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The Rôle of Psychotic Mechanisms in Cultural Development¹

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Insanity in individuals is something rare; in nations, groups, parties and epochs it is the rule.—NIETZSCHE.

Psycho-analysis has not only taught us to understand the individual better, but has also added considerably to our knowledge of the psychology of races. In his fundamental work, *Totem and Tabu*, Freud demonstrated several important corresponding processes in the mental life of savages and neurotics. In the following paper I intend to continue this line of thought, by examining whether there are resemblances between primitives and psychotics, and how far-reaching they are.

'In Korea the spirits are in possession of every quarter of the heavens and every foot of earth. They lie in wait for man by the road-side, in the trees, in the rocks, in the mountains, the valleys and the rivers. They spy upon him ceaselessly day and night. ... They are ever about him, before and behind; they fly about his head; they call to him from the bowels of the earth. Even in his own house he has no refuge: the spirits are there also, in the plaster of the walls, and in the timber of the rooms. ... Their presence in every spot is a hideous parody of the omnipresence of God'.² 'The phantasy of the Oregons wanders terrified in a world of ghosts. ... There are no rocks, no paths, no streams, where there are no ghosts'.³ 'So great is the fear of the imagined activities of the disease-maker, that the life of the people of Tamoia and Erromanga is embittered by constant anxiety and care'.⁴ 'In many villages of Bakongo, life becomes a torment because of the never-ceasing charges of sorcery'.⁵ 'The delusion of witchcraft may be termed the heaviest curse which rests

¹ Based upon a paper read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, June 18, 1930.

² Levy-Bruhl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, p. 248.

³ Levy-Bruhl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, p. 248.

⁴ Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 36.

⁵ Schneider, *Religion der Afrikaner*, p. 246.

⁶ Schneider, *Religion der Afrikaner*, p. 243.

⁷ Warneck, *Religion der Battak*, p. 17.

on Africa' writes Wilson.⁶ 'The constant dread of unseen foes has robbed the Battak of every delight in enterprise; fatalism and the fear of ghosts have deprived him of all joy in life. Only in the practice of magic has he a weapon with which he may engage his enemies'.⁷

The primitive feel not only surrounded but also possessed by demons, to whose attacks they attribute illness and death.⁸ 'Primitive man takes every case of death, where the cause is not strikingly evident, to be the result of a demonic influence. The principal concepts are the same all over the world'.⁹ The demons were thought to be equipped with the same weapons as the enemies in battle.¹⁰ Sickness, like death, was conceived of as something personal, and the verbal comparison of it with an enemy was especially common.¹¹ The disease shakes, racks, stabs, etc. The idea of a demon, who lays men low with shafts,¹² blows¹³ and stabs¹⁴ is primeval and widespread. Incurable illness is held to arise from the loss of the fat of the kidneys; as in Nyassa, when the deity has swallowed a man's shadow.¹⁵ According to a Germanic,¹⁶ Gipsy¹⁷ and South Slav¹⁸ belief, chronic illnesses were caused by a witch devouring the victim's heart. Compare Job: 'He cleaveth my reins asunder and doth not spare; he poureth out my soul upon the ground. He breaketh me with breach upon breach, he runneth upon me like a giant'. And 'My reins are consumed within me'. We see from these examples (which could be multiplied indefinitely) that Jones' view¹⁹ that sickness is conceived of as a crippling injury, ultimately standing for castration, is generally valid.

⁸ Further reports are given in the quoted books.

⁹ Neuburger's *Einleitung*, Howorka und Kronfeld's *Vergl. Volksmedizin*, p. 17.

¹⁰ Höfler, *Deutoches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, p. 464.

¹¹ Höfler, *Deutoches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, p. 308.

¹² Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 25; Höfler, *Deutoches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, pp. 464, 596. Cf. also Job, 'The arrows of the Almighty are within me'.

¹³ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 12.

¹⁴ Höfler, *Deutoches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, p. 577.

¹⁵ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp. 37–39.

¹⁶ Höfler, *Deutoches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, p. 848.

¹⁷ Wlislöcki, *Brauch und rel. Glaube der Zigeuner*, pp. 115, 118.

¹⁸ Krauss, *Volks Glaube u. rel. Gl. d. Südslaven*, pp. 108, 112-116.

¹⁹ Ernest Jones, 'Cold, Disease and Birth', *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Third Edition, p. 599.

The demon who assaults and injures the sick man is a father-*imago*. It is God who wounded Job; according to the belief of the Middle Ages, shared also by Luther, disease is caused by the Devil²⁰; the tribes of Altai speak of the terrible bringer of sickness, Khan Erlik, as 'Father'.²¹ Similarly, in Buru smallpox is adjured as 'Grandfather Smallpox'.²² Jones has shown²³ that witches, vampires, werewolves and devils are all *imagos* of the parents, a view similar to Freud's²⁴ about ghosts and demons.

In general, disease is construed as punishment.²⁵ Amongst the Zulus, if a man has had a dispute with the headman he gets a sore throat; eating stolen fruit causes abdominal pains. In Eetar a man falls ill when he does not observe the food-tabus, and on the Kei Islands illness is attributed to incest. The Zulus hold that their ancestors punish neglect with illness. As late as 1703 a Prussian ordinance declared that plague was the just punishment of Heaven for iniquity.²⁶ Amongst the Akkadians of old, the Mohammedans, the ancient Greeks and the Jews,²⁷ the Christians of the Middle Ages and uncivilized peoples to-day we find the same idea—that sickness is God's punishment for sin.²⁸ Freud points out²⁹ that demons are the projections of the subject's own hostile feelings towards the dead. So the demons are *imagos* of the parents, and their attacks the projection of the subject's own hostility.

We may say, then, on the basis of later discoveries of psycho-analysis, that *demons represent the super-ego, displaced into the outside world*. Thus in Greek literature the Erinnys are the personification of remorse and it is this emotion in Macbeth which causes him to see Banquo's ghost. The economic advantage of replacing remorse by demons outside the ego—a process which corresponds to the paranoid

20 For the Devil as a father-*imago*, cf. Freud, 'A Neurosis of Demonic Possession in the Seventeenth Century'; Ernest Jones, *Der Alptraum*, 1912; Reik, *Der eigene und der fremde Gott*, 1923.

21 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 17.

22 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 256.

23 Jones, *Der Alptraum*, 1912, pp. 34, 52, 56, 57, 71, 141, etc.

24 Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, p. 82.

25 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp. 27-29, 99-101.

26 Baas, *Geschichtl. Entw. des ärztlichen Standes*, p. 371.

27 Cf. Ebstein, *Die Medizin im alten Testament*, pp. 72, 73, 95, 112, 113.

28 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 25

29 Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, p. 80.

31 *Grimm's Fairy Tales*: 'The Dog and the Sparrow'.

32 Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, pp. 117, 120.

33 The belief that mental diseases are caused by a worm inside the brain is a widespread one (cf. also Mönkemöller, *Geisteskrankheiten in Satire, Sprichwort und Humor*). It is supposed that prehistoric trepanning was done in order to free men from a worm inside the head (Höfler, *Germ. Medizin, Handb. d. Gesch. d. Med.*, p. 469).

34 Höfler, *Deutsches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, p. 820-825.

35 Oefele, *Medizin, 'Vorhippokratische'*, *Handb. d. Gesch. d. Med.*

36 Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp. 15-17, 22-23.

37 Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp. 11-12, etc.

38 Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 21.

39 Cf. also '*fressende Wunden*'.

mechanism—is obvious; the sense of guilt is not experienced, for it is projected outward and becomes the persecution by demons, against which it is much easier to be on one's guard.³⁶ In one of Grimm's Fairy-Tales³¹ a waggoner drove over a dog, though the warnings of the sparrow tried to stop him. The bird pursued him everywhere with its cries and even invited all other birds to do him some harm. In vain he tried to kill it; he slew only his own horses and destroyed his own furniture. So he swallowed the bird, and then heard its warning voice coming out of his own mouth. He told his wife to strike the bird dead in his mouth, but he himself died and the bird flew away. The psychic meaning of the tale seems to be the following: With the assistance of the horses the waggoner kills the dog, a father imago. The sparrow represents both the dog's penis and the man's conscience, speaking from without him, because he has introjected the father's penis. He tries to get rid of it by projection—seeing and hearing the pursuer everywhere in the manner of a paranoiac—kills his companions and destroys his possessions in the attempt to free himself, and when all is in vain, chooses death for himself. The tale, it seems, represents the *reaction to the death of the primal father*. Róheim shows³² that after the deed the brothers had a *paranoid anxiety* lest the father should return, and saw him in every stranger, every foe and in supernatural spirits. I think, however, that this anxiety is itself *the projection of the original dread of the introjected father*. This conclusion is reinforced also by the fact that among primitives the dread of a demon who assails from without is less great than that of a demon who penetrates a sick man's body so that he becomes 'possessed.' The most frequent figure of this sort is that of a worm³³; many German³⁴ and some English words for illness still indicate this conception,

e.g. ring-worm. The Egyptian hieroglyph for sickness is a worm or snake.³⁵ Besides a worm, the commonest representations of a sickness-demon are the following³⁶: birds, insects, frogs, snakes, lizards, mice, etc.—obvious penis-symbols. Frequently a fear is expressed that the vitals are being devoured.³⁷ The Kaffirs of Xosa call the little animals which cause disease 'gluttons'³⁸ and the German term for caries at the present day is *Frass*, e.g. *Knockenfrass*.³⁹ This primitive conception of sickness may be formulated thus: the subject feels that there is a dangerous penis within his body, destroying it or devouring his vital organs. According to the views of Melanie Klein this fear seems to be the projection of his own oral-sadistic wishes in relation to the penis of the father.

As a rule primitive man assumes that there are many demons surrounding and inhabiting the sick man.⁴⁰ I would suppose, following a suggestion of Ella Sharpe's,⁴¹ that *oral sadistic wishes*, the content of which is to tear the object to pieces, *by way of projection cause the dread of being assailed by many persecutors*, through the single parts coming to life. The Battaks have a story⁴² of how a cat which had been served up as food came to life again, 'whereupon numbers of cats rushed about the house, for every morsel of the flesh turned into a cat'. So it seems that from the oral-sadistic wishes to chew the penis of the father to pieces arises the conception of many penises, which become the basis of the belief in many demons.

The introjected penis of the father develops into the super-ego. Róheim has shown⁴³ that when the primal father was devoured by the sons he became their conscience; the prohibitions originally emanating from him were introjected and survived as inner injunctions. The

40 In a similar way in folklore there is the belief in a multiplicity of diseases (mostly seventy-seven or ninety-nine). Cf. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglauben*, p. 320. Analogous is the belief in many souls in one man.

41 Miss Sharpe told me of a patient who was afraid that when she cut a worm to pieces each part might come to life.

42 Warneck, *Religion der Battak*, p. 43.

43 Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923.

44 Kleiweg de Zwaan, *Anthropologie der Niasser*, p. 3.

45 Cf. also the German expression '*das Auge Gottes*' ('the eye of God' as equivalent to conscience).

46 Höfler, *Volksmedizinische Organtherapie*, p. 5.

47 Gewissensbisse, remords, morsus conscientiae, lel kifurdalas, ugryzenie svedomie, etc.

people of Nyassa have a story⁴⁴ that the dead father's heart survives, keeps the sons at work, admonishes and blames them. Here, as in many other tales, the *father's penis, regarded as immortal*, has become the *super-ego*.⁴⁵ I have endeavoured to show that *with primitive man* demons, witches, magicians, vampires, werewolves, etc., represent a *projection of the super-ego—all on the oral* (or, more rarely, on the early anal) *level*. The demons devour, bite and gnaw; the witches eat up the heart and the entrails; the vampires suck blood; the werewolves tear men to pieces and devour them. The chthonic goddess Hecate is addressed as 'drinker of blood', 'eater of hearts', 'consumer of flesh' and 'devourer of the unborn fruit of the womb'.⁴⁶ The oral origin of it is mirrored in our speech: in all languages there are phrases for the gnawings of conscience, remorse, etc.⁴⁷ Conscience gnaws, just as the demons gnaw and devour.

It seems that the *introjected penis of the father* became the *super-ego*,⁴⁸ and that the *sons expected attacks* from it *in return for their own hostility*. This imaginary enemy within the subject's own body brings about a *hypochondriacal condition* in primitive man which, Freud believes, almost invariably precedes paranoia.⁴⁹ This condition may manifest itself as the fear of being possessed by demons. There is a Red Indian tale⁵⁰ of how the Coyote tried to kill the humming-bird, but though he struck it, burnt it, and devised every sort of death, the bird always came to life again, until at last he swallowed it. Thereupon it plucked at his entrails, so that he was forced to let it out. This tale indicates the dread of the incorporated penis and the attempt to get rid of it by the biological way of anal excretion.⁵¹ Hence comes the

48 Melanie Klein, *Technique and Theory of the Analysis of Children* (appearing shortly).

49 Freud, 'A Case of Paranoia', *Collected Papers*, III, p. 441.

50 Quoted from A. Bálint, 'Die mexikanische Kriegshieroglyphe atltlachinolli', *Imago*, 1923, IX, p. 421.

51 Cf. also M. Klein, *Technique and Theory of the Analysis of Children*, and Abraham, *A Short Study of the Development of the Libido*.

52 Abraham, *A Short Study of the Development of the Libido*, p. 492.

equation of the father with excrement,⁵² which acquires a libidinal significance, and this process would, if successful, help the brothers to attain to the anal level. Abraham points out that this step is of great importance to society, because only when the object has been displaced into the outer world can it be possessed by several people in common. From the phylogenetic point of view it seems essential that the object, when thus displaced, can be fought in concert. The individual is no longer helpless in face of the terrible introjected father: his companions stand shoulder by shoulder with him in the fight with the demons.

The displacement of the ambivalence into the outside world makes it possible to invoke the aid of a good object in the fight against the bad,⁵³ and so to allay anxiety. Hate⁵⁴ and anxiety⁵⁵ are transferred against people of other races and other religions; love and subjection towards the companions and the leader. By projecting submission and giving up aggression, the subject learns to expect love and help, and thus arises the 'illusion of the benevolent father'.⁵⁶ The help given by the herd in allaying anxiety consists mainly in the fact that the companions really help and that the phantastic persecutors are replaced by real enemies who can be fought and overcome.

If this mechanism breaks down the original anxiety reappears, in the form of panic. Taine describes how, at the beginning of the French Revolution, when faith had disappeared, the populace was carried away with delusional accusations and fears against the landowners and the King, to such a degree that he compares the French nation at that period to an alcoholic paranoiac.⁵⁷ With the loss of the illusion that the father is benevolent the original dread of him reawakens. Possibly panic is only a form of this dread at its most acute and violent.⁵⁸

⁵³ Cf. also M. Klein, 'Personification in the Play of Children', *JOURNAL*, 1929.

⁵⁴ Cf. also Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, p. 118.

⁵⁵ Strack gives some examples of paranoid accusation of enemies and strangers (*Das Blut*, pp. 54, 55, 202). This sort of accusation was also made during the last war.

⁵⁶ Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*.

⁵⁷ Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, II.

⁵⁸ It seems that the behaviour of primitive people in times of epidemics is similar to panic; it is the fear of all by all, because they do not know where the 'Lord Plague' is, from where he may attack, or who may bring him (cf. Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 249).

The primitive belief in demons corresponds to paranoid ideas,⁵⁹ which man masters by over-compensating for his aggressive tendencies—exalting the father to a God, submitting himself to him and looking for his protection. Mankind's ambivalent feelings, in the attempt to assert themselves, find an outlet in projection on to men of another faith and alien gods.⁶⁰ The residue of the ambivalent feelings is held in check by obsessional neurotic mechanisms, such as the formulation of dogma and religious rites. But this obsessional character of religion, as Reik has indicated,⁶¹ seems to belong only to its later stages and serves to overcome the original belief in demons, i.e. the paranoid ideas. But when faith fails, aggression in the form of doubt appears with increasing clearness and leads by way of projection to anxiety⁶² which assumes a completely paranoid character in the delusion of the devil and witches.⁶³

A similar mechanism appears in the attitude of primitives towards their physicians. The medicine-man differs from the sorcerer⁶⁴ in that it is possible to win his favour—he ceases to harm and may even help. Natives have a terror of the medicine-man, believing in his magical powers and even sometimes dying of dread of him.⁶⁵ It is said that in Nyassa many of the natives sacrifice all their possessions and even become slaves in order to conciliate him.⁶⁶ In Victoria the

⁵⁹ Cf. Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, p. 120.

⁶⁰ Cf. Reik, *Der eigene und der fremde Gott*.

⁶¹ Reik, *Probleme der Religionspsychologie*, 1919; 'Dogma und Zwangsidee', *Imago*, XIII, 1927.

⁶² Mauthner pointed out (*Der Atheismus u.s. Gesch. im Abendlande*) that the belief in devils flourished most strongly as the belief in God weakened.

⁶³ It might be interesting to examine in greater detail the analogy between the original demonistic ideas, the illusion of the devil, and the belief in paranoid delusions. The devils in hell correspond to the dangers of the womb of the mother; the conception of hell clearly showing oral and anal traces.

⁶⁴ The negroes of Loango believe that their first medicine-man was a sorcerer who had been caught and had promised not to do harm any more, but to cure (Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, 77).

⁶⁵ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp 50-52.

⁶⁶ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 51.

⁶⁸ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 60.

⁶⁹ Pagel, *Gesch. der Medizin*, p. 140.

⁷⁰ Witkowski gives some examples of cases even in civilized nations when a physician whose patient died under his treatment was killed by the relatives (*Le mal qu'on a dit des médecins*, p. 127). Cf. also Kemmerich, *Kulturkuriosa*, p. 25.

⁷¹ In 1416 a surgeon who asked for a degree was rejected by the University of Vienna as an impudent rogue. (Peters, *Der Arzt*, p. 34.)

⁷² In 1298 it was forbidden to priests to be even present at a surgical operation. (Peters, *Der Arzt*, p. 13.)

⁷³ Cf. also the contaminating effect of 'dishonesty', e.g. in Buchner, *Anno dazumal*, p. 95; and Frazer, 'Manslayers tabooed', *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 160–180.

men are so frightened of him that they dare not touch him but fulfil all his behests, while the women fear that he may wound them, make them sterile, rob them of the fat of the kidneys, and kill their children.⁶⁷ But if a sick man dies under his treatment the ambivalent feelings break out and he is often put to death.⁶⁸ According to an edict of Theodoric the Great, ⁶⁹ still in force in the eleventh century, barbers were the social equals of hangmen, and a surgeon whose patient died fell a victim to the vengeance of the relations.⁷⁰ They were regarded as dishonest, ⁷¹ and were first declared honest by Charles V (1548) and Rudolf II (1577). It seems, however, that this ostracism was based on fear rather than on contempt, ⁷² as the comparison with the executioner proves.⁷³

Amongst civilized races, physicians are in general⁷⁴ esteemed as helpers and there is over-compensation for the ambivalent tendencies. The aggressive impulse manifests itself only in jokes, ⁷⁵ when they may be called poisoners, murderers, ⁷⁶ and so forth. But when an epidemic takes place against which the physicians are powerless, they are in all earnest accused of poisoning. 'In every fatal pestilence the people's first thought is poison'.⁷⁷ The plague of the Middle Ages was ascribed

⁷⁴ But in Styria people believe that every year the 'Barmherzigen Brüder' kill a patient of whom they make medicaments for the others (Fossel, *Volksmedizin in Steiermark*).

⁷⁵ Witkowski, *Le mal qu'on a dit des médecins*.

⁷⁶ 'Qu'est ce qu'un medecin? Un honorable bourreau.' *La mazarinade* (Witkowski, *Le mal qu'on a dit des médecins*. p. 13).

⁷⁷ Höfler, *Deutsches Krankheitsnamenbuch*, p. 194; Hecker, *Der schwarze Tod*, p. 53.

⁷⁸ Throughout Europe the story was current that the Jews had secret leaders in Toledo, who commanded them to poison, utter false coin, murder Christian children, etc. They were said to receive the poison from distant lands over the sea, and they also prepared it themselves by a secret formula which was known only to their Rabbis. Cf. Hecker, *Der Schwarze Tod*, p. 60.

⁷⁹ Hecker, *Der schwarze Tod*, p. 53.

⁸⁰ Dörbeck, *Geschichte der Pestepidemien in Russland*, p. 8.

⁸¹ Even men in high office, like the Archbishop of Palermo, had no doubt of this.

⁸² Löwenstimm, *Aberglaube und Strafrecht*, pp. 182, 183, 184.

⁸³ In Russia there have often been revolts directed against physicians in time of epidemics. On one occasion it was asserted that the landowners had bribed the physicians to exterminate the peasants, and another time it was said that this was being done at the instigation of England, the intention being to declare war upon a decimated nation (Löwenstimm, *Aber glaube und Strafrecht*, pp. 186–189).

to poisoning of the wells by Jews⁷⁸; in German towns where there were no Jews the grave-diggers were accused of this crime, ⁷⁹ and in Russia the Tartars.⁸⁰ During the cholera epidemic of 1837 there was a popular belief in Italy that the people were dying because the water was being poisoned by physicians and officials who received the poison from the detested Bourbon Government.⁸¹ In 1884, when a cholera epidemic broke out in Italy the people believed that the physicians were killing the working-men for the benefit of the well-to-do.⁸² It was only when the King visited them himself that they became sufficiently calm to admit medical help.⁸³

When medicine fails, the original paranoid anxiety rises in full force. *Primarily, there is a dread of the evil father, the demon and the sorcerer; religion and medicine succeed in soothing this dread.* They demand submission to the father and, by projection of this attitude, the belief in a good father, i.e. a benevolent God, and in helpful physicians arises. If, however, physicians fail to calm this anxiety, they once more become poisoners and God becomes a devil. Thus it seems, as Róheim⁸⁴ and (in greater detail) Melanie Klein have shown, ⁸⁵ that the paranoid mechanism consists in a projection of the original hate derived from the Oedipus complex. When the over-compensation by

⁸⁴ Róheim, 'Das Völkerpsychologische in Freud's *Massenpsychologie und Ichanalyse*', *Zeitschrift*, 1922, VIII, p. 218.

⁸⁵ M. Klein, *Technique and Theory of the Analysis of Children*.

adoption of the homosexual attitude fails, the primeval anxiety breaks out.

Projection of the ambivalence on to external objects seems, however, to be one means of overcoming the paranoid anxiety. But how can the hypochondriacal fear of the internal object be worked over? Certainly it is one of the main tasks of primitive medicine to assuage this hypochondriacal anxiety which shows itself in primitive theories of disease. In so far as this anxiety manifests itself (as pure castration anxiety) in the fear that some father-*imago* has robbed the sick man of his shadow, his soul, or the like, it suffices for the medicine-man to assure him that the shadow or the soul has been brought back.⁸⁶ Generally, however, the anxiety takes the form of a dread of the introjected object, and is overcome by the medicine-man's driving out the demon by cunning or by force.⁸⁷ Here there is an analogy to the case described by Abraham⁸⁸ of a patient who attempted to commit suicide in order to free himself from the introjected object.⁸⁹ In *exorcistic therapy the help of the external object*—the medicine-man—*is invoked against the introjected object*. The ambivalent feelings are thus directed towards two objects: the medicine-man, to whom the subject submits himself, and the introjected father, from whom he tries to free himself. But mostly his attitude even to the introjected object is ambivalent: the demon, before he is driven out, is invoked with reverence, and sometimes sacrifices are made to him.⁹⁰

On the oral level the introjected object is conceived of as a spirit, while on the anal level it is equated with some material substance—a poison or some foul secretion of the body.⁹¹ The patient is *freed from the introjected object* by physical means such as aperients, emetics, sweating, bleeding, and so on. These methods, which have since come

⁸⁶ Cf. Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp. 201-204.

⁸⁷ Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, 189-191.

⁸⁸ Abraham, *Study of the Development of the Libido*, p. 448.

⁸⁹ And there is a similar case of a peasant woman who caused herself to be beaten to death, in order to be rid of a witch who had taken up her abode in her (Mannhardt, *Praktische Folgen d. Aberggl.*, pp. 54-55).

⁹⁰ Höfler, *Volksmedizinische Organtherapie*, p. 44.

⁹¹ It seems that the dread of being bewitched or possessed corresponds to the oral and the dread of poison to the anal stage. To the latter belongs also the obsessional dread of the super-ego. Thus water, originally a means of exorcism, becomes a means of physical and moral purification and of atonement (cf. Bäumer, *Gesch. d. Badewesens*).

⁹² Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 215-218.

⁹³ We have a counterpart to this in the Kaffir practice of giving a child an emetic in order to free him from the Christianity which the missionaries have taught him (Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*, p. 208).

⁹⁴ Jones, 'The Madonna's Conception through the Ear', p. 289.

⁹⁵ Cf. Ferenczi, 'Silence is Golden', *Further Contrib., etc.*, p. 250.

⁹⁶ Róheim, 'Das Selbst', *Imago*, 1921, pp. 7, 163.

⁹⁷ Reik, *Geständniszwang und Strafbedürfnis*.

⁹⁸ Jones notes the equation 'the Word was God', Jones, 'The Madonna's Conception through the Ear', p. 288.

⁹⁹ Kleinpaul, *Volkpsychologie*, p. 3.

100 Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 218.

101 Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*.

102 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 122.

to be a part of medical treatment, were originally practised as religious ceremonies, a part of the atonement for sin. Confession, too, is employed among primitives as a therapeutic measure. Frazer⁹² points out that confession—just as sin—was conceived of in purely material terms, as, for example, washing, purging etc.⁹³ Jones⁹⁴ has shown the anal significance of speech⁹⁵ and that words are equated with flatus, while Róheim has emphasised its oral significance,⁹⁶ and Reik the part played by the compulsion to confess.⁹⁷ Perhaps these different theories may be traced to a common source: possibly, for the sons, everything which came out of the mouth (by which they had incorporated the father) took on the meaning of the ejected father. This would apply specially to words and breath.⁹⁸ This conjecture is supported by the conception of the soul as the breath of man, which, as I tried to show, corresponds to the introjected father. The Church originally hesitated whether or not to translate 'Spiritus Sanctus' by the words *Heiliger Atem* ('Holy Breath').⁹⁹ It seems that confession was a modification of vomiting and signified a giving back of the introjected father. The Kikuyus have the same root for confession and vomit.¹⁰⁰ Hawthorne writes as follows of the liberating effect of confession:¹⁰¹ 'Why should some wretched man, guilty, we will say, of murder, prefer to keep the corpse buried in his heart rather than fling it forth at once and let the universe take charge of it?' To produce the introjected object is to get rid of it and, at the same time, to make an offering to the external object. Thus the Indians of the coast of Alaska prepare themselves by vomiting to come before the judgment of their Gods.¹⁰² According to the Catholic Faith, confession reconciles a man with God.

The measures described, which are taken by the medicine man, are intended to free the subject from the introjected evil object. But the *introjected evil object can be fought as well by absorbing a good object*. 'According to the primitive conception, the spirit of the remedy applied acts on the spirit of the sickness' (Kingsley).¹⁰³ Höfler has shown¹⁰⁴ that theophagy—the incorporating of the divinity—was a means of possessing oneself of divine powers. People partook of the warm blood, the raw flesh and the organs of animal divinities and of representations of their ancestors and of the spirits of the departed for purposes of healing. Up till two hundred years ago, human blood and parts of the human body were used as remedies all over the world;¹⁰⁵ we find mention of them in Chinese medical literature and in the papyrus of Ebers;¹⁰⁶ the Arabs believe that the blood of kings cures hydrophobia;¹⁰⁷ in Korea a boy's liver,¹⁰⁸ and, among the tribesmen of Batta, cooked human flesh, are used as medicines.¹⁰⁹ Pliny recommended as remedies human flesh,¹¹⁰ blood and various organs; while Becker, a physician of the seventeenth century, stated that the human body yielded twenty-four different medicaments: their preparation, as Peters says,¹¹¹ caused the pharmaceutical laboratory of the seventeenth century to resemble a cannibal's cooking-place. In the eighteenth century,¹¹² calcined and grated human skulls, fragments of human corpses¹¹³ and the blood of persons executed,

¹⁰³ Levy-Bruhl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, p. 246.

¹⁰⁴ Höfler, *Volksmedizinische Organtherapie*, pp. 8, 22.

¹⁰⁵ Höfler, pp. 56, 195; Strack, *Das Blut*, pp. 32, 43–47, 61; furthermore, Höfler, p. 284; Strack, pp. 19, 27, 30, 36–40, 97; Stern, *Aberglauben in der Türkei*, p. 223; Peters, *Aus pharmazeutischer Vorzeit*, p. 191.

¹⁰⁶ Magnus, *Organtherapie*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Strack, *Das Blut*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ Stern, *Aberglauben in der Türkei*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁹ Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 106.

¹¹⁰ Höfler, *Volksmedizinische Organtherapie*, p. 56; Strack, *Das Blut*, p. 6.

¹¹¹ Peters, *Der Arzt in d. deutsch. Vergang.*, p. 106.

¹¹² Höfler, *Volksmedizin in Oberbayern*, p. 74.

¹¹³ Parts of the human body were gradually replaced by relics, blood (human and animal), especially that of executed men, fragments of human corpses, hangman's rope, coffinwood, water used to wash a corpse. Instead of a new-born babe the placenta was used, and instead of a pure virgin, menstrual blood, a chemise worn during menstruation, the hem of the chemise alone, etc. (Höfler, *Volksmedizen in Oberbayern*, pp. 25, 116).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Löwenstimm, *Aberglaube und Strafrecht*, pp. 11–14, 109, 112, 145; Höfler, *Volksmed. Organther.*, p. 270; cf. also Mannhardt, *Praktische Folgen des Aberglaubens*.

were sold in the apothecaries' shops. As late as the nineteenth century crimes were committed for the purpose of acquiring the blood or the bodily members of human beings, to serve as a remedy.¹¹⁴

The same magical effect is ascribed in primitive beliefs to things worn as to things eaten,¹¹⁵ to clothing and ornaments as to food.¹¹⁶ The eagle's feather imparts to him who wears it the bird's vision and strength.¹¹⁷ The Eskimos of Baffin Bay place new-born babes in the entrails of a fox to make them cunning.¹¹⁸ At celebrations among the Navajos chalk pictures are prepared,¹¹⁹ and the medicine-man takes dust from the parts of the divinities portrayed and applies it to the corresponding parts of the patient.¹²⁰ So the divine member is taken into the body of the sick man and the disease must leave it.¹²¹

Relics¹²² have been a common remedy among Christians and,

¹¹⁵ The Teutons also hung round their necks as amulets plants whose healing power (partaken as medicine) had been tested (Höfler, *Germanische Medizin. Handbuch der Gesch. d. Medizin*, p. 468).

¹¹⁶ Levy-Bruhl remarks that not sufficient attention has been given to the fact that primitive man probably has taboos of clothing as well as of food. Thus a Malay chieftain refused to hand over a stag's skin, because he feared that its timidity would pass into his young son (*Das Denken d. Natv.*, p. 264).

¹¹⁷ Levy-Bruhl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, p. 264.

¹¹⁸ Vierkandt, 'Anfänge der Religion u. Zauberei', *Globus*, Bd. 92, 1907, p. 40.

¹¹⁹ Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 200.

¹²⁰ In an analogous way water with this dust is used as a drink (Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 115).

¹²¹ Anointing is supposed to bring a man possessed by a demon of sickness into union with a stronger spirit. It was thought that the preperities of a demon hidden in the salve could be rubbed into the body. Now, here is a popular belief that the characteristics of the animal from which the fat is taken are incorporated by means of the salve (Höfler, *Volksmed. in Oberbayern*, pp. 142, 143). Probably anointing is derived from the practice common to many cannibal tribes of semearing a man with fat and blood (Andree, *Antropophagie*,). Cf. also Bartels, *Med. d. Naturvölker*, p. 194, for smearing with the fat and blood of animal victims for healing purposes.

¹²² Strack, *Das Blut.*, p. 51; Andree, *Ethnol. Parallelen*, pp. 133-137.

¹²³ Cf. also Höfler, *Volksmedizin in Oberbayern*, pp. 29, 37.

¹²⁴ Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 148.

amongst primitive peoples, ancestor-amulets.¹²³ Bartels conjectures¹²⁴ that this practice is based on a belief that the spirit to whom these bones once belonged will protect him who carries them from demons, out of gratitude for his veneration. The man expects that, in return for his worship, the saints or his ancestors will protect him from all harm, i.e. the good father will protect him from the bad father, from demons or from sickness.

We have an illustration of the dual influence of the father (corresponding to the subject's ambivalence) in the fact that the 'King's Evil' is both cured and caused by the touch of the King.¹²⁵ Freud's¹²⁶ explanation is that the prince's involuntary touch is dangerous and his intentional touch curative—dangerous because, as I assume, the involuntary touch is without reverence and consequently aggressive; curative because when it is intentional it is received with reverence. Hence *the effect ascribed to the touch is the projection of the subject's own humble or rebellious attitude.*

Similarly, such remedies as fragments of the human body are believed by the common people and primitive man both to heal and to harm.¹²⁷ Snakes are not only deadly sickness-demons, but also

¹²⁵ Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*.

¹²⁶ Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, p. 54.

¹²⁷ In his paper, 'The Doctor-game, Illness and the Profession of Medicine', JOURNAL, 1926, p. 470, Simmel has pointed out that the introjected parent-substitute becomes the morbid substance which has to be expelled for recovery to take place. Not till the excremental symbol comes to represent sperma, the penis or a child does it become a beneficial substance. This hypothesis is certainly correct in most cases, but not in all. For instance, serpents or fishes—obvious penis-symbols—are often held to bring sickness (cf. Höfler, *Volksmedizin in Oberbayern*, pp. 142, 143, 144), while excrement is often regarded as a remedy (*Dreckapotheke*). But, above all, the fact that the same object may have opposite effects seems to show that it depends on the ambivalent attitude of the patient (aggressive or submissive) whether the introjected parent-substitute injures or cures. That the poison is mostly conceived as fæces seems to be explained by the fact shown by Abraham, that a hated object is often equated with fæces (*Study of Dev. of Libido*, p. 497); poison, as a symbol of excrement, seems to me analogous to the anal persecutor in paranoia (cf. Stärcke and Van Ophuijsen).

¹²⁸ Höfler, *Volksmed. Organth*, pp. 143, 144; Wlislöcki, *Volksgl. u. rel. Br. d. Zigeun.*, p. 67; Stern, *Abergl. i. d. Türkei*, p. 434.

¹²⁹ Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*, pp. 141, 322.

¹³⁰ Paullini, *Heilsame Dreckapotheke*; Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 106.

beneficent creatures, yielding healing remedies.¹²⁸ Snake-bite is cured by the snake itself; whitlow (German: *Fingerwurm*) by the application of an earth-worm; worms inside by the swallowing of earth-worms.¹²⁹ Excrement is generally regarded as poisonous but also as remedial.¹³⁰

When an Australian aboriginal realized that he had broken a taboo of eating (the consequence of his transgression being swelling of the body and death), he would press the foot of the head-man against his stomach.¹³¹ The touch of the external object was a protection against the dangerous, introjected object: the subsequent submission making restitution for the original aggression. It is *the father's penis which helps*¹³²—the head-man's foot, the finger of the Germanic priest.¹³³ On the island of Bali a remedy is used made out of chewed roots on which have been scratched representations of the penis and vulva.¹³⁴ Seligmann has shown that all protections against the evil eye are representations of, or substitutes for, the penis.¹³⁵

Analogous to this is the popular belief that the heart or finger of an unborn male infant confers supernatural powers¹³⁶ and makes a man proof against shooting,¹³⁷ while the severed big toe of a married woman imparts magical properties.¹³⁸ The effect of the introjected penis of the father is at once magical, curative and prophylactic.

The *psychical effect of medicine* may consist in the fact that it makes up for the *original aggression by subsequent submission*. The object

131 Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 134.

132 The big toe of King Pyrrhus remained intact after his death, and a touch of it relieved swelling of the kidneys (Vierordt, *Medizinisches aus der Geschichte*, p. 196). According to a Gipsy belief one hair from the head of a demonic man cures all diseases (Wlislöcki, *Volksgl. u. rel. Brauch der Zigeuner*, p. 25).

133 Höfler, *Germanische Medizin. Handbuch d. Gesch. d. Medizin*, p. 463.

134 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 128.

135 Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, 1909.

136 Löwenstimm, *Aberglaube und Strafrecht*, pp. 122-126; Strack, *Das Blut*, pp. 71-81.

137 Höfler, *Volksmed. in Oberb.*, p. 170.

138 Löwenstimm, *Aberglaube und Strafrecht*, p. 126.

139 Löwenstimm, *Abergl. und Strafrecht*, p. 122; Strack, *Das Blut*, pp. 33, 79.

(introjected in the oral-sadistic position, and therefore regarded as dangerous) is got rid of and the subject passively incorporates in himself the drug, which represents the good father. Religion provides an analogy in confession, followed by the receiving of the Holy Communion—the Body and Blood of Christ. Similarly, there is a superstitious belief that a murderer who tastes the flesh of his victim will not be pursued by vengeance or suffer from remorse.¹³⁹ A fragment of the corpse, introjected with the intention of restitution, will protect him from the dead man's avenging spirit. Probably *this mechanism is at work in morbid cravings*: the drug would signify the good father, who is to fight against the bad, introjected father. Soon, however, it comes to signify the bad father, against whom nothing avails but the taking of more drugs. The psychical mechanism has a dangerous reinforcement in the pharmacological effect of the drugs craved for, whereas medicaments given assuage anxiety through their healing effect.

In medicine, magical remedies consisting of the organs of men and beasts have given place to those derived from plants,¹⁴⁰ which are called by the names of divine and human bodily members. We may suppose that gradually, out of a considerable number of medicaments, preference came to be given to those of whose efficacy men had empirical proof. A remedy which alleviates pain will allay anxiety through its actual operation, just as a magical remedy acts through its psychical effect. Thus empirical medicine gradually renders magic superfluous. But although in medicine magical remedies have given place to empirical ones, the former have retained their original unconscious significance,¹⁴¹ while in religion the magical means are only slightly

140 Höfler states (*Volksmed. Organtherapie*, pp. 14–20, 40–42) that in Egyptian hermeneutics plants were given the names of organs of the gods, so that a *Botanica sacra* came into existence. Divine properties were ascribed also to the decorations of sacrificial victims, flowers placed on the altar, roots and substances used to produce smoke, etc. (p. 16).

141 Magical ideas are associated even with the remedies whose value has been proved empirically. We see this in the ceremonies which, in primitive communities and in popular medicine, accompany the collecting, preparation and taking of remedies (cf. Hovorka u. Kronfeld, *Vergl. Volksmedizin*). The North American medicine-man adjures the medicine, as though it were a living being, to do its duty and cure the patient (Bartels, *Die Med. d. Naturv.*, p. 114). In the Middle Ages public baths were often adjacent to a spring used for baptism, the water of which was—according to a common belief—helpful against devils, demons and diseases (Höfler, *Volksm. i. Oberbayern*, p. 45).

142 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 187; Höfler, 'Germanische Medizin.' *Handb. d. Gesch. d. Med.*, p. 464.

modified. From the smearing with fat and blood practised by primitive man the method of rubbing with healing ointments has developed; in religion we find traces of this in the anointing of kings and in Extreme Unction, just as tattooing is a religious ceremony amongst uncivilized peoples. The expulsion of demons by the use of the hands has developed into massage, 142 and into the gesture of blessing by priests. From the practice of expulsion by incantation psychotherapy is derived. Sweating, purging, bleeding, vomiting and fasting originally had the significance of an atonement: to-day they have their place in medical régimes. It is probable that surgery had its origin in the mutilations accompanying an act of atonement. From theophagy is derived the pharmacopoeia and the Holy Communion.

I have tried to show how, by externalising the ambivalence, the 'bad' object within and without is fought with the help of a 'good' external object, and thus the anxiety is worked over in a way adapted to reality. But, besides this mechanism, there is another way of dealing with the anxiety: *that of flight to the object within*. Just as Freud¹⁴³ has shown that both ancestor-worship and the fear of demons have a common origin in the son's relation to the father, so we find two different attitudes to the introjected father or his penis. In the rebellious attitude *the paternal penis* becomes the terrible sickness demon; *while from the passive homosexual attitude* it is regarded as the most precious of possessions¹⁴⁴— *the immortal soul*, the gift of God which unites man with Himself. This view seems to be supported by the following points:—

(1) All representations of the soul are symbols of the penis: worms, snakes, birds, butterflies, winged insects, lizards, fishes, mice, etc.¹⁴⁵

(2) The soul is frequently conceived of as a child.¹⁴⁶ Throughout

143 Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, p. 82.

144 Wundt points out that there are transitions between the conception of demons and the soul (*Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. IV, T. 1, p. 196).

145 Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. IV, T. 1, p. 146; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglauben*, p. 54.

146 In accounts of the Middle Ages it is said that Christ appeared in the Holy Communion in the form of a child (Strack, *Das Blut*, p. 14).

147 Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 26–30; Róheim, 'Das Selbst', *Imago*, 1921, pp. 331–336.

148 Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*, pp. 167, 168; Holländer, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin*, p. 135.

Australia, in America, in the Malay States and in India we meet with the belief that the soul is a little man, ¹⁴⁷ no bigger than one's thumb—a miniature reproduction of the human being. The ancient Egyptians as well as the Christians of the Middle Ages pictured the soul in the form of a child.¹⁴⁸

(3) The soul is treated with reverence. According to the Christian view it is the most priceless possession. The people of Batta worship it and offer sacrifices to it.¹⁴⁹ Tondi—the soul¹⁵⁰—is the man within man, a separate being, who often comes into conflict with the ego and is able to enforce his own wishes, in opposition to man's will, in a way that is felt to be painful. 'The fate of a human being depends on his Tondi, and therefore it is more important to reverence and offer sacrifices to him than to remote gods whom the Battaks neither fear nor love'.¹⁵¹

It seems that the soul¹⁵² stands for the father's penis (introjected in the passive homosexual relation), and at the same time signifies a child. In accordance with this view is the Christian belief that the soul of man was breathed into him by God, with Whom it unites him. Amongst gipsies¹⁵³ we find a belief in a special guardian spirit residing in the body of man. It is part of the soul of the dead father, which passes into the body of the eldest son.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Warneck, *Die Religion der Battak*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁰ By the Battaks a man's own Tondi is adored as well as that of others. Powerful animals or prized plants have so much Tondi (Warneck, *op. cit.*, 13, 11). A man is mighty, not because he is regarded as a father-*imago*—as he would be by an extraverted people—but because he has introjected the powerful penis of the father.

¹⁵¹ Warneck, *Die Religion der Battak*, p. 10.

¹⁵² Róheim points out ('Das Selbst', *Imago*, 1921) that the conception of the soul is based on an over-compensation of castration anxiety and is a projection of erogeneity.

¹⁵³ Wlislöcki, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner*, p. 43.

¹⁵⁴ The concept of the soul outside the body shows the same meaning: in Christian belief the guardian angel corresponds to the soul outside the body; it is a narcissistic idealization of the individual, and at the same time a father-*imago*. For the fact that the soul outside the body is a projection of the introjected penis, cf. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*.

Besides the concept of the soul lodged in the body, there is, further, that of the psyche—the soul which survives death. Wundt has pointed out¹⁵⁵ the connection between the soul which is breathed into man and the last breath of the dying, between the eye as the mirror of the soul and the eye glazed in death, and between the heart as the abode of the soul and the last beat of the living heart. Freud argues¹⁵⁶ that the concept of demons originated when man stood by the corpses of his nearest relatives and that the projection of his own death-wishes created the demons. I will assume, then, that the *concept of the soul* has its origin in a *tendency to make restitution*. The subject denies not only his own death-wishes, but, by the concept of the soul, the external reality of death. Belief in survival relieves man of his feeling of guilt and his dread of the vengeance of the dead; because the concept of the soul is an attempt at restitution—by virtue of the omnipotence of thought the dead survive 'on the other side'. Thus by his belief in the soul man conquers his fear of demons, subjection taking the place of aggression.

Accordingly, it would seem that the concept of the soul originated in castration anxiety, which employed it as an over-compensation for the subject's death-wishes, and that it is not simply an outflowing of narcissism, as Rank conjectures.¹⁵⁷ At a later stage of development the concepts of the soul lodged in the body and of the psyche—the soul during life and after death—come together. Over-compensation for the aggressive tendencies reinforces the tendency to homosexuality. The soul comes to be regarded as more valuable than the body: the introjected penis of the father is of more importance than the subject's own life.

The ascetic religious conception of the Middle Ages had for its aim the renunciation of worldly joys, the mortification of the flesh and a complete abandonment of this world; those who professed this faith felt themselves fully compensated for the forfeiting of earthly joys by the union with Jesus, and their spiritual wellbeing. The psychological mechanism of this process seems to be that the Oedipus situation (love of the world, '*Frau Weit*'), the instinctual wishes and the active attitude are renounced out of dread of the father (God and the punishments of

155 Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, IV. 1, pp. 105–108, etc.

156 Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, p. 80; and 'Our Attitude to Death', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV., p. 310.

157 Rank, 'Der Doppelgänger', *Psychoan. Beitr. z. Mythnf.*, pp. 351–3.

158 In this paper I am adducing only ethnological and cultural material in support of my hypotheses; I propose elsewhere to bring forward clinical, analytical material.

Hell); flight from the outside world to the introjected object results in a narcissistic regression and the renouncing of external objects (the monastic life). Excessive love of the introjected object seems to be based on an over-compensation of hatred: it is a means of mastering hypochondriacal anxiety.¹⁵⁸ Flight to the *external* object (projection) can take place only when the subject dreads it less than he dreads the internal object. If the converse is the case, he has to try at all costs to reconcile himself with the latter object in order to be released from his anxiety. *Flight to the internal object presupposes an abandonment of projection*, which aims at getting rid of the internal object and is therefore felt as hostility. Projection is based on ambivalence (Freud); giving up aggression leads to abandoning projection and activity.

The *introjection of the father seems considerably to reinforce* the subject's *sense of omnipotence and his narcissism*. Since he identifies himself wholly with the omnipotent father whom he has incorporated, he is convinced of his own omnipotence so long as he feels that the two of them are one. That is to say, he feels that he is omnipotent in the magical sense so long as he renounces his own activity in reality. The prophet out of whom the Lord speaks is omnipotent through him, and the religious man who feels himself one with God finds his strength in the belief in God instead of in himself.

The normal Oedipus attitude results in a separation between introjected object and subject, and in the establishing of the normal boundaries of the ego.¹⁵⁹ Thereupon the introjected father, with whom the son was hitherto united, becomes his foe. This process is represented in the tales of 'doubles' where some object which was originally part of the ego (the subject's reflection in the mirror, his soul, shadow and so on) detaches itself from the man and pursues him. Such a separation takes place when Oedipus wishes are fulfilled in some symbolical way.¹⁶⁰ When castration anxiety leads the subject to shun the normal Oedipus attitude, he remains arrested on the earliest levels of ego-development. We see this in uncivilized man, in

¹⁵⁹ Tausk, 'ber die Entstehung des "Beeinflussungsapparates" in der Schizophrenie', *Zeitschrift*, 1919, V, p. 14.

¹⁶⁰ Rank, 'Der Doppelgänger', *Psa. Beitr. z. Mythnf.* pp. 271, 339, etc.

¹⁶¹ Storch, *The Primitive Archaic Forms of Inner Experiences and Thought in Schizophrenia*, 1924.

¹⁶² Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*.

psychotics, 161 and to some extent in the 'oceanic feeling' of religious people.¹⁶²

The idea of an existence after this life does away with the necessity for recognizing the imperfections of our world. Belief in a just and benevolent God is incompatible with a knowledge of the harshness and injustices of reality; rebellion against God gives rise to anxiety. Therefore stern reality must not be recognized; and *thus excessive anxiety results not only in a regression* in the development of the libido but also in that *of the ego*.¹⁶³ Regression constitutes a narcissistic gain and an hallucinatory satisfaction; its motive seems to be castration anxiety, which shuns the Oedipus situation.

This mechanism seems to play a considerable part in the case of the medicine-man, who, according to the view of the Australian, is torn to pieces and put together again by the ancestral spirits, who replace his entrails with those of spirits. He receives from them a quartz crystal, which, as Róheim shows, ¹⁶⁴ is an excremental symbol into which the flesh of the father, when eaten, is transformed. Thus he receives his magic powers through an incorporation of the father. When a wizard injects excrement into a sick man, he is endeavouring to free himself from the introjected object and to play out in action the aggression experienced in phantasy. When he introduces the excremental symbol into the patient's body and again removes it, he enacts, through projection, the injury and healing of his own body, as well as that of the object. Róheim supposes that the black sorcerer, who gratifies his sadistic and anal instincts in their unsublimated form, was the precursor of the medicine-man, in whom the same instincts manifest themselves in an inhibited or sublimated form, when he first introduces

¹⁶³ Freud shows that in psychosis the original flight from reality is succeeded by an active phase of transformation; the new phantastic outside world usurps the place of external reality. In neurosis, on the other hand, as in children's games, the phantasy-life gladly attaches itself to a part of reality ('Loss of Reality in Neurosis and Psychosis', p. 282) In the Christian religion of the Middle Ages the flight from the world is very clear, and the endeavour to substitute the life beyond for the life here bears a close resemblance to psychotic mechanisms.

¹⁶⁴ Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, p. 101.

¹⁶⁵ Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, p. 103.

¹⁶⁶ Paullini, *Heilsame Dreckapotheke*.

into the patient and then removes from him excremental symbols.¹⁶⁵ In the same way the principal measures employed by the physicians of the Middle Ages were purges and enemas, but they also administered excrement as a medicine.¹⁶⁶

The rôle of sadism in the development of the art of *medicine* is evident.¹⁶⁷ All kinds of mutilation—castration, blinding, and so on—were practised long before remedial surgery.¹⁶⁸ Bartels conjectures that the experience thus acquired afforded a stimulus to therapeutic surgery. In the fifteenth century the French surgeons asked leave to practise vivisection¹⁶⁹ on prisoners of war, in order to find out the best method of lithotomy.¹⁷⁰ Only two hundred years ago the executioner acted as a physician; he first tortured criminals and then bandaged and cured them, thus acquiring considerable knowledge. When, by performing a hundred executions, he became 'honourable',¹⁷¹ he was legally qualified to practise medicine. In Prussia¹⁷² and Denmark¹⁷³ two public hangmen actually became Court physicians.

No less clear than the sadistic impulses are *the restitutive impulses of the physician*. It is the doctor's business both to cut and to bind up, to extract substances from the body and to administer medicine. Here we have the same mechanism as Ella Sharpe has shown to be typical in the artist's sublimation: externalization of the objects and a magical fulfilment of the sadistic and restitutive tendencies. The

¹⁶⁷ Amongst the Indians of Dakota a physician who for a long time has no patients suffers great inconvenience from the unrest of the spirits. To appease them, he draws blood from time to time from the arm of some individual and drinks the blood (Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 51). Probably these tormenting spirits represent his own sadistic instincts.

¹⁶⁸ Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 293.

¹⁶⁹ Several surgeons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are said to have dissected living criminals (Baas, *Geschl. Entw. d. ärztl. Standes*, s. 235, 173; Hyrtl, 23), but these reports are doubted by other authors (Töpfl, 'Gesch. d. Anatomie', *Handb. d. Gesch. d. Med.*, p. 227). Rabbi Ismail speaks of the vivisection of a criminal (Preuss, *Handb. d. Gesch. d. Med.*, p. 112).

¹⁷⁰ Hopf, *Die Anfänge der Anatomie*.

¹⁷¹ Höfler, *Volksmedizin in Oberbayern*, p. 62.

¹⁷² Tillmann, *Chirurgie*, I. p. 6.

¹⁷³ Stricker, *Zur ärztlichen Kulturgeschichte*.

¹⁷⁴ In the sixteenth century arrow-wounds were cauterized with hot oil, because they were thought to be poisoned. Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), on one occasion when he was short of oil and bound up the wounds simply with ointment, was the first to prove that the earlier mode of treatment was unnecessary and injurious. Thus, dread of the poisoned wounds had hindered empirical observation (Baas, *Geschl. Entw. d. ärztl. Standes*, p. 219).

originally magical activity of the medicine-man seems to be based on his identification with the omnipotent father. I have attempted to show that an arrest on the early level of ego-development is caused by intense anxiety; the restoration of the patient calms the medicineman's guilt-feeling and anxiety, and a reduction of the anxiety helps him to a better relationship to reality. This shows itself in the acquisition and use of empirical knowledge, which he was unable to achieve before, because of his excessive anxiety.¹⁷⁴ The originally magical activities of the physician become increasingly real: he does often hold the life or death of the patient in the hollow of his hand. In so far as he satisfies in reality his sense of omnipotence he stands midway between the artist and the hero.

The magician who collects excrement and professes to cause death by magic gestures and incantations corresponds to the psychotic, while the medicine-man—in Róheim's view¹⁷⁵—corresponds to the obsessional neurotic. The modern physician's activities, however, represent a sublimation. In the executioner who first tortures and then heals the criminal¹⁷⁶ we see displayed in a neurotic form the same tendencies as in the surgeon's sublimation. In the obsessional neurosis the patient's marked ambivalence produces a strong tension between the two tendencies, and this is the cause of the obsessive and rigid nature of the neurotic symptom. In the sublimation the tension is lessened so that the two tendencies blend in an activity adapted to reality.

The physician not only heals, he investigates. Róheim¹⁷⁷ points out that anatomy originated in cannibalism¹⁷⁸; and medical writers derive it from the *Anatomia sacralis* and *culinaris*.¹⁷⁹ The priest's

¹⁷⁵ Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, p. 103.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Buchner, *Anno Dazumal*, p. 111.

¹⁷⁷ Róheim, 'Nach dem Tode des Urvaters', *Imago*, 1923, p. 112.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. also in pathology the various comparisons with food, e.g. lardaceous, caseous, hardbake (MacCallum, *Pathology*).

¹⁷⁹ Höfler, 'Germanische Medizin'. *Handb. d. Gesch. d. Med.*, p. 462; also L. Hopf, *Die Anfänge der Anatomie*, pp. 15, 22, etc.

¹⁸⁰ Sartori, 'Zählen, Messen, Wägen', *Am Urquell*, pp. 9-12, 58, 87, 101, 189; cf. also Róheim, 'Das Selbst', *Imago*, 1921, pp. 319, 322.

¹⁸¹ Sartori, 'Zählen, Messen, Wägen', *Am Urquell*, pp. 9-12, 58, 87, 101, 189; cf. also Róheim, 'Das Selbst', *Imago*, 1921, pp. 319, 322.

investigation of the victim's organs is apparently a substitute for the earlier practice of devouring them. The absorbing of knowledge corresponds to oral introjection, while the description of facts corresponds to a restitution, that which was absorbed being once more transposed into the outside world. Scientific research consists of analysis and synthesis—the latter signifying a magical restitution. Incantation, the naming, weighing or measuring of objects are regarded as giving power over them.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, the description of objects signifies restitution, for it implies an assurance that it is whole and unharmed. Thus we find that the measuring of the sick was held to be a means of restoring them to health.¹⁸¹ To name a spirit is either a curse and an insult, or a prayer and a token of submission, according to the subject's attitude. Naming, describing, drawing and measuring produce magically the sense of omnipotence, probably because both the sadistic and the restitutive aims are gratified, and thus the dread of the object is allayed. Hence scientific research seems to depend on the same mechanism as the artist's sublimation, the two probably having a common origin in magical incantations.

In this paper I have tried to prove my assumption that there is a *twofold reaction to the introjection of the father*: (a) *a hypochondriacal and paranoid anxiety resulting from the projection of the subject's own aggressive tendencies* and (b) *a narcissistic love for the introjected object and magical identification with its omnipotence*. These mechanisms have originally—in so far as they are exclusive and falsify reality—a psychotic character. The hypochondriacal fear of the introjected object and the projection of the dreaded object are of a paranoid nature. The flight to the internal object—the basis of the magical attitude and of the delusion of grandeur—together with renunciation of the relation to reality and activity in it and of the normal boundaries of the ego, may play an important rôle in schizophrenia.

The chief process in the mechanism of projection appears to be an obsessional attempt to expel the introjected object. The strength of the projection is in proportion to the dread felt. Non-recognition of reality is conditioned primarily by exaggerated anxiety.

Painful reality evokes aggression and this, in its turn, anxiety. If the anxiety is excessive, the mental economy must have recourse

to non-recognition of perceptions which cause pain or stimulate anxiety. If magical activities assuage anxiety, its excess must prevent insight into their uselessness. But even in paranoia, when the world is peopled with pursuing demons, the economic principle asserts itself, for the patient's dread of them is less than that of the internal object and can be more successfully combated. I have endeavoured to demonstrate elsewhere how anxiety may lead to the abandonment of real activity and of the normal boundaries of the ego. Thus arrest on an early level of ego-development—non-recognition of the reality-principle—and the predominance of these psychotic mechanisms are probably conditioned by excessive anxiety and are the result of dynamic processes.

The flight to the internal object may take place if the flight to the external object causes too much anxiety. It would be interesting to ascertain how far the flight to the internal object is caused or reinforced by an unfavourable reality.

Bartels points out¹⁸² that the idea of 'possession' is foreign to Germanic thought and that demons are conceived of as attacking from without, as is evidenced by common German phrases. The Australian conception is the opposite. Similarly, magic plays only a small part in Germanic ideas, and it can be combated by real means.¹⁸³ Probably the fear of the introjected object in primitive men is greater, because in consequence of an unfavourable reality projection was not so helpful. The fact that the other members of the tribe were few and at a distance, for example, making it difficult for them to help, might have contributed to this, or it may be that an unfavourable natural environment increases the fear of external objects.

Melanie Klein¹⁸⁴ and Ella Sharpe¹⁸⁵ have shown that an essential condition of sublimation and ego-development is the projection of the introjected objects. When—in primitive man—the capacity for projection is defective because of excessive anxiety, development is checked. I would suppose this to be one main cause of the lack of cultural development in primitive man. With primitives, who do not succeed sufficiently in working over their anxiety, the psychotic

¹⁸² Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*, p. 13.

¹⁸³ A. Lehmann, *Zauberei und Aberglaube*, p. 76.

¹⁸⁴ Klein, 'The Importance of Symbol-Formation in the Development of the Ego', *JOURNAL*, 1930, XI.

¹⁸⁵ Sharpe 'Certain Aspects of Sublimation and Delusion', *JOURNAL*, 1930, XI.

¹⁸⁶ Storch, *The Primitive Archaic Forms of Inner Experiences and Thought in Schizophrenia*, 1924.

¹⁸⁷ Róheim, 'Die Völkerpsychologie und die Psychologie der Völker', *Imago*, 1926, p. 277.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. also on the differences of the ego-development in savages and civilized people, Vierkandt, *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, 1896.

¹⁸⁹ Róheim, 'Die Völkerpsychologie und die Psychologie der Völker', *Imago*, 1926, p. 277.

¹⁹⁰ Stärke, *Psychoanalyse und Psychiatrie*, pp. 27, 28, 32.

¹⁹¹ Klein, 'Personification in the Play of Children', *JOURNAL*, 1929, p. 200.

mechanisms become more apparent. Alfred Storch¹⁸⁶ has demonstrated that the mode of thought of primitive man largely resembles that of the schizophrenic, especially in his magical taboos, his unshakeable belief in the omnipotence of thought and in the supernatural efficacy of physical functions and, further, in his lack of any sharply delimited ego-feeling. He works out the parallels between catatonic abstraction and the absorption of mystical ecstasy, and emphasizes the lavish use made of images and symbols, the dissociation and multiplication of personality and the personalization of single constituents of the ego. Storch's arguments about the similarity between the thought of psychotics and savages can be supplemented by analytic knowledge. The psycho-analytical view of schizophrenia is that regression has taken place to the oral level of libidinal development. As Róheim has shown, ¹⁸⁷ uncivilized people, as distinct¹⁸⁸ from civilized ones are arrested on the oral level. Róheim¹⁸⁹ and Stärcke¹⁹⁰ state that civilized man is characterized by obsessional neurotic traits belonging to the second anal phase; it would be equally justifiable to speak of psychotic traits in uncivilized man. Recently, Melanie Klein¹⁹¹ has put forward the view that psychosis is characterized not only by a regression to an early level of libidinal development or an arrest at it, but also by the predominance of a super-ego introjected in the earliest phases of ego-development. But, as I have tried to emphasize, demons, witches, etc., also are projections of the super-ego on the oral, more rarely on the early anal level. Finally, mention must be made of the resemblance I have pointed out between the belief in demons and paranoid delusions, and the weakness of the appreciation of reality in savages.

So analysis proves the assumption of Storch of an analogy between savages and psychotics, but it cannot follow his theoretical explanations of this fact. Storch's explanation of the resemblance between the

schizophrenic and the savage is that the psychotic regresses to a level which belongs to an earlier stage of evolution and corresponds to that of primitive man. That is to say, he sees in psychosis simply a regression in ego-development. Psycho-analysis regards psychosis as the result of a dynamic process in which libidinal regression leads to regression of the ego-development.

Furthermore, beside the resemblances there are also differences which ought not to be neglected. Psychotic traits in savages are not always at work, and not in the same degree, as in the mentally ill; primitive men have an adaptation to reality—although it may be defective—they are able to provide themselves with the necessities of life and to form a social organization. Primitive man has not regressed to a low level but has remained on it; and all the individuals in a primitive community are roughly at the same stage of development, while the psychotic in a civilized race sets himself in opposition to his environment. This seems to me to be an important point, because when the fears are shared by all alike, there is a better chance of combating them and relieving anxiety, whereas psychotics are excluded from society and for that reason regress still further.

From the two reactions here described to the introjection of the father there seems to have developed *two mechanisms* which enable the subject *to overcome anxiety*; they are *based on the flight to the internal or external object*. Whichever mechanism is the stronger will produce the character of *introversion* or *extraversion* in an individual or people. It seems that hypochondriacal and paranoid anxiety is worked over by an obsessional neurotic mechanism, based on a flight to an external object.¹⁹² By projecting the ambivalence on several persons in the outer world, the help of persons considered good can be used against 'bad' internal or external objects, thus relieving the anxiety. When anxiety is soothed in this way, it makes flight to the outer world possible again, and this leads to a betterment of the real situation and a reduction of the anxiety.

Magic, by means of which anxiety is overcome and the battle with the outside world is waged, *has for its basis the flight to the internal object*. I have tried to show that excessive anxiety leads to non-recognition of reality; hence, in the development of human civilization one important function of magic is so far to assuage anxiety that a firmer relation to

¹⁹² N. Searl has pointed out the importance of this mechanism in her paper, 'The Flight to Reality', JOURNAL, Vol. X., 1929.

reality is possible. I have instanced the evolution of medicine to show that empirical means gradually took the place of magical. Magic having appeased anxiety, it became possible to observe nature empirically and remedies which proved themselves successful in practice rendered magic superfluous. Magic, based on flight to the internal object, is a method of combating the external one. A reduction of the dread felt for the latter facilitates the flight to reality, and thus in its turn assists in bringing about an improvement of the real situation. These two processes, the flight to the internal or external object, may in favourable cases work together, strengthen each other and achieve a betterment of reality. These mechanisms may help gradually to overcome the psychotic traits; this is why, in civilized nations, where these mechanisms are at work in a favourable way, the psychotic characteristics fall into the background.

As civilization developed, the gradual modification of psychotic to neurotic and magical mechanisms overcame the original psychotic condition of the horde on the death of the primal father. Here we have a phylogenetic analogy to the ontogenetic evolution described by M. Klein. In her book now in preparation she gives an account of an early psychotic state that she regards as a normal phase in development, which is gradually modified into a neurosis and thus overcome.

If neurotic traits and sublimations do in fact succeed psychotic mechanisms in mankind, we are justified in assuming that in the course of time anxiety and ambivalence have diminished, partly through various modes of elaboration and partly because these latter have led to an improvement in man's real situation. We must bear in mind that anxiety does not simply cease, but assumes other forms better adapted to reality, 193 and that, when the methods of 'working over' break down, very strong psychotic anxiety may emerge. Nevertheless, that this is comparatively rarely the case, and that mankind tends to substitute real means for magical to allay anxiety, goes to prove that anxiety actually diminishes as civilization proceeds. In times of cultural development a flight to reality takes place; by this means the external world is gradually mastered and simultaneously a defence against the introjected object is provided.

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30 'Man purified himself, not indeed of a moral consciousness of guilt, but from the discomfort of an uncanny world of demons, which besets, possesses and torments him with pricking and other pains or with feverish nightmares' (Höfler, *Volksmedizinische Organotherapie*, p. 43).

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