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CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
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1921-1945

Melanie Klein

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## INFANT ANALYSIS

1923

WE frequently find in psycho-analysis that neurotic inhibitions of talents are determined by repression having overtaken the libidinal ideas associated with these particular activities, and thus at the same time the activities themselves. In the course of the analysis of infants and older children, I came upon material that led to the investigation of certain inhibitions which had only been recognized as such during the analysis. The following characteristics proved in a number of cases and in a typical way to be inhibitions: awkwardness in games and athletics and distaste for them, little or no pleasure in lessons, lack of interest in one particular subject, or, in general, the varying degrees of so-called laziness; very often, too, capacities or interests which were feebler than the ordinary turned out to be 'inhibited'. In some instances it had not been recognized that these characteristics were real inhibitions and, since similar inhibitions make up part of the personality of every human being, they could not be termed neurotic. When they had been resolved by analysis we found—as Abraham has shown in the case of neurotics suffering from motor inhibitions<sup>1</sup>—that the basis of these inhibitions, too, was a strong primary pleasure which had been repressed on account of its sexual character. Playing at ball or with hoops, skating, tobogganing, dancing, gymnastics, swimming—in fact, athletic games of every sort—turned out to have a libidinal cathexis, and genital symbolism always played a part in it. The same applied to the road to school, the relation with men and women teachers, and also to learning and teaching in themselves. Of course a large number of active and passive, heterosexual and homosexual determinants, varying with the individual and proceeding from the separate component instincts, were also found to be of importance.

In analogy to neurotic inhibitions, these which we may call 'normal' were evidently founded on a capacity for pleasure which was constitutionally great, and on their sexual-symbolic significance. The main accent, however, must be placed on the sexual-symbolic significance. It is this which, by effecting a libidinal cathexis, augments in a degree which we cannot as yet determine

<sup>1</sup> Abraham 'A Constitutional Basis of Locomotor Anxiety', *Selected Papers*.

the original disposition and primary pleasure. At the same time it is this which draws repression upon itself, for repression is directed against the tone of sexual pleasure associated with the activity and leads to the inhibition of this activity or tendency.

I came to see that in far the greater number of these inhibitions, whether they were recognizable as such or not, the work of reversing the mechanism was accomplished by way of anxiety, and in particular by the 'dread of castration'; only when this anxiety was resolved was it possible to make any progress in removing the inhibition. These observations gave me some insight into the relation between anxiety and inhibition, which I shall now discuss in more detail.

Light was thrown to a remarkable degree upon this inner connection between anxiety and inhibition by the analysis of little Fritz.<sup>1</sup> In this analysis, the second part of which went very deep, I was able to establish the fact that the anxiety (which at one time was very considerable but gradually subsided after it had reached a certain point) so followed the course of the analysis that it was always an indication that inhibitions were about to be removed. Every time that the anxiety was resolved the analysis made a big step forward, and comparison with other analyses confirms my impression that the completeness of our success in removing inhibitions is in direct proportion to the clearness with which the anxiety manifests itself as such and can be resolved.<sup>2</sup> By successful removal I do not simply mean that the inhibitions as such should be diminished or removed, but that the analysis should succeed in reinstating the primary pleasure of the activity. This is undoubtedly possible in the analysis of young children, and the younger the child the sooner it will happen, for the path which has to be traversed to reverse the mechanism of inhibition is less long and complicated in *young* children. In Fritz this process of removal by way of anxiety was sometimes preceded by the appearance of transitory symptoms.<sup>3</sup> These again were principally resolved by way of anxiety. The fact that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'The Development of a Child', p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In Fritz it appeared in a violent form (and this seems to me very important) with the whole of the affect appropriate to it. In other analyses this was not always so. For instance, in Felix, a boy of thirteen, to whose analysis also I shall refer repeatedly in this paper, the anxiety was often recognized for what it was, but it was not lived through with so powerful an affect. In his paper, 'The Castration Complex in the Formation of Character' (*International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 1923), Dr. Alexander points out the great importance of this affective 'living-through'. This is what psycho-analysis aimed at in its infancy, terming it 'abreaction'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. Ferenczi, 'Transitory Symptom-formations during the Analysis', *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, 1916.

removing of these inhibitions and symptoms takes place by way of anxiety surely shows that anxiety is their source.

We know that anxiety is one of the primary affects. 'I said that conversion into anxiety, or better, discharge in the form of anxiety, was the immediate fate of libido which encounters repression.'<sup>1</sup> In thus reacting with anxiety the ego repeats that affect which at birth became the prototype of all anxiety and employs it as 'the general current coin for which all the affects are exchanged, or can be exchanged'.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of how the ego tries in the different neuroses to shield itself from the development of anxiety led Freud to conclude that: 'In an abstract sense, therefore, it seems correct to say that symptoms altogether are formed purely for the purpose of escaping the otherwise inevitable development of anxiety'. Accordingly, in children anxiety would invariably precede the formation of symptoms and would be the most primary neurotic manifestation, paving the way, so to speak, for the symptoms. At the same time it will not always be possible to indicate the reason why anxiety at an early stage often does not become manifest or is overlooked.<sup>3</sup>

At all events there is probably not a single child who has not suffered from *havor nocturnus*, and we are probably justified in saying that in all human beings at some time or other neurotic anxiety has been present in a greater or lesser degree.

'We recall the fact that the motive and purpose of repression were simply the avoidance of "pain". It follows that the fate of the charge of affect belonging to the presentation is far more important than that of the ideational content of it and is decisive for the opinion we form of the process of repression. If a repression does not succeed in preventing feelings of "pain" or anxiety from arising, we may say that it has failed, even though it may have achieved its aim as far as the ideational element is concerned.'<sup>4</sup> If the repression is unsuccessful the result is the formation of symptoms. 'In the neuroses, processes take place which are intended to prevent the development of anxiety, and succeed in so doing by various means.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> In several analyses I have been able to establish the fact that children often conceal from those around them quite considerable quantities of anxiety, as though they were unconsciously aware of its meaning. With boys there is also the fact that they think their anxiety cowardice and are ashamed of it, and indeed this is a reproach which is generally made if they confess to it. These are probably the motives for forgetting, readily and completely, the anxiety of childhood, and we may be sure that some primary anxiety is always hidden behind the amnesia of childhood and can only be reconstructed by an analysis which penetrates really deep.

<sup>4</sup> 'Repression', *Collected Papers*, vol. iv, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Introductory Lectures*, p. 342.

Now what happens to a quantity of affect which is made to vanish without leading to the formation of symptoms—I mean in cases of successful repression? With regard to the fate of this sum of affect, which is destined to be repressed, Freud says: ‘The fate of the quantitative factor in the instinct-presentation may be one of three, as we see by a cursory survey of the observations made in psycho-analysis: either the instinct is altogether suppressed, so that no trace of it is found, or it appears in the guise of an affect of a particular qualitative tone, or it is transformed into anxiety.’<sup>1</sup>

But how is it possible for the charge of affect to be suppressed in *successful* repression? It seems justifiable to assume that whenever repression takes place (not excepting cases in which it is successful) the affect is discharged in the form of anxiety, the first phase of which is sometimes not manifest or is overlooked. This process is frequent in anxiety-hysteria, and we also assume its existence where such hysteria is not actually developed. In such a case anxiety would really be present unconsciously for a time ‘. . . we find it impossible to avoid even the strange conjunction, “unconscious consciousness of guilt”, or a paradoxical “unconscious anxiety”’.<sup>2</sup> It is true that in discussing the use of the term ‘unconscious affects’ Freud goes on to say: ‘So it cannot be denied that the use of the terms in question is logical; but a comparison of the unconscious affect with the unconscious idea reveals the significant difference that the unconscious idea continues, after repression, as an actual formation in the system Ucs, whilst to the unconscious affect there corresponds in the same system only a potential disposition which is prevented from developing further.’<sup>3</sup> We see then that the charge of affect which has vanished through successful repression has surely also undergone the transformation into anxiety, but that when the repression is completely successful the anxiety sometimes does not manifest itself at all, or only comparatively feebly, and remains as a potential disposition in the Ucs. The mechanism by which the ‘binding’ and discharge of this anxiety, or disposition to anxiety, is rendered possible would be the same as that which we have seen to result in inhibition; and the discoveries of psycho-analysis have taught us that inhibition enters in a greater or lesser degree into the development of every normal individual, while here again it is only the quantitative factor which determines whether he is to be called well or ill.

The question arises: Why is it that a healthy person can dis-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Repression’, *Collected Papers*, vol. iv, pp. 91–92.

<sup>2</sup> ‘The Unconscious’, *Collected Papers*, vol. iv, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

charge in the form of inhibitions that which in the neurotic has led to neurosis? The following may be laid down as the distinguishing characteristics of the inhibitions which we are discussing: (1) certain ego-tendencies receive a powerful libidinal cathexis; (2) a quantity of anxiety is so distributed amongst these tendencies that it no longer appears in the guise of anxiety but in that of 'pain',<sup>1</sup> mental distress, awkwardness, etc. Analysis, however, shows that these manifestations represent anxiety which is only differentiated in degree and which has not manifested itself as such. Accordingly, inhibition would imply that a certain quantity of anxiety had been taken up by an ego-tendency which already had a previous libidinal cathexis. The basis of successful repression would thus be the libidinal cathexis of ego-instincts, accompanied in this double-sided way by an outcome in inhibition.

The more perfectly the mechanism of successful repression accomplishes its work the less easy is it to recognize the anxiety for what it is, even in the form of disinclination. In people who are quite healthy and apparently quite free from inhibitions it ultimately appears only in the form of weakened or partly weakened inclinations.<sup>2</sup>

If we equate the capacity to employ superfluous libido in a cathexis of ego-tendencies with the capacity to *sublimate*, we may probably assume that the person who remains healthy succeeds in doing so on account of his greater capacity for sublimating at a very early stage of his ego-development.

Repression would then act upon the ego-tendencies selected for the purpose and thus inhibitions would arise. In other cases the mechanisms of the neuroses would come more or less into operation and result in the formation of symptoms.

We know that the Oedipus complex brings repression into play with quite peculiar force and at the same time liberates the dread of castration. We may probably also assume that this great 'wave' of anxiety is reinforced by anxiety already existing (possibly only as a potential disposition) in consequence of earlier repressions—this latter anxiety may have operated directly as

<sup>1</sup> Writing of the connection between 'pain' and anxiety in dreams, Freud says (*Introductory Lectures*, p. 183): "The hypothesis which holds good for anxiety-dreams without any distortion may be adopted also for those which have undergone some degree of distortion and for other kinds of unpleasant dreams in which the accompanying unpleasant feelings probably approximate to anxiety".

<sup>2</sup> Even in this form of successful repression, in which the transformation undergone by anxiety makes it quite unrecognizable, it is undoubtedly possible to effect the withdrawal of very large quantities of libido. I found in the analyses of a number of cases that the development of individual habits and peculiarities had been influenced by libidinal ideas.



castration-anxiety originating in the 'primal castrations'.<sup>1</sup> I have repeatedly in analysis discovered birth-anxiety to be castration-anxiety reviving earlier material and have found that resolving the castration-anxiety dissipated the birth-anxiety. For instance, I came across the fear in a child that when he was on the ice it would give way beneath him or that he would fall through a hole in a bridge—both obviously birth-anxiety. Repeatedly I found that these fears were actuated by the far less obvious wishes—brought into play as a result of the sexual-symbolic meaning of skating, bridges, etc.—to force his way back into the mother by means of coitus, and these wishes gave rise to the dread of castration. This also makes it easy to understand how generation and birth in the unconscious are frequently conceived of as coitus on the part of the child, who, even though it be with the father's help, thus penetrates into the maternal vagina.

It seems no great step then to regard the *pavor nocturnus* which occurs at the age of two or three as the anxiety which is liberated in the first stage of repression of the Oedipus complex, the binding and discharge of which subsequently ensues in various ways.<sup>2</sup>

The fear of castration that develops when the Oedipus complex is repressed is now directed towards the ego-tendencies which have already received a libidinal cathexis, and then in its turn, by means of this cathexis, is bound and discharged.

I think it is quite evident that, just in proportion as the sublimations hitherto effected are quantitatively abundant and qualitatively strong, so will the anxiety with which they are now invested be completely and imperceptibly distributed amongst them and thus discharged.

In Fritz and Felix I was able to prove that the inhibitions of pleasure in motion were very closely connected with those of pleasure in learning and of various ego-tendencies and interests (which I will not now specify). In both cases that which made possible this *displacement of inhibition* or anxiety from one group of ego-tendencies to another was obviously the main cathexis of a sexual-symbolic character which was common to both groups.

In the thirteen-year-old Felix, whose analysis I shall use to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Freud, 'On the Transformation of Instincts with special reference to Anal Erotism', *Collected Papers*, vol. ii; Stärcke, *Psychoanalyse und Psychiatrie*; Alexander, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The result of repression then appears in a striking manner somewhat later (at the age of three or four, or rather older) in certain manifestations, some of which are fully formed symptoms—effects of the Oedipus complex. It is clear (but the fact still requires verification) that, if it were possible to undertake an analysis of the child at the time of the *pavor nocturnus* or soon after it, and to resolve this anxiety, the ground would be cut away from under the neurosis and possibilities of sublimation would be opened out. My own observations lead me to believe that analytic investigation is not impossible with children of this age.

illustrate my remarks in a later part of this paper, the form in which this displacement appeared was an alteration of his inhibitions between games and lessons. In his first years at school he had been a good pupil, but on the other hand he was very timid and awkward in all kinds of games. When his father came back from the war he used to beat and scold the boy for this cowardice, and by these methods attained the result he desired. Felix became good at games and passionately keen on them, but hand in hand with this change there developed in him a disinclination for school and all learning and knowledge. This dislike grew into an undisguised antipathy, and this he brought with him to analysis. The common sexual-symbolic cathexis formed a relation between the two sets of inhibitions, and it was partly his father's intervention, leading him to regard games as the sublimation more consonant with his ego, which enabled him to displace the whole inhibition from games to lessons.

The factor of 'consonance with the ego' is, I think, also of importance in determining against which libidinally invested tendency the repressed libido (discharged as anxiety) will be directed, and which tendency will thus succumb to inhibition in a greater or lesser degree.

This mechanism of displacement from one inhibition to another seems to me to present analogies with the mechanism of the phobias. But, while in the latter all that happens is that the ideational content gives place through displacement to a substitutive formation, without the sum of affect disappearing, in inhibition the discharge of the sum of affect seems to occur simultaneously.

'As we know, the development of anxiety is the reaction of the ego to danger and the signal preparatory to flight; it is then not a great step to imagine that in neurotic anxiety also the ego is attempting a flight from the demands of its libido, and is treating this internal danger as if it were an external one. Then our expectation, that where anxiety is present there must be something of which one is afraid, would be fulfilled. The analogy goes further than this, however. Just as the tension prompting the attempt to flee from external danger is resolved into holding one's ground and taking appropriate defensive measures, so the development of neurotic anxiety yields to a symptom-formation, which enables the anxiety to be "bound"'.<sup>1</sup>

In an analogous fashion, as it seems to me, we might look upon inhibition as the compulsory restriction, now arising from within, of a dangerous excess of libido—a restriction which at one period

<sup>1</sup> Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 338.

of human history took the form of compulsion from without. At the outset, then, the first reaction of the ego to the danger of a damming-up of the libido would be anxiety: 'the signal for flight'. But the prompting to flight gives place to 'holding one's ground and taking appropriate defensive measures': which corresponds to symptom-formation. Another defensive measure would be submission by restriction of the libidinal tendencies, that is to say, inhibition; but this would only become possible if the subject succeeded in diverting libido on to the activities of the self-preserved instincts and thus bringing to an issue on the field of the ego-tendencies the conflict between instinctual energy and repression. Thus inhibition as the result of successful repression would be the prerequisite and at the same time the consequence of civilization. In this way primitive man, whose mental life is in so many respects similar to that of the neurotic,<sup>1</sup> would have arrived at the mechanism of neurosis, for not having sufficient capacity for sublimation he probably also lacked the capacity for the mechanism of successful repression.

Having reached a level of civilization conditioned by repression, yet being in the main capable of repression only by way of the mechanisms of neurosis, he is unable to advance beyond this particular infantile cultural level.

I would now draw attention to the conclusion which emerges from my argument up to this point: the absence or presence of capacities (or even the degree in which they are present), though it appears to be determined simply by constitutional factors and to be part of the development of the ego-instincts, proves to be determined as well by other, libidinal, factors and to be susceptible of change through analysis.

One of these basic factors is libidinal cathexis as a necessary preliminary to inhibition. This conclusion agrees with the facts which have been repeatedly observed in psycho-analysis. But we find that libidinal cathexis of an ego-tendency exists even where inhibition has not resulted. It is (as appears with special clearness in infant-analysis) a constant component of every talent and every interest. If this is so, we must suppose that for the development of an ego-tendency not only a constitutional disposition but the following considerations must be of importance: how, at what period and in what quantity—in fact, under what conditions—the alliance with libido takes place; so that the development of the ego-tendency must also depend on the fate of the libido with which it is associated, that is to say, on the success of the libidinal cathexis. But this reduces the importance of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Freud, *Totem and Tabu*.

constitutional factor in talents and, in analogy with what Freud has proved with reference to disease, the 'accidental' factor is seen to be of great importance.

We know that at the narcissistic stage the ego-instincts and sexual instincts are still united because at the beginning the sexual instincts obtain a foothold on the territory of the self-preservative instincts. The study of the transference-neuroses has taught us that they subsequently part company, operate as two separate forms of energy and develop differently. While we accept as valid the differentiation between ego-instincts and sexual instincts, we know on the other hand from Freud that some part of the sexual instincts remains throughout life associated with the ego-instincts and furnishes them with libidinal components. That which I have previously called the sexual-symbolic cathexis of a trend or activity belonging to the ego-instincts corresponds to this libidinal component. We call this process of cathexis with libido 'sublimation' and explain its genesis by saying that it gives to superfluous libido, for which there is no adequate satisfaction, the possibility of discharge, and that the damming-up of libido is thus lessened or brought to an end. This conception agrees also with Freud's assertion that the process of sublimation opens up an avenue of discharge for over-powerful excitations emanating from the separate component-sources of sexuality and enables them to be applied in other directions. Thus, he says, where the subject is of an abnormal constitutional disposition the superfluous excitation may find outlet not only in perversion or neurosis but also in sublimation.<sup>1</sup>

In his examination of the sexual origin of speech, Sperber shows<sup>2</sup> that sexual impulses have played an important part in the evolution of speech, that the first spoken sounds were the alluring calls of mate to mate and that this rudimentary speech developed as a rhythmic accompaniment to work, which thus became associated with sexual pleasure. Jones draws the conclusion that sublimation is the ontogenetic repetition of the process described by Sperber.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, however, the factors conditioning the development of speech are active in the genesis of symbolism. Ferenczi postulates that the basis of identification, as a stage preliminary to symbolism, is the fact that at an early stage of its development the child tries to rediscover its bodily organs and their activities in every object which it encounters. Since it

<sup>1</sup> *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sexuality* (New York, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> Sperber, *Imago*, Bd. I.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, 'The Theory of Symbolism', *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Third Edition; cf. also Rank and Sachs, *Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse für die Geisteswissenschaften*.

institutes a similar comparison within its own body as well, it probably sees in the upper part of its body an equivalent for each affectively important detail of the lower part. According to Freud, the early orientation to the subject's own body is accompanied also by the discovery of fresh sources of pleasure. It may very well be this that makes possible the comparison between different organs and areas of the body. This comparison would be subsequently followed by the process of identification with other objects—a process in which, according to Jones, the pleasure-principle allows us to compare two otherwise quite different objects on the basis of a similitude of pleasurable tone, or of interest.<sup>1</sup> But we are probably justified in assuming that on the other hand these objects and activities, not in themselves sources of pleasure, become so through this identification, a sexual pleasure being displaced on to them, as Sperber supposes it to have been displaced on to work in primitive man. Then, when repression begins to operate and the step from identification to symbol-formation is taken, it is this latter process which affords an opportunity for libido to be displaced on to other objects and activities of the self-preservative instincts, not originally possessing a pleasurable tone. Here we arrive at the mechanism of sublimation.

Accordingly, we see that *identification* is a stage preliminary not only to symbol-formation but at the same time to the evolution of speech and sublimation. The latter takes place by way of symbol-formation, libidinal phantasies becoming fixated in sexual-symbolic fashion upon particular objects, activities and interests. I may illustrate this statement as follows. In the cases I have mentioned of pleasure in motion—games and athletic activities—we could recognize the influence of the sexual-symbolic meaning of the playing-field, the road, etc. (symbolizing the mother), while walking, running, and athletic movements of all kinds stood for penetrating into the mother. At the same time, the feet, the hands and the body, which carry out these activities and in consequence of early identification are equated with the penis, served to attract to themselves some of the phantasies which really had to do with the penis and the situations of gratification associated with that organ. The connecting-link was probably pleasure in motion or rather organ-pleasure in itself. This is the point where sublimation diverges from hysterical symptom-formation, having hitherto run the same course.

In order to set forth more exactly the analogies and differences between symptoms and sublimation I would refer to Freud's

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *loc. cit.*

analysis of Leonardo da Vinci. Freud takes as his starting-point Leonardo's recollection—or rather phantasy—that when he was still in his cradle a vulture flew down to him, opened his mouth with its tail and pressed its tail several times against his lips. Leonardo himself makes the comment that in this way his absorbing and detailed interest in vultures was determined for him very early in life, and Freud shows how this phantasy was actually of great importance in Leonardo's art and also in his bent for natural science.

From Freud's analysis we learn that the real memory-content of the phantasy is the situation of the child being suckled and kissed by the mother. The idea of the bird's tail in his mouth (corresponding to fellatio) is evidently a recasting of the phantasy in a passive homosexual shape. At the same time we see that it represents a condensation of Leonardo's early infantile sexual theories, which led him to assume that the mother possessed a penis. We frequently find that, when the epistemophilic instinct is early associated with sexual interests, the result is inhibition or obsessional neurosis and brooding mania. Freud goes on to show that Leonardo escaped these fates through the sublimation of this component-instinct, which thus did not fall a victim to repression. I should now like to ask: How did Leonardo escape hysteria? For the root of hysteria seems to me recognizable in this condensed element of the vulture's tail in the phantasy—an element often met with in hysterics as a fellatio-phantasy, expressed for instance in the globus sensation. According to Freud we have in the symptomatology of hysteria a reproduction of the capacity for displacement of the erotogenic zones which is manifest in the child's early orientation and identification. Thus we see that identification is also a stage preliminary to hysterical symptom-formation, and it is this identification which enables the hysteric to effect the characteristic displacement from below upwards. If now we assume that the situation of gratification through fellatio, which in Leonardo became fixated, was reached by the same path (identification—symbol-formation—fixation) as leads to hysterical conversion, it seems to me that the point of divergence occurs at the fixation. In Leonardo the pleasurable situation did not become fixated as such: he transferred it to ego-tendencies. He might have had the capacity of making, very early in life, a far-reaching identification with the objects in the world around him. Possibly such capacity is due to an unusually early and extensive development from narcissistic to object-libido. Another contributing factor would appear to be the ability to hold libido in a state of suspension. On the other hand we

might suppose that there is yet another factor of importance for the capacity of sublimating—one which might well form a very considerable part of the talent with which an individual is constitutionally endowed. I refer to the ease with which an ego-activity or tendency takes on a libidinal cathexis and the extent to which it is thus receptive; on the physical plane we have an analogy in the readiness with which a particular area of the body receives innervation and the importance of this factor in the development of hysterical symptoms. These factors, which might constitute what we understand by 'disposition', would form a complementary series, like those with which we are familiar in the aetiology of the neuroses. In Leonardo's case not only was an identification established between nipple, penis and bird's tail, but this identification became merged into an interest in the motion of this object, in the bird itself and its flight and the space in which it flew. The pleasurable situations, actually experienced or phantasied, remained indeed unconscious and fixated, but they were given play in an ego-tendency and thus could be discharged. When they receive this sort of representation the fixations are divested of their sexual character; they become consonant with the ego and if the sublimation succeeds—if, that is to say, they are merged in an ego-tendency—they do not undergo repression. When this happens, they provide the ego-tendency with the sum of affect which acts as the stimulus and driving force of talent and, since the ego-tendency affords them free scope to exercise themselves in a manner consonant with the ego, they allow phantasy to unfold itself without check and thus are themselves discharged.

In hysterical fixation, on the other hand, phantasy holds so tenaciously to the pleasure-situation that, before sublimation is possible, it succumbs to repression and fixation; and thus, assuming that the other aetiological factors are operative, it is forced to find representation and discharge in hysterical symptoms. The way in which Leonardo's scientific interest in the flight of birds developed shows that also in sublimation the fixation to the phantasy with all its determinants continues to operate.

Freud has comprehensively summed up the essential characteristics of hysterical symptoms.<sup>1</sup> If we apply the test of his description to Leonardo's sublimation as seen in connection with the vulture-phantasy, we shall see the analogy between symptoms and sublimation. I think, too, that this sublimation corresponds to Freud's formula that an hysterical symptom often expresses on the one hand a masculine, and on the other a feminine, unconscious sexual phantasy. In Leonardo the feminine side is

<sup>1</sup> 'Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality', *Collected Papers*, vol. ii.

expressed by the passive phantasy of fellatio; the masculine phantasy seems to me recognizable in a passage which Freud cites from Leonardo's notes as a kind of prophecy: 'The great bird will take its first flight from the back of its great swan; it will fill the universe with amazement and all literature will tell of its fame and it will be an everlasting glory to the nest where it was born'. Does not this mean winning the mother's recognition of his genital achievements? I think that this phantasy, which also expresses an early infantile wish, was represented, together with the vulture-phantasy, in his scientific study of the flight of birds and of aeronautics. Thus Leonardo's genital activity, which played so small a part as far as actual instinctual gratification was concerned, was wholly merged in his sublimations.

According to Freud the hysterical attack is simply a pantomime representation of phantasies, translated into terms of motion and projected on to motility. An analogous assertion may be made of those phantasies and fixations which, as in the artist, are represented by physical motor innervations whether in relation to the subject's own body or some other medium. This statement agrees with what Ferenczi and Freud have written on the analogies and relations between art and hysteria on the one hand, and the hysterical attack and coitus on the other.

Now as the hysterical attack uses for its material a peculiar condensation of phantasies, so the development either of an interest in art or a creative *talent* would partly depend upon the wealth and intensity of fixations and phantasies represented in sublimation. It would be of importance not only in what quantities all the constitutional and accidental factors concerned are present and how harmoniously they co-operate, but also what is the degree of genital activity which can be deflected into sublimation. Similarly in hysteria the primacy of the genital zone has always been attained.

Genius differs from talent not only quantitatively but also in its essential quality. Nevertheless we may assume for it the same genetic conditions as for talent. Genius seems possible when all factors concerned are present in such abundance as to give rise to unique groupings, made up of units which bear some essential similarity to one another—I mean, the libidinal fixations.

In discussing the question of sublimation I suggested that one determining factor in its success was that the fixations destined for sublimation should not have undergone repression too early, for this precludes the possibility of development. Accordingly we should have to postulate a complementary series between the



formation of symptoms on the one hand and successful sublimation on the other—these series to include also possibilities of less successful sublimation. In my opinion we find that a fixation which leads to a symptom was already on the way to sublimation but was cut off from it by repression. The earlier this happens the more will the fixation retain of the actual sexual character of the pleasure-situation and the more will it sexualize the tendency on which it has bestowed its libidinal cathexis, instead of becoming merged in that tendency. The more unstable, too, will this tendency or interest be, for it will remain perpetually exposed to the onslaught of repression.

I should like to add a few words about the distinction between unsuccessful sublimation and inhibition, and the relations between the two. I have mentioned certain inhibitions which I termed normal and which had arisen where repression had been successful; when these were resolved by analysis, it was found that they were based in part on very strong sublimations. These had, it is true, been formed, but had been inhibited either entirely or to some extent. They had not the character of unsuccessful sublimations, which oscillate between symptom-formation, neurotic traits and sublimation. It was only in analysis that they were recognized as inhibitions; they manifested themselves in a negative form, as a lack of inclination or capacity, or sometimes only as a diminution in these. Inhibitions are formed (as I tried to show on page 88) by the transferring of superfluous libido, which finds discharge as anxiety, on to sublimations. Thus sublimation is diminished or destroyed by repression in the form of inhibition, but symptom-formation is avoided, for the anxiety is thus discharged in a manner analogous to that with which we are familiar in hysterical symptom-formation. Accordingly, we may suppose that the normal man attains his state of health by means of inhibitions, assisted by successful repression. If the quantity of anxiety which invests the inhibitions exceeds that of the sublimation, the result is neurotic inhibition, for the tug-of-war between libido and repression is no longer decided on the field of the ego-tendencies, and therefore the same processes as are employed in the neuroses to bind anxiety are set going. Whilst in unsuccessful sublimation the phantasies encounter repression on their way to sublimation and thus become fixated, we may suppose that for a sublimation to be inhibited it must have actually come into existence as a sublimation. Here again we may postulate the complementary series already inferred between symptoms on the one side and successful sublimation on the other. We may assume, however, on the other hand that in

proportion as the sublimations are successful and hence little libido remains dammed up in the ego, ready to be discharged as anxiety, the less necessity will there be for inhibition. We may assure, too, that the more successful the sublimation the less will it be exposed to repression. Here again we may postulate a complementary series.

We know the significance of masturbation-phantasies in hysterical symptoms and hysterical attacks. Let me give an illustration of the effect of masturbation-phantasies on sublimation. Felix, aged thirteen, produced the following phantasy in analysis. He was playing with some beautiful girls who were naked and whose breasts he stroked and caressed. He did not see the lower part of their bodies. They were playing football with one another. This single sexual phantasy, which in Felix was a substitute for onanism, was succeeded during the analysis by many other phantasies, some in the form of day-dreams, others coming to him at night as a substitute for onanism, and all concerned with games. These phantasies showed how some of his fixations were elaborated into an interest in games. In the first sexual phantasy, which was only a fragmentary one, coitus had already been replaced by football.<sup>1</sup> This game, together with others, had absorbed his interest and ambition entirely, for this sublimation was reinforced by way of reaction as a protection against other repressed and inhibited interests less consonant with the ego.

This reactive or otherwise obsessive reinforcement may very well be in general a determining factor in that destruction of sublimations which sometimes occurs through analysis, though as a rule our experience is that analysis only promotes sublimation. The symptom is given up, as being a costly substitutive formation, when the fixations are resolved and other channels are opened for discharge of the libido. But the bringing into consciousness of such fixations as form the basis of sublimation has as a rule a different result: very often the sublimation is reinforced, for it is retained as the most expedient and probably the earliest substitutive channel for the discharge of libido which must remain unsatisfied.

We know that fixation to 'primal' scenes or phantasies is potent in the genesis of neurosis. I will give an example of the importance of primal phantasies in the development of sublimations. Fritz, who was nearly seven years old, recounted many phantasies

<sup>1</sup> This meaning of football, and indeed of all sorts of games with balls, I discovered from the analyses of both boys and girls to be typical. I shall illustrate this statement elsewhere; at present I shall merely state that I came to this conclusion.

about the 'Pipi-general' (the genital organ) who led the soldiers, the 'Pipi-drops', down streets; Fritz gave an exact description of the situation and lie of these streets and compared them with the shape of letters of the alphabet. The general led the soldiers to a village, where they were quartered. The content of these phantasies was coitus with the mother, the accompanying movements of the penis and the way that it took. From their context it appeared that at the same time they were masturbation-phantasies. We found that they were operative in his sublimations, together with other elements, into the development of which I cannot at present enter. When he rode on his 'scooter' he attached particular importance to making turns and curves,<sup>1</sup> such as he had described in various phantasies also about his Pipi. For instance he once said that he had invented a patent for the Pipi. The patent consisted in being able, without touching it with his hand, to make the Pipi appear with a jerk through the opening in his knickers by twisting and turning his whole body.

He repeatedly had phantasies of inventing special kinds of motor-bicycles and cars. The point of these constructions of his phantasy<sup>2</sup> was invariably to attain special skill in steering and curving in and out. 'Women', he said, 'can perhaps steer but they cannot swerve quickly enough.' One of his phantasies was that all children, girls as well as boys, as soon as they were born had their own little motor-bicycles. Each child could take three or four others on its bicycle and might drop them on the way wherever it liked. Naughty children fell off when the bicycle turned a corner sharply, and the others were put off at the terminus (were born). Talking of the letter S, about which he had many phantasies, he said that its children, the little s's, could shoot and drive motors when they were still in long clothes. All of them had motor-bicycles, on which they could go farther in a quarter of an hour than grown-up people could go in an hour, and the children were better than the grown-ups at running

<sup>1</sup> His great delight and skill in this pastime had been preceded originally by awkwardness and distaste. During analysis there occurred first of all an oscillation between enjoyment and distaste—which happened also in regard to his other games of movement and his sports. Later on, he attained to a lasting pleasure and skill in place of the inhibition, which had been determined by the dread of castration. The same determination became evident in regard to his inhibition (and subsequently his pleasure) in tobogganing. Here again he laid peculiar stress on the different postures assumed. We discovered an analogous attitude in him to all games of motion and athletics.

<sup>2</sup> It was plain that the root of the patent devices and constructions which he phantasied lay always in the movements and functions of the Pipi, which his inventions were designed to bring to greater perfection.

and jumping and in all kinds of bodily dexterity. He also had many phantasies about the different kinds of vehicles which he would like to have and in which he would go to school as soon as he got them, and take his mother or sister with him. At one time he showed anxiety in regard to the idea of pouring petrol into the tank of a motor, because of the danger of explosion; it turned out that in the phantasy of filling up a large or small motor-bicycle with petrol, the latter represented the 'Pipi-water' or semen, which he supposed to be necessary for coitus, while the peculiarly skilful handling of a motor-bicycle and making constant curves and turns stood for skill in coitus.

It was only quite early in life that he had given any sign of this strong fixation to the road and all interests connected with it. When he was about five years old, however, he had a marked distaste for going for a walk. At this age, too, his lack of understanding of distance in time or space was very striking. Thus, when he had been travelling for some hours, he thought he was still in his native town. Associated with his dislike of going out walking was his total lack of interest in becoming acquainted with the place where he had come to stay and the complete absence of any capacity or feeling for orientation.

A keen interest in vehicles took the form of watching carts go by for hours at a time from a window or the entrance-hall of the house and also a passion for motoring. His chief occupation was pretending to be a coachman or a chauffeur, chairs being pushed together to form the vehicle. To this game, which really only consisted in his sitting there quite quietly, he devoted himself so exclusively that it seemed like a compulsion, especially as he had a total disinclination for any other kind of game. It was at this time that I began his analysis and after a few months there was a great change, not only in this respect, but in general.

Hitherto he had been free from anxiety, but during the analysis intense anxiety made its appearance and was analytically resolved. In the last stage of this analysis a phobia of street-boys manifested itself. This was connected with the fact that he had repeatedly been molested by boys in the street. He displayed fear of them and finally could not be persuaded to go into the street alone. I could not get at this phobia analytically, because for external reasons the analysis could not be continued, but I learnt that, soon after we broke it off, the phobia completely disappeared and was succeeded by a peculiar pleasure in roaming about.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When he was two years and nine months old he once ran away from home and crossed busy streets without a sign of fear. This inclination to run away lasted for

Hand in hand with this he developed a more lively feeling for orientation in space. At first his interest was specially directed towards stations, the doors of railway-carriages, and further to the entrances and exits of places as soon as he set foot in them. He began to take a great interest in the rails of the electric tramway and the streets through which it led. Analysis had removed his distaste for play, which had proved to have many determining factors. His interest in vehicles, which had developed early and had been of an obsessive character, now showed itself in many games, which, in contrast to the earlier monotonous game of chauffeur, were played with a wealth of phantasy. He also displayed a passionate interest in lifts and going in lifts. About this time he was ill and had to stay in bed, whereupon he devised the following games. He crept under the bedclothes and said: 'The hole is getting bigger and bigger, I shall soon get out.' So saying, he slowly lifted up the bedclothes at the opposite end of the bed, till the opening was big enough for him to climb out. Then he played that he was going for a journey under the bedclothes; sometimes he came out on one side and sometimes on the other, and he said when he got to the top that he was now 'overground', which he meant to be the opposite to an underground railway. He had been extraordinarily struck by the sight of the underground railway coming out of the ground at a terminus and continuing above ground. In this game with the bedclothes he took great care that they should not be lifted up at either side during his journey, so that he only became visible when he emerged at one or other end, which he called the 'end-station'. Another time he had a different game with the bedclothes; this consisted in climbing in and out at different points. When playing these games he once said to his mother: 'I am going into your tummy'. About this time he produced the following phantasy. He was going down into the underground. There were many people there. The conductor was going quickly up and down some steps and gave the people their tickets. He was riding in the underground underneath the earth, till the lines met. Then there was a hole and there was some grass. In another of these games in bed he repeatedly made a toy motor with a chauffeur drive over the bedclothes, which he had rolled into a mound. He then said: 'The chauffeur always wants to go over the mountain, but that is a bad way to go'; then, making the chauffeur go under the bedclothes, 'this is the right way'. He was specially

about six months. Later he began to show very marked caution about motors (analysis showed that this was neurotic anxiety), and the desire to run away as well as his enjoyment in wandering off seemed to have finally vanished.

interested in one part of the electric railway where there was only a single line, and a loop was formed. He said about this that there had to be a loop, in case another train came in the opposite direction and there was a collision. He illustrated this danger to his mother: 'Look, if two people come in opposite directions' (so saying he ran towards her), 'they run into one another, and so do two horses, if they come like this.' A frequent phantasy of his was what he imagined his mother to be like inside: how there were all sorts of contrivances, especially in her stomach. This was followed by the phantasy of a swing or merry-go-round, on which there were a number of little people, who kept on getting on one after the other and getting off on the other side. There was somebody who pressed on something and helped them to do this.

His new delight in roaming about and all his other interests lasted for some time, but, after several months, they were succeeded by the old dislike for going for a walk. This was still there when I again began to analyse him recently. He was then nearly seven years old.<sup>1</sup>

During this next part of his analysis, which now went very deep, this dislike increased and showed clearly as an inhibition, until the anxiety behind it became manifest and then could be resolved. It was in particular the *way to school* which called forth this great anxiety. We found that one of the reasons why he did not like the roads along which he went to school was because there were trees on them. Roads where there were fields on each side, on the other hand, he thought very beautiful, because paths could be made there and they could be turned into a garden if flowers were planted and watered.<sup>2</sup> His antipathy to trees, which for some time took the form of fear of woods, proved to be partly determined by phantasies of a tree being cut down, which might fall on him. The tree stood to him for his father's large penis, which he wanted to cut off and therefore feared. What his fear was on the way to school we learnt from various phantasies. Once he told me about a bridge (which existed only in his imagination) on his way to school.<sup>3</sup> If there had been a hole in it he might have fallen through. Another time it was a thick piece of string, which he saw lying on the path, that caused

<sup>1</sup> The boy had had a relapse, which was due in part to the fact that, in my desire to be careful, I had not taken the analysis deep enough. Part of the result obtained, however, had proved to be lasting.

<sup>2</sup> Connected with the planting of flowers was his habit of passing urine at certain definite points on the way.

<sup>3</sup> S. Ferenczi, 'The Symbolism of Bridges', *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psycho-Analysis*, 1926.

anxiety because it reminded him of a snake. At this time, too, he attempted to hop for part of the way, giving as his reason that one of his feet had been cut off. In connection with a picture which he saw in a book he had phantasies about a witch, whom he would meet on his way to school and who would empty a pitcher of ink over him and his satchel. Here the pitcher stood for the penis of the mother.<sup>1</sup> He then added spontaneously that he was afraid of it, but at the same time it was nice. Another time he phantasied that he met a beautiful witch and looked intently at the crown which she wore on her head. Because he stared at her so [*kuckte*] he was a cuckoo [*Kuckuck*] and she charmed away his satchel from him and turned him from a cuckoo into a dove (*i.e.* a female creature, as he thought).

I will give an instance of phantasies which occurred later on in the analysis, in which the original pleasurable significance of the road was evident. He once told me that he would quite like going to school, if only it were not for the road. He now phantasied that, in order to avoid the road, he laid a ladder across from the window of his room to that of his schoolmistress, then he and his mother could go together, by climbing from rung to rung. Then he told me about a rope, also stretched from window to window, along which he and his sister were drawn to the school. There was a servant who helped them by throwing the rope, and the children who were already at school helped too. He himself threw the rope back, 'he would move the rope', as he called it.<sup>2</sup>

During the analysis he became much more active, and thereupon he told me the following story which he called 'highway-robbery': There was a gentleman who was very rich and happy, and though he was quite young he wanted to marry. He went into the street and there he saw a beautiful lady and asked her what her name was. She said: 'That has nothing to do with you.' Then he asked where she lived. She said to him again that it was nothing to do with him. They made more and more noise as they talked. Then a policeman came along, who had been watching them, and he took the man to a grand carriage—the

<sup>1</sup> His associations to being soiled with ink were: oil and condensed milk—fluids which, as his analysis showed, stood for semen in his mind. It was a mixture of faeces and semen which he supposed to be in the penis both of mother and father.

<sup>2</sup> This was part of a very long and abundantly determined phantasy, which yielded material for various theories of procreation and birth. He also gave other associations about a machine invented by himself, by means of which he could throw the rope to different parts of the town. This phantasy again revealed his idea of being procreated by his father, amalgamated with ideas of coitus on his own part.

kind of carriage such a grand gentleman would have. He was taken to a house with iron bars in front of the window—a prison. He was accused of highway robbery. 'That's what you call it.'<sup>1</sup>

His original pleasure in roads corresponded to the desire for coitus with the mother, and therefore could not come into full operation until the castration-anxiety had been resolved. Similarly we see that, in close connection with this, his love of exploring roads and streets (which formed the basis of his sense of orientation) developed with the release of the sexual curiosity which had likewise been repressed owing to the fear of castration. I will give some examples. He once told me that, when he was urinating, he had to put on the brakes (which he managed by pressing his penis), for otherwise the whole house might fall in.<sup>2</sup> In this connection there were many phantasies which showed that he was under the influence of the mental image of the inside of his mother's body and, by identification with her, of his own body. He pictured it as a town, often as a country, and later on as the world, intersected by railway lines. He imagined this town to be provided with everything necessary for the people and animals who lived there and to be furnished with every kind of modern contrivance.

There were telegraphs and telephones, different sorts of railways, lifts and merry-go-rounds, advertisements, etc. The railways were constructed in different ways. Sometimes there was a circular railway with a number of stations and sometimes they were like the town-railway with two termini. There were two kinds of trains on the rails: one was the 'Pipi'-train, conducted by a 'Pipi'-drop, while the other was a 'Kaki'-train, which was driven by a 'Kaki'.<sup>3</sup> Often the 'Kaki'-train was represented as an ordinary passenger train, while the 'Pipi'-train was an express or electric train. The two termini were the mouth and the 'Pipi'. In this case there was a certain place where the train had to cross a track which ran downhill and sloped away steeply at the sides. Then there was a crash, for the train which ran along this track and carried the children—the 'Kaki'-children—was run into by

<sup>1</sup> This phantasy shows what determined his earlier phobia of street-boys, which had temporarily disappeared. The first analysis, which had not gone deep enough, had not succeeded in resolving sufficiently the fixations underlying the phobia and his inhibitions. This made it possible for him to relapse. This fact, taken with further experience of the analysis of children, seems to me to prove that infant-analysis as well as later analysis should go as deep as is found to be necessary.

<sup>2</sup> We met with these ideas in his first analysis. (Cf. 'The Development of a Child', p. 13). As the analysis did not go deep enough the phantasies bound up with these ideas could not be released. They made their appearance only in the second analysis.

<sup>3</sup> Faeces.



another. The injured children were taken to the signal-box.<sup>1</sup> This turned out to be the 'Kaki'-hole, which was later often introduced into phantasies as the arrival or departure platform. There was also a collision and a crash when the train came from the other direction, that is, when they got in at the mouth. This represents impregnation through eating, and his disgust at certain kinds of food was determined by these phantasies. There were others, in which he spoke of both railways having the same departure platform. The trains then ran along the same lines, branching off lower down and so leading to the 'Pipi' and the 'Kaki'-hole. How strongly he was influenced by the idea of impregnation through the mouth is seen in a phantasy which forced him to stop seven times when urinating. The idea of seven stops proved to have its origin in the number of drops of a medicine which he was taking at the time and for which he had a great repugnance, because, as his analysis showed, he equated it with urine.

There is just one more detail which I would mention in the extraordinarily rich imagery which came to light in these phantasies of a town, railways,<sup>2</sup> stations and roads. Another frequent phantasy was that of a station, to which he gave different names and which I will call A. There were two other stations, B and C, stuck on to the first. Often he pictured these two as a single big station. A was a very important one, because from it all sorts of goods were forwarded, and sometimes passengers got in as well, for instance, railway officials, whom he represented by his finger. A was the mouth, whence food went on its way. The railway officials were the 'Pipi', and this led back to his ideas of impregnation through the mouth. B and C were used for unloading the goods. In B there was a garden without any trees but with paths which all led into one another, and to which there were four entrances—not doors but simply holes. These turned

<sup>1</sup> Here I would refer again to a phantasy narrated in 'The Development of a Child', p. 13. In this phantasy the 'Kaki'-children ran down some steps from the balcony into the garden (the chamber).

<sup>2</sup> The circular railway which came into his phantasies appeared in all his games as well. He constructed trains which ran in a circle and he drove his big hoop round and round in a circle. His gradually increasing interest in the direction and names of streets had developed into an interest in geography. He pretended that he was going on journeys on the map. All this showed that the advance in his phantasies from his home to his town, his country and the world at large (an advance which manifested itself when once the phantasies were set free) was having its effect on his interests also, for their sphere was widening more and more. Here I should like to draw attention to the very great importance of inhibitions in play from this point of view as well. The inhibition and restriction of interests in play leads to the diminishing of potentialities and interests both in learning and in the whole further development of the mind.

## INFANT ANALYSIS

out to be the openings of the ears and nose. C was the skull, and B and C together the whole head. He said that the head was only stuck on to the mouth, an idea partly determined by his castration complex. The stomach, too, was often a station, but this arrangement frequently varied. In all this a great part was played by lifts and merry-go-rounds, which were used only to convey the 'Kaki' and children.

As these and other phantasies were interpreted, his sense and faculty of orientation became stronger and stronger, as was plainly shown in his games and interests.

Thus we found that his sense of orientation, which had formerly been strongly inhibited but now developed in a marked manner, was determined by the desire to penetrate the mother's body and to investigate it inside, with the passages leading in and out and the processes of impregnation and birth.<sup>1</sup>

I found that this libidinal determination of the sense of orientation was typical and that favourable development (or, alternatively, inhibition of the sense of orientation owing to repression) depended upon it. Partial inhibitions of this faculty, *e.g.* interest in geography and orientation, with a greater or lesser lack of capacity, proved to depend on the factors which I regard as essential to the forming of inhibitions in general. I refer to the period of life and the degree in which repression begins to operate on fixations which are destined for sublimation or are already sublimated. For instance, if the interest in orientation is not repressed, pleasure and interest in it are retained, and the extent

<sup>1</sup> In the discussion which took place at the meeting of the Berlin Society on my unpublished paper, 'Über die Hemmung und Entwicklung des Orientierungssinnes' (May, 1921), Abraham pointed out that the interest in orientation in relation to the body of the mother is preceded at a very early stage by the interest in orientation in relation to the subject's own body. This is certainly true, but this early orientation seems to share the fate of repression only when the interest in orientation in reference to the mother's body is repressed, of course because of the incestuous wishes bound up with that interest; for in the unconscious the longed-for return to the womb and exploration of it takes place by way of coitus. For instance, Fritz made a tiny dog (which repeatedly represented the *son* in his phantasies) slide along his mother's body. When doing this he had phantasies of the countries through which he was wandering. At her breast there were mountains and near the genital region a great river. But suddenly the little dog was intercepted by servants—toy figures—who charged him with some crime and said he had damaged their master's motor, and the phantasy ended in quarrelling and fighting. At another time he had further phantasies about the little dog's journeys. It had found a pretty spot where he thought he would like to settle, etc. But again it all turned out badly, for Fritz suddenly declared that he had got to shoot the little dog, because it wanted to take away his own log-hut from him. There had, too, been earlier indications of this 'geography of the mother's body'. When he was not five years old he called all the extremities of the body and also the knee-joints 'boundaries', and he called his mother a 'mountain which he was climbing'.

of the development of the faculty is then proportionate to the degree of success attending the search for sexual knowledge.

I should like here to draw attention to the very great importance of this inhibition, which, not only in Fritz, radiates to the most diverse interests and studies. Apart from the interest in geography I discovered that it was one of the determining factors in the capacity for drawing<sup>1</sup> and the interest in natural science and everything to do with the exploration of the earth.

In Fritz I found also a very close connection between his lack of orientation in space and in time. Corresponding to his repressed interest in the place of his intra-uterine existence was the absence of interest in details as to the time when he was there. Thus both the questions 'Where was I before birth?' and 'When was I there?' were repressed.

The unconscious equation of sleep, death and intra-uterine existence was evident in many of his sayings and phantasies, and connected with this was his curiosity as to the duration of these states and their succession in time. It would appear that the change from intra-uterine to extra-uterine existence, as the prototype of all periodicity, is one of the roots of the concept of time and of orientation in time.<sup>2</sup>

There is one thing more which I should like to mention, which shows me that the inhibition of the sense of orientation is of very great importance. In Fritz I found that his resistance to enlightenment, which turned out to be so closely connected with the inhibition of his sense of orientation, arose out of his retaining the infantile sexual theory of the 'anal child'. Analysis showed, however, that he held to this anal theory in consequence of repression due to the Oedipus complex and that his resistance to enlightenment was not caused by an incapacity for apprehending the genital process owing to his not having yet reached the genital level of organization. Rather the converse was true: it was this resistance which hindered his advancing to that level and strengthened his fixation at the anal level.

In this connection I must again refer to the meaning of resistance to enlightenment. The analysis of children has over and over again confirmed me in my view of it. I have been forced to regard it as an important symptom, a sign of inhibitions which determine the whole subsequent development.

<sup>1</sup> Fritz, for instance, made his first attempts at drawing at this time, though it is true that they gave no sign of talent. The drawings represented railway-lines with stations and towns.

<sup>2</sup> In this conclusion I am in agreement with Dr. Hollós ('Über das Zeitgefühl', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. VIII), who arrived at the same result from a different point of departure.

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In Fritz I found that his attitude towards learning, too, was determined by the same sexual-symbolic cathexis. Analysis showed that his marked distaste for learning was a highly complex inhibition, determined in reference to the separate school-subjects by the repression of different instinctual components. Like the inhibition against walking, games and the sense of orientation, its main determinant was the repression, based on castration anxiety, of the sexual-symbolic cathexis common to all these interests, namely, the idea of penetrating into the mother by coitus. In his analysis this libidinal cathexis, and with it the inhibition, plainly advanced from the earliest movements and games of motion to the way to school, school itself, his schoolmistress and the activities of school life.

For in his phantasies the lines in his exercise book were roads, the book itself was the whole world and the letters rode into it on motor bicycles, *i.e.* on the pen. Again, the pen was a boat and the exercise book a lake. We found that Fritz's many mistakes (which for a time could not be overcome, until they were resolved in analysis, when they disappeared without any trouble) were determined by his many phantasies about the different letters which were friendly with one another or fought and had all sorts of experiences. In general he regarded the small letters as the children of the capital letters. The capital S he looked upon as the emperor of the long German s's; it had two hooks at the end of it to distinguish it from the empress, the terminal s, which had only one hook.

We discovered that the spoken word was to him identical with the written. The word stood for the penis or the child, while the movement of the tongue and the pen stood for coitus.

I shall just briefly mention what the analysis of children has shown me to be the general significance of libidinal cathexis for the development of infantile speech and its peculiarities, and indeed for the development of speech as a whole. In speech oral,<sup>1</sup> cannibalistic and anal-sadistic fixations are sublimated, more or less successfully according to the degree in which the fixations of the earlier levels of organization are comprehended under the primacy of the genital fixations. I think this process, which enables perverse fixations to be discharged, must surely be demonstrable in all sublimations. Owing to the operation of complexes, various intensifications and displacements arise, which are of the nature of regression or reaction. These afford an

<sup>1</sup> I would refer here to an interesting paper by Dr. S. Spielrein (*Imago*, Bd. VIII), in which, in a very illuminating way, she traces the origin of the infantile words 'Papa' and 'Mama' to the act of sucking.

unlimited number of possibilities in the individual, as appears, to keep the example of speech, both in his own special peculiarities of speech and in the development of languages in general.

In Fritz I found that speaking, which undoubtedly is one of the earliest sublimations, was inhibited from the outset. During the analysis this child, who had begun to speak unusually late and subsequently seemed to be of a silent disposition, turned into a remarkably talkative little fellow. He never tired of telling stories which he made up himself, and in these there was a development of phantasy to which he had shown no tendency before the analysis. But it was plain, too, that he took a delight in the actual speaking and that he stood in a special relation to words in themselves. Hand in hand with this, too, went a strong interest in grammar. As an illustration I will quote briefly what he said grammar meant to him. He told me that 'the root of the word itself does not move, only its termination'. He wanted to give his sister on her birthday a notebook in which he wrote everything that a thing did. What does a thing do? 'A thing jumps, a thing runs, a thing flies', etc. It was the representation of what the penis can do that he wanted to write in the book and also to do in the mother.

The significance of speaking as a genital activity, as reported also by Abraham in a case of pseudologia, I found at work in a greater or lesser degree in every case. In my opinion both this and the anal determination are typical. This was peculiarly evident to me in the case of a girl with a stammer, who had strong homosexual fixations. This girl, Grete, who was nine years old, looked upon speaking and singing as the male activity and the movement of the tongue as that of the penis. She took a special delight when lying on the couch in reciting certain French sentences. She said it was 'such fun when her voice went up and down like someone on a ladder'. Her association to this was that the ladder was set up in a snail. But would there be room for it in a snail? (A snail, however, was her name for her genitals.) The comma and the full stop, like the pause corresponding to them in speaking, meant that one had gone 'up and down' once and was beginning again. A single word stood for the penis and a sentence for the thrust of the penis in coitus and also for coitus as a whole.

In a number of cases it became clear that theatres and concerts, in fact any performance where there is something to be seen or heard, always stand for parental coitus—listening and watching standing for observation in fact or phantasy—while the falling curtain stands for objects which hinder observations, such as bed-

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clothes, the side of the bed, etc. I will quote an example. Little Grete told me about a play at the theatre. At first she had been distressed at not having a good enough seat and having to be at some distance from the stage. But she made out that she saw better than the people who sat quite near the stage, for they could not see all over it. Her associations then led to the position of the children's beds, which were placed in their parents' bedroom in such a way that her younger brother slept close to his parents' bed, but the backs of the beds made it difficult for him to see them. Her bed, however, was further off and she could see theirs perfectly.

In Felix, who was thirteen years old and up till then had shown no musical talent, a marked love of music gradually developed during analysis. This came about as the analysis was bringing into consciousness his fixation to early infantile observations of coitus. We found that sounds, some of which he had heard proceeding from his parents' bed and the rest of which he had phantasied, had formed the basis of a very strong (and very early inhibited) interest in music, an interest which was liberated again during analysis. This determination of the interest in and gift for music I found present (side by side with the anal determination) in other cases as well, and I believe it to be typical.

In Frau H. I found that a marked artistic appreciation of colours, forms and pictures was similarly determined, with this difference, that in her the early infantile observations and phantasies were concerned with what was to be *seen*. For instance, in this case a certain bluish tinge in pictures directly represented the male element; it was a fixation of the analysand to the colour of the penis in erection. These fixations resulted from observations of coitus, which had led to comparisons with the colour and form of the penis when not in erection, and further to observations of a certain change in colouring and form in different lights, the contrast with the pubic hair and so forth. Here the anal basis of the interest in colour was always present. One can repeatedly establish the fact of this libidinal cathexis of pictures as representing penis or child (the same applies to works of art in general), and further, of painters, virtuosi and creative artists, as standing for the father.

I will give only one more example of the significance of pictures as child and penis—a meaning which I repeatedly come across in analysis. Fritz, aged five and a half, said that he would like to see his mother naked, adding: 'I should like to see your tummy and the picture in it.' When she asked: 'Do you mean where you once were?' he replied: 'Yes, I should like to look in your

tummy and see if there isn't a child there.' At this time, under the influence of analysis, his sexual curiosity manifested itself more freely and his theory of the 'anal child' came into the foreground.

To sum up what I have said, I have found that artistic and intellectual fixations, as well as those which subsequently lead to neurosis, have as some of their most powerful determining factors the primal scene or phantasies of it. An important point is which of the senses is more strongly excited: whether the interest applies more to what is to be seen or to what is to be heard. This will probably also determine, and on the other hand will also depend upon, whether ideas present themselves to the subject visually or auditorily. No doubt constitutional factors play a great part here.

In Fritz it was the movement of the penis to which he was fixated, in Felix the sounds which he heard, in others the colour-effects. Of course, for the talent or bent to develop, those special factors which I have already discussed in detail must come into play. In fixation to the primal scene (or phantasies) *the degree of activity*, which is so important for sublimation itself, undoubtedly also determines whether the subject develops a talent for creation or reproduction. For the degree of activity certainly influences the mode of identification. I mean it is a question whether it will spend itself in the admiration, study and imitation of the masterpieces of others or whether there will be an endeavour to excel these by the subject's own performances. In Felix I found that the first interest in music which manifested itself in analysis was exclusively concerned with criticism of composers and conductors. As his activity was gradually released he began to try himself to imitate what he heard. But at a further stage of still greater activity phantasies made their appearance in which the young composer was compared to older men. Although apparently there was no question of creative talent in this case, my observation of the way in which his activity, as it became freer, influenced his attitude in all his sublimations gave me some insight into the importance of activity in the development of talent. His analysis showed me what other analyses confirmed: that criticism always has its origin in the observation and criticism of the paternal genital activities. In Felix it was clear that he was onlooker and critic in one and that in his phantasy he also took part as a member of an orchestra in what he saw and heard. It was only at a much later stage of released activity that he could trust himself with the paternal rôle—that is, it was only then that he would have been able to summon up courage to become a composer himself, if he had had sufficient talent.

Let me sum up. Speech and pleasure in motion have always

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a libidinal cathexis which is also of a genital-symbolic nature. This is effected by means of the early identification of the penis with foot, hand, tongue, head and body, whence it proceeds to the activities of these members, which thus acquire the significance of coitus. After the use made by the sexual instincts of the self-preservative instincts in respect of the function of nutrition, the next ego-activities to which they turn are those of speech and pleasure in motion. Hence, speech may be assumed not only to have assisted the formation of symbols and sublimation, but to be itself the result of one of the earliest sublimations. It seems then that, where the necessary conditions for the capacity to sublimate are present, the fixations, beginning with these most primary sublimations and in connection with them, continually proceed to a sexual-symbolic cathexis of further ego-activities and interests. Freud demonstrates that that which seems to be an impulsion towards perfection in human beings is the result of the tension arising out of the disparity between man's desire for gratification (which is not to be appeased by all possible kinds of reactive substitutive formations and of sublimations) and the gratification which in reality he obtains. I think that we may put down to this motive not only that which Groddeck calls the compulsion to make symbols<sup>1</sup> but also a constant development of the symbols. Accordingly the impulsion constantly to effect by means of fixations a libidinal cathexis of fresh ego-activities and interests genetically (*i.e.* by means of sexual symbolism) connected with one another, and to create new activities and interests, would be the driving force in the cultural evolution of mankind. This explains, too, how it is that we find symbols at work in increasingly complicated inventions and activities, just as the child constantly advances from his original primitive symbols, games and activities to others, leaving the former ones behind.

Further, in this paper I have tried to point out the great importance of those inhibitions which cannot be called neurotic. There are some which in themselves do not seem of any practical importance and can be recognized as inhibitions only in analysis (in their full implication possibly only if *infant-analysis* is undertaken). Such are an apparent lack of certain interests, insignificant dislikes—in short, the inhibitions of the healthy person, which assume the most varied disguises. Yet we shall come to attribute to these a very great importance when we consider at how big a sacrifice of instinctual energy the normal man purchases his health. 'If, however, instead of attributing a wide significance to the term psychical impotence, we look about for instances of its peculiar

<sup>1</sup> *Imago*, vol. viii, 1922.



symptomatology in less marked forms, we shall not be able to deny that the behaviour in love of the men of present-day civilization bears in general the character of the psychically impotent type.'<sup>1</sup>

There is a passage in the *Introductory Lectures* in which Freud discusses what possibilities of prophylaxis can be held out to educationists. He comes to the conclusion that even rigid protection of childhood (in itself a very difficult thing) is probably powerless against the constitutional factor, but that it would also be dangerous if such protection succeeded too well in attaining its aim. This statement was fully confirmed in the case of little Fritz. The child had from his early days had a careful up-bringing by persons who had been influenced by analytic views, but this did not prevent inhibitions and neurotic character-traits from arising. On the other hand, his analysis showed me that the very fixations which had led to the inhibitions might form the basis of splendid capacities.

On the one hand, then, we must not rate too highly the importance of so-called analytical up-bringing, though we must do everything in our power to avoid mental injury to the child. On the other hand, the argument of this paper shows the necessity of analysis in early childhood as a help to all education. We cannot alter the factors which lead to the development of sublimation or of inhibition and neurosis, but infant-analysis makes it possible for us, at a time when this development is still going on, to influence its direction in a fundamental manner.

I have tried to show that the libidinal fixations determine the genesis of neurosis and also of sublimation and that for some time the two follow the same path. It is the force of repression which determines whether this path will lead to sublimation or turn aside to neurosis. It is at this point that infant-analysis has possibilities, for it can to a great extent substitute sublimation for repression and thus divert the path to neurosis into that which leads to the development of talents.

<sup>1</sup> Freud: 'The most prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life', *Collected Papers*, vol. iv.