. Pp. 47–73.

Gerard and Siegel had personal interviews with childhood relatives emotionally important in the rearing of seventy-one male schizophrenics. Information gained was then used to complete a questionnaire. A roughly comparable control group of thirty male high school students was similarly studied.

The authors' results indicate that the male schizophrenic has been exposed to a particular childhood environment. The family unit was not adequate to insure the development of a reasonable degree of maturity. The parents failed to establish an adult marital relationship. The mother especially tended to project her own insecurity onto the affected child. He was uniformly exposed to markedly overprotective attitudes based perhaps on the mother's feelings that the world was dangerous and threatening. These attitudes fostered the development of withdrawal tendencies and increased dependency. A domineering mother and a weak father led to confusion over sexual identification. Grandiosity was furthered through favoring; inferiority, through comparison and competition with other children.

The family background may or may not be the X factor which is necessary to develop the phenotype of the disease in those genetically predisposed.

Time Out for Death. Ellen MacDonald Dearborn. Pp. 89–123.

With the encouragement of a psychiatrist, Ellen Dearborn, an intelligent, verbal schoolteacher, was induced to describe her feelings and experiences during two psychotic breakdowns. The reviewer's diagnosis would be religious paranoia with delusions of grandeur (identification with Jehovah, Christ and the Virgin Mary). She explains the symbolism, genesis, and dynamics of her psychosis with terminology learned mainly from her therapist and from reading. She appears to be overly affected by what Reik calls 'psychoanalese'. This intellectualization detracts from the value of the document as an original human experience.

Some Observations on Individual Psychotherapy with Psychotics. Doris Menzer, Christopher T. Standish, James Mann. Pp. 144–152.

Treatment is difficult in schizophrenia because of the patient's withdrawal, inconsiderate and violent behavior, and his free use of symbolism in speech and conduct. The stresses placed on the therapist by these reactions and the consequent activation of the therapist's own conflicts greatly aggravate the difficulties.

The authors feel that limits should be set to the patient's physical acting

out. He should be encouraged to verbalize his aggression. The necessity for seclusion and restraint when needed should be carefully explained to him.

With the mute patient a burden is placed on the therapist's patience. An active therapeutic role is required. The therapist must reach out for all nonverbal clues and base his interpretations on them. It may be necessary to explain to the patient the need for guessing. The therapist understands that the muteness is the patient's defense against expected feelings of bitterness, fear, frustration and rage.

Symbolism is to be interpreted in everyday language. The patient's seeming insight into the character of the therapist should be understood as a projection of the patient's conflicts and not taken seriously by the therapist. The patient's sensitivity to the behavior of others should not be reacted to but treated as a problem of the patient.

Staff discussions of the therapist's difficulties will help to alleviate the engendered frustrations, fears, doubts, and hostilities.

JOSEPH BIERNOFF

Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic. XIV, 1950.

Arkansas's Mental Health Plan. Sidney S. McMath. Pp. 153–156.

The Governor of Arkansas sets forth in this paper an extremely progressive psychiatric hospital program. He recognized the crucial problem—the lack of trained personnel—and made arrangements for universities, veterans' hospitals, and medical schools to train psychiatrists for state hospital work. Psychiatrists' training in the state medical school will be of four years' duration, and the training of clinical psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and psychiatric nurses will be accelerated for the formation of psychiatric teams. In addition, Governor McMath plans a new fifteen-hundred-bed center for diagnosis, training, and acute intensive treatment, to replace the present mental hospital at Little Rock.

Malingered Psychoses. Henry A. Davidson. Pp. 157–163.

Davidson distinguishes between an operational term and a dynamic term in order to clarify his conception of malingering. Dynamically we must consider malingering as evidence of an emotional disturbance, yet for operational purposes it is necessary to follow the legal definition if the psychiatrist is to be useful in the courts of justice. In the witness box the psychiatrist either accepts the semantic strait jacket imposed by juridical thinking or he is quite literally ruled out of court and his usefulness ceases. Davidson then goes on to describe the differential diagnosis between malingered evidences of psychosis and genuine psychoses. The difficulty in the diagnosis is usually based on the fact that psychiatrists find it distasteful to brand a patient a malingerer. He concludes: 'In our patient-oriented philosophy, sympathy is admittedly a prime requisite. But softness of the heart need not imply softness of the head.'

Identification: A Crucial Concept for Sociology. Louisa P. Holt. Pp. 164–173.

In this paper Holt demonstrates that the concept of identification is of fundamental importance for sociological theory as well as for psychoanalytic theory. In the history of social science two principal kinds of answers have been given to the basic question of how individuals manage to function as members of a group. 'Utilitarian' theorists assume that the punishments of nonconforming deter the individual from criminal and antisocial behavior. This point of view with some modification is also followed by the 'learning' theorists who believe that people, like rats, learn what they are rewarded for learning and learn not to behave in ways that are punishable. The second group of sociologists are not impressed by man's rationality and adhere to the theory that biological forces impel individuals to function as members of groups. Holt believes that the resolution of this dilemma is to be found in understanding the significance of the process of identification. She quotes Emile Durkheim, an eminent French sociologist, and Freud to demonstrate that social constraints which were originally external to the individual must become internal and that this internalization is part of man's instinctual nature. Eventually the human being incorporates the values and norms of his society so that they no longer appear to him as limitations but become his own wishes. It is neither 'social contract' nor 'racial memories' which leave their traces on the newer generations but rather the process of identification which is the decisive factor in the socialization of man.

Rapid Recovery from Long Standing Illness. James M. Mott, Jr. Pp. 177–182.

A woman patient was admitted to a state hospital at the age of fifty-five suffering from severe paranoid delusions. For some seventeen years her condition remained unchanged and she was adjudged incurably insane by a board of psychiatrists in 1941.

Mott began treating this now seventy-two-year-old woman psychotherapeutically, and in the space of a few months she recovered sufficiently to leave the state hospital and hold down an excellent job. The author states that we must re-evaluate our concepts of the deterioration and irreversibility in the chronic psychoses, since this case demonstrates that our pessimistic attitude may be the cause and not the result of many 'incurable' cases.

RALPH R. GREENSON

Psychiatry. XIII, 1950.

The Process of Maturation in Group Psychotherapy and in the Group Therapist. Martin Grotjahn. Pp. 63–67.

Grotjahn divides group therapy into three stages: an initial period of orientation, a period of increasing tension, and the stage of working through, and describes the doctor's position and function in each. He also reports his observation of the simultaneous process of maturation within the group and the leader who conducts the group. The physician, as well as the group, may learn how to face anxiety whenever it occurs, and how to help in the formu-

lation of the problem underlying the anxiety. Since the group acts as a mirror, this experience facilitates the doctor's recognition of the ultimate defects in his technique, insight into his limitations, and an integration of lessons learned. Presenting himself as the focal point for various kinds of intense and contrasting transference reactions may lead to disturbing emotional reactions within himself. Some examples of such reactions, and how they were handled, are given. Grotjahn attempts to understand the psychodynamics underlying group psychotherapy through the study of the therapist's reaction to the members of the group.

Projection and Its Relation to Character Attitudes and Creativity in the Kinesthetic Responses. Contributions to an Understanding of Rorschach's Test, IV. Ernest G. Schachtel. Pp. 69–100.

The capacity for inner creation and basic character attitudes are linked to kinesthetic perception in Rorschach's concept of the movement response. Yet relatively little is known today about the kinesthetic responses and little use is made of the significant diagnostic material which detailed analyses of them can yield. Schachtel reports some observations and offers some hypotheses concerning their nature and diagnostic significance and the psychological processes underlying them.

Briefly the general theses are: 1, a tendency in the individual person to view others and the environment in his own likeness—in an 'automorphic' way; 2, the automorphic view of the environment is the mechanism of projection; 3, the process of projection takes place outside of awareness but the content of projection may or may not be known to the person as part of himself; 4, projection can serve constructive as well as defensive purposes, can be normal as well as pathological. It plays a role in every act of empathic understanding and in such cases need not be distorting.

A long list of Rorschach theses is appended.

The Symbol of a New Religion. Margaret Lantis. Pp. 101–113.

The majority of people require some religious orientation yet are dissatisfied with institutional religion as it exists. Lantis therefore looks for a probable successor to the present theology or symbol system.

Problems of natural forces have been turned over to technology, science, and politics, while problems of social relationship are the greater concern of religion today. Man's hope lies in human organization and a religion founded on it.

The dominant symbols in Judaism and Christianity came from the family configuration, but the family's position is changed and family figures no longer have the power formerly attributed to them. Science has not provided a symbol adequate as a substitute. The need for a new type of achieved, noncompetitive relationship and for the symbol of such relationship—a symbol not only of responsibility but also of one's simple enjoyment of others and of being enjoyed —is very great. To develop such a new symbol system there must be two or more persons who dramatize friendship, or whatever relationship can satisfy the need, in an ultimate degree. At the crucial moment there must be disciples,

the weakening of the old symbols must be demonstrated, and there must be no other new symbols strong enough to compete.

HELEN TAUSEND

Psychosomatic Medicine. XII, 1950.

Psychologic Manifestations of the Menstrual Cycle. S. Charles Freed and William S. Kroger. Pp. 227–235.

This paper is a critical review of some of the experimental and clinical investigations, including some psychoanalytic studies, made to determine the effects of ovarian hormones on the psyche. The data obtained from experiments on the influence of hormones on human sexual behavior are very difficult to interpret. More significant, but still not conclusive, is the indirect evidence supplied by interpretation of the unconscious material of women undergoing psychoanalysis when correlated with bio-assays of hormone levels as reported by Benedek and Rubenstein. Freed and Kroger find the value of this evidence limited by the fact that the subjects were all neurotic and not normal women. They also suggest that the psychic behavior during the menstrual cycle may be due to an alteration in the anatomical and biochemical status of the various tissues coincidental with the presence of the sex hormones, rather than to the direct effect of any one of them.

S. GABE

Psychosomatic Aspects of Salivary Activity. II. Psychoanalytic Observations Concerning Hypersalivation. Thomas S. Szasz. Pp. 320–331.

Psychodynamic factors in hypersalivation are deduced by correlating the findings in two psychoanalytic cases and one anamnestic case with other psychoanalytic and nonpsychoanalytic work on hypersalivation. One of the author's patients had a duodenal ulcer and the other had ulcer symptoms. In both there were significant conflicts centering around an unresolved oral attachment to the mother and a regressive competition with younger siblings. Hypersalivation results more from the mobilization of oral-sadistic impulses than oral-receptive ones, whereas in patients with duodenal ulcers the oral-regressive wishes appear as both passive-receptive and aggressive ones. A comparison is made between the oral regression of ulcer patients and the 'adaptive' or 'normal' oral regression of pregnant women in whom hypersalivation is frequent but in whom ulcer is rare. In the ulcer patient the pathological phenomena result from an unsuccessful mastery by the ego of interpersonal conflicts, whereas in pregnant women oral regression is the normal concomitant of internal (physiological) processes and an ego adaptation to 'dependence'.

Szasz suggests and applies a theory of 'regressive innervation' in which sympathetic and parasympathetic fibers supplying an organ system act as a functional unit in contrast to the theory of the total response of the sympathetic-parasympathetic system. In physiological regression the involved fibers return to an earlier form of behavior. In hypersalivation there is a hypertonicity of the fibers supplying the salivary glands—a regression to the degree of function

found in children in whom salivation occurs normally at a greater rate than in the adult.

HARRY H. NIERENBERG

Psychophysiologic Relationship of Asthma and Urticaria to Mental Illness. Daniel H. Funkenstein. Pp. 376–385.

The incidence of asthma in psychotic patients as compared to the general population is low and instances of asthma disappearing with the onset of mental illness are on record. To account for this relationship between asthma and mental illness, Funkenstein investigated the changes in autonomic reactions accompanying the psychoses. He administered a test of the autonomic system based on adrenergic and cholinergic stimulation to six patients whose frequent severe asthma attacks ceased when they developed mental illnesses. When the patients were not psychotic and were suffering from asthma, there was evidence of increased parasympathetic activity following administration of mecholyl. This was seen in a marked drop in blood pressure associated with the precipitation of long severe asthmatic attacks. When the patients were mentally ill and free of asthma they showed altered sympathetic function in the form of a slight drop in blood pressure and a precipitation of mild brief asthma attacks following the injection of mecholyl. With a remission of the psychosis, the altered sympathetic activity was no longer obtained and the spontaneous asthma attacks returned. Funkenstein submits that the altered function of the sympathetic nervous system in psychotic patients accounts for their freedom from asthma.

Personality Factors in Neurodermatitis. A Preliminary Study. Melvin E. Allerhand, Harrison G. Gough, Melvin L. Grais. Pp. 386–390.

Employing the questionnaire technique and control samples, Allerhand, Gough and Grais found a demonstrable relationship between certain personality factors and neurodermatitis. The questionnaire findings revealed the neurodermatitis patient to be 'a person who is somewhat tense and restless and unable to relax easily, who has strong needs for recognition and success, who prides himself on his own strength and vitality, who tends to be impatient and irritable and to see the demands of others as infringements and impositions'. Out of the one hundred and eight items comprising the questionnaire, the authors selected a group of twenty-six significant items and designated it the 'Neurodermatitis Scale'. By means of this scale, the neurodermatitis cases could be separated from the control cases with little overlap. The authors recommend the use of the scale as a preliminary device which needs further research for its validation and to establish its limitations.

S. GABE

American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. XX, 1950.

The Psychiatrist in Caricature. Fredrick C. Redlich. Pp. 560–571.

Redlich points out that cartoons are social documents and analyzes—on the basis of recent caricatures—the attitude of the public toward the psychiatrist. He finds, in general, evidence of increasing interest in and respect for psychiatry and psychoanalysis. A number of illustrative cartoons are presented.

Psychiatric Therapy in Infancy. René A. Spitz. Pp. 623–633.

Spitz approaches the problem of treating infants psychiatrically by making a survey of common disturbances in their psychic development, reviewing the known etiological factors and then suggesting appropriate remedial measures. He differentiates four methods of approach to treatment: prophylactic, restitutive, substitutive, and modifying. 'The sum total of our findings on psychotherapy in the preverbal stage is that this has to consist of an environmental manipulation, both in regard to love objects and inanimate objects. The needs of the child are simple and an intelligent observation of the child's environment will readily disclose which of these needs is unsatisfied.'

Eating and Working. Leo Bartemeier. Pp. 634–640.

Bartemeier maintains that the libidinal energy of the oral instinctual impulses becomes displaced and is utilized in the performance of various kinds of work which involves the use of the hands. The latter thus take over the primary functions of the mouth in the service of manual work.

The author further suggests that the invention of cutting and grinding tools represents the need to reproduce specific anatomical parts which duplicate the functions of the eating apparatus. Language idioms and common manifestations of oral tension during work are cited in support of these views.

MARK KANZER

Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry. LXIII, 1950.

Sodium Concentration of Thermal Sweat in Treated and Untreated Patients With Mental Disease. Henry Grunebaum and Mark D. Altschule. Pp. 444–452.

In an attempt to gain insight into the activity of the adrenal gland in relation to salt and water metabolism in mental disease, Grunebaum and Altschule studied the sodium concentration of sweat in patients during treatment. The usual increased sweat sodium concentrations were found to fall to normal during insulin therapy, electric shock therapy, and spontaneous remission. These observations suggest that the treatment must stimulate production of those hormones which control the electrolyte balance, and suggest that abnormal function of the adrenal cortex may occur in mental disease. On the other hand, there was also evidence to indicate that some psychotic patients whose sweat sodium returned to normal did not manifest any clinical improvement.

Digital Extension Reflex: A Preliminary Communication. René A. Spitz. Pp. 467–470.

Spitz examined one hundred forty-five newborn infants and describes a reflex which until now has not been specifically mentioned in the literature. If one gently strokes the dorsal surface of the end phalanx of the four fingers, dorsal extension can be elicited This reaction is most consistent during the first days of life and already begins to recede noticeably between the

second and third week. Within the first week this reflex is much more reliably obtained than the sucking, cremasteric or Moro reflex.

Thiopental U. S. P. (Pentothal) Treatment of Alcoholism. Frederick Lemere and Paul O'Hollaren. Pp. 579–585.

Lemere and O'Hollaren claim that they have successfully treated fifty-one percent of four thousand ninety-six chronic alcoholics by the conditioned reflex method. In attempting to improve upon these results they used intravenous thiopental as a 'short-cut to psychotherapy'. They found that the combination of conditioned reflex therapy and narcosynthesis is a valuable method of treatment and can now be successfully used on the most difficult patients.

The scientific level of their reasoning can perhaps best be demonstrated by their discussion of indications for this combined therapy. They state that this treatment is indicated in any patient 'who drinks primarily to relieve nervous or emotional tension'. It is also indicated in 'any patient with a history of psychopathic personality, neurosis, or psychosis, or with a criminal record'.

Effect of 'Malononitrile' on Physical and Mental Status of Schizophrenic Patients. Dixon Meyers, Thomas E. Shoemaker, William C. Adamson, Louis Sussman. Pp. 586–592.

The authors administered Malononitrile to six severely ill schizophrenic patients who had not benefited from all other forms of treatment. This drug is supposed to increase the nucleoprotein content of the pyramidal cells as well as the ribonucleic acid without toxic effects. All six of the patients showed pronounced physiological and emotional reactions after injections of the drug. Only two, however, manifested decided and prolonged improvement.

RALPH R. GREENSON

Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease. CXI, 1950.

Shock—A Psychosomatic Phenomenon. A. M. Meerloo. Pp. 490–498.

Meerloo states that shock, mental and surgical, is an 'unadjusted, primitive defense reaction in a traumatic condition, acting in a period of transition to new defensive automatisms'. Though the conclusion appears to have been drawn from a large experience in both physiology and psychoanalytic psychology, it is not convincing. Despite the increasing attempt on the part of analysts to say that the physiological and the psychological defenses of the organism are analogous, only analogies have been drawn and no physiological or psychological experimentation has been conceived which bridges the gap from conjectural analogy to demonstrable fact. Meerloo's paper does not bring sufficient proof for his statements. Nevertheless, his description and his point of view are worth serious consideration, demanding physiological proof beyond his deductions from psychoanalytic psychology.

VICTOR CALEF

Journal of Social Psychology. XXXI, 1950.

Interpretation of Early Fiji Customs. H. Whitman Newell. Pp. 39–67.

Cannibalism and human sacrifice, as practiced in Fiji, represent a gratification, under the control of religious ritual and taboo, of strong oral-erotic and oral-sadistic impulses. Genital impulses are gratified at the same time. Modern unconscious equivalents also serve these three types of gratification. The basic religious beliefs represent a projection onto gods of infantile fantasies of omnipotence and sexual potency with its implied dangers. The attitudes toward death, souls, and ghosts are typically infantile projections of ambivalence with its attendant reaction-formations as defenses against concomitant anxieties. Here we see on the surface in archaic ritual behavior that which is found in modern civilization in the unconscious of patients with compulsion neurosis. Similarly we see in mourning rituals mechanisms found in manic-depressive psychosis.

ROY SCHAFER

British Journal of Psychology, General Section. XL, 1950.

Psychopathology and Social Psychology. Part II. Personality and Ethos. J. T. MacCurdy. Pp. 175–186.

MacCurdy discusses the evolution and cohesion of social groups, the origin and nature of group ideals, the concept of ethos, and the analogy between ethos and personality. A group's system of rules, conventions, and beliefs comes to symbolize group membership and is unwittingly adopted by the component individuals. Plasticity in societies is retained because the group's control over members is indirect and incomplete, each member elaborating his personal version of the group's mandate. Group ideals are characteristically never precisely formulated, and operate, in part at least, at the unconscious level. Shifts of group ideals in modern society from the economic to the altruistic, and the quasi-mystical belief in the immortality of many groups, are considered. 'National ethos is tolerant of slow evolutionary change but resilient to revolution.'

ROY SCHAFER

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

Meetings of the New York Psychoanalytic Society

A. A. Rosner

To cite this article: A. A. Rosner (1951) Meetings of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, 500-509, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11950846

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11950846

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

NOTES

At the annual meeting of the AMERICAN PSYCHOANALYTIC ASSOCIATION in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 3 to 6, 1951, the following took office for 1951–1953: President, Robert P. Knight, M.D., Stockbridge, Massachusetts; President-Elect, Ives Hendrick, M.D., Boston, Massachusetts; Secretary, LeRoy M. A. Maeder, M.D., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Treasurer, William G. Barrett, M.D., San Francisco, California. The Brill Memorial Medal was presented to the retiring President, M. Ralph Kaufman, M.D., New York City.

The next meeting, the midwinter session, will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, December 6 to 9, 1951; the next annual meeting will convene at the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 8 to 11, 1952.

MEETINGS OF THE NEW YORK PSYCHOANALYTIC SOCIETY

December 19, 1950. THE ROLE OF SYMBOLIC DISTORTION IN NEUROSIS AND PSYCHOSIS. Lawrence S. Kubie, M.D.

The fundamental difference between neurotic and psychotic processes is discussed in terms of impairment of specific symbolic relationships. All symbols are acquired under the pressure of body needs, appetites, and conflicts. Psychic needs are first experienced as sensory events which arise in early percepts of the parts, the products, the needs, and the feelings of the body. At first there is no conceptualized differentiation between the I and non-I. Consequently, an outside world is apperceived and specific symbolic relationships are established between the inner or body world and the outer world. These are such that each can be used to represent the other. At first this relationship is conscious, later it becomes unconscious. Early in the course of development, concepts and their symbolic representations are vague, broad and overlapping, later becoming more discreet and distinct. In all dissociating processes, such as sleep, the hypnagogic state, toxic states, and fatigue, there is a dropping back from later levels of conceptual development to earlier levels. The specific ingredient of the psychopathological process is the impairment in the relationship of the symbol to what it represents. In the psychosis, the distortion between a symbol and what it stands for occurs at the link between the symbol and the piece of the external world which it represents. In the neurosis, the distortion occurs at the link between the symbol and the body and its internal needs and conflicts.

Dr. Heinz Hartmann commented that while the symbolization involved in language was an ego function (secondary process), analytic symbol formation differed in that it referred to a characteristic of the primary process. He noted further that in schizophrenia Freud believed that this particular ego function was impaired, with the result that words were treated as things, not symbols. Dr. Rudolph Loewenstein noted that conscious use of psychoanalytic symbols

in communication is common, indicating that the connection between the thought and the symbol used to represent it is not necessarily repressed. Dr. Géza Róheim said that language originated in the magical principle, and that in symbolism one has the transition from the primary process to the magical. Dr. Robert C. Bak wondered whether Dr. Kubie's formulation was compatible with the great frequency of disturbance of bodily sensations in schizophrenics. Dr. Ostow cited an experience of Penfield in human cortical stimulation which suggests that analytic symbols are implicit in the physiological organization of the cortex. Dr. René A. Spitz noted that distortions in symbolic representation occur in infancy at the point of linkage between the body need and the stage of representation. Dr. Bertram D. Lewin mentioned William James's idea that concept formation arose out of body or utility need. Dr. Herman Nunberg emphasized the differences between analytic and other symbologies.

A. A. ROSNER

January 16, 1951. ON MASTURBATION. Annie Reich, M.D.

Dr. Reich reviews the symposium on masturbation held in the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1912, noting the differences from current conceptions. In 1912 the role of castration anxiety as the core of neurotic anxiety was not yet fully understood, stress was laid upon the noxicity of masturbation, and the consequent physiological disturbances of the sexual economy were believed to be actual neurosis. Today 'neurasthenia' is not considered a direct and simple consequence of masturbation. Masturbation is now known to be practiced universally in infancy and youth, and masturbation among adults, apart from periods of transition or sexual deprivation, is considered a symptom. Then as now, there was general agreement about the importance of infantile and incestuous masturbatory fantasies, and unsatisfactory masturbation, due to conflict and guilt, was considered to be traumatic. In 1912 the guilt was ascribed mostly to social condemnation, whereas it is now traced to the unconscious œdipal fantasies, and to conflict between the superego and infantile sexual cravings. The conclusion that excessive masturbation is a consequence of damming of the libido due to insufficient orgastic discharge has stood the test of time, but the defensive motivation of excessive masturbation, and masturbation as self-destruction and punishment were not formerly considered. Nevertheless, the pivotal importance of masturbation and the struggle against it for the ultimate development of character was recognized, especially by Federn and Tausk. Pregenital strivings were believed to follow suppression of genital masturbation, and to influence the development of substitute activities and perversions. Such regression is now considered to be one of the pathogenic occurrences of childhood development, a manifestation of the failure to resolve the œdipus conflict. The structure of neurosis and character, largely due to the particular developments which take place during the œdipus, is now interpreted in terms of the ego, the defensive mechanisms, and the superego. The struggle against the masturbatory fantasy, and the return of the repressed as characterological derivatives are emphasized today, for example, by Anna Freud. Since 1912 so great a change has occurred in the social attitude that the significance of masturbation as a trauma is sometimes obscured.

January 16, 1951. MASTURBATION: SOME REMARKS ON A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION. René A. Spitz, M.D.

Dr. Spitz, investigating attitudes toward masturbation in relation to the development of psychoanalytic thought, covers in detail the literature of the past seventy years, and to a lesser extent, publications going back to the eighteenth century. Up to 1924 most contributors to the literature of the subject wrote for medical journals. Since then, the accent has shifted to pedagogical, psychological, and psychoanalytic publications, the influence of Freud's Three Contributions in 1905 and the Symposium on Onanism in the Vienna Psychoanalytic Association in 1912 having been delayed because of World War I. The early literature reveals a primarily moralistic attitude toward masturbation, although the attitude of Western civilization is more moderate than that of the Middle Ages and of antiquity. The first publication found by Dr. Spitz is the English Bekker's Onania, published about 1700. The spread of written information and interest in the subject is traced thereafter to the Continent, with Tissot's work (middle eighteenth century) taking precedence. Bekker and Tissot stress dire and terrifying consequences of the practice, though the remedies suggested are notably gentle. A sadistic campaign against masturbation emerges in the second half of the nineteenth century, coincident perhaps with the dawn of awareness of infantile sexuality. The sadistic attitude varied in different countries according to the degree of anxiety engendered and the concomitant hostility. The French recommended primarily mechanical restraints, the English surgical intervention, while the Germans concentrated on educative, disciplinary measures. Though in Germany attention was focused on children, extremes of repression in England led to the selection of women as suitable objects of retaliation, with clitoridectomy the treatment of choice. This found adherents in Vienna and France but was soon abandoned. In this country, as late as 1905, cautery of the spine and of the genitals was recommended. Circumcision of boys was a therapy recommended up to a very recent date. The subject of masturbation was first objectively appraised through the emergence and development of psychoanalysis.

February 13, 1951. PEDIATRIC OBSERVATIONS ON MASTURBATION IN CHILDREN. Milton I. Levine, M.D.

Dr. Levine's direct observations of masturbation in children and of its effect on parents not only reveal its importance to both, but emphasize again that masturbation is a normal activity of childhood which may be inhibited or increased by the child's environment. It was observed to increase during periods of emotional stress, for example, by the birth of a sibling; yet children in hospitals, despite the tension of separation from the parent, were rarely observed to masturbate. Pleasurable rather than unpleasurable tension stimulated masturbation in other children. Displacement of masturbatory activity from one erogenous zone to another was observed in a three-year-old thumb-sucker who, upon a warning from a physician that thumb-sucking would make her look funny, promptly resorted instead to violent genital masturbation. In early infancy, once the ability to manipulate the hands is gained, touching certain areas of the body, especially the mouth, appears pleasurable. At five

or six months, pulling or sticking fingers into ears affords satisfaction. With some exceptions, fingering the genitals at this age was observed not to be purposeful or continuous. Genital stimulation through rhythmic movements of the body was observed in some children at five to six months, more commonly between six and twelve months. After six months of age, manual stimulation of the genitals was observed with greater frequency. Greatest satisfaction, as well as occurrence of orgasm, is dependent upon repeated manipulations which have a specific rhythmic form. Different methods of masturbation are noted in children between the ages of three and five years of age. Most boys masturbate manually. Many lie prone and writhe on the floor, reminiscent of rocking in early infancy. Others rub themselves against the leg of a chair or a person's leg. Girls between three and five years were observed to place toy animals or blankets between their legs, lie on them and roll over them, or to titillate the clitoris manually. Less frequently, objects were inserted in the vagina. Parents' reaction to masturbation varies, though almost all parents, however 'enlightened', show revulsion, disgust, and anxiety concerning possible injury to the child. Aside from excoriations of penes and irritations of vulvæ and perinea, Dr. Levine has seen no physical damage. The most active masturbators were often fine physical specimens with good posture and excellent muscle tone.

February 13, 1951. SOME PHYSIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MASTURBATION. Sydney G. Margolin, M.D.

The concept of autoerotism requires redefinition, re-examination as a neurophysiological reflex mechanism in which no object, other than an immediate reaction to a stimulus, provides a means of instinctual discharge. Autoerotism of this order should be differentiated from masturbation. The spectrum of masturbatory activity ranges from a totally involuntary somatic reaction with a minimum of psychic participation (autoerotism) to one with a minimum of somatic participation and a maximum of psychological activity. A somatic point of view is thus added to the genetic, dynamic, topologic, economic, and structural points of view. Observations of surgical patients throw light on the psychosomatic dynamics and genetics of masturbation. Case material is presented to illustrate how surgical intervention brings about a shift in libido from one position to another, new varieties of sensation being exploited in masturbatory fashion. Patients have been observed to invest surgical apertures (ileostomy) with displacements of oral, anal, or genital strivings. Such erotization is influenced by the helplessness of the patient, his dependency upon the ministrations of another individual in the care and management of the incontinent new 'organ', and by its continuous localized excitation. This permits its investment with deeply repressed, infantile, passive dependent wishes, accompanied by characterological changes. The libidinal investment of such openings remains larval and pregenital and, unlike oral, anal excretory, and genital apertures, appears to undergo no progressive changes in terms of instinctual aims and objects. The exclusion of the genitals that accompanies the new 'psychosexual investment' is not accomplished in the service of defense against guilt at recognizing the sexual significance of the new opening. Genitals are excluded as a consequence of regression to pregenital gratifications. Tissue properties which

induce masturbatory activity are represented as autoerotic in accordance with the author's definition of the term.

Dr. Silberman presented clinical material illustrating regressive substitutes or equivalents of masturbation and the fantasies associated with them as indications of the unsuccessful outcome of the œdipal struggle. Active re-employment of erogenous zones with disguised fantasies provides the means of expression of the forbidden wish. Dr. Glauber noted that mothers of children with speech difficulties disclosed pathological oral and phallic masturbatory patterns that influenced their attitudes toward their children's masturbatory and other activities. He discussed extrajection in schizophrenia, its relation to hallucinosis, and to the restitutive function of masturbation, emphasizing in particular the contributions of Tausk and Federn. Dr. Friedman noted that among Jews masturbation has always been considered a mortal sin and a crime against the Covenant; moreover, according to Maimonides, the accompanying fantasies were deemed an even greater sin: '. . . the thoughts about the sin are more dangerous than the sin itself'. Castration anxiety and fear of death consequent to masturbation are noted particularly in cabalistic teachings. Dr. Linn presented a case in which the successful analysis of a masturbatory ritual, made possible by prohibiting masturbation, revealed unconscious masturbatory fantasies derived primarily from the precœdipal, prephallic, anal-sadistic period of libidinal organization. In this case, the libido employed in masturbatory manipulation of the penis was derived from the anus. The phallic masturbatory pleasure achieved its greatest intensity regressively by borrowing on foregoing anal-sadistic experiences. As these anal elements were brought to light, the patient improved and showed concomitant characterological changes. Dr. Jacobson commented on the difference between what is observed directly in children and what is derived after distortion from analyses of adults. Memory of orgastic experiences in boys prior to the first ejaculation is particularly rare, though some women recall not only infantile masturbation, but orgastic experiences back to the third year of life. It is suggested that the ejaculatory experience of boys in puberty may repress memory of earlier orgastic experiences. She concurred with Dr. Levine on the relatively high incidence of vaginal masturbation in little girls. Dr. Robert Fliess, referring to Dr. Annie Reich's paper, illustrated with a clinical example the significance of certain masturbatory fantasies for the nonsexual behavior of the individual. Dr. Herman Nunberg stated that the problem of masturbation is one of the central unresolved problems of psychoanalysis. He noted the importance of rhythm accompanying masturbation, quoting Freud that pleasure is dependent on rhythm. Masturbation appears under stress and after the loss of an object. The pleasure derived from the relation with the object is substituted by masturbation, following the pattern initiated in childhood. Hallucinatory gratification by another person is accomplished in a state of passivity, with mental activity substituted for muscular activity. Masturbation is not permanently abandoned in either sex and is often resumed. Its temporary resumption is often a sign of improvement in an analysis. A constitutional factor that still eludes understanding is probably responsible for the integration of the component sexual drives into one central genital instinct.

A. A. ROSNER

January 30, 1951. SUBLIMATION AND THE PROBLEM OF INSTINCTS—ILLUSTRATIVE CASE OF COMIC TALENT. Edward Harkavy, M.D.

The case history is presented of a woman, the outcome of whose œdipal attachment to her father was a regression to a pregenital, ambivalent relationship to her mother, which became the immediate source of her unconscious conflicts in later life. A technique of comic impersonation, which was a striking trait of her character, was interpreted as a temporarily stable position between the disturbing alternatives of activity and passivity, being 'whole' and being castrated, being clean and being messy. Dr. Harkavy calls attention to a stage in psychological development 'between the formation of body-ego nuclei and narcissistic object relations', which he proposes to call the neurenteric stage, by analogy with a phase of embryonic development during which the neural tube and the gastrular mouth are connected for a short time by a structure called the neurenteric canal.

Dr. Hartmann observed that it had not proved possible to demonstrate a necessary connection between her comic impersonation and specific elements in the patient's instinctual and ego make-up. He also commented on the relation between sublimation, identification, desexualized energies used by the ego, and the stability of sublimations. Dr. Nunberg discussed the complexity of the concept of sublimation, and its dependence by definition on cultural standards.

LEO A. SPIEGEL

February 27, 1951. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREUD'S CONCEPTION OF THE ATTEMPT AT RESTITUTION. Maurits Katan, M.D.

Freud's analytic study of psychosis, largely based on the Schreber case, led to a number of important formulations. For example, schizophrenics betray, in a distorted way, those things which neurotics hide in the unconscious. Thus, Schreber's delusions represented a defense against homosexuality. Also, the delusion was defined as an attempt at restitution: a new reality is constructed, to take the place of the former reality which no longer exists. Freud interpreted Schreber's delusion of the 'end of the world' as a total withdrawal of libidinal cathexis from people. It is this concept which Dr. Katan examines.

Schizophrenia is sharply distinguishable from neurosis at the point at which there is such withdrawal of cathexis from the representations of the outer world. The decathexis of the unconscious prevents it from participating in the process of projection, which takes place only in the preconscious and the conscious. After examination from various points of view, Dr. Katan rejects Freud's concept that the delusion of grandeur is merely a recathexis of an infantile part of the ego.

The concept that the delusion is the result of a defense against an intensified homosexual urge is supported by clinical observations, but it is unclear why this results in a delusion rather than a neurosis. The concept of the delusion as an attempt at restitution does explain the schizophrenic delusion. This is compared with the hypochondriacal delusion, in which libidinal energy is withdrawn from objects and concentrated on an organ.

Freud's paper, The Unconscious, provided the basis for a uniform theory of delusions, a theory clearly differentiating between the delusion and the neurotic symptom. In the language of schizophrenia, a word is not a symbol, but has

become a thing in itself. The idea of the thing is no longer present in the schizophrenic; the word *is* the thing itself: 'It is not that unconscious ideas, through lack of repression by the ego, have become conscious. Rather, it is the attempt at restitution which, through recathexis, causes ideas to appear in the conscious'; furthermore, 'Not only the delusional external world but also the delusional ego is the result of [the] attempt at restitution'. The schizophrenic regresses to the undifferentiated state in order to rid himself of a conflict which he cannot master by means of reality. The attempt at restitution is then an endeavor to master the problem.

In the discussion, Dr. Hartmann was inclined to doubt that withdrawal precedes restitution (delusion and hallucination) like 'two acts in a drama': he suggested rather a constant process of withdrawal and restitution, a constant development in both directions. He felt that the essence of Katan's paper dealt with the relationship between withdrawal of libido and restitution. Hartmann stressed that the 'withdrawal of cathexis' in schizophrenia refers to a withdrawal from the unconscious representations of the object world, and does not refer to a withdrawal from reality itself. For the schizophrenic, the difference between the symbol and what it symbolizes is lost. He raised the question as to whether a primary ego disturbance does not play an important role in the psychosis. Dr. Nunberg pointed out that when Freud uses the term 'restitution' he means 'an attempt to recover'; what strikes the observer as sickness is from the standpoint of the patient an effort to recover. Experience with recovered schizophrenics reveals how important is the intense fear of an overwhelming sense of loneliness. Such patients therefore struggle to regain contact with objects, but objects in the internal world, objects of the œdipus complex. Nunberg does not agree that the schizophrenic totally withdraws libido from the representations of objects. He puts great emphasis on the reversion to a state of magic, of omnipotence and omniscience, in which the boundaries between the internal and the external become lost.

JOSEPH LANDER

March 13, 1951. A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF A RELIGIOUS INITIATION RITE: *Bar Mitzvah*. Jacob A. Arlow, M.D.

Puberty rites have the function of resolving, in a socially accepted way, the heightened œdipal conflicts which accompany sexual development. Identification must replace rivalry and fear of castration. Jewish boys undergo two initiations, circumcision, eight days after birth, and *Bar Mitzvah* at the age of thirteen. In the formal *Bar Mitzvah* ceremony the father gladly declares he is rid of his son, that is, no longer morally responsible for his sins. The candidate is especially coached for the ceremony and also coached in the application of the phylacteries. The affect is that of an important examination; and the candidate is to be rewarded by festivities and gifts. It is an ordeal by recitation. The father does not assist the son during the ordeal. The initiate makes a speech expressing gratitude to his parents, a declaration of masculinity and identification with the Jewish people. The significance of the ceremony to a woman is presented by a female patient who had intense penis envy of a younger brother. The envy was stimulated at the brother's *Bar Mitzvah* and years later reactivated by the *Bar Mitzvah* of her own son. All her son's gifts represented

penes. The hostility of the older generation finds expression in certain local customs, such as shaving the head of the initiate or having him wear phylacteries for a full day. Symbolic castration may be imposed on the boy by or with his fellows. The initiates often band together in such indulgences as eating, drinking, spending money, sexual adventures. A case is described of a young boy who felt guilty over his sense of superiority to his father. His *Bar Mitzvah* helped him accept the rivalry without guilt. The rabbi who coached him served as a temporary ego-ideal to whom he behaved ambivalently but who helped him detach himself from his father. Boys are often introduced to masturbation at this time. This sometimes provokes guilt or obsessional symptoms. Examination anxiety is discussed, with failure considered a castration, the whole situation an œdipal equivalent. Access to the Torah is access to a woman. A case is described in which renunciation of *Bar Mitzvah* meant renunciation of success and parricidal impulses. In another patient *Bar Mitzvah* represented rivalry with a brother. Men who are not *Bar Mitzvah* often feel a sense of incompleteness. *Bar Mitzvah* often frees the boy to acquire knowledge. The *Bar Mitzvah* ceremony has remained vital and necessary even in irreligious families. The boy throws off the authority of the father, but in its stead he accepts an obligation to the ideals of the community.

Dr. Loewenstein discussed the moral maturation of the superego. The father's authority is replaced by that of God. The superego acquires strength in its detachment from the father. Since *Bar Mitzvah* is of comparatively recent origin, he wondered what the historical and social conditions were under which it appeared. Dr. Friedman felt that the ceremony reinforced the boy's superego. He knew of a patient who masturbated shortly after *Bar Mitzvah* and had a dream in which he was brought by his father Abraham to the altar as a sacrifice (Isaac). Dr. Kestenberg pointed to the stress on morality, goodness, and learning, rather than sexual maturation. Dr. Keiser pointed out that originally the ceremony took place at the age of twenty, but was moved to thirteen so that the boys would be members of the Jewish community before being called into the army. He believes that before *Bar Mitzvah* the boy belongs to his mother, after, to his father. Dr. Arlow, in closing, agreed with the concept of a maturing superego substituting learning for sex. The ritual dates from the eighth or the fifteenth century. It is post-Talmudic. Phallic gifts accompany the rites. To a Jew, intellect is masculine. The phylacteries represent the feminine aspect of submission to God. The prayer appeals for banishment of evil impulses. In another prayer God is betrothed to Israel, treated as a woman. According to Reik, the phylacteries represent a masculine totem, but now worn in a submissive fashion.

SIDNEY TARACHOW

May 22, 1951. THE BRIDGE, A STUDY IN SYMBOLISM. Paul Friedman, M.D.

Dr. Friedman quotes Ferenczi's four meanings in the symbol of the bridge: the penis; the vehicle between the 'beyond' and the 'here'; the symbol of the pathway to death; transition or change of condition in general.

Freud later stressed the last point, that the bridge in dreams may indicate transition or a change of condition of any sort. In reviewing bridge dreams from his practice, Dr. Friedman concluded that they are transference dreams, that

they play a crucial role in the analysis, and that they appear at a strategic point in the patient's life. The emergence of the bridge symbol in a dream stems from a very deep repression. It is not the mere interpretation of such dreams which produces a striking therapeutic effect: rather, such effect is due to the fact that the interpretation leads directly to deeply repressed material and enhances the working through of the anxieties and the transference situation. It is in this sense that bridge dreams play a specific role in analysis.

A collapsed bridge may symbolize inability to have intercourse, a short bridge may represent a clitoris (a penis which is too short). Falling into the water is frequently associated with masturbatory, homosexual, or rebirth fantasies. The principal significance of the bridge is not in its representation of the genitals, but rather in the dynamic process of the crossing and reaching the other shore. 'Whether it be a woman who has not yet accepted her femininity, or a man with a deep castration anxiety, the inability to cross the bridge may in either case represent the incapacity for heterosexual intercourse.'

Dr. Friedman discussed the parallelism between the neurotic ambivalence toward the bridge, and man's primitive belief, exemplified in myth and legend, that creation is division. In various religions one finds the dream of re-uniting by magic, by supernatural bridges, that which has been divided: earth and sky, heaven and earth, the world of the living and the world of the dead. The phallic symbolism of rainbow bridges and sword bridges is noted. Sword bridges and serpents repeatedly are used to represent the mode of passage to the next world. The great significance of the bridge to man is also shown by the name of the Roman priests: Pontifex, from *pons* and *facere*, and the Pope is Pontifex Maximus.

The question was raised, but not answered, as to whether the significance of the bridge has become an archaic memory trace.

In the discussion, Dr. Géza Róheim referred to symbols of transition as phallic symbols. He corroborated the importance of transference in the dreams of transition and referred to bridge symbolism in anthropology. Dr. Gustav Bychowski referred to a boy with stair and bridge phobias. Bridge and staircase were symbols of transition from adolescence to manhood. In closing the discussion, Dr. Friedman commented that the very essence of his paper lay in the repetitive theme that if one commits a transgression, the bridge will not hold him, he will fall down into the abyss: 'The incestuous taboo inherent in the symbol of the bridge is as strong today for these neurotics and phobics as it was for the primitives'. References in this connection were made to the story by Thornton Wilder, The Bridge of San Luis Rey, together with comments made by Mr. Wilder after correspondence with Dr. Friedman, the author corroborating many of the theoretical inferences drawn from the book by Dr. Friedman.

JOSEPH LANDER

At the annual business meeting of the AMERICAN PSYCHOSOMATIC SOCIETY, held on April 28, 1951, the following took office: Roy R. Grinker, M.D., President; Sydney G. Margolin, M.D., President-Elect; Fredrick C. Redlich, M.D., Secretary-

Treasurer. Elected to the Council were: Walter Bauer, M.D., Henry W. Brosin, M.D., and Bela Mittelmann, M.D.

The ninth annual meeting of the American Psychosomatic Society will take place at The Drake, in Chicago, March 29 and 30, 1952. The Program Committee would like to receive titles and abstracts of papers for consideration for the program by December 1, 1951. The time allotted for the reading of each paper will be twenty minutes. The Committee is interested in investigations in the theory and practice of psychosomatic medicine as applied to adults and children in all the medical specialties, and in contributions in psychophysiology and ecology. Accepted papers will be submitted to the editorial board of PSYCHOSOMATIC MEDICINE for possible publication in the journal.

Material for consideration by the Program Committee should be sent in duplicate to Dr. Roy R. Grinker, Chairman, 714 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

The fourth international CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH will be held in Mexico City, December 11 to 19, 1951, under the joint sponsorship of World Federation for Mental Health, Liga Mexicana de Salud Mental, and the Regional Office for the Americas of World Health Organization. Dr. Alfonso Millan, President-Elect of the World Federation, is Chairman of the Mexican Organizing Committee for the Congress.

The four major topics to be discussed at the plenary sessions are: mental health and children; occupational mental health—rural and industrial; mental health problems of transplantation and migration; community efforts in mental hygiene. There will be a series of technical meetings with speakers and discussants from the various countries and professions represented at the Congress. In addition to these there will be fifteen to twenty-five international, interdisciplinary working groups, each composed of approximately fifteen professional people who will meet daily to exchange ideas, to consider approaches found useful in various countries, and to make suggestions for future planning.

The Congress registration fee for members is twelve dollars U. S. currency. A fee of six dollars for associate members (wives or other accompanying members) will entitle them to attend plenary sessions and any social events which may be arranged. Fees may be sent as a U. S. Postal Money Order or a draft on a Mexican bank; personal checks will be accepted from United States members. Checks should be made payable to the Fourth International Congress for Mental Health and sent to Dr. Alfonso Millan, Chairman, Organizing Committee, Gomez Farias 56, Mexico D. F., Mexico. Lona Tours, Inc., Ave. Juarez 56-215, Mexico D. F., Mexico, is the agent handling hotel reservations, transportation to and from Mexico, and tours within the country. Those who plan to attend the Congress should communicate directly with them for information and reservations.

Erratum. This QUARTERLY, Volume XX, No. 2, p. 341, line 9: read Dr. Max Stern.

The Psychoanalytic Quarterly

ISSN: 0033-2828 (Print) 2167-4086 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/upaq20

Books Received

To cite this article: (1951) Books Received, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20:3, X-X, DOI: 10.1080/21674086.1951.11950847

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21674086.1951.11950847

Published online: 05 Dec 2017.

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