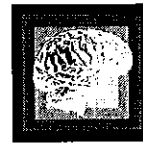


Prior to beginning work on this discussion, read chapters 1 through 6 of the textbook and the required articles listed with the theorist assigned to you for the discussion. For your initial post, you will examine the contributions of a theorist who was instrumental in developing the psychoanalytic theoretical approach based on the first letter of your last name. Please see below for your assigned theorist.

In addition to the required articles for your assigned theorist, research a minimum of one peer-reviewed article from the Ashford University Library on your theorist's research and work within the field of psychology. Examine and describe your theorist's contribution(s) to psychodynamic theory. Examine the major theoretical approaches proposed by your theorist including any related research methods and/or assessment instruments associated with him or her. Evaluate any issues and cultural considerations associated with your assigned theorist. Analyze and describe how the APA's Ethical Principles and Code of Conduct might affect the implementation of your theorist's personality assessments. Assess the types of personality measurements and research designs associated with your assigned theorist and describe how they have evolved. Your initial post should be a minimum of 400 words.

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One hundred years after Sigmund Freud's lectures in America: towards an integration of psychoanalytic theories and techniques within psychiatry

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Abstract

The impact of Sigmund Freud's lectures in America in 1909 is discussed. Some of the roots of psychoanalysis and their contemporary relevance are addressed: neurological ideas, the discussions of the sexologists, and the degeneration theories at the turn of the twentieth century. Factors which led to the dominance of psychoanalysis in psychiatry included, in particular, its arguments against the hopelessness of degeneracy theories; yet, by isolating itself from mainstream academic psychiatry and psychology, organized psychoanalysis itself contributed to its own subsequent marginalization. In order to re-integrate itself with mainstream psychiatry, psychoanalysis needs to appreciate the importance of systematic demonstrations of the therapeutic power of psychodynamic/psychoanalytic concepts and techniques when caring for individuals.

Keywords

Biopsychosocial integration, degeneracy theories, psychoanalysis, psychodynamic empirical studies, Sigmund Freud

Introduction

My formal education as a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst was completed as the final quarter of the twentieth century began, and psychoanalysis and psychodynamic psychotherapy (erroneously still considered to be not subject to rigorous empirical evaluation) began to lose their place as vital to psychiatric education and practice; and, furthermore, psychoanalytic ideas have been marginalized in the general scientific community (Bornstein, 2005). This, despite the fact that 'psychoanalytic theories have proven to be so robustly heuristic they have probably inspired more research in personality than any other set of ideas' (Masling, 2000a; see also Masling, 2000b). Until the last two decades, systematic empirical research findings have been almost universally ignored in psychoanalytic clinical education. By eschewing the value for clinical work of systematic research, psychoanalysis has insulated itself from the rest of the scientific world.

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Two examples suffice to illustrate how the general scientific community continues to ignore the centrality of psychoanalytic ideas.

- (a) The ubiquity of unconscious mental activity (a basic tenet of psychoanalysis) has been repeatedly demonstrated (Weinberger, Siegel and Decamello, 2000; Westen, 1998, 1999). This research is unknown in many quarters, including mainstream psychoanalysis, and attempts are made by many cognitive psychologists and neuroscientists to disassociate concepts such as 'implicit memory' from that of a 'dynamic unconscious', as if cognition is not influenced by emotions and psychological conflicts (Gabbard and Westen, 2003).
- (b) Free association is a basic technique in psychoanalysis where the patient speaks as freely as possible, without forethought, first described in 1895 by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939):

It contains a fairly complete reproduction of the memories and new impressions which have affected her since our last talk, and it often leads on, in a quite unexpected way, to pathogenic reminiscences of which she unburdens herself without being asked to. It is as though she had adopted my procedure and was making use of our conversation, apparently unconstrained and guided by chance, as a supplement to her hypnosis. (Breuer and Freud, 1895: 56)

A concept coined by contemporary neuroscientists, SIT (stimulus independent thoughts) is virtually identical to the concept of free associations. SIT or 'mind-wandering' is a phenomenon generated during times of non-purposeful attention. During SIT, there is a default cortical network which is active when the brain is supposedly 'at rest'. The potential or actual equivalence of SIT with free associations is not cited in the study (Mason et al., 2007).

A contemporary experimental study which identifies the neurological concomitants of a basic psychoanalytic concept illustrates how far we have come since 1895, when Freud attempted to develop a comprehensive dynamic neurological theory of psychological functioning (Freud, 1895). Unfortunately, most psychiatrists do not appreciate the important functional and theoretical connections between psychoanalytic and contemporary neuroscience constructs, despite greater appreciation in the last decade (Kandell, 1998, 1999).

On the other hand, many leading psychoanalysts have contributed to the effacement of important psychoanalytic ideas from mainstream science by isolating themselves from the general scientific academy. Fonagy (2003), for example, has critiqued this isolation in the psychoanalytic community which can only be addressed by greater incorporation in the education and practice of systematic empirical work. Fonagy (2003: 220) maintains:

It has been powerfully argued that free association and free-floating attention are the hallmark of the prescribed method of psychoanalytic data gathering (Green, 2000). Only facts gathered by these means are admissible to a psychoanalytic knowledge base; only psychoanalytic therapy can meaningfully contribute to the development of psychoanalytic theory. The general adoption of this strategy would imply that psychoanalysis exists in isolation from disciplines that do not use these methods – in other words, all other disciplines. The argument that psychoanalytic observations concerning human behavior are in some sense incommensurate with any other form of observation seems untenable. The mind remains the mind whether it is on the couch or in the laboratory. Yet many (perhaps one could speculate most) respected psychoanalytic clinicians express skepticism about this self-evident truth.

Reviewing aspects of the historical development of psychoanalytic ideas in America, its impact on psychiatry, and subsequent marginalization can help us reintegrate psychoanalytic ideas within mainstream psychiatry.

Freud's lectures in America: relevance to contemporary psychiatry

The introduction of psychoanalysis to America in 1909 was a nodal event for American psychiatry. Psychoanalytic ideas generated tremendous excitement because of its unique approach to the understanding of the whole person and subsequent treatment decisions. Reviewing some of the ideas from that time can help us to develop a true biopsychosocial model (Engel, 1977, 1980) in the present.

One hundred years after Freud's visit, I highlight:

- (1) Some of the historical factors which led to the dominance of psychoanalysis in American psychiatry and to its subsequent marginalization.
- (2) The importance for contemporary psychiatry of recognizing in practice, and not just in principle, the value of psychodynamic/psychoanalytic theories and methods.
- (3) The power of systematic demonstrations of the effectiveness of psychodynamic/psychoanalytic techniques when caring for individuals.

Developmental precursors to psychoanalysis

A recent volume by George Makari (2008) is an indispensable resource that puts into perspective 'the divergent streams of thought that flowed from Freud's towering genius' (Wurmser, 2008: 630), including the influence of and subsequent arguments with the French neurologist and Professor of Anatomical Pathology, Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–93). I will touch on three strands in the development of psychoanalysis:

- Roots in neurology
- Influence of the sexologists
- Contrast to theories of degeneracy.

All of these factors are relevant to contemporary psychiatry.

Neurology

The prevailing neurological/psychiatric theories at the end of the nineteenth century were that disordered anatomical brain functioning led to aberrant mental conditions. When the exact anatomical lesion was not observable it was labelled, 'degeneracy'. This was the case for hysteria, neurasthenia and obsessions (nervous disorders) as well as for psychotic disorders, schizophrenia (dementia praecox) and manic-depressive psychosis. In addition, a scourge of the time was syphilis, including the neurological manifestations of tertiary syphilis. Freud was immersed in the neurological theories and treatments of the time. He treated many middle-class Viennese patients who suffered from syphilis, including the father of his famous hysterical patient, Dora (Freud, 1905a; Decker, 1991).

Among many neurological writings, Freud wrote two important monographs: on paralyzes in children (Freud, 1891a: 241) and on the nature of language disturbances secondary to anatomical insults to the brain (Freud, 1891b). He argued against the prevailing assumption that various functions

of the central nervous system are manifestations of specific anatomically circumscribed areas (the localization theory). Instead, Freud hypothesized a dynamic interplay among various areas of the brain in contrast to the static localization theory. By 1895 Freud attempted to develop a comprehensive dynamic neurological theory of psychological functioning: 'A natural science: that is, to represent psychical processes as quantitatively determinate states of specifiable material particles ...' (Freud, 1895: 295).

The limited knowledge of the day thwarted these efforts, and Freud turned his attention to the development of purely psychological theories. Yet Freud retained the deep conviction of the importance of the interplay between the manifest psychological and the underlying physical processes. These ideas from over a century ago clearly articulate the dynamic interplay among the various regions of the brain and the interdependence of psychology and brain anatomy.

In one of his last works, Freud (1940: 81) noted: 'That mental phenomena are to a large extent dependent upon physical influences and have on their side the most powerful effects upon somatic processes'.

The sexologists

The sexologists at the turn of the last century promoted a sharp demarcation between normal and abnormal. Those who exhibited perversions were labelled to suffer from 'degeneracy'. Freud's work demonstrated that the distinction between normal and abnormal was not clearly demarcated, and adult sexual fantasies and activities were derived from childhood passionate states. In the *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud (1905b) expanded the ideas of the sexologists, particularly those of Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) and Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1903), who wrote about a variety of perversions and, like others, put great weight on 'degenerative' heredity as the basis of nervous ills. The 'ill' were unambiguously demarcated from the 'healthy'. Ellis called attention to the importance of the connection between hysteria and sexuality (Freud, 1899). Freud (1905b: 218fn [added 1915]) credited Ellis for coining the term 'narcissism' whereas Ellis (1927: 136) himself noted that he introduced the term 'auto-erotism' and the comparison to Narcissus, but that 'the "ism" was appended by [Paul] Näcke' [1883–1906]. Ellis (1927: 137) stated that 'it seems correct to attribute to me the description of the condition as a normal state with morbid exaggerations, but the term should only be attributed to me in association with Näcke, though Näcke himself used it as though it were my term'.

With his revolutionary method of *listening* to patients talk about their symptoms and their lives, Freud heard about childhood experiences, particularly sexual feelings and fantasies. He compared patients' fantasies with the reports of the sexologists, understanding that bodily areas other than the genitals provided sexual-like pleasurable experiences (sucking, kissing, caressing the skin, urinating, stimulating the anal area, all 'erotogenic zones'). This led to the conclusion that there was an association between those pleasures and the pleasure from genital sexuality. Freud noted the similarity between the sexual fantasies of children and those involved in perversions, and between perversions and what persists in the unconscious lives of all us. He concluded that in everyday life, sexual fantasies may be expressed as symptoms, in dreams, slips of the tongue, and in art productions.

The role of infantile sexuality, conceived as sexual pleasure in a broad sense rather than just pleasurable genital sensations, has been the most controversial Freudian concept. Although these ideas were criticized, others like Adolf Meyer (1866–1950), felt that Freud 'opened the eyes of the physician to an extension of human biology ... especially illuminating on account of the pedagogically important study of the infantile period' (Kiell, 1998: 311).

Whether considering sexuality or mental disturbance, Freud argued against the categorical approach to psychological phenomena, a discussion quite familiar to our contemporary ears, including considerations, well ahead of his time, of masculinity and femininity. In 1915, Freud said,

It is essential to understand clearly that the concepts of 'masculine' and 'feminine', whose meaning seems so unambiguous to ordinary people, are among the most confused that occur in science. It is possible to distinguish at least three uses. 'Masculine' and 'feminine' are used sometimes in the sense of activity and passivity, sometimes in a biological, and sometimes, again, in a sociological sense. (Freud, 1905b: 219fn [added 1915])

This brief footnote highlights one of the most important contributions of psychoanalytic theory: psychological phenomena are more usefully conceptualized in a dimensional rather than in a categorical manner.

Contrast with theories of degeneracy

Anzieu (1986: 93) has discussed how 'a number of important questions were frequently debated in the medical circles of [Freud's] time. For instance, are sexual deviations innate or acquired? Believers in the degeneracy theory (such as Bénédict-Augustin Morel (1809–73), Valentin Magnan (1835–1916), and Krafft-Ebing) held them to be of constitutional origin.' Moreover, organic (degeneracy) theories were considered to be the only aetiological factors even for 'nervous' or 'neurotic' (non-psychotic) disorders. The focus on degeneracy and on organic causes of mental disorders inevitably led to a great deal of pessimism with regard to treatment. Such organic theories were promulgated by the most important leader in psychiatry of his time: Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926). Kraepelin (1919, 1921) developed a careful descriptive diagnostic schema of mental illnesses, including the differentiation between schizophrenia – dementia praecox – and manic-depression. 'Freud did not deny the importance of organic factors, but rather attempted to bring in the psychological dimension' (Cancro, 2005: 244). For example, Freud (1898: 280) wrote:

That the assumption has been made of a special neuropathic disposition (which, incidentally, if it existed, would not leave much hope of success for the treatment of such pathological conditions). The neuropathic disposition itself is regarded as a sign of a general degeneracy, and thus this convenient technical term has come to be superabundantly used against the wretched patients whom the doctors are quite incapable of helping. Fortunately, the state of affairs is different. The neuropathic disposition does no doubt exist, but I must deny that it suffices for the creation of a psychoneurosis. *I must further deny that the conjunction of a neuropathic disposition with precipitating causes occurring in later life constitutes an adequate aetiology of the psychoneuroses.* In tracing back the vicissitudes of an individual's illness to the experiences of his ancestors, we have gone too far; *we have forgotten that between his conception and his maturity there lies a long and important period of life – his childhood – in which the seeds of later illness may be acquired.* (emphasis added)

In other words, when considering aetiology, in addition to heredity and later precipitating causes, one had to think about childhood experiences. This proved to be a significant message because it allowed for the psychological exploration of specific childhood antecedents. Rather than determining treatments simply based on the categorical classification of a patient's symptoms, the in-depth study of individuals and their particular life stories became the most important data for psychiatrists to implement a psychological rather than a somatic treatment plan.

The impact of psychoanalytic ideas on the treatment of psychiatric disorders reached a zenith in the middle of the twentieth century, when the Kraepelinian descriptive categorical diagnostic system came to be viewed as outdated, later to be resurrected with the advent of contemporary psychiatry with the development of successive editions of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM)* which valorized a categorical model of mental disorders in contrast to the dimensional model espoused by a psychoanalytic approach to mental and psychological functioning. Much too often the categorical approach has led psychiatrists to treat 'diseases' rather than to care for individuals.

Unfortunately, on the one hand, psychoanalysis was overvalued (almost as a panacea for every social and individual ill); on the other hand, the findings of clinical psychoanalysis were not integrated with the rest of science. When neurobiology caught up with psychoanalysis, it became clear that for many disorders particular brain functions could be identified and for many disorders biological treatments were significantly more effective than psychological interventions.

In the middle of the twentieth century, many chairs of psychiatry in the USA were psychoanalysts: 40 – at a third of all medical schools – in the 1960s (Shapiro, 2003: 115). By 1984 the number of psychoanalysts who were chairs declined to 21 and by 2004 to 12 (Luber and Michels, 2005: 522). So, in a mere 40 years the number of psychoanalysts in key academic psychiatric positions declined by almost four-fold.¹

In our contemporary climate, as at the turn of the last century, genetics, brain functioning and current stressors are often considered to be the major aetiological factors in the development of psychopathology – interpersonal historical factors diminished in importance. The wheel has come full circle where psycho-social aetiological factors and psychological interventions have come to be devalued, or at best considered of secondary importance; organic aetiological agents and somatic treatments are overvalued, despite assertions that an integrated approach to theory and treatment is extant. As I highlight below, contemporary psychiatry and psychoanalysis have the opportunity to develop a meaningful integration of modern cognitive science and neuroscience with the insights gleaned from a psychoanalytic perspective, first summarized by Freud in his 1909 Clark University lectures.

The Clark Lectures:² arguments against degeneracy

G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924), a pioneer in American psychology, received the first doctorate in psychology (1878) from Harvard under the supervision of William James (1842–1910); he was founder of the American Psychological Association and the *American Journal of Psychology*; and he wrote a pioneering book on adolescence (Hall, 1904). He was President of Clark University, in Worcester, Massachusetts, and invited Freud, Carl Jung (1875–1961) and others to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of Clark. This event, the first official acceptance of psychoanalysis in America³ (Paskauskas, 1993: 19fn), included the presentation of honorary degrees to Freud and Jung. On 9 March 1909, Freud, an inveterate letter writer, wrote about the personal significance of Hall's invitation.

In 1886, when I started my practice, I was thinking only of a two-month trial period in Vienna; if it did not prove satisfactory, I was planning to go to America and found an existence that I would subsequently have asked my fiancée in Hamburg to share. You see, we both of us had nothing, or more precisely, I had a large and impoverished family and she a small inheritance of roughly 3000 fl. from her Uncle Jacob, who had been a professor of classical philology in Bonn. But unfortunately things went so well in Vienna that I decided to stay on, and we were married in the autumn of the same year. And now, twenty-three

years later, I am to go to America after all, not, to be sure, to make money, but in response to an honourable call! (McGuire, 1974: 209–21)

Despite this humble communication, Freud himself, like others such as Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939), heralded his discoveries to be comparable to that of Copernicus, that the earth was not at the centre of the universe, and of Darwin that humanity does not have a unique place among other animals. For Freud, his two discoveries (that the sexual instincts cannot be fully tamed and that mental processes are unconscious) amounted 'to a statement that the ego is not master in its own house' (Freud, 1917: 143).

Three other psychoanalysts were present at Clark: Sandor Ferenczi (1873–1933), who accompanied Freud and Jung on the trip from Europe, Ernest Jones (1879–1958) who became Freud's official biographer (Jones, 1953–57), and Abraham Brill (1874–1948), already practising psychoanalysis in the USA and an early translator of Freud (Brill, 1938). During his visit, Freud lectured daily at 11 a.m. from Tuesday 7 to Saturday 11 September. Many prominent Americans attended, including James, who understood the importance of unconscious mental activity and had published in 1890 *Principles of Psychology* (James, 1890/1951). Freud, therefore, spoke on the interpretation of dreams and the unconscious on the one day that James attended.

A fellow lecturer was Adolf Meyer, who had studied in Switzerland and was influenced by Bleuler, and who became the most influential psychiatric educator in America during the first half of the twentieth century. Meyer, speaking on 'The Dynamic Interpretation of Dementia Praecox', highlighted the importance of experience in the development of mental illness. In 1902 Meyer introduced dynamic psychiatry at the Manhattan State Hospital and from 1910 to 1941, as professor at Johns Hopkins University, taught the importance of integrating psychology and biology. 'Without becoming a committed Freudian, Meyer became the most important early disseminator of psychoanalysis to young psychiatrists' (Hale, 1971: 157); many of his students became psychoanalysts.

However, as Freud himself noted:

The most important personal relationship which arose from the meeting at Worcester was that with James J. Putnam (1846–1918), Professor of Neuropathology at Harvard University. Some years before, he had expressed an unfavourable opinion of psychoanalysis, but now he rapidly became reconciled to it and recommended it to his countrymen and his colleagues in a series of lectures which were as rich in content as they were brilliant in form. The esteem he enjoyed throughout America on account of his high moral character and unflinching love of truth was of great service to psycho-analysis and protected it against the denunciations which in all probability would otherwise quickly have overwhelmed it. (Freud, 1914: 30)

Putnam became the first President of the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1911. His stature and influence in American neurology and psychology was one of the most important factors in the acceptance of psychoanalysis in America.

Putnam, like his contemporary William James, came to maturity during the Civil War and the post-war period when issues of morality, religion, spiritualism, and also the relationship between philosophy and the newer psychotherapies were part of intellectual discourse. Putnam became an important ally for the Freudian perspective, presenting to psychiatrists and neurologists the power of psychoanalytic observations and interventions, particularly discussing the problem with the concept of degeneracy. In 1910 he wrote: 'There are obvious limits to its usefulness but nevertheless it strikes deeper than any other method now known to psychiatry, and reaches some of these

very cases to which the terms degenerative and incurable have been applied, forcing us to recast our conception of these states' (Putnam, 1921/1951: 33).

Topics of Freud's lectures at Clark

Freud's (1910a) five lectures provide a remarkable précis of the basic principles of psychoanalysis: hysteria and the psychoanalytic method; the aetiological importance of dynamic mental forces in contrast to degeneracy theories; dreams and unconscious mental activity; infantile sexuality; and the nature of transference. Many of these constructs are still of utility. The topics added later were narcissism, aggression and the centrality of defence analysis.

Freud traced the origins of psychoanalysis to the pioneering collaboration with Josef Breuer (1842–1925) and Breuer's treatment of the hysterical patient 'Anna O', who herself coined the term 'talking cure' (Freud, 1910a: 13). Freud differentiated his conception of hysteria from that of Pierre Janet (1859–1947), who had lectured at Harvard in 1906, and asserted that the aetiology of hysteria was 'psychical splitting' secondary to degeneracy. Freud argued for a dynamic explanation of hysteria rather than an 'innate incapacity' in the hysteric. He stressed that conflicting mental forces caused symptoms as the patient repressed intolerable memories. Psychoanalysis cured by making conscious that which had been repressed.

Towards the end of his career, Freud understood that simply lifting repressions (or defences) allowing verbalization of disturbing memories was not sufficiently therapeutic. As analysts began to understand the ubiquity and power of defences, it became important to analyse them, not just simply push them to the side. As Charles Brenner (2006: 54) recently stated: 'Patients, like all mankind, are engaged in deceiving themselves about some of their most powerful motives. Defense is an essential part of conflict, and self-deception is the essence of defense.'

In contemporary psychoanalysis, the analyst tries to help the patient understand why he/she avoids certain topics or avoids speaking freely. Ideally, this analysis of defences will lead to further free association, including connections to earlier memories involving interactions with important figures in one's life.

In the third lecture, Freud spoke about the interpretation of dreams as the 'royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious'. In the fourth lecture, he described the discovery that the origin of patients' symptoms was their early erotic life. In support of this thesis he cited a paper 'published in The American Journal of Psychology in 1902', three years before the publication of Freud's (1905b) own *Three Essays*. Freud (1910a: 42) noted that Sanford Bell, author of the American paper, said that: "The emotion of sex-love ... does not make its appearance for the first time at the period of adolescence, as has been thought." He carried out his work in what we in Europe would call "the American manner", collecting no fewer than 2,500 positive observations in the course of fifteen years, among them 800 of his own.'

Freud (1909) discussed the sexual findings in his own case of Little Hans as well as reiterating Jung's ideas in the case of Little Agathli (Rosenzweig, 1994: 135–63). In the fifth lecture, Freud spoke about the nature of transference, where:

[The] patient ... directs towards the physician a degree of affectionate feeling (mingled, often enough, with hostility) which is based on no real relation between them and which – as is shown by every detail of its emergence – can only be traced back to old wishful phantasies of the patient's which have become unconscious ... [Freud noted that] transference arises spontaneously in all human relationships just as it does between the patient and the physician. It is everywhere the true vehicle of therapeutic influence; and the less its presence is suspected, the more powerfully it operates. So psycho-analysis does not create it,

but merely reveals it to consciousness and gains control of it in order to guide psychical processes towards the desired goal. (Rosenzweig, 1994: 51)

The concept of transference (that a person's relationships with other people are often modelled on early life interactions) remains the essential vehicle in psychodynamic and psychoanalytic therapy for understanding a patient's symptoms and all aspects of a person's life.

Finally, Freud stressed that one of the results of psychoanalysis is the employment of more useful purposes of the unconscious instincts, once they are analysed, such as sublimation, where the instincts are employed for the socially constructive purposes.

What went wrong?

Unfortunately, Freud (1914) began a tradition of expelling critics of his theory from his circle, beginning with Alfred Adler (1870–1937) and Jung, who both diminished the centrality of infantile sexuality. In America, extensive analytic participation in the American Psychopathological Association was avoided because of the critique of psychoanalytic ideas, particularly the concept of infantile sexuality. With the encouragement of Freud, the American Psychoanalytic Association was created in 1911. Meyer argued that analysts needed a family milieu 'where fundamentals need not always be questioned' and where they would 'not face continual ridicule and skepticism' (Hale, 1995: 318).

Certainly the self-enclosed and self-sustained group of like-minded individuals promoted the development of psychoanalytic ideas and promoted the development of methods of education and training. In fact, the development of the International Psychoanalytical Association was prompted by the wish to protect the public from the dangers of 'wild' psychoanalysis (Freud, 1910b: 226–7).

However, formal separation from critics promoted a lack of scientific rigour since basic concepts did not need to be independently verified. In addition, non-analysts were not intensively exposed to psychoanalytic ideas and were thus less influenced by them. This scientific self-containment was advanced by Freud himself, despite his early awareness of the importance of independent data. In 1934 an American psychologist, Saul Rosenzweig (1907–2004), wrote to Freud that he had found an experimental method to study salient psychoanalytic propositions. Freud dismissed these data 'because the wealth of reliable observations on which these assertions rest make them independent of experimental verification' (Wallerstein, 2003: 376) In other words, only data emerging from within the psychoanalytic situation could confirm or disconfirm analytic hypotheses. Unfortunately, the dangerous consequences of circular reasoning occurred where theorists could make assertions without systematic examination of clinical data.

Furthermore, this period of growth was accompanied by the isolation of psychoanalysis from academic psychiatry and psychology. By the 1950s and 1960s, when psychoanalysts were the premier psychiatric educators, organized psychoanalysis did not promote the development of strategies for the empirical investigation of psychoanalytic concepts and psychoanalytic interventions. Also, in contrast to the value placed on premier clinicians, those psychoanalysts who were career investigators were not esteemed. As a result of this devaluation of systematic research, organized psychoanalysis abandoned the field of experimental study and allowed the development of a generation of psychiatric researchers who were unfamiliar with the significance of the complex approach to the individual by psychoanalysts.

Organized psychoanalysis enabled the field of psychiatric research to be monopolized either by researchers who had no knowledge of psychoanalytic ideas or by those psychiatrists who came to

be funded by the pharmaceutical industry, with its vested interest in promoting the creation of evidence for the effectiveness of their products. In order to judge the efficacy of a drug, as compared with placebo, for example, one had to ensure that the different groups of patients had comparable conditions. This need for comparability led to the need for creating a seemingly infinite number of diagnostic categories, able to be reliably diagnosed, in contrast to the dimensional individualized approach of psychoanalysis. Diseases began to be treated rather than individuals cared for. However, it came to be seen that many potential patients had to be excluded from studies because in real life most people are very complex and very few fit neatly into the narrow spectrum diagnostic categories required for a drug study. These kinds of studies ignore the individuality and complexity of human beings and how psychiatric disorders follow a complex evolution over the lifetime of a person.

Certainly, understanding the complexity of the individual life and the unconscious persistence of the past in the present, including fantasies about past relationships, is the predominant approach of psychoanalysis and psychodynamic therapy. How can these complexities be studied systematically?

How psychoanalysis can promote its return to an important place in psychiatry

Intensive examination of the individual clinical situation in supervising and studying clinical reports in the literature has been the core value of psychodynamic and psychoanalytic education. In psychoanalysis and psychodynamic psychotherapy, the clinical vignette rather than a systematic independent evaluation of clinical material has been the central data base both for the teaching of technique and for theory development. Studying selected clinical vignettes has been utilized to demonstrate aspects of technique that the student needs to learn, as well as to demonstrate the value of one theoretical approach versus another. This procedure allows for the intensive in-depth examination of a single life.

The clinical psychoanalysts immersed in this tradition – of trying to understand individual patients in as in-depth way as possible – can view attempts to examine case material systematically or develop generalizations from a group of similar patients and can worry about the dangers of reductionism with the disregard of the complexities of an individual's mental life. They may thus find it difficult to conceive that one can systematically examine an individual's personal story in a way that minimizes reductionism and also satisfies the criteria of science. Until recent years, too few experienced clinical analysts have been interested in empirical studies (qualitative or quantitative). For example, in general, psychoanalytic and psychodynamic education and practice has not incorporated any of the extant systematic evaluations of psychodynamic and psychoanalytic theoretical concepts and therapeutic interventions such as utilizing the systematic methods of narrative analysis or grounded theory (see, for example: Midgely, 2006; Tuckett, 1994). An increasing number now do tend to agree with Jacob Arlow's (1993: 143) contention that 'as a practitioner I have been interested in the issue of validation of interpretation and of basic concepts of psychoanalysis'. It is notable, however, that at the end of the twentieth century, an eminent leader in psychoanalysis espoused an 'interest' in systematic methods of validation rather than championing its cause to be indispensable to the advancement of the field.

This attitude is unlike that in other clinical fields. In most areas of psychiatry, for example, there is an attempt (limited at times) to integrate into practice the results of systematic laboratory evaluations of particular interventions, whether the interventions are psychopharmacological or cognitive behavioural therapy. In contrast, the decision-making process in psychoanalytic evaluations

and treatments have been and usually continue to be determined by an individual practitioner's clinical experience, supervision, peer discussions, and particularly his or her education and sources influence from specific analytic authorities.

This standard of care in psychoanalysis has evolved as a result of the received clinical wisdom that has accumulated over its first century. However, since there is not one composite psychoanalytic theory that is accepted by all analysts,⁴ there are various theoretical principles around which educational and clinical programmes are organized and which influence how students and graduate analysts understand the psychotherapeutic situation.

A central problem with the sole reliance on the clinical case study method in the evaluation of effectiveness or efficacy of analytic interventions is its application in a non-systematic, non-blind fashion. Clinical judgements and clinical and theoretical inferences or theoretical modifications can be perceived to be or, in fact, are affected by the analyst's authority and influence in the therapeutic situation. This sole reliance on clinical vignettes for theoretical and clinical advancements has left the field open to criticism as being non-scientific. Key critiques have included Popper's (1959), that the absence of an ability to falsify hypotheses makes the endeavour non-scientific, and Grünbaum's (1984) that one cannot avoid the explicit/implicit influence of the analyst on the emergence of data in the clinical situation. Therefore, these critics maintain, clinical vignettes can only be utilized to discover hypotheses and not to prove their accuracy. Many have argued against these critiques and have described ways in which to address clinical material in a systematic unbiased fashion (see Luyten, Blatt and Corveleyn, 2006). Luyten et al. (2006: 588–9) describe the problem cogently:

In summary, something is fundamentally wrong in psychoanalysis with the way data are gathered and justified, and this has contributed to the negative perception of psychoanalysis by the public, and particularly by the scientific community. This has led, for instance, to the criticism that psychoanalysts are 'thought readers,' a field exemplified by endless debates settled not by systematic empirical research, but by relying on authority, persuasion, anecdote, and the selective release of data that confirm each author's favorite theory. This has led to isolation, intellectual stagnation, fragmentation, and orthodoxy. Thus, the often hailed theoretical pluralism within psychoanalysis might in part disguise a fundamental problem: the inability to give up cherished theories and to find ways of systematically evaluating them. If psychoanalysis continues to gather data and justify knowledge in ways not accepted by the scientific community, it could spell the death of psychoanalysis in this age of evidence-based medicine and managed care. But does this mean that clinical data and the case study method are completely worthless in testing psychoanalytic hypotheses? Many, even within the psychoanalytic community, believe this is so.

Even though the application of accumulated clinical wisdom has served the field well, the field cannot continue to rely solely on clinical methods. Certainly in the last two decades the field as a whole has progressed so that systematic and blind qualitative and quantitative methods are beginning to be applied to the study of various aspects of psychodynamic and psychoanalytic treatments. The attitude towards systematic investigations has come very far since Freud's dismissive letter in 1934 to the experimentalist, Saul Rosenzweig (who recently died at the age of 97), quoted above.

Organizationally both the American Psychoanalytic Association and the International Psychoanalytical Association⁵ have actively promoted a variety of research activities: developing research grants, promoting the collaborative activities, including interdisciplinary partnership, among researchers throughout the world, consulting with local groups to develop courses focusing on research, and developing research training programmes for younger colleagues.

Psychoanalytic research has come very far since 1917 when Isador Coriat reported the result of 93 psychoanalytic cases (73% recovered or were much improved) (cited by Wallerstein, 2005). During the last half of the twentieth century we have witnessed the development worldwide of a great number of psychoanalytic research activities studying outcome of treatments as well as process studies (in which one systematically attempts to determine the mechanisms of action in a therapeutic setting, that is, what produces the change in a psychoanalytic or psychodynamic treatment). For detailed discussions of these studies and a history of psychoanalytic research studies, including the important role of Robert Wallerstein, see Bucci (2005), Holt (2008) and Wallerstein (2005). In recent years, there have been more and more sophisticated outcome studies, including the groundbreaking Psychotherapy Research Project of the Menninger Foundation (Wallerstein, 1986).⁶

An important step which furthered contemporary psychoanalytic and psychodynamic research activities was the development of an 'Open Door Review of Outcome Studies in Psychoanalysis' under the leadership of Peter Fonagy (2002). Finally and most importantly, psychoanalytic studies have begun to appear in significant mainstream peer-reviewed journals such as the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, the *British Journal of Psychiatry* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. A brief selective review of recent citations includes: a study of countertransference by Betan, Heim, Comklin and Westen (2005); studies of the role of transference interpretations (Hoglund et al., 2006, 2008); a randomized controlled clinical trial of psychoanalytic psychotherapy for panic disorder (Milrod et al., 2007); and structured dynamic studies of personality (Shedler and Westen, 2004a, 2004b; Westen, Dutra and Shedler, 2005). In 2008 the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a meta-analysis demonstrating the effectiveness of long-term psychodynamic psychotherapy (Leichsenring and Rabung, 2008) and in December 2008 *Journal Watch Psychiatry* (produced by the publishers of the *New England Journal of Medicine*) noted that 'The emerging evidence base for psychodynamic psychotherapies' (Yager, 2008) was one of the top psychiatry stories of that year.

In all these studies one can see how in-depth dynamic treatments of individuals can be studied systematically.

The future

In 100 years we have come full circle.

1. The wisdom of the nineteenth century promoted the idea that discreet brain anatomy held the key to the origins of mental disorders.
2. During the greater part of the twentieth century it was stressed that the main pathogenic agent for mental disorder was the environment, particularly the early childhood familial environment, and the individual's unique response to environmental insults.
3. At the turn of our century we have witnessed the development of modern cognitive science, neuroscience, as well as effective psychoactive drugs. The functioning of the brain is considered, as Freud theorized, to be a result of dynamic interplays among many brain areas, and not simply secondary to 1:1 correlation between function and anatomy.
4. Finally, psychoanalytic and psychodynamic psychotherapy has begun to have a firm footing as an empirically supported treatment.

Conclusion

As psychiatrists try to understand how patients become who they are, they need to consider many factors: genetic; cognitive; the nature of interactions with important people in life and how they

reflect interactions from the past; as well as the nature of their passions – the sexual and aggressive wishes and concomitant conflicts.

Within such a framework, a psychiatrist can approach each patient without the reductionism of either a biological or an environmental aetiological point of view, without a ready-made preconception of which factor is most important. The most salient factor(s) varies among individuals and within the individual him/herself.

Sigmund Freud worked at a time when organic psychiatric theories and the concept of degeneration were the predominant aetiological theories. Organic theories such as 'degeneracy' for psychological disorders led to a great deal of pessimism with regard to treatment. Freud's innovation proved to be an optimistic message as exemplified by his stress on the importance of 'accidental factors', that is, the interpersonal environment.

Contemporary methods of studying brain function are obviously infinitely more sophisticated than the methods of a century ago. Most importantly, however, as I have detailed, psychoanalysts themselves are participating more and more in systematic research. As this research evolves, more effective dynamic interventions will be developed. Yager (2008) in *Journal Watch Psychiatry* commented:

[I]n a year that has seen the passage of a U.S. mental health parity law – and in a treatment environment where psychiatrists are doing less psychotherapy, due in good measure to falling reimbursement for this modality – psychodynamic psychotherapies for specific conditions may have earned their place at the evidence-based table (third-party payers, take note).

Psychoanalysts can ensure that the evidence-based approach in psychiatry, psychology or psychodynamic treatments do not dehumanize the doctor-patient relationship (Sheps, 2009).

Notes

- 1 There was a similar decline in the influence of psychoanalysis in psychology (Bornstein, 2002).
- 2 The details about the Clark University Lectures and the participants are mainly derived from the work of Saul Rosenzweig (1994).
- 3 In 1914 Freud wrote about the first dissemination of psychoanalysis. 'In 1907 the situation changed all at once and contrary to all expectations. It appeared that psycho-analysis had unobtrusively awakened interest and gained friends, and that there were even some scientific workers who were ready to acknowledge it. A communication from Bleuler had informed me before this that my works had been studied and made use of in the Burghölzli. In January 1907, the first member of the Zurich clinic came to Vienna – Dr. Eitingon. Other visits followed, which led to an animated exchange of ideas. Finally, on the invitation of C. G. Jung, at that time still assistant physician at the Burghölzli, a first meeting took place at Salzburg in the spring of 1908, which brought together friends of psychoanalysis from Vienna, Zurich and other places': Freud, 1914: 26.
- 4 See: Brenner, 2006; Hoffman, 2008; Rangell, 2007.
- 5 See: <http://apsa.org/> and <http://www.ipa.org.uk/>, respectively.
- 6 Descriptions of some recent studies can be found at: http://apsa.org/Programs/Research/Empirical_Studies_in_Psychoanalysis.aspx and at: <http://www.ipa.org.uk/eng/research/research/new-presentation-shows-empirical-support-for-psychoanalytic-treatment/>

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Sigmund Freud's Literary Ego Ideals

FREUD'S ECLECTIC READING TASTES

Among the many remarkable aspects of Sigmund Freud's voluminous writings and correspondence is his eclectic literary taste. It is not just that Freud read widely, but that he read creatively, searching among the great works of literature for personal meaning and direction, as well as for the advancement of psychoanalysis. Freud's interest in literature was compelling indeed; it ranged from the ancient to the modern and transcended national boundaries. The catholic nature of Freud's reading can be highlighted by noting that the authors he read, favored, or used as sources to buttress psychoanalytic theory were American, Austrian, British, French, Danish, German, Italian, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish, Swiss, as well as those from the classical Greek and Renaissance periods. He was also interested in non-Western literature, including Arabic and Sanskrit. However, in surveying Freud's literary culture, I do not intend to present a critique of Freud's theory of literature. Rather, my aim in this article is to examine Freud's interest in literature from a new perspective, and that is to study Freud's interest in certain writers as a search for intellectual models—or ego ideals. In other words, the aim here is to study what this exceptional man read, and, more importantly, why. It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider all the fiction writers that Freud liked; therefore, only a few representative writers will be selected to be discussed in detail, those who were to him most inspiring or influential.

In tandem with Freud's alacritous appreciation for humanistic studies, namely art, history, philosophy, archeology, and literature, was his search for intellectual and psychological mentors, men with whom he could identify. That such a search was significant for Freud personally can be

gathered from the fact that he conceptualized and formulated this need for identification in his work "On Narcissism: An Introduction" (1914). In that essay he demonstrates the psychic importance of "ego ideals" by explaining that "Idealization is a process that concerns the *object*; by it that object, without any alteration in its nature, is aggrandized and exalted in the subject's mind" (p.94).

In "The Ego and the Id," Freud (1923) further discusses the manifestation and significance of ego ideals. In regard to this paper, Freud's exposition has an uncanny fit to Freud himself, and serves to bear out the thesis of this paper: his personal search for certain "father figures" in a variety of fields. Freud says that the ego ideal is the heir to the Oedipus complex. In a key passage, he explains:

It is easy to show that the ego ideal answers to everything that is expected of the higher nature of man. As a substitute for a longing for the father, it contains the germ from which all religions have evolved. The self-judgment which declares that the ego falls short of its ideal produces the religious sense of humility to which the believer appeals in his longing. As a child grows up, the role of the father is carried by teachers and others in authority; their injunctions and prohibitions remain powerful in the ego ideal and continue, in the form of conscience, to exercise the moral censorship. The tension between the demands of conscience and the actual performance of the ego is experienced as a sense of guilt. Social feelings rest on identifications with other people, on the basis of having the same ego ideal (p.37).

As will be shown, Freud's development of the concept of ego ideal and the concomitant identification with people who have the same ego ideals is equally applicable to Freud.

Men with whom Freud could identify played a decisive role for him, and the persons he selected came from a variety of fields and times, as I have specifically examined in "Freud's Ego Ideals: A Study of Admired Modern Historical Personages" (Szaluta, 1983). And the ego ideals Freud selected—for conscious and unconscious reasons—to group them by subjects, were historical, biblical, medical, political, and literary.

On the one hand, Freud used literary examples to demonstrate, develop and support a particular theoretical point; but on the other hand, the writers he selected reveal aspects of his own dynamics. First of all, Freud admired, if not envied, creative writers. Apparently, when he was a young man, he had considered becoming a novelist. Moreover, Freud had a flair—a gift—for language. Not only did he excel in his command of his native German, but he also learned several others on his own, in addition to the languages he learned in school. He wrote and spoke in English,

French, Italian, and Spanish. He also knew Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Such interests and such mastery indicated that for Freud languages were a "royal road" to understanding other peoples and cultures. And Freud's own writings richly reflect his wide-ranging humanistic learning.

Another essay by Freud, which is germane to this paper, is "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming" (1908). That the founder of psychoanalysis had a high regard for creative writers is clear from his belief that they are often in advance of scientific discovery. And the scientist who was pre-eminent in employing the insights of imaginative writers was Freud himself. His works are replete with literary reference, imagery, and illusion. A discussion of Freud's essay on the creative writer above need not detain us, but what is relevant in it is the way Freud candidly reveals his admiration of them. In his own words: "We layman have always been intensely curious to know from what sources that strange being, the creative writer, draws his material, and how he manages to make such an impression on us with it and to arouse in us emotions of which, perhaps, we had not even thought ourselves capable" (p. 143).

Freud's exuberance is further evident as he adds, "If we could at least discover in ourselves or in people like ourselves an activity which was in some way akin to creative writing!" (p. 143). And with unstinting praise for creative writers he declares that they "lessen the distance between their kind and the common run of humanity; they so often assure us that every man is a poet at heart and that the last poet will not perish till the last man does" (p. 143). Clearly, Freud had a high opinion of the creative writer.

Another indication of Freud's identification with the creative writer is his comparison between the psychoanalyst—i.e. himself—and the creative writer. In "Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's *Gradiva*" (1907), Freud takes the position that both derive insights about people from their aberrant mental states. Freud makes a connection between psychotherapist and artist, expressing the feeling that "Our procedure consists in the conscious observation of abnormal mental processes in other people so as to be able to elicit and announce their laws. The author no doubt proceeds differently. He directs his attention to the unconscious in his own mind; he listens to its possible developments, and lends them artistic expression instead of suppressing them by conscious criticism. Thus he experiences from himself what we learn from others—the laws which the activities of this unconscious must obey" (p. 92). However, although Freud identifies with the creativity of the writer, recognizing that art is an expression of unconscious life, he does not argue that the analyst similarly needs expe-

rience, particularly neurotic manifestations or mental abnormalities (Levin, 1975, p. 93).

To be sure, Freud's interest in creative writing and its application to psychoanalytic theory went hand in hand with his personal and professional relationships. Those he was acquainted with and admired were generally writers, imaginative or scientific, or had friends in the literary world. To give a few examples, certain mentors—who should be considered his medical ego ideals—such as Ernst Brücke, was a scientific writer. Brücke included principles of the fine arts and German poetry in his work. Others, such as Joseph Breuer, Theodore Meynert, and Jean-Martin Charcot were men of culture with a profound knowledge of their contemporary literature (Anzieu, 1986, p. 103). Freud's affinity with writers is obvious from the many writers he knew personally and corresponded with. The list is immense and included Herman Hesse, Thomas Mann, Romain Rolland, Lou Andreas Salome, Arthur Schnitzler, Arnold Zweig, and Stefan Zweig (Jones, 1957, p. 427-428). And in his prodigious personal correspondence with Martha Bernays, whom he married; Wilhelm Fliess, whose friendship was so important to Freud early in his career; and with many others, literary references abound.¹

Let us turn now, first of all, to a discussion of Freud's general taste in literature. When a Viennese publisher, in 1907, invited Freud, as well as other distinguished individuals to submit a list of what they considered to be "ten good books", Freud replied in a characteristic and revealing manner which showed the breadth of his reading. In his letter to the publisher he did not just peremptorily list the titles of the books, but even examined the way the question was posed. He stated "You ask me to name 'Ten good books' for you, and refrain from adding to this any word of explanation. Thus you leave to me not only the choice of the books but also the interpretation of your request" (p. 245). He goes on to clarify the question by asking:

You did not say: the ten most magnificent works (of world literature), in which case I should have been obliged to reply, with so many others: Homer, the tragedies of Sophocles, Goethe's *Faust*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, etc. Nor did you say the 'ten most significant books', among which scientific achievements like those of Copernicus, of the old physician Johann Weier on the belief in witches, *Darwin's Descent of Man*, and others would then have found a place. You did not even ask for 'favorite books' among which I should not have forgotten Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Heine's *Lazarus*. I think, therefore, that a particular stress falls on the 'good' in your phrase, and that with this predicate your intent to designate books to which one stands in

rather the same relationship as to 'good' friends, to whom one owes a part of one's knowledge of life and view of the world—books which one has enjoyed oneself and gladly commends to others...(p. 246).

After specifying how he would view the request, Freud names the ten books, "which have come to my mind without a great deal of reflection." Here is the list as it appears in the letter:

Multatuli, *Letters and Works*.
 Kipling, *Jungle Book*.
 Anatole France, *Sur la Pierre blanche*.
 Zola, *Fecondité*.
 Merezhkovsky, *Leonardo da Vinci*.
 G. Keller, *Leute von Seldwyla*.
 C.F. Meyer, *Huttens Letzte Tage*.
 Macauley, *Essays*.
 Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*.
 Mark Twain, *Sketches*. (p. 246).

This brief sketch of Freud's reply to the publisher's questionnaire serves to highlight Freud's literary interests and his omnivorous intellect; his vast cultural appetite will be expanded on later in this paper. As for the writers on the above list, three are English-language writers, including an American, and two are French. Of the German-language writers, two are Swiss and one is Austrian. "Multatuli" (Eduard Douwes Dekker's pseudonym) is Dutch, and his work was translated into German, as was Merezhkovsky's from Russian.

FREUD AND GOETHE

The first of Freud's literary ego ideals will now be considered, namely Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the preeminent German Enlightenment and nineteenth-century writer. It is to be recalled that in his reply to the Viennese publisher regarding his ten favorite books, Freud has specified that he would have included Goethe's *Faust*. Apparently, it was on hearing Goethe's essay "Fragment upon Nature", read at a public lecture by Professor Carl Brühl, that Freud decided to become a medical student. In his "Autobiographical Study" (1925) Freud referred to it as a "beautiful essay". Distinctive for its dithyrambic tone, the ideas contained in the essay were Goethe's; but they are actually written by his Swiss friend, the theologian G.C. Tobler. In any case, Tobler's ideas in this instance were consonant with Goethe's (Trosman, 1976, p. 52). What is significant

about the essay is its promise that nature is challenging and omnipotent, like a bountiful mother. The imagery, inspiring to the young Freud, is of nature having secrets that must be explored (Jones, 1957, p. 29).

Fritz Wittels (1931), Freud's first major biographer, in recognition of the significance of the essay on nature, has reproduced the entire essay in the chapter of his book of Freud and Goethe. Only the first and last paragraphs of the essay will be quoted here, as they suffice to represent the inspirational tone of the essay:

Nature! We are surrounded by her, embraced by her—impossible to release ourselves from her and impossible to enter more deeply into her. Without her asking and without warning she drags us into the circle of her dance and carries us along until exhausted we drop from her arm. She has set me within. She will also lead me without. I commit myself to her. She may command me. She will not hate her work. I have not spoken of her. No, what is true and what is false. It is she who has spoken it. Hers is all the blame; hers is all the praise (pp. 31-34).

These excerpts reveal a Faustian appeal: the challenge and reward of seeking nature's secrets. In his own words, Freud (1927) expressed the same sentiment as follows: "In my youth I felt an overpowering need to understand something of the riddles of the world in which we live and perhaps even to contribute something to their solution" (p. 253).

Although Goethe's essay on nature is frequently cited as an inspiration to Freud, Goethe himself and what he stood for was just as important. Goethe is considered the greatest writer in the German language, recognized for his encyclopedic mind, his inventiveness, and interest in the natural sciences. Furthermore, of major import to Freud, Goethe transcended nationalism and chauvinism. Goethe lived and wrote at a time when German nationalism was growing and becoming particularly anti-French, in the wake of the French Revolution in 1789 and Napoleon I. Goethe's contemporary, Johann Fichte, a noted German nationalistic writer and philosopher, delivered a celebrated address to the German people in 1808, in which he claimed that the German language was incomparably superior to French, English or Italian. Goethe, however, admired and appreciated French culture for its influence on him, and considered himself a citizen of the world (Wittels, 1931, pp. 10-11).

It is also of historic importance that Goethe's works shared in and reflected the new intellectual current of his time known as Romanticism, or the Romantic Movement. In a broad sense, Romanticism can be considered a forerunner of psychoanalysis because of its emphasis on the

individual and his passions, his sensibilities and irrational feelings. The glorification of the individual and his subjective feelings are given voice in Goethe's acclaimed novel, *The Sorrows of Werther*. Goethe had been influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Swiss-born French political philosopher and romantic writer. Rousseau is also significant because in a general sense his works provided the ideological foundations of the French Revolution. The emotional and political orientation of both Goethe and Rousseau were in accord with Freud's own disposition, for conscious and unconscious reasons.

Didier Anzieu, in *Freud's Self-Analysis* has carefully studied and tabulated the writers Freud cited and—by—extension preferred, based on his letters to Martha Bernays Freud, Wilhelm Fliess, and in his works up to 1901. The most frequently mentioned is Goethe, followed by Friedrich von Schiller. In general, German-language writers are cited most often. Anzieu also notes that other frequently cited German writings are from the medieval period, the legends of the Nibelungenlied, and eighteenth-century poets, novelists, and playwrights.

Fittingly, in 1930, Freud was awarded the prestigious Goethe Prize for literature, a prize granted more for his style of writing than for the discovery of psychoanalysis. The award was given in the Rathaus (Townhall) at Frankfurt am Main. However, because of his advanced age, Freud did not attend in person, but was represented by his daughter Anna. About this prize Freud (1925) said, "This was the climax of my life as a citizen" (p. 73). But in a letter to his friend Arnold Zweig, Freud's feelings about the prize are tinged with bitterness; for he says, "as a reconciliation with my contemporaries it comes pretty late..." (E.L. Freud, editor, *Letters*, 1970, p. 9). Nevertheless, it gave him satisfaction to be linked with Goethe, for he also wrote "I do not deny that I was pleased about the Goethe prize. The thought of a closer connection with Goethe is very tempting, and the prize itself is more an act of deference to the person than an appraisal of his achievement" (*Letters*, 1970, p. 9).

ON SHAKESPEARE

Freud's second literary ego ideal which I will consider is William Shakespeare. His identification with Shakespeare is captured in a pithy comment by one writer who noted, "Freud is a Shakespeare who has analyzed himself."² Again, it is to be recalled that in Freud's reply to the earlier cited questionnaire, he had made the stipulation that if he had been asked to name the most magnificent works of literature, then he would have included Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. Freud's appreciation of

Shakespeare began at the age of eight, when he started to read his plays and sonnets. As Freud told Jones (1953), he was "especially fond of English", and "that for ten years he read nothing but English books" (p. 21.) Freud's admiration for Shakespeare was accompanied by an admiration for England, notably its political and intellectual traditions.

Freud's works and correspondence contain many quotations and references from Shakespeare. As Jones (1953) succinctly remarks, Freud admired Shakespeare for "his superb power of expression, and, even more, his extensive understanding of human nature" (pp. 21-22). Also, as Jones recognized and notes, Shakespeare was among the "three great men in whose personality Freud seems to have taken the most interest, and with whom he perhaps identified himself" (p. 428). The other two Jones mentioned in this instance are Leonardo da Vinci and Moses. Jones is correct in citing these three, but there are many others with whom Freud identified. Of course, Freud's fascination with Shakespeare stems from his powerful style and profound understanding of human nature, but also because Shakespeare's work introduced Freud to his "earliest models of unconscious inhibition" (Timms, 1988, p. 68). Some of Freud's works which reflect his interest in Shakespeare include "Those Wrecked by Success," the "Theme of the Three Caskets," "Parapraxes," and, of course, *The Interpretation of Dreams* which is discussed below. In citing these works, it also indicates that Freud found Shakespeare useful in a professional sense, for he used Shakespeare's imaginative dramas to corroborate his own theoretical concepts of psychoanalysis.

In Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), in just a few paragraphs, there is an uncanny entwining of Goethe, Shakespeare, Freud's unconscious feelings toward his father and his views of the motivation for writing. Freud's inquiries and interpretations are a piece of detective work, are revelatory about him, and relate to the aims of this paper. In examining the issues about the Oedipal situation and its unconscious manifestations, Freud finds confirmation of its existence in *Hamlet*. Furthermore, he notes that even the great Goethe did not understand the reasons for Hamlet's indecision. Freud owed much to Shakespeare, as is apparent in *The Interpretation of Dreams*. In this work, Freud pays close attention to the riddle of Hamlet's behavior. He disagrees with the view that Hamlet is a type of indecisive character, and believes that this view "originated by Goethe and is still the prevailing one today" (p. 265). Freud raises a question about Hamlet and then answers it himself "What is it, then, that inhibits him in fulfilling the task sent him by his father's ghost?" (p. 265). Freud contends that Hamlet cannot take revenge on the man who

killed his father in order to take his mother because he had the same impulses himself. Freud also points out that in other matters Hamlet could be quite decisive, as when he kills an eavesdropper with his sword (p. 265). Freud concludes that Hamlet's vacillation "can of course only be the poet's own mind which confronts us (p. 265). Pursuing his investigation, Freud declares that "I observe in a book on Shakespeare by Georg Brandes (1896) a statement that Hamlet was written immediately after the death of Shakespeare's father (in 1601), that is under the immediate impact of his bereavement and, as we may well assume, while his childhood feelings about his father had been freshly revived" (p. 265). As Jack J. Spector (1972) has claimed, Freud admittedly wrote his own masterpiece, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in reaction to his father's death (*The Aesthetics of Freud*, p. 75). Freud concludes his section on *Hamlet*, with the issue of writing, formulating that "genuinely creative writings are the product of more than a single motive and more than a single impulse in the poet's mind, and are open to more than a single interpretation. In what I have written I have only attempted to interpret the deepest layer of impulses in the mind of the creative writer" (p. 266).³

Freud had a high regard for England, considering it the home of rational liberty, and when he had to flee from Vienna following the Nazi occupation, he gladly chose to settle in England. This appreciation also extended to English writers in a variety of fields. Again, Anzieu who has surveyed Freud's literary tastes finds that after German-language literature, his next preference was for English literature. In this literature, the works he refers to most frequently are Shakespeare's tragedies. In addition, Freud referred to Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, and, among his contemporaries, he liked to read the works of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and many others (p. 101).

At this point, one may detect a pattern that exists for Freud's selection of ego ideals. By identifying with Goethe and Shakespeare, Freud chooses writers who are pre-eminent in their fields and foremost in their respective languages.⁴ Freud similarly turned to Cervantes, for his understanding of people, but he also happened to be the leading Spanish-language writer. Freud even learned Spanish, in order to be able to read Cervantes' work in the original. As was noted earlier, Freud's gift for language reinforced his search for literary models, which also reveals his ambition. Whether English, German or Spanish, the writers he selects are profound observers of the human condition. This pattern will apply to Russian-language writers too.

Despite Freud's intense identification with his literary ego ideals, he is not without ambivalence. This can be seen, for example, in his address on receiving the Goethe prize in 1930. Symbolically, the address was read in the Goethe House, where Goethe was born. The topic proposed by Dr. Alfons Paquet, the Secretary of the Selection Committee, to Freud was to elucidate his "inner relations as a man and a scientist to Goethe" (p. 207). In this speech, Freud compared Goethe to Leonardo da Vinci, as both were artists and scientific investigators. Significantly, Freud conjectured that Goethe would have accepted psychoanalysis, unlike so many of his own contemporaries. He also answered those critics who accused analysts of wanting to "degrade" Goethe by applying psychoanalytic investigation to him. What is noteworthy about Freud's defense of studying Goethe from a psychoanalytic point of view is his simultaneous defense of writing biographies. Here is Freud's reply:

We all, who revere Goethe, put up, without too much protest, with the efforts of his biographers, who try to recreate his life from existing accounts and indications. But what can these biographies achieve for us? Even the best and fullest of them could not answer the two questions which alone seem worth knowing about. It would not throw any light on the riddle of the miraculous gift that makes an artist, and it could not help us to comprehend any better the value and the effect of his works. And yet there is no doubt that such a biography does satisfy a powerful need in us (p. 211).

Continuing his address, Freud turned to the theme of ego ideals, giving examples of the concept without using clinical terminology, Freud explained that we study a man's life in order to get "nearer to such a man" and that such study stems from "the need to acquire affective relations with such men, to add them to the fathers, teachers, exemplars, whom we have known or whose influence we have already experienced" (p. 211). After discussing the pros and cons of writing biography, he concluded that the effort was meritorious. He stated: "...I think we may declare the efforts of biography to be legitimate" (p. 212). Furthermore, of pertinence to Freud himself is his declaration that "Our attitude to fathers and teachers is, after all, an ambivalent one since our reverence for them regularly conceals a component of hostile rebellion. That is a psychological fatality; it cannot be altered without forcible suppression of the truth and is bound to extend to our relations with the great men whose life histories we wish to investigate" (p. 212).

Then, in a forthright and assertive defense of psychoanalysis, Freud claimed that:

When psychoanalysis puts itself at the service of biography, it naturally has the right to be treated no more harshly than the latter himself. Psychoanalysis can supply some information which cannot be arrived at by other means and can thus demonstrate new connecting threads in the 'weaver's masterpiece' spread between the instinctual endowments, the experiences and the works of an artist (p. 212).

In the conclusion of his speech, in describing Goethe as being both a "great self-revealer" and a "careful concealer", he also described himself, as will be shown at the end of this paper. The address ends on an enigmatic note, with a quotation from Goethe's *Faust*.

Das Beste, was du wissen kannst,
Darfst du den Buben doch nicht sagen (p. 212).
(The best of what you can know,
should not be told to the boys).

Ultimately, Freud's address on Goethe is a mirror of himself. Although identification with great men was central to Freud's character, he was ambivalent toward them. What may seem surprising in the speech on Goethe is Freud's expressed doubts about the authorship of Shakespeare's works. Freud contended that the real author of Shakespeare's works was the aristocratic Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.⁵ In a similar vein, another hero to Freud was Moses, but in his closing years Freud wrote a biographical work on him in which he advanced the idea that the greatest Jewish biblical hero was perhaps an Egyptian. Spector has interpreted such ideas as Freud's attempt to escape "from ties to his father" (1972, p. 75).

DOSTOEVSKY

A third writer, who made a deep but equivocal impression on Freud, is Fyodor Dostoevsky. Freud (1927) praised *The Brothers Karamazov* as the "most magnificent novel ever written" (p. 177). Freud also felt that Dostoevsky did not rank far behind Shakespeare. The essay which Freud wrote on Dostoevsky he entitled "Dostoevsky and Parricide," a subject which he considered to be a derivative of the Oedipus complex. And Freud's concerns with Oedipal issues, because they are the cornerstone of psychoanalysis, were consequential to him both for personal and professional reasons. Furthermore, Freud deduces that: "It can scarcely be owing to chance that three of the masterpieces of the literature of all time—the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*—should all deal with the same subject—parricide (p. 188). Parenthetically, Freud's selection of these three works

serve to corroborate psychoanalytic theory. Placing Dostoevsky among the top three greatest authors is indeed high praise for him. But can Dostoevsky be considered an ego ideal for Freud in view of his obsession with criminality? The answer here is an ambiguous one, for Freud was fascinated by Dostoevsky's genius, but repelled by his antisocial behavior. In a letter to Theodor Reik, written in 1929, Freud admitted, "in spite of all my admiration for Dostoevsky's intensity and preeminence, I do not really like him" (p. 196). One reason Freud offers for his unfavorable attitude toward Dostoevsky is that he feels that he already deals with so much pathology that it exhausts him to read about it too.

Yet, Freud did read Dostoevsky carefully, and it contributed to his advancing our understanding of the criminal mind. At the same time, however, Freud condemned Dostoevsky because he displayed man's worst characteristics, thereby adversely affecting society.⁶ Dostoevsky threw away the chance of becoming a teacher and liberator of humanity and made himself one with their goalers. The future of civilization will have little to thank him for" (p. 177).

For accuracy in representing Freud's opinions, and because Freud forcefully and concisely expresses his views toward Dostoevsky, his antipathy toward Russia, and his own liberal political beliefs, his panoramic observations warrant being quoted extensively:

Ivan the Terrible behaved in exactly this way; indeed this compromise with morality is a high characteristic Russian trait. Nor was the final outcome of Dostoevsky's moral strivings anything very glorious. After the most violent struggles to reconcile the instinctual demands of the individual with the claims of the community, he landed in the retrograde position of submission both to temporal and spiritual authority, of veneration both for the Tsar and for the God of Christians, and of a narrow Russian nationalism—a position which lesser minds have reached with smaller effort. This is the weak point in that great personality (p. 177).

The moralist in Dostoevsky is the most readily available. If we seek to rank him high as a moralist in the belief that only a man who has gone through the depths of sin can reach the highest summit of morality, we are neglecting a doubt that arises. A moral man is one who reacts to temptation as soon as he feels it in his heart, without yielding to it. A man who alternately sins and then in his remorse erects high moral standards lays himself open to the reproach that he has made things too easy for himself. He has not achieved the essence of morality, renunciation, for the moral conduct of life is a practical human interest. He reminds one of the barbarians of the great migrations, who murdered and did penance for it, till penance became an actual technique for enabling murder to be done

Freud bluntly calls Dostoevsky a criminal! And his grounds for asserting such a view is that in his selection of the material to write about, Dostoevsky revealed his own criminal disposition, and a behavior disclosed by his passion for gambling and for possibly having sexually assaulted a young girl. Freud was troubled by Dostoevsky's lack of ethics and his overt and blatant hostility toward his father, as revealed in *The Brothers Karamazov*, and by his "boundless" sympathy for the criminal. At the same time, Freud did admit that he admired Dostoevsky for his "intensity and preeminence." What does this contradiction mean? Freud's ego ideals were all intense and preeminent men—and they were all geniuses. On some level, Freud did identify with Dostoevsky, for his prominence as a creative writer and because he too had had ambivalent feelings toward his father, which he recognized.

Freud's selection of ego ideals was not made only on the basis of mental attributes of the individual, but also on the basis of his political views.⁷ In the case of Dostoevsky, Freud associated him with Russian history, and to Freud Russia was a reactionary country. In assessing Freud, his political views must be juxtaposed with his psychological needs, for the historical enormously contributes to Freud's theoretical formulations. And Freud himself was keenly aware of this, and recognized the reasons for his stance on Dostoevsky. He acknowledged that with regard to Dostoevsky, he could be charged with "having abandoned the impartiality of analysis" and of being partisan (p. 188). He even admitted that "A conservative would take the side of the Grand Inquisitor and would judge Dostoevsky differently" (p. 188). In another essay, "The Economic Problem of Masochism," written in 1924, Freud takes a censuring position on Russia. To emphasize a point about masochism, he writes as follows: "...masochism creates a temptation to perform 'sinful' actions, which must then be expiated by the reproaches of the sadistic conscience (as is exemplified in so many Russian character-types) or by chastisement from the great parental power of Destiny" (p. 169). Freud had no such reservations about England and, until the Nazis came to power, considered Germany and Austria to be progressive countries. Certainly, he was deeply steeped in and appreciated German culture. This did not hold for Russia.

In coming to the conclusion of the article, a note about Freud's views on "great men" is in order. Freud's search for outstanding men to emulate was a central concern to him, but there were times when he revealed an ambivalence toward them, and by extension revealed his ambivalence toward his father,⁸ and possibly his mother as well. Freud (1939) tried to answer the question: what makes a man great? The qualities such a man

must possess are psychical and intellectual, certainly not muscular, Freud insisted. Citing Goethe, and several other outstanding men as examples, Freud felt that admiration for them encompassed more than just their "splendid creations" (p. 108). Ultimately, he maintained, greatness is based on the two ways a man influences his fellow men: "by his personality and the ideas which he puts forward" (p. 109). And the underlying reason for desiring these character traits is that:

It is a longing for the father felt by everyone from his childhood onwards, for the same father whom the hero of legend boasts he has overcome. And now it may begin to dawn on us that all the characteristics with which we equipped the great man are paternal characteristics, and that the essence of great men for which we vainly search lies in this conformity. The decisiveness of thought, the strength of will, the energy of action are part of the picture of a father—but above all the autonomy and independence of the great man, his divine unconcern which may grow into ruthlessness. One must admire him, one may trust him, but one cannot avoid being afraid of him too. We should have been led to realize this from the word itself: who but the father can have been the 'great man' in childhood? (pp. 109-110).

Hinting at his own relationship with his father, Freud (1939) observed that, in general boys and girls will identify with the parent of their own gender, and, about Goethe in particular, that "even the great Goethe, who in the period of his genius certainly looked down upon his unbending and pedantic father, in old age developed traits which formed a part of his father's character" (p. 125).

As a youth, Freud sensed, as revealed in certain letters, that he too would someday join the ranks of the great writers.⁹ Simply put, writing was important to him, and he recognized its benefits. As Shakespeare bluntly phrases the motive for ambition: "Tame is the spur" has an echo for Freud. For example, in a letter to Emil Fluss, dated June 16, 1873, in which Freud discussed taking and passing the *Matura* (University Entrance examination), his prose is optimistic and exuberant. He writes that one professor had compared his style of writing in German to that of Johann Gottfried von Herder, a distinguished eighteenth-century German poet and philosopher. Freud exclaims: "I was suitably impressed by this amazing fact and don't hesitate to disseminate the happy event, the first of its kind, as widely as possible—to you, for instance, who until now have probably remained unaware that you have been exchanging letters with a German stylist. And now I advise you as a friend, not as an interested party, to preserve them—have them bound—take good care of them—one never knows" (p. 22).

Over a decade later, in a letter to his fiancée Martha Bernays, this sense of becoming prominent is expressed even more explicitly: "One intention as a matter of fact I have almost finished carrying out, an intention which a number of us yet unborn and unfortunate people will one day resent. Since you won't guess what kind of people I am referring to, I will tell you at once: they are my biographers. I have destroyed all my notes of the past 14 years, as well as letters, scientific excerpts and the manuscripts of my papers" (p. 52).

But toward the end of his life, Freud's tone is more critical, more pessimistic and reserved. Still, the theme is the same. In a letter dated May 31, 1936, to his friend Arnold Zweig, he tries to discourage him from writing his biography. And in his conclusion, he involves Shakespeare to angrily voice his opposition. These are his reasons: "Anyone turning biographer commits himself to lies, to concealment, to hypocrisy, to flattery, and even to hiding his own lack of understanding, for biographical truth is not to be had, and even if it were it couldn't be used. Truth is unobtainable: humanity does not deserve it, and incidentally wasn't our Prince Hamlet right when he asked whether anyone would escape a whipping if he got what he deserved?" (p. 426).

CONCLUSION

In sum, what does Freud's search for and selection of literary ego ideals demonstrate? To Freud, writing, which he considered to be the paramount creative act, was the vehicle for self-expressions, fame and power. Early in his life, he recognized that he was talented, and this ability was likewise recognized and encouraged by his family, especially his father. This recognition and encouragement continued in school. Freud turned to the leading writers to learn from, to study, and to emulate—especially Goethe, Shakespeare, and Dostoevsky. Freud also had immense intellectual curiosity. He questioned and he scoured the world's literature. However, in making the ultimate selection for an individual to be his ego ideal, that person had to meet certain criteria. The pattern that emerges is that, intellectually, that person had to be creative, original, and psychologically astute; and that person had to be politically progressive-minded or liberal.¹⁰

Two recent works on Freud by Didier Anzieu (1985) and Peter Gay (1988), which are major and serious studies, differ on the extent and quality of Freud's literary tastes. Whereas Anzieu finds that Freud had a prodigious knowledge of literature, in contrast, Gay finds that Freud's literary choices were "utilitarian" and less than "venturesome" (pp. 166-

167). Yet, Freud read widely *and* selectively. Frequently, his reading was extremely focused, if not 'vocational' but this was of necessity. If he had not been so motivated and directed then he could not have founded psychoanalysis. Nevertheless, in addition to his professional interests, which led to his discoveries, he demonstrated a profound scholarship.

Freud's search for ego ideals extended to other fields, beyond literature. And here too, a similar pattern obtained. A few brief illustrations will suffice to make the point. He selected Moses, the leading Jewish biblical figure; Bismarck, the leading nineteenth-century statesman; and Charcot, the leading neurologist of Freud's time, to be his ego ideals. Germane to Freud's search for literary ego ideals was his more general search for great "father figures" in various fields with whom to identify. And he had to seek eminent, creative, and powerful "father figures" for the great intellectual, moral, and personal battles he engaged in. This search for heroes was supportive and decisive for Freud for it minimized his intellectual isolation and, from the many writers he read and cited, he received validation for his pioneering and revolutionary discovery of psychoanalysis.

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ENDNOTES

1. See *Letters of Sigmund Freud*, selected and edited by Ernst L. Freud, translated by T. and J. Stern (New York: Basic Books, 1960); *Psychoanalysis and Faith. The Letters of Sigmund Freud* and Oskar Pfister, edited by Heinrich Meng and Ernst L. Freud, translated by E. Mosbacher (London: The Hogarth Press, 1963); *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887-1904*; translated and edited by Jeffrey Moussaieff Mason (Cambridge: Belknap and Harvard, 1985).
2. Statement made by Jean Starobinski, cited in Didier Anzieu, *Freud's Self-Analysis*, translated by P. Graham (Madison: International Universities Press), 1985, p. 246.
3. Freud's contribution to understanding Shakespeare's plays is discussed by Frankie Rubinstein (1986), "Shakespeare's Dream Stuff: A Forerunner of Freud's 'Dream—Material,'" *American Imago*, Vol. 43, pp. 335-351.
4. Laurie Adams in "Freud and Archeology" finds that Freud turned to archeology, to man's prehistory, to find evidence for his theories, and that he was able to develop psychoanalysis precisely because of his knowledge of classical languages and cultures. Paper presented at the Second Biennial Meeting of the International Associa-

- tion for the History of Psychoanalysis, Vienna, Austria, July 1988.
5. In a letter to Lytton Strachey, Freud discusses how Shakespeare was influenced to write *Macbeth*. *Bloomsbury/Freud, The Letters of James and Alex Strachey, 1924-1925*, edited by Perry Meisel and Walter Hendrick (New York: Basic Books, 1985) pp. 332-334.
 6. These issues are discussed by Philip Rieff, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralizer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 277-280.
 7. See William J. McGrath, *Freud's Discovery of Psychoanalysis: The Politics of Hysteria* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).
 8. An entire work is devoted to this issue, see Marianne Krüll *Freud and His Father*, translated by A. Pomerans (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986).
 9. For Freud's feeling about writing, see Patrick Mahony, *Freud as a Writer* (New York: International Universities Press, 1982, pp. 6-9.) Freud's psychoanalytic writings have had a deep impact on the arts and the humanities, as is discussed in *Freud and the Humanities*, edited by Peregrine Horden (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).
 10. For a more detailed discussion of Freud's family dynamics which determined his selection of ego ideals, see two articles by Jacques Szaluta, "Freud on Bismarck: Hanns Sachs' Interpretation of a Dream," *American Imago*, Vol. 37, Summer 1980 pp. 215-244; "Freud's Ego Ideals: A Study of Admired Modern Historical and Political Personages," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 1983, Vol. 31, pp. 157-18.

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