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Freud and the Legacy of Greece

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Graduate Programme in Humanities, HDSS, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy... in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces Freud's debt to classical Greece and argues that the development of his theory should not be considered apart from its roots in this legacy. The psychoanalytic project sheltered under the umbrella of *Altertumswissenschaft* and used the "ancient world to illuminate the modern". Winckelmann's Hellenism provided the foundations to German culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and dominated the educational and cultural institutions in which Freud lived and worked.

Nietzsche later challenged Winckelmann's Apollian vision of Greece, and his "psychology of the Dionysian condition" acknowledged both irrational passion and sexuality. Freud is heir to both Winckelmann's and Nietzsche's Greece, and the dialectical tension between the rational and irrational, the mind and the body, that is evident in the reception of classical Greece in the nineteenth century is often paralleled in Freud's work.

Hellenism is an essential element in Freud's theory of dreams and the unconscious. Greek mythology grounds the Oedipus complex, and informs his theorising on human sexuality. It plays an influential role in early sexology, and many of the challenges to psychiatry and neurology have their origin in Greek classicism. Not only does psychoanalysis rely on content drawn from this legacy, but its methodology as well as it structure are deeply influenced by Freud's knowledge of ancient Greece and his involvement in classical scholarship.

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INTRODUCTION

Freud is one of the iconic figures of the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century he still continues to influence many of the critical theoretical debates concerning the nature of man, society and culture. Twentieth century philosophers including Foucault, Lacan, Derrida and Bersani use Freudian psychoanalysis as a point of reference in their discourse, and his texts have crossed the boundaries of psychology to enter the domain of art, literature, gender politics, religion and advertising. Every decade new articles, books and biographies appear that attempt to throw new light on this controversial thinker who so radically changed the way we speak about the human condition[1].

Freud's work grew out of the intellectual currents of the nineteenth century. Science, biology and medicine gave shape to his theories, but the complexity of his oeuvre is also a result of his own self-analysis and his personal experiences. Many writers have tried to underpin the source of Freud's thinking. Sulloway (1979) for example, sees it developing out of the biological theories of the nineteenth century, Ritvo (1990) analyses the role of evolutionary science on Freud's work and Pribram and Gill (1976) claim that psychoanalytic metapsychology cannot be understood without taking into consideration the neurobiological assumptions both explicit and implicit in his theory. Others situate Freud's work within the broader framework of Judaism (Kofman 1991; Decker 1991; Gilman 1994). Anzieu (1986) looks at the place of Germanic language and culture in the discovery of psychoanalysis, while other writers emphasise humanism as the overarching framework of Freud's thought (Ricoeur 1970, Gedo 1976; Horden 1985). Still others trace his insight to literature (Trossman 1973, Mitchell-Boyask 1994; Frankland 2000), and Freud's obsession with archaeology has been advanced as an important influence on psychoanalysis by Armstrong (1999, 2005) Gay (1998) and Spitz (1989).

[1] A new translation of Freud' work, designed to supplement Strachey's Standard Edition, has recently been proposed by Penguin under the editorship of Adam Phillips. This undertaking points to the continuing interest in Freudian scholarship.

The accumulation of knowledge dealing with aspects of Freudian thought would fill a library. Is there, one asks oneself, anything more that can be said about this field that would make a significant contribution? In conducting my initial research into the intellectual currents surrounding Freud's thought there still appeared to be some aspects of his work that were insufficiently explored. One such area was Freud's debt to the legacy of Greece. Most readers of Freudian theory would acknowledge the importance of classical Greece in his thinking, and yet, with few exceptions (Armstrong 1999; Winter 1999) this debt has not been subjected to systematic scrutiny.

In the last few decades, psychoanalytic theory has played an increasing role in the interpretation of classical texts. Writers on myth, religion and literature frequently mention the "natural affinity" that exists between psychoanalysis and "the Greeks", and psychoanalysis is often used in the analysis of Greek tragedy, culture and mythology. This disciplinary convergence is however generally perceived in only one direction. While psychoanalysis is often used in the exegesis of classical texts and in the interpretation of classical myth, there appears to be little discussion on how these perhaps identical classical texts may have influenced Freud's development of psychoanalysis. It is this "natural affinity" between psychoanalysis and classical studies that requires further examination. Such an enquiry would not only enrich our understanding of Freudian psychoanalysis but would also help to avoid the circularity of arguments to be found in this domain. This often occurs when psychoanalysis is used to support an interpretation of classical texts, which in turn have been used by psychoanalysts to support their theories.

Freud's debt to the classical tradition has been recognised by a number of writers (Mitchell-Boyask 1994; Jones 1964; Gay 1968; Anzieu 1986; Gilman 1994; Rudnytsky 1987; Winter 1999) but these discussions are often fragmentary, and are in any case dispersed across different domains of inquiry (classics, literary interpretation, philosophy, history of ideas, European history,

biographies of Freud). What is lacking is a general investigation in this area that takes into account Freud's cultural origins, his early education, and his ongoing interest in Greek antiquity. By drawing upon the tradition of scholarship available in this domain it is hoped that the thesis will provide a more integrated picture of Freud and "the Greeks". It is trusted that this inquiry will be useful to those interested in the foundations of psychoanalytic theory and the history of ideas

The thesis was initially formulated around a number of fairly general research questions. How extensive was Freud's knowledge and interest in Greek antiquity? How important was Freud's social and cultural milieu in fostering this appreciation of classical culture? Did classical learning merely provide Freud with an entrée to Europe's social elite, an opening that would later be exploited in order to legitimate psychoanalysis as claims, or did his early exposure to the classics provide him with a foundation upon which his later theories were built? If the Greek legacy was foundational in his work, how was this manifested in psychoanalysis? Is there evidence of this legacy in his theory of dreams, sexuality and the unconscious? Addressing these questions will illuminate Freud's involvement with classical antiquity and thus help us to better understand and evaluate his theory.

In attempting to answer these questions, other questions soon presented themselves. These often brought with them far more complex problems that, although often structurally inconvenient, could not be ignored. Throughout this study my concern has been to enrich the understanding of the classical legacy in Freud's work. I wished to explore the area – to signpost it - rather than to delimit and exhaust a more circumscribed area of the research. As such the thesis was conceived as a broad investigation rather than a narrowly defined study. It was envisioned as an opening up of a field of debate rather than a study of some particular aspect of Freud's debt to antiquity. Investigations following from these general aims tend to interconnect and diverge, or expand into different domains. I have tried to follow these different strands of inquiry without losing the overall structure of the study.

There are, of course, certain drawbacks to such exploratory studies. They tend to become digressive and less rigorously argued, with generalised statements often taking the place of detailed discussion. Nevertheless, in this particular instance, I believe that the advantages of this approach outweigh the disadvantages. A more general and overarching investigation concerning the legacy of Greece in Freud's work allows for a more complex and multifaceted perspective, one that is not always possible in more focussed research.

Let me illustrate these comments with an example. In considering the first research question, the depth of Freud's knowledge of Greek classicism, it was important to look at Freud's early education and the place of the *Gymnasium* in Austria and Germany. But in order to discuss this system of education one needed to have some understanding of its historical roots in German Hellenism[2] and the ideological constructions circulating around the concept of Greece in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Examining these ideologies forced the research still further afield – for it is impossible to discuss German Hellenism without taking into consideration Winckelmann's re-discovery of Greece in the eighteenth century and the impact of this discovery on nineteenth century European thought. The grand architects of *Bildung* (the systematic "formation" of one's character and intellect) Wilhelm von Humboldt[3], Wolf and Goethe, all owed their first allegiance to Winckelmann, and they based the new curriculum of German and Austrian schools upon Winckelmann's claim that in order to be great, one needed to imitate the Greeks. It is by following these threads that this text is woven. Thus Winckelmann, almost unknown to me at the beginning of the research, became an important figure in my understanding of Freud and Greece.

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[2] Hellenism as a neoclassical movement distinct from other Roman or Graeco-Roman forms of neoclassicism emerging after the European Renaissance is most often associated with Germany and England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Germany, the pre-eminent figure in the movement was Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

[3] From 1802 to 1819 Von Humboldt reorganized the German school and the university system in such a way that they became the models for advanced education everywhere. His overriding admiration for Greek culture led to his ideal of *Bildung* – the development of human powers *(Kräfte)* designed to save man from becoming alienated from his inner self (Lloyd-Jones, 1982).

A similar process of unravelling "Greece" in Freud's life is to be found throughout the thesis. It is difficult to discuss the role of Greek mythology in Freud's theory of dreams, for example, without some understanding of the pivotal role played by Greek mythology in German literature; a cultural tradition that infused and nourished eighteenth and nineteenth century thought. To acquaint myself with the early sexologists it was important to read as much of their work as was possible. These works (Havelock Ellis, Weininger, Iwan Block, Carpenter, and Ulrichs) formed an intriguing aspect of this research and assisted in the growing realisation of the importance played by Greece in providing an alternative discourse on sexuality. As the research progressed it became evident that the role played by Freud in this project was easier to understand if one situated him within the framework of early sexology.

Students who were exposed to the rigours of the elite *Gymnasium* education were able to access Greek texts that provided a very different view of social and sexual conduct. It is claimed that the different cultural attitudes to sexuality and the body contained in these texts provided an alternative discourse. The rediscovery of "Greece" in the eighteenth century and the adoption of Greece as the apogee of civilisation provided Freud and the early sexologists with a means of challenging and countering the moral and scientific perspectives on sexuality prevailing at the time. Nowhere is this difference more apparent than in the attitudes Greek culture displayed towards homosexuality. Contained within Winckelmann's vision of Greece is a discourse on sexuality and the aesthetic that permeated the whole reception of "Greece" (Potts 2000). Modern writers such as Potts (2000) and Richter (1992) have both drawn attention to the erotic and sensuous language that was used by Winckelmann in his aesthetics of the male nude. Venerated as Germany's foremost art historian, Winckelmann's homoerotic discourse informed the appreciation of the next few generations. The filtering of homosexual desire through the lens of Greek art, and the ideals of subjective and political freedom so closely identified with the antique male nude resonated with the culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Winckelmann's presentation

of the male nude becomes for the male viewer both an object of desire and ideal subject with which to identify (Potts 2000). The privileging of male sexuality, together with a passionate apologia for the value of male friendship tended to efface the female in the realm of sexuality and society. I will claim that the ambiguity in Freud's writing when dealing with female sexuality is as much a result of Winckelmann's homoerotic legacy as it is of Freud's Victorian patriarchal upbringing.

The cultural influence of Hellenism persists in Freud's oeuvre in his attitude to humanity and in his pessimistic worldview. It is most acutely felt when scientific theory fails him, and it is at such moments that he is most likely to turn to the Greeks for inspiration. Although Winckelmann's idealised representation of Greece was foundational in Germany, it was also subjected over the decades to different interpretations, critiques and reformulations (Hatfield 1943; Hugh Lloyd-Jones 1976; Ferris 2000). The turning point in the modern understanding of early Greek thought was, according to Lloyd-Jones (1976), the publication of Nietzsche's (1993) *Birth of Tragedy*. Nietzsche, and not Freud, was to invent the concept of sublimation, and his privileging of the irrational in human conduct permeated later studies in German classicism, and attitudes towards Greece in general. There is little doubt that Nietzsche's conception of the Dionysian in Greek culture influenced Freud's psychoanalytic theory.

The major thrust of this thesis concerns the way in which Greek culture and its legacy informs, supports and transforms Freud's theory. Sometimes when discussing antiquity in Freud's life (as in the case of archaeology) it is necessary to expand the discussion to include other parts of the Mediterranean basin. Freud's deep love of Italy is an essential part of his love of the past, but there is little doubt that his first visit to Athens was the consummation of his life long engagement with this legacy.

The thesis is divided into ten chapters, each of which deals with a particular aspect of Freud's relationship to Greek antiquity. The first chapter examines the place of Greek antiquity in Freud's

life and discusses Freud's deep personal investment in antiquity. One of the major claims of this thesis is that Freud did not simply acquiesce to an ideology that placed Greece at the centre of the world, he immersed himself in this world. This emotional and intellectual attachment to Greece can be seen in the way in which he surrounded himself with artefacts, books and friends that nourished and sustained his passion for antiquity.

The second chapter - Freud, Hellenism and fin de siècle Vienna - positions Freud within the cultural framework of his day. It discusses Winckelmann's seminal influence in creating an ideology that dominated Germany's institutions from the middle of the eighteenth century up to and including Freud's lifetime. The chapter explores the reception of Winckelmann's Greek ideal, and the afterlife of this legacy. The symbolic position of the Laocoön in Hellenism, and the debates it gives rise to, is briefly touched upon in order to contextualise the complex theorising around the human body. The challenges to Winckelmann's tradition are discussed with particular reference to Nietzsche. The last part of this chapter places Freud within fin de siècle Vienna. It explores the many paradoxes that existed, and Freud's response to the feelings of anxiety and insecurity engendered during this time.

Chapter three explores the *Gymnasium,* a system of education that developed out of Winckelmann's ideological prescriptions regarding culture. Freud's response to his early education is analysed and it is argued that Freud's emersion in classical antiquity as a young scholar played a seminal role in the development of his later theories. The role of the *Gymnasium* in fostering Jewish assimilation is also explored and it is argued that Freud's deep identification with Greece can at least in part be attributed to his status as a Jew in Vienna and his need to forge a German identity.

Chapter four expands on the previous chapter. It claims that the fragile world of the fin de siècle and the surge in anti-Semitism encouraged Freud to search for a universal and international tradition upon which to build his life and his work. Greek Hellenism enshrined the values of

humanity, freedom and democracy, while at the same time standing apart from theology and Christian history. The neutrality of Hellenism in the face of the opposing religious traditions of Christianity and Judaism provided Freud with a personal and professional shelter, while at the same time it represented the undisputed source of Western culture. Freud was always aware of his situation as a Jew in Vienna. The growth of fascism and anti-Semitism in Austria and Germany could not easily be ignored. The pessimism that he so often revealed throughout his life is partly a response to these events. Again, in the Greeks, Freud found common ground. Philosophical resignation in the face of necessity is a leitmotif in Greek tragedy. This vision of life can also be traced in the writing of both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, but finds its clearest exposition in Freud's *Civilisation and its Discontents*.

Chapter five examines the emerging "science" of psychoanalysis and the ways in which Freud used Greek classicism to support his theory as he explored avenues of psychological understanding outside the constraints of traditional scientific endeavour. It is argued that the initiation schools of Greece, the Greek Academy and the various schools of classical scholarship presented Freud with alternative models of teaching and practice. Elements of these models were later incorporated into psychoanalysis as it developed outside the formal boundaries of the university.

Chapter six investigates the metaphor of archaeology in relation to psychoanalysis. It is claimed that Altertumswissenschaft encouraged the construction of overarching theoretical frameworks and that Freud was influenced by this paradigm. Although it would be a distortion to argue that the study of archaeology was solely concerned with Greece, Greece did provide the initial impetus for the burst of archaeological activity in Germany that so influenced Freud. Schliemann and his search for the hidden city of Homer's Troy became the symbol of a dream realised. The archaeological metaphor is foundational in the construction of psychoanalysis, and as such has been the most widely researched and debated area of Freud's relationship with antiquity. This metaphor plays and an extremely important, if controversial role, in the structure

and the content of Freud's theorising. From the outset of his clinical investigations Freud used the ruins of Troy, Mycenae, Knossos, Rome and Egypt to extend his insight into the mind. Schliemann, and his legendary obsession with Greece and her heroes, provided Freud with a source of inspiration and identification.

Chapter seven deals with the place of mythology in Freud's theory of dreams. The impact of Hellenism on Germany's poets, philosopher and writers is discussed and Freud is situated within this cultural tradition. It is claimed that Germany's obsession with the mythic gods of Greece made the symbolic material of dreams accessible to Freud as he grappled with their interpretation. These mythopoetic forces are discussed in relation to Freud and similarities and dissimilarities between Artemidorus and the old dream interpreters are explored. The iconic role assumed by the Oedipus myth in Freudian theory is positioned in terms of Freud's response to philology, mythology and dreams. Chapter eight, "of gods and monsters" extends the discussion on mythology, and investigates a number of themes, including castration, that dominate Freud's theory. The myth of Medusa is presented as a trope for Freud's theory of female sexuality and the "Dionysian" tradition in Germany is discussed with particular reference to Nietzsche. It is claimed that the chthonic gods of Greece, and the Dionysian realm of sexual and the irrational forces are an important source for Freud's understanding of the repressed realm of the unconscious.

Chapter nine focuses on the erotic legacy that was made available through Greek art and literature. It is argued that this legacy existed for a long time outside the conventional domain of classical studies but exerted a considerable influence upon the discourse around sexuality, gender and the body. The importance of the hermaphrodite in Greek art encouraged debates around bi-sexuality, and the institution of Greek homosexuality in classical Greece demonstrated the relativity of nineteenth century categories of deviance and perversion. It is also claimed that the privileging of the phallus in ancient religious cults supported and authorised Freud's phallocentric theory of sexuality.

The final chapter looks at the close and surprising relationship that existed between the science of early sexuality – sexology - and classical studies. It will be argued that from the beginning of the nineteenth century a nexus of interests coalesced around the science of sexuality that in many ways posed a challenge to the dominant psychiatric discourse.

In each chapter I have attempted to locate Freud within a broader historical context. Psychoanalysis, despite many of Freud's claims, did not develop in isolation but arose out of an active dialogue between Freud and his social, cultural and political milieu. Freud was very much an active participant in many of the debates that emerged during his lifetime in Austria and Germany. These debates concerned, among others, the place of the irrational in man and culture, the origin and evolution of the mind, and the nature of human sexuality.

Freud both reacted and contributed to these debates. The thesis argues that Freud's reception of the Greek classical tradition played a vital role in the genesis of his oeuvre. These arguments usually take a history of ideas approach. Attention is primarily directed to Greece as a source of ideas and the complex role it played in shaping Freud's theory of psychoanalysis.

CHAPTER 1

GREEK ANTIQUITY IN FREUD'S LIFE AND WORK

> A dedicated classicist, Freud took the arts and literature of the Graeco-Roman tradition as a prime source of knowledge about the human condition (Spitz 1994:26).

Freud's knowledge of classical Greek culture, according to Gay (1998) in his survey of Victorian bourgeois collectors, far exceeded the general requirements of a well-educated professional in nineteenth century Germany and Austria. Freud began buying, rather than merely longing for antique objects, from about December 1896, a few months after his father's death. He was then aged forty, the father of six children, and at the beginning of the most productive time of his life. His father's death released him from many of his obligations thus enabling him to pursue his interest in this area. Although Freud's collection is not in the same league as many collectors at that time (his finances would not allow it) he showed a fine and discerning eye when obtaining his acquisitions (Gay 1998; Spitz 1994). This is evidenced in his considerable collection of antiquities which amounted to well over 2000 pieces.

His travels to Italy and Greece, his subscription to classical journals, and the numerous classical references in Freud's psychoanalytic texts indicate the importance of this legacy in his work. Many of his friends shared his enthusiasm for antique culture, and often presented him with gifts of statuary. These were crowded in bookcases and cabinets, and massed upon his desk. Even today, visitors to his rooms are struck by the numerous items he collected over the years.

Freud's Antiquities.

Freud studied for a year under Charcot in Paris from 1885. One gathers from letters addressed to his fiancée Martha Bernays that Charcot not only impressed Freud with his studies on hysteria but also with his large library and collection of antiquities. One of the most arresting objects in the Freud museum at Maresfield Gardens is the engraving of Charcot, prominently positioned above the couch in his consulting room. Freud was no doubt paying tribute to Charcot for his inspiration and insight into the treatment of hysteria, but it has also been suggested by Gay (1998) that Freud

was acknowledging Charcot's impetus in the starting of his own collection of antiquities. Throughout his many years of collecting, Freud frequently rearranged his antiquities, but they were always located within his study and consultation rooms, and never in his living quarters (Gamwell 1989). Although Freud gathered artefacts from all over the antique world including Egypt, Rome, Mesopotamia and India, this chapter concentrates on his Greek acquisitions. Freud's rooms made a powerful impression on both his visitors and patients, and Freud found in these objects a source of *Erquickung* - rejuvenation, inspiration and refreshment - a quickening of life. Freud selected a bronze statue of Athena to stand in the centre of the antiquities on his desk (Gamwell 1989) which, according to Armstrong (1999), points to the importance that Freud placed on the Greek legacy in his life and work.[4] Freud's antiquities amounted to more than a fashionable Victorian pastime.

> Analysands and colleagues visiting his apartment stood in awe of the brigade of statuettes he had gathered across the years. Toward the end of Freud's life, it added up to more than two thousand items, rounded out with a well-thumbed library on archaeology, which made him a knowledgeable collector victimized by only a few fakes. His massive display of silent witnesses to ancient civilizations crowded glassed-in cabinets and bookcases, invaded tabletops and his desk. His apartment at Berggasse 19 was truly a collector's haunt (Gay 1998:140).

A careful and conscientious collector, Freud was able to assemble an impressive collection of statues with the limited funds at his disposal. Although Freud avoided forgeries he was comfortable with acknowledged reproductions (Gamwell 1989). These reproductions are of great importance. They indicate far more clearly than any original, whose procurement must always be subject to availability and cost, a deep desire on Freud's part to possess these objects over and above their actual value. As Gay (1998) has indicated, they point to an emotional desire that seems to override that of the antiquarian to possess the rare and original objects. Freud wished to own these objects for their symbolic nature and for the personal meaning they held for him. In his

[4] Armstrong (1999) comments that Freud mistook this favourite object for a 5th century Greek original, when in actual fact it was a Roman Pallas Athena.

biography Jones states that one of Freud's greatest pleasures was to give small treasures from his collection to his friends. He also remarks on the value of these objects for Freud:

> It was one of Freud's great pleasures to make presents from time to time of various objects from his collection, and several of us treasure such pieces. His son Ernst, who possesses several valuable selections, naturally chose them according to their artistic value; to Freud this was always secondary to their historical or mythological significance (Jones 1964: 450).

It is precisely because of his emotional and psychological investment in these antique objects that Freud decided to place a plaster cast of *Gravida* above the foot of his couch. Freud's fascination with Pompeii, its burial and subsequent excavation, became a leading motif in his understanding of the nature of the psychoanalytic method, and one of his earliest psychoanalytic works, written only a year after the publication of the "Dora" case, was his study of Jensen's novel *Gravida*. Freud clearly identified with the main protagonist in the novel, Norbert Hanold, an archaeologist who is driven by his repressed childhood memories to go in search of his past among the ruins of Pompeii. Acknowledging his obsession with Pompeii as an archetype for psychoanalysis, Freud also hung two large Pompeian frescoes, one representing a centaur and the other the Arcadian god Pan, above his armchair (Flem 2003).

The narrative of Oedipus dominates the psychoanalytic process and Freud prominently displayed a copy of Ingres's *Oedipus and the Sphinx* in his consulting rooms as a symbolic reminder to all who entered his rooms that Oedipus held the key to the analytic process. A less personal, but nevertheless iconic artefact in Freud's consulting rooms, is a reproduction of the famous sculpture *Laocoön*. Ever since Winckelmann, the *Laocoön* has been regarded by Germans as representing the quintessential qualities of the Greek ideal. In displaying this reproduction Freud acknowledged Winckelmann and his legacy. Freud also possessed about fifty prints, many of which depicted archaeological sites, including a nineteenth-century engraving of the Acropolis at Athens, and a picture of the pyramids with the Sphinx in the foreground.

Gay has remarked that collecting for Freud went beyond being an aid to self-approval, or a ticket to social approval - "collecting was also a kind of love" (Gay 1998:141). In the same way that these reproductions indicate a psychological investment that transcends collecting - and as Gay (1998) points out collecting is in itself a very invested process - so too are many of Freud's comments concerning his antiquities. He often mentions his collection in his letters to his friends, and enthusiastically described any new additions. He even took some of his statuettes with him when he went on vacation. These artefacts raise all sorts of questions about the role and function of Freud's "predilection for the prehistoric". In a letter to Stefan Zweig, in 1931 Freud confessed:

> I have sacrificed a great deal for my collection of Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquities, and actually have read more archaeology than psychology (Botting 1989).

His deep resonance with the ancient world was recognised by all who knew him and his consulting rooms embodied his personality rather than effaced it. His famous patient the Wolf-Man commented that:

> There was always a feeling of scared peace and quiet here. The rooms themselves must have been a surprise to any patient, for they in no way reminded one of a doctor's office but rather of an archaeologist's study. Here were all kinds of statuettes and other unusual objects, which even the layman recognised as archaeological finds from ancient Egypt. Here and there on the walls were stone plaques representing various scenes of long-vanished epochs. A few potted plants added life to the rooms, and the warm carpets and curtains gave them a home life note. Everything here contributed to ones feeling of leaving the haste of modern life behind, of being sheltered from one's daily-cares (quoted in Clark 1980:289).

After his death Freud was cremated and his ashes were placed in a Greek vase, a red- figured krater decorated with a Dionysiac scene given to Freud in 1931 by his close friend and confidant Marie Bonaparte (Gamwell 1989). Dionysus is the god of wine and sexual potency, but he is also a god of the underworld and afterlife - a most appropriate vessel then for housing the remains of this intrepid explorer of the unconscious and the Dionysian forces of Eros and Thanatos.

Freud's library and his reading

Libraries are often one of the most important indicators of a person's character and interests. This is certainly the case with Freud. His collection of classical literature is a clear manifestation of his interest in Greek antiquity (Gilman 1994). Commenting on the contents of Freud's library in London, Mitchell-Boyask (1994) wrote:

> Freud's deep and abiding interest in antiquity can be seen in his library's extensive holdings of books, both primary and secondary, about all aspects of Greece and Rome, and I believe Freud's books about classical myth and literature can tell us at least as much about him as his famous collection of classical statuary (Mitchell-Boyask 1994:23).

Freud started collecting books as a young student, and pursued this passion throughout his life. In a letter to Silberstein in 1874 he wrote:

> There is the pleasant prospect of every month enlarging my beloved small library, which gives me infinite pleasure (Boehlich 1990:78),

and in a subsequent letter noted that he "has a free hand at Braumüller's the University bookshop', and 'make[s] the fullest use of that freedom "(Boehlich 1990). Years later, in the *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) when analysing his "dream of the botanical monograph", Freud refers to his bibliophile propensities: "when I became a student I developed a passion for collecting and owning books" (S.E. 4:258).[5] Even during the financially and intellectually demanding years of his medical studies Freud still pursued his eclectic intellectual interests and book buying.

Freud was a fine linguist[6] and able to read French, German, English, Spanish, Latin and Greek with ease. His library reflects his taste in both the sciences and the humanities. The contents of his library in Vienna at 19 Berggasse are thought to have numbered approximately 3,600 volumes in 1938. When fleeing Vienna in 1938, Freud was forced to discard many of his volumes. Uncertain as to how many books he would be allowed to take with him to London when

[5] All references to S.E. in the text and references are to *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (2001). Translated by James Strachey London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

[6] Freud and Silberstein invented a secret society, the Academia Castellana. By 1871 they had already constructed a mythology and started to learn Spanish, the language they used primarily in their correspondence (Boehlich 1990).

he emigrated, Freud and his daughter Anna went through the library book by book, discarding those that were no longer of great importance. Freud dispensed with almost a third of his books, for the most part neurological and psychiatric literature (Davies and Fichtner 2006).[7] He shipped his most precious books, about 2522 works, to England where they were later housed in his London home in Maresfield Gardens - today the Freud Museum.

A rough division of Freud's library into subject categories provides the following picture; archaeology, history and art, followed by religion, literature and philosophy form the focal point of the humanities section of the library, whilst the medical-scientific part of the library is comprised of literature from the neurosciences, and psychiatry, with the largest area devoted to psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. Psychology and natural science make up a smaller sub-section (Davies and Fichtner 2006).[8]

Very few texts written in original Greek and Latin remain in Freud's library and only translations of classical Greek literature still exist. This suggests that, at least in later life, Freud was content to rely on the work of German translators such as Wilamowitz, Gomperz and Schleiermacher, instead of reading the originals in Greek. Although one might expect that Freud lost some of his facility with classical languages, Mitchell-Boyask (1994) points out that Freud frequently marked and commented on Greek and Latin passages in his books and that this is especially evident in the work of Constans, Laistner and Burckhardt.[9] It is clear then, that Freud's extraordinary ability to read and write classical languages, acquired during his school years, were not significantly weakened in the intervening years.

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[7] These books were sold to the Viennese book-dealer Paul Sonnenfeld. They were later bought by Heinrich Hinterberger and subsequently sold to the Library of the New York State Psychiatric Institute. Other books belonging to Freud are found in the Library of Congress, in the Freud Museum Vienna and in private ownership. (Davies and Fichtner 2006).

[8] Throughout the thesis I have turned to the books in Freud's library to substantiate a particular viewpoint. Although one cannot be sure that Freud read all the books in his library, the fact that he selected the final library in Maresfield Gardens would strongly indicate that they were considered personally important possessions. Furthermore many of the books found in the library, and discussed in the thesis are cited in Freud's work. Most important are the books that contain annotations and marginalia in Freud's own hand.

[9] Mitchell-Boyask (1994) notes that while these three authors fall outside the strict bounds of classical scholarship, they are all representative of the study of ancient Greek myth and culture in the late nineteenth century.

A number of primary classical texts are to be found in the Maresfield Gardens library. These include works by Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Artemidorus; a German edition of the Pre-Socratics; Aristotle's *Poetics* translated by Gomperz, a translation of *The Iliad* by Albrecht Schaffe, a German edition of Hippocrates, Plato's S*ymposium* and an English translation of Euripides' *Ion* (Michell Boyask1994). Gilman (1994), however, makes the obvious, but important point that Freud's reading and his library do not necessarily amount to the same thing. Many of the books Freud knew and loved are not included in his library. For example, Freud's bibliography in *The Interpretation of Dreams* cites numerous classical authors whose works no longer exist in his library – Aristotle's *De somniis* and *De divinatione per somnum*;[10] Cicero's *De divinatione;* Hippocrates' *Ancient Medicine and Regimen*; Herodotus' *History;* and Plato's *Republic,* to name but a few. Moreover, Freud frequently quotes in Latin and Greek and refers to other Greek classical writers such as Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Euripides.[11]

Freud's books and reading of secondary sources concerned with classical philosophy and mythology are considerable. Apart from Gomperz's three-volume *Griechische Denke* he possessed six of Jacob Burckhardt's books in his library, including *Griechische Kulturgeschichte.* Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1849) was considered one of the great German historians of culture and played and important role in the area of mythology. His books were readily accessible to the reading public and attempted to convey a holistic description of the Greeks. Heavily influence by Nietzsche, Burckhardt was especially interested in the psychological substratum that underpinned Greece's great achievements. It is not surprising therefore to find that Freud was an avid reader of his work, and many of these books are heavily underlined and annotated by him (Gilman 1994).

Freud was equally familiar with Germany's great classical scholars and as well as Theodor Gomperz, he cites Gruppe, Hermann, Mommsen, von Müller, and Wilamowitz in his work. Based

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[10] Freud also read Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachaea* as he writes to Silberstein (in 1874) that he has just read Aristotle along with Helmholtz's lectures and Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (Boehlich 1990).

[11] Virgil's lines from the *Aeneid* "Flectere si Nequeo superos, acheronta movebo" are most famously associated with Freud, he also referred extensively to the work of other Latin writers such as Horace, Plautus, Pliny and Plutarch.

on his reading, Freud was able to compare the manner in which the subject of Oedipus was treated by different authors, and was aware of the different approaches to the myth in the work of both Sophocles and Euripides[12] and in his library were copies of Ludwig Laistner's study *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*: *Grundzüge einer Mythengeschichte,* and Leopold Constans's *La Légende d'Oedipe.* Rohde's *Psyche* is also in his library and indicates his interest in contemporary scholarship. Rohde was one of Nietzsche's disciples and a highly regarded classical scholar.[13] The existence of books by Rohde and Burckhardt on Freud's shelves is significant for anyone who wishes to trace the influence of Nietzsche on Freud's work. Although Freud often denied reading Nietzsche's work, and none of his books appear on Freud's shelves, this denial appears to be more gestorial than factual as he quotes Nietzsche to Silberstein in letters that date from as early as 1875. The presence of texts by Nietzsche's disciples in Freud's library also point to more than a passing interest in, and exposure to Nietzsche's' work (Boehlich 1990).

Archaeology was one of Freud's great passions. He possessed numerous archaeological studies on Greece and Rome. A list supplied by Wendy Botting and Keith Davies[14] (curators at the Freud Museum) reveals that Freud's library contains over a hundred and fifty volumes dealing with archaeology. These included studies and drawings of Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Mycenae, Cyprus, Crete, Rome, Pompeii, Pergamum, and Naples. In addition he had works on Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Far East. Detailed and technical reports, specialist periodicals, and handbooks indicate Freud's disciplined and academic approach to this subject. Famous archaeologists represented on his shelves include Heinrich Schliemann (*Mykenae (1878); Ilios (1881);* and *Tiryns (1886)).* Sir Arthur Evans (*The Palace of Minos*), Wilhelm Dörpfeld (*Troja and Ilion*) and Howard Carter (*The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*) as well as books by Petrie and Layard. Books on art, aesthetics and art history abound. Specialist books include works on Greek

[12] He was aware, for example, of the background to the myth including the homosexual nature of Laios' transgressions and even comments to Fliess that the name 'Oedipus' literally translated means 'swollen foot'.
[13] It is interesting that in 1911 Freud first decided to call the new psychoanalytic journal edited by Sachs and Rank *Eros und Psyche*, perhaps in response to Rohde's famous translation. This journal later became the *Imago* (Paskauskas 1993).
[14] Botting & Davies (1989).

vases, Greek and Roman sculpture, burial artefacts, coins, medallions and amulets, as well as books relating to the classical nude, the sculpture of Lysippus and Phidias, and a study of women in the art of antiquity.

Freud's growing interest in ancient culture and mythology, an interest he shared with many of his contemporaries, led him to read extensively in classical evolutionary anthropology. His theory that past cultures could be used to throw light on the origins of our psychic lives was advanced by the work of early anthropology. Freud often did not distinguish between classical myth and those of other cultures, and he consequently referred to writers such as Bachofen[15], James Frazer, Andrew Lang and Crawley to supplement his understanding of mythopoetic forms of thinking. *Totem and Taboo (1912)* saw Freud move away from individual psychology to a focus on culture, religion and myth. Frazer's work was particularly fruitful in this regard, especially *Totemism and Exogamy (1910)* and *The Golden Bough (1890)*. For Freud the early myths still remained alive in our unconscious. His predilection for Frazer's work may be better understood when one considers Frazer's immersion in classical Greek literature, mythology and history. According to Kroeber (1960) Frazer influenced the thinking of many non-anthropological readers – including Freud - although (or perhaps because) he operated outside the mainstream of science at that time. Frazer was a classical scholar by training, and his active following was mainly classical, literary, and British: Andrew Lang, Gilbert Murray, Jane Harrison, and Robert Graves.[16] Significantly, Frazer was among those nineteenth century thinkers who, stimulated by Darwin's ideas of organic evolution, started to ask psychological questions about the stages of human evolution. Frazer explicitly maintained that not only myth and ethnographic data, but also studies

[15] Renowned for his comparative approach to classical history, and his knowledge of Greek classical myth and legend. Early on he shared a close relationship to Nietzsche as both men placed a stung emphasis on the gulf separating the ancient world from that of nineteenth century Germany. His work on the important role of the mother goddess in Greece and the ancient world was read by Freud, but never fully incorporated into his work (Downing 1975; Gossman 1983).

[16] He studied at the University of Glasgow and Trinity College, Cambridge where he graduated with honors in Classics (his dissertation would be published years later as *The Growth of Plato's Ideal Theory*) and remained a Classics Fellow all his life

of patients in mental hospitals and the ontogenetic development of the child could be used to shed light on the "primitive mind" (Hallowell 1960). In later years Freud's views were to closely resemble those held by Frazer, especially those concerning the place of totemism in society and the belief that early mental development in children resembled earlier forms of human development.

Freud's library, as one would expect, contains many books by Germany's great writers. When considering the legacy of Greece in Freud's work one must not forget that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Greece was refracted through the eyes of Germany's finest writers. This Hellenist revival, championed by writers such as Lessing, Goethe, Schiller and Heine, served to position Greece in the consciousness of every educated German. Freud quotes extensively from Goethe's writings, and possessed alongside Goethe's collected works, individual copies of *Faust* and *The Italian Journey.* Freud's ability to read and speak English, as well as his attraction to the language, its literature and its people, meant that he was also conversant with the English revival of Hellas. Accordingly he read works by the Victorian Hellenists Walter Pater,[17] Ruskin, Carlyle and Andrew Lang. This penchant for the English mind, especially Freud's reverence for English literature, led Strachey to remark that the imaginary model of Freud that he kept in his mind when he was translating Freud's work was that of "some English man of science of wide education born in the middle of the 19th century" (Phillips 2007:36). However parochial this attitude may be, Strachey's comments serve to highlight an essential aspect of Freud's cultural milieu.

Frankland (2000) in his investigation into the role played by literature in the creation and development of psychoanalysis writes:

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[17] The relationship between Ernest Jones and Freud must have played a role in Freud's familiarity with Victorian Hellenism. In a letter dated 30th March 1910 Jones writes to Freud "It is exciting news that you are writing on Da Vinci. What a superb subject! Do you remember Walter Pater's essay on Da Vinci, published in his *Renaissance*? You must quote his page of description of the Mona Lisa, for it is the most magnificent and beautiful passage of its kind in English literature. If you haven't it by now, I enclose a copy of it" Freud replies that he knew of the reference and made use of it in his work (Paskauskas 1993).

> It was primarily due to the traditional humanist education he received at the Sperl Gymnasium in Vienna that Sigmund Freud was so steeped in classical European literature. Here he was exposed to Homer and Sophocles, Shakespeare and Milton, and, of course Goethe and Schiller, amongst many others. An equally important factor, though, was his own life-long passion for books. He was reading Goethe and even Shakespeare well before he went to secondary school and his veneration for these authors was certainly more intense than that of most of his contemporaries who enjoyed a similar education (Frankland 2000:121).

Freud's writing frequently blurs the distinction between science and literature and he openly acknowledges the debt psychoanalysis owes to the great writers of every age. In his essay *Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's Gravida* (1907) Freud observes:

> An author, we hear them say, should keep out of the way of any contact with psychiatry and should leave the description of mental states to the doctors. The truth is that no truly creative writer has ever obeyed this injunction. The description of the human mind is indeed the domain which is most his own; he has from time immemorial been the precursor of science, and so too of scientific psychology...Thus the creative writer cannot evade the psychiatrist nor the psychiatrist the creative writer, and the poetic treatment of a psychiatric theme can turn out to be correct without any sacrifice of its beauty (S.E. 9:44-45).

The enduring interest in Freud's writing owes much to the nature of the Freudian text itself and it is precisely 'the poetic treatment of a psychiatric theme' that continues to haunt, frustrate and intrigue the reader. This essential quality of the Freudian text encouraged many to debate the question of whether psychoanalysis was more an artistic product than a scientific theory. Bleuler, the eminent Swiss psychiatrist sums up this attitude when he writes to Freud:

> But I remember I told you once that no matter how great your scientific accomplishments are, psychologically you impress me as an artist. From this point of view it is understandable that you do not want your art product to be destroyed (quoted in Clark 1980:294).

Freud's unique and imaginative synthesis of art and science was from the very inception a subject that caused heated debate, censure and often ridicule. His work is a hybrid, requiring a depth of knowledge not only of the sciences, biology, evolutionary theory, psychiatry, and medicine, but also of the humanities. A scientist by training, Freud was above all else aware of the power of

words – indeed his whole theory is predicated upon the healing nature of speech. He makes frequent use of classical allusions, quotes and references in his texts. Greek and Latin inscriptions abound in his theoretical work and he uses selections from the Homeric epics, classical history, poetry, tragedy and mythology with nonchalant ease. Frankland (2000) remarks that Goethe, Heine, and Schiller apart, Freud is more likely to refer to classical Greek and Roman literature than to any other German author. For example, under the first letter of the alphabet in the index of personal names in Freud's work, one finds twenty two classical names[18] as opposed to nine German authors, and in the *Freud Concordance* ancient (211) Antiquity (68), Antique (14) Antiquities (7) and Ancients (17) are listed a total of 317 times. The words Greek and Greeks are used 93 times; and Myth, Mythical, Mythological or Mythology are used more than 273 times in his writing.

Shoshana Felman states "in the same way that psychoanalysis points to the unconscious of literature, literature, in its turn, is the unconscious of psychoanalysis" (in Frankland 2000:62). The great works of classical literature illuminate and underpin Freud's discourse. When sifting through the multiple literary references in Freud's work it is the Greeks, and in particular Sophocles' Oedipus, that overshadow the whole. Frankland (2000) in exploring the role of literature in Freud's theory, writes that Freud's interest in a literary passage precedes the theory in support of which it is subsequently evoked. In other words, Freud does not simply turn to literature to illustrate a point in his theory; the theory often arises from reflecting on literary texts.

Freud's psychoanalytic circle

Freud's early psychoanalytic circle, which included Otto Rank, Sandor Ferenczi, Abraham and (later) Jones and Jung, was comprised of a number of individuals deeply interested in Greek antiquity and mythology, as well as in psychoanalysis. Their initial attempts at this interdisciplinary study were sometimes uneven and erratic, but as Glenn (1972) argues, this is not

[18] Achilles, Adonis, Aeneas, Aeschylus, Aesculapius, Agamemnon, Alcibiades, Alexander, Anaximander, Aphrodite, Apollo Apuleius, Archimedes, Ariadne, Aristarchus of Samos, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Artemidorus, Artemis, Artemis-Hecate, Athena, Atreus, and Attis

so much an indictment of the rashness of the psychoanalyst but rather the result of the classicists leaving it to them by default. From the correspondence between Freud and Jung, it appears that Jung's later immersion in mythology and the "collective unconscious" was prompted in part by Freud's own interests: "One thing and another have turned my thought to mythology and I am beginning to suspect that myth and neurosis have a common core" wrote Freud to Jung in August 1908 (McGuire 1991:122)[19], to which Jung responded sometime later:

> One of the reasons that I didn't write for so long is that I was immersed every evening in the history of symbols, i.e. in mythology and archaeology. I have been reading Herodotus and have made some wonderful finds (e.g. Book 2, cult at Papremis). Now I am reading the four volumes of old Creuzer, where there is a huge mass of material. All my delight in archaeology (buried for years) has sprung into life again (McGuire 1991:162).

In reply Freud wrote:

> I was delighted to learn that you are going into mythology. A little less loneliness. I can't wait to hear of your discoveries (McGuire 1991:166).

Mythology and its application to psychoanalysis soon became a constant theme in their letters. Unfortunately this enthusiasm for antiquity and mythology was to prove a most divisive element in their relationship. Freud became increasingly concerned with Jung's obsession with astrology, mythology and the occult,[20] and Jung's interest in solar mythology and the matriarchal myths of Bachofen led to Freud dismissing Jung's researches a few years later as "fights with the hydra of mythological fantasy".[21] Freud's approach to the subject of mythology was rational. For him, mythology was an important tool that could be used to explore and understand the unconscious. His anxiety about Jung's susceptibility to mysticism becomes increasingly pronounced and he expresses growing criticism in their subsequent correspondence. Freud was happy for Jung to "plant the flag of libido and repression" in the field of mythology and to "return as a victorious

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[19] Three months later, on the 11th of December 1909, Freud mentions the Kernkomplex (nuclear complex). Freud began using the term 'Oedipus complex in 1910.

[20] In the fin de siècle a large group of people found spiritual renewal in the growing tide of occultism and spiritualism. Germany experienced a renaissance of interest in the Hellenistic mystery cults of Mithras (Noll 1996). The Theosophical society and Wagnerism flourished in this new climate.

[21] Letter dated 2 August 1912 (McGuire 1991).

conqueror to our medical motherland" (McGuire 1991:213). . However, Freud developed a suspicion that Jung's over-enthusiastic research into mythology did not so much conquer mythology for medicine but was rather allowing mythology to conquer science.[22]

Travels in the antique world

Greece was regarded as the fountainhead of Western culture, but even in the nineteenth century, few travellers were hardy enough to make a journey to there. When Athens was suggested to Freud as a destination, his initial response was one of depression. He writes, "we discussed the plan that had been proposed, agreed that it was quite impracticable and saw nothing but difficulties in the way of carrying it out; we assumed, moreover, that we should not be allowed to land in Greece without passports" (S.E.22: 240). Rome, "Athens' handmaiden", was a far more viable destination and generally those who wished to marvel at antiquity found it easier and far more comfortable to visit Italy. There one could visit museums dedicated to classical art, view Greek pottery and statues, and still enjoy the pleasures of good accommodation, food and transport.

Moreover Italy contained enough Greek culture to satisfy even the most ardent Hellenist. Freud captures this aspect of Italian travel when he writes to Jung in 1910:

> Sicily is the most beautiful part of Italy and has preserved unique fragments of the Greek past, infantile reminiscences that make it possible to infer the nuclear complex (McGuire1991: 198).

Even in Italy Freud found travel difficult and later in this letter he complains of the sirocco, and the threat of cholera and malaria. From 1895 Freud made an annual pilgrimage to Italy. While there he used his time to explore many of its cities – Rome, Venice, Naples, Sorrento, Sicily, Pompeii, Capri, Amalfi and Florence. Baedeker in hand he frequented the museums, and familiarised himself with Graeco-Roman art and sculpture. He also ardently pursued and purchased artefacts for his collection and many of the treasures to be found in his library are a direct result of these

[22] These same charges have also been levelled against Freud by writers such as Popper, Wittgenstein and Cioffi who have all seen psychoanalysis as more of a myth of psychological processes than that of a science.

travels. Although Freud's relationship to Rome was one of intense investment, his years of travel in northern and central Italy only brought him as far as Trasimeno. From an early age he dreamed of Rome, repeatedly mentioned Rome in his correspondence, and made countless plans, which never materialised, to visit it with Fliess. In the *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) Freud tried to analyse his complex response to Rome, and only in 1901, after the completion of this magnum opus, and the termination of his relationship with Fliess, did Freud finally feel comfortable enough to visit it.[23] Jones (1964) commented that:

> in the later summer of 1901 there took place an event which had the highest emotional significance for Freud, one which he called 'the high-point of my life'. It was the visit to Rome, so long yearned for. It was something vastly important to him and consideration of it must therefore yield some secret of his inner life (Jones 1964:318).

Although this conflicted relationship with Rome has been analysed by many writers (Jones 1964; Anzieu 1986; Grinstein 1990; Flem 2003), none of these accounts have ever investigated the sexually transgressive nature that Rome was so often associated with in the minds of Northern Europeans. Freud's desire, always thwarted, to meet Fliess and hold a "congress" of two in Rome appears to indicate a desire constantly repressed. Instead of visiting Rome, Freud sublimated his desire by studying the topography of Rome, "the yearning for which becomes ever more tormenting" (Masson 1995:332).

Unlike Rome, Italy was always a source of deep emotional contentment in Freud's life. He first visited Trieste in his early days at the University, where he delighted in the warmth and sunshine, the relaxed atmosphere, so different from Vienna, and in the natural beauty of the land. Letters record his appreciation of the flowering olive and orange trees, the simple pleasures of wine and bread, and the joy he felt at being surrounded by constant reminders of the past. Accompanied by friends or his brother, but never by his immediate family, Freud was able to indulge his obsession for collecting and draw inspiration from antiquity. In 1904 Freud finally

[23] It was the first of seven visits that he made to Rome.

made his own pilgrimage to Greece, where his complex and emotional response to the Parthenon indicates how deeply Freud had internalised Hellenism.

Freud's Friendships

Freud's letters to his school friend Silberstein provide a wonderful record of his early student life and reveal the deep impression left by the *Gymnasium* upon both Freud and his peers. They reflect a world of shared intimacy and intellectual curiosity - elitist, cultured and already at ease in the world of ideas. They also reveal that most of Freud's university friends were not, as may be expected, involved in medicine or the natural sciences, but were rather to be found in the disciplines of philosophy and philology. Educated in the *Gymnasium,* they were all exposed to Hellenism, and this debt is reflected in their lives and professions. They include Richard Wahle, later professor of philosophy at Czernowitz and Vienna, Leopold Hertzog, who became a philologist, and Emanuel Löwy, one of Germany's leading archaeologists. Joseph Paneth, a close school friend, was at University with Freud and they stayed in touch with each other. Paneth later become a university lecturer in philosophy at the University of Vienna.[24] Another important friend of Freud's early youth was Siegfried Lipiner (he attended school with Freud, as did Wahle and Panath) and later achieved recognition as a minor poet, and close friend of Mahler. A disciple of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Lipiner explored many of the themes of irrationalism in his books (*Unbound Prometheus*, *Adam* and *Hippolytos)* and was greatly admired by Nietzsche (Beller 1989; Boehlich 1990). In later life many of Freud's colleagues and friends were drawn from medical circles, but even here one finds that these men were generally interested in areas outside the customary channels of medical research. Wilhelm Fliess is a good example and shared many of the same interests as Freud - a love of antiquity, unorthodox scientific theories and a mutual interest in bi-sexuality.

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[24] Joseph Paneth (1857-90). Freud wrote to Silberstein "with Paneth I engage in a lively exchange of ideas, fostered by the identity of our studies and the similarity of our aspirations" (Boehlich 1990:177). He succeeded to Freud's position in the Institute.

Another highly influential figure at the Vienna University was the eminent Viennese classicist Theodor Gomperz.[25] He, along with his wife and son, played an important part in Freud's intellectual and personal life[26] and the two families retained close contact throughout their lives (in later life Freud was to analyse both Elize and Heinrich Gomperz). Brentano, the eminent philosopher and psychologist, first introduced Freud to Gomperz when Freud was still a student at the University of Vienna. At the time Gomperz was interested in philosophy, and in particular the English enlightenment. A keen admirer of the English political system as well as its positivist and utilitarian traditions, Gomperz needed someone to translate John Stuart Mill into German. Following Brentano's introduction, Freud agreed to tackle the task of translation and he finally ended up translating five of Mill's books into German, including Mill's work on Grote's Plato.[27] An excellent example of Jewish assimilation, the Gomperz family, like Freud, had abandoned the traditional forms of faith and saw in *Bildung* a bridge from religious life to a secular life of the mind (Beller 1989).

Freud attended the lectures given by Gomperz[28] on the role of dreams in the psychic life of primitive men (published in 1866 as *Traumdeutung und Zauberei)* and this might well have influenced Freud's own interest in dreams (Mitchell-Boyask 1994). Gomperz's book *Griechische Denke Geschichte der antiken Philosophie Band i/ ii* (1893 and 1902) appears to have been a foundational text in Freud's life. In 1907, when Freud was asked to name ten "good" books, he listed Gomperz's *Griechische Denke* among them. Gomperz profoundly influenced Freud's interest in Greek cosmology, by introducing him to the early pre-Socratic thinkers.

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[25] Professor of philology at Vienna University

[26] Elize Gomperz is widely believed to have secured a painting by Böcklin (Die Burguine) from her aunt which she then bequeathed to the newly established Modern Gallery. It is rumoured that in doing so she managed to influence the Minister to promote Freud to the position of Professor at Vienna University.

[27] George Grote was a committed Utilitarian and a friend of both Bentham and James Mill. Lloyd-Jones (1982) claims that Grote made an original contribution to the study of Plato, and his history of Greece remained for many years the best in any European language. Jones (1964) conjectures that much of the knowledge Freud had of Plato was derived from this essay (Lloyd-Jones 1982).

[28] Theodor Gomperz (1832-1912) was a professor of classical philology in Vienna from 1875.

Freud's knowledge in this area was extensive. Not only did it encompass the early Greek cosmologies found in Homer and Hesiod, he was also familiar with the pre-Socratic thinkers such as, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Empedocles, Democritus, and Pythagoras. According to Bergman (1989) *Griechische Denke* was to become a source book for many of Freud's ideas, including the dual instinct theory that he based on Empedocles' theory of strife and love (Bergmann 1989). Freud's interest in the pre-Socratic philosophers is easy to understand as these early philosophers provided an important bridge between myth and science. Freud always recognised this link and it can be argued that this recognition led to some of his most fruitful inquiries.

Freud also formed a close intellectual relationship with Jacob Bernays. Bernays was Freud's wife's uncle and a professor of classical philology at the University of Bonn. Like Gomperz, he is widely known for his work on pre-Socratic Greek philosophy. Freud writes that he "had a hand in editing" Jacob Bernays' book *Ein Lebensbild in Briefen* which was published in 1932 and dedicated by Jacob Bernays to Freud. Freud was familiar with Bernays work on Aristotle,[29] and it is from this source that he derived the term catharsis. Of even greater interest, given his close relationship to Freud, is the fact that Bernays was a strong supporter of Nietzsche. Rohde claimed that Jacob Bernays recognised in *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) ideas that had long been in his mind (Lloyd-Jones 1976).

Freud reserved his greatest affection for Emanuel Löwy (1857-1938), the eminent Viennese archaeologist and Greek classical scholar. Löwy's best-known study is *Die Naturwiedergabe in der alteren griechischen Kunst* (1900). In this work anthropology and psychology join classical archaeology and the history of art in an effort to explain the fundamentals of Greek art (Donahue 2005). Löwy's proposal of the existence of a process in which mental images play a decisive role in art recalls Freud's theory of symbols. The friendship between Löwy and Freud continued until Freud's death and some of the last film footage of Freud shows them together in Freud's

[29] Freud owned two copies of Aristotle's *Politik*, one translated by Gomperz, the other by Bernays.

Hampstead garden. Jones (1964) remarks that outside of Freud's family and a few very old friends such as the Rie brothers, the only people to address Freud as *Du* were professor Julius Wagner-Jauregg and Professor Löwy. In a letter to Fliess (November 1987) Freud remarks that Löwy "pays me a visit every year and usually keeps me up until three in the morning" (Masson 1995) and in October 1910 he wrote to Ferenczi "My memories of Rome have recently been awakened by the almost nightly visits of my friend Löwy"(Eva Brabant 1993). Löwy was a prodigious scholar, and, undoubtedly, one of the most important sources of Freud's classical knowledge. In Freud's library there are eight books dedicated to Freud by Löwy most of which concern classical art - painting, sculpture, and pottery. They are often heavily annotated by Freud, and as such indicate that he found them important reference books. They were not only an important source of Freud's knowledge about antiquity but also a trigger for a great deal of interesting conversation in this area. Freud's knowledge about the myths in Plato's *Symposium* is just one example of the fruitful nature of these discussions. In all these friendships one can find a common thread - a mutual love of classical Greece. It is possible to conjecture that Freud learned as much about antiquity through his friendships with people like Löwy, Panath and Bernays, as he did from the books in his library.

The "two cultures" of Freudian analysis.

So frequent are Freud's references to classical history and literature that James Strachey, the editor of the Standard Edition, found it necessary to offer an explanation for the extensive editorial commentary he included in his edition on Freud's work:

> Freud was a striking example of a man equally at home in both of what have been called the 'two cultures' He was not only an expert neuro-anatomist and physiologist; he was also widely read in the Greek and Latin classics as well as in the literatures of his own language and in those of England, France, Italy and Spain. Most of his allusions may have been immediately intelligible to his contemporaries in Vienna, but are quite beyond the range of a modern English-speaking reader. Often, however, especially in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, these allusions play an actual part in the line of argument; the explanation could not be neglected, though it has called for considerable, and sometimes unsuccessful, research" (S.E. 1:xvi).

Strachey's claim that Freud was at home in "two cultures" is perceptive. Freud's intellectual ancestors were, in part, the reductionist scientific materialists, including his mentor, Ernst von Brücke (Noll 1996:42). But by the late nineteenth century Freud's thinking had burst these boundaries and in his search for a psychological model that did not reduce psychology to neurology, Freud found conceptual tools that were not available within the narrow confines of the training he received in anatomy, neurology and medicine. In attempting to break out of the restrictive nature of his reluctantly chosen field, Freud turned his attention to the classical foundations of his youth and the, often re-interpreted, classical tradition of his cultural milieu. Strachey's comments on Freud's use of classical allusion situate Freud within a particular tradition, which amounts to far more than a few colourful literary vignettes gleaned from the classics to add spice and colour to what may otherwise be a dry academic thesis. To consider Strachey's statement one needs to inquire into the dominant role played by Hellenism in education and culture in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Germany and ask why were Freud's classical allusions, so readily intelligible to his Viennese contemporaries as opposed to most modern English readers?

CHAPTER 2

FREUD, HELLENISM AND FIN DE SIÈCLE VIENNA.

In *Philosophy of History* Hegel wrote:

> Among the Greeks we feel ourselves immediately at home, for we are in the region of spirit, and though the origin of the nation, as also its philological peculiarities, may be traced farther – even to India – the proper emergence, the true palingenesis of spirit must be looked for in Greece first. (Hegel 1952:259)

This chapter looks at why Greece rose to such prominence in the nineteenth century and the role it played in the emotional and intellectual life of Germany. It tries, in other words, to clarify why Germans felt so at home among the Greeks. The historical antecedents of Greece's ascendancy in German culture are traced, and Winckelmann's legacy is assessed. The events leading up to a re-evaluation of Greece's legacy in Germany are explored and situated in the context of fin de siècle Vienna.

Greece as the locus of cultural achievement

In order to understand why Greece became such an important referent throughout European history it is necessary to examine what is meant by "Greece" and then to ask why this construct was so uncritically accepted as the locus of cultural achievement in Germany during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Greece, as Ferris (2000) notes, has in the course of history been constructed over and over again. As the research into the influence exerted by Greece upon Freud's ideas proceeded, it became apparent that "Greece" could not be viewed simply as an historical entity. Rather it was a minefield of conflicting ideologies all of which claimed ancestry to Greece (Butler 1958; Ruprecht 1996). One cannot demonstrate the importance of Hellenism in Freud's concept of sexuality, myth and religion without at the same time subjecting the complex concept of Greek antiquity and its reception in Germany to scrutiny. Only by doing so is it possible to appreciate the many contradictions that so often obscure an understanding of Greece's role it in Freud's life and work.

The problems surrounding the German reception of "Greece" makes it necessary for the thesis to move outside a carefully circumscribed analysis of Freud's work and enter the world of fin-de siècle Vienna. Every text in Freud's work referring to Greece needs to be treated with caution. One has to recognise that the Greece of Winckelmann and Arnold, the Apollonian ideal of "serenity and grandeur" and "sweetness and light" often lies side by side with the neo-classic ideal of reason and purity of form. Similarly the Greece of Byron, Goethe, and Pater, of Romantic Hellenism with its stress on freedom and individuality co-exists with Nietzsche's Greece – the Greece of orgiastic ecstasy and Dionysian abandonment.

Freud's texts do not make these distinctions explicit and although his early foundations owe their allegiance to Winckelmann, he was also deeply attracted to Goethe's Romantic vision of Greece as well as to Nietzsche's re-evaluation of Winckelmann's Greece. Understanding the uses of "Greece" in Freud's thinking also means deciding if Freud is referring to classical Greece (approximately 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[30]), earlier antiquity – archaic Greece for example - or Greek Hellenism, the Greece of later antiquity. Again, Freud never makes these distinctions clear in his writing. The Orphic symbolism of Hellenistic Greece, Homer's *Iliad* and the classical texts of Sophocles are all introduced into his texts in order to amplify a particular claim, and it is incumbent upon the reader to disentangle these various constructions. Further, as Ruprecht (1996) remarks, distinctions need to made within the phenomenon of antiquity itself. Greece, for example is not synonymous with Athens. The Acropolis in Athens may take pride of place in Freud's travels but the tombs at Mycenae, the palace of Knossos, and the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii exert an equally powerful hold on his imagination. These constructions of Greece are intermeshed in Freud's writing and the threads comprising the totality of his understanding of Greece as a concept are often difficult to unpick.

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[30] Winckelmann divided this period up into early and high classicism - a division that is retained in many textbooks on the subject.

Greece as a constructed ideology

Winckelmann played a pivotal role in the recreation of Hellas as a cultural imperative. It was, after all, his Hellenism that dominated the cultural discourse from the latter half of the eighteenth century. Although at some stages this interest dipped, the nineteenth century saw a resurgence of identification with Winckelmann, which according to Potts (2000), coincided with the major expansion of historical art archaeological studies in German Universities. By the nineteenth century Winckelmann's discourse had become so entrenched in Germany that few people recognised his role in its development. Hellenism had become an ideology.[31]

Although Greece was granted significance both in the Renaissance and in the Middle ages, its contribution during these periods was found primarily in the realm of science, philosophy and moral learning. Only in the eighteenth century did Greece develop into *the* reference point of Western civilisation, for only then did antiquity, and in particular Greece, become the measure of the highest cultural achievement (Ferris 2000). This is the legacy that Winckelmann bequeathed to Europe. Due to Winckelmann's influence a special conjunction between history and the aesthetic arose at this time. Ferris writes:

> Only at this historical point does Greece emerge as the cultural icon of Western art and literature. While this emergence coincides with the beginnings of modern archaeological research into antiquity at Herculaneum and Pompeii, such research was not enough by itself to determine the influential role Greek culture assumed during this period. Despite the appearance of this material, the archaeological discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii could neither provide an interpretation of their own significance nor could they produce the kind of systematic account of Greek politics, culture, and history that allows Greece to develop the paradigmatic significance it attains in Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* (1764) – a significance already present in his *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (Ferris 2000:4).

[31] By ideology I mean a set of beliefs that do not have to be consciously apprehended but provide those who hold them with an unquestioned source of values and ideas.

Winckelmann's writing provided a systematic vision of Greek culture, as well as a key to understanding the later creations of the Hellenised world.[32] Only after Winckelmann did classical culture become the standard against which every form of human activity was to be examined, for it was only then that Greece became the cultural model to be either emulated (Winckelmann), redefined (Nietzsche) or rejected (post-modernism).

Nietzsche's interpretation of Greece provides a good example of the manner in which Greece was harnessed to different, and indeed, contradictory ideologies. Believing that Winckelmann's theory of art repressed the unsettling elements in Greek art and tragedy, Nietzsche contested Winckelmann's construction of Greece and set out to destroy the version of Greece created under Winckelmann's aegis. In countering the rational, sexless and universal perfection of Winckelmann's Greek ideal with his revised theory of Dionysiac man (which Schorske was later to call "psychological man") Nietzsche rejected the prevailing theories of German philology based on Winckelmann's Apollonian concept of "Greece". Instead he posited a new construction. Significantly, as Ruprecht (1996) points out, he still did so in the name of "Greece". Out of the ashes of Winckelmann's Greece, Nietzsche forged a far more complex, ambiguous and modern construct, one that resonated with the concerns of the fin de siècle and the crisis of confidence in reason and the value of liberal ideals.[33]

Before considering this view it is important to clarify the project upon which Winckelmann embarked. Failure to understand this project not only makes large parts of German culture inexplicable, but also deracinates Nietzsche's thinking and his later influence on Germany.

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[32] Winckelmann claimed that the art of Rome was an afterthought. The pinnacle of ancient art had been achieved in fifth-century Athens. The decline of art began with the establishment of the Hellenistic kingdoms following the death of Alexander.

[33] Walter Pater in *The Renaissance* (1873) expressed his admiration for Winckelmann, but also his reservations concerning the Greek ideal that he so passionately advocated. Pater questioned the possibility of emulating this ideal in the following words: "Certainly, for us of the modern world, with its conflicting claims, its entangled interests, distracted by so many sorrows, with many preoccupations, so bewildering and experience, the problem of unity with ourselves, in blitheness and repose, is far harder than it was for the Greek within the simple terms of the antique life" (Pater 1998:146).

Nietzsche wrote:

> We imitate a chimera, and chase after a world of wonders which has never really existed. Such an impulse existed already in antiquity: the way men copied the Homeric heroes, the whole substitution of myth for reality. Gradually, Greece itself became an object of Quitzoitism. You cannot understand our modern world if you do not first consider the uncanny influence of sheer fantasy (Nietzsche *Wir Philologen* 7[1] (1896 I) in (Ruprecht 1996:).

What was this chimera of the eighteenth and nineteenth century that Nietzsche so detested? It is in the wake of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* that one finds the development of Hellenism, and it is here that Greece emerges as the ideal against which modernity has been "fated" to measure its aesthetic and cultural achievement (Ruprecht 1996). Winckelmann's impact is indelibly imprinted not only upon Lessing and Schiller but also upon Goethe, Burckhardt and Wilamowitz. He had a marked influence on all the thinkers that contributed to the German educational ideal of *Bildung*, and despite Nietzsche's repeated attacks on Winckelmann, it was Winckelmann's Greece that dominated the academic and educational institutions in Freud's day.[34] Although it would be difficult to make the claim that without Winckelmann there would be no Freud, one could postulate that without Winckelmann we would have had a very different Freud.

Winckelmann has been called the father of archaeology, the father of German Hellenism, and the father of the history of aesthetics – all of which makes him an extraordinary Oedipal figure in German history. His ideological construction of Greece laid the foundations for German Hellenism,[35] a conception that was to haunt the German psyche for the next two centuries (Butler 1958; Potts 2000). Inherent in this ideology were to be found not only the aesthetic but also the cultural prescriptions regarding beauty, restraint, sexuality, and gender. By the nineteenth century, this ideology had so permeated society that it was almost never questioned. Few referred to Winckelmann by name. Rather, his concepts had been absorbed into every aspect of German society – plastic art, literature, philology, philosophy, education and psychology. Freud only once

[34] See Wilamowitz's attack on Nietzsche (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1982).
[35] Hatfield (1943:2) defines Hellenism "as the cult of Greece and Greek art as conceived by Winckelmann".

explicitly referred to Winckelmann by name and yet the whole concept of *Bildung* is predicated upon Winckelmann's conception of culture. Many of Freud's perceptions regarding art and beauty are influenced by Winckelmann's Greece and Winckelmann's role in the development of archaeology placed Freud, with his passion for this science, permanently in his debt. Winckelmann's influence can be discerned in the cultural milieu that dominated Freud's early education and aspirations. Indirectly, it influenced Freud's privileging of the masculine, his theory of masochism, and his suppression of the feminine body. The 'homosocial' ethos that surrounded Winckelmann's life and work and infused his vision of culture was unconsciously incorporated into every aspect of German society. Implicit, and therefore never open to analysis, it moulded the sensibilities of succeeding generations.

The saturation of Winckelmann's ideology throughout German culture posits a dilemma. It is easy to analyse Winckelmann and his Greek ideal using the psychoanalytic tools that Freud has made available to modern consciousness. Pott's *Flesh and the ideal* (2000) and Richter's *Laocoön's Body and the Aesthetics of Pain* (1992) are admirable examples of such research. It is however, more difficult to argue the legitimacy of using Winckelmann's ideology to throw light on Freud's development. And yet the whole trajectory of Freud's life, his education, the literature he read for private enjoyment, his taste in antique art all ultimately all point to the debt that Germany owed to Winckelmann. Freud may never have read Winckelmann's texts, but there can be little doubt that Winckelmann's cultural ideal, his projections, and his psychically charged fantasies permeated the culture in which Freud was educated. Even today, Western European art still debates aspects of Winckelmann's vision – concepts of beauty and the sublime, harmony and proportion, the necessity of political freedom for the flourishing of art, and the incorporation of the sexual and the political into the foundations of art history. To understand Germany's cultural elite during Freud's lifetime makes it essential to have a passing knowledge of role played by Winckelmann in its creation.

Johann Joachim Winckelmann

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) was one of the major forces in German intellectual life in the eighteenth century. Martin Luther and the Reformation had held back the Renaissance in Germany (Hatfield 1943). Before Winckelmann, the prevalent attitude towards the Greeks in Germany was mostly one of widespread ignorance. Among the educated public there was an almost total neglect of Greek language, literature and mythology. Some scholars among the Pietists and early Rationalists had a passing knowledge of Greece but they generally exhibited considerable hostility to her pagan heroes and gods. This is not to say that Winckelmann did not have a few predecessors. Hatfield (1943) mentions Christian Tobias Damm (1698-1778)[36] and Gesner (1691-1761)[37] as early precursors to Winckelmann. Both elevated Greek culture above that of Rome and promulgated the belief that classical learning was essential to improve the taste and judgement of the student.[38] It was only after Winckelmann, however, that the Greek ideal captured the imagination of the German intellectual public. Much of this had to do with his passionate and eloquent writing on this subject (Hatfield 1943).

Born the son of a tradesman in 1717 at Stendal in Brandenburg,[39] he was murdered just over fifty years later in 1768 at Trieste.[40] From early childhood he was consumed with a passion for Greek history, art and literature and despite financial hardship devoted himself to studying the classics. In 1740 he became a tutor to Fredrick Wilhelm Peter Lamprecht,[41] and in 1748 he became librarian and secretary to the diplomat Count Heinrich von Bünau in Saxony, near

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[36] Director of the Kölln Gymnasium in Berlin.
[37] Gesner taught at Göttingen from 1734 until his death.
[38] The first in a long line of advocates that included Goethe, Matthew Arnold, Pater, von Humboldt and Wilamowitz.
[39] Butler states that Winckelmann was born in Stendal in the Altmark.
[40] Winckelmann's cenotaph is situated in the Giardino Lapidario at Trieste. This 'fantastic' monument became a place of pilgrimage for succeeding generations of German poets, artists and writers. A reproduction can be seen in Venice. Butler describes the cenotaph in this manner "On a plinth surmounting two pediments stands a pedestal ornamented with bas-reliefs. A coffin supported by four lion's feet, rests on the pedestal; and Winckelmann's Agatho-daimon reclines on the coffin sorrowing over the death of his favourite whose likeness he holds embraced on a shield. The bas-relief depicts Winckelmann torch in hand approaching a pyramid in front of which Greek, Egyptian, Roman and Etruscan remains are heaped. He is followed by Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, History, Criticism, Philosophy and Archaeology, all of them female figures with appropriate attributes" (Butler 1958:11).
[41] This resulted in an intense homoerotic relationship with his pupil. Many of Winckelmann's subsequent relationships tended to be modelled upon this early experience.

Dresden. Later he entered the service of Cardinal Passionei, a noted art collector living in Dresden. Passionei introduced him to the painter Oeser, who became a close friend to whom Winckelmann dedicated his most widely read and most influential work *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755). This was written at a time when Winckelmann had seen only a few Roman reproductions of Greek sculpture[42] yet it encapsulated his major thesis concerning Greek art and provided the framework for his magnum opus *A History of Art among the Ancients* (1764). Winckelmann converted to Catholicism in 1754 in order to be allowed to access the antiquities in Rome where he moved to in the following year. At the Villa Albani on the outskirts of Rome, he began cataloguing the collection of antiquities of Cardinal Albani, chief librarian to the Vatican. Winckelmann studied the vast collection of paintings and antiquities in the Vatican and visited the libraries and the remains of ancient architecture in Rome. His prodigious knowledge soon made him the world's greatest authority in archaeology, a position he maintained well into the nineteenth century.

Potts (2000) notes that it is not surprising that Winckelmann achieved the status of a cult figure and inspired all who read him. His prose was sensuous, elegant, and passionate. Blessed with physical beauty, he worshipped beauty in others. His rise to fortune from humble beginnings, his extravagant life in Rome, and finally his mysterious death[43] set him apart and made him a character of romance and intrigue. Moreover, his vehement belief that Greece provided the perfect model for Germany to emulate came at a time when Germany was struggling to redefine herself. His privileging of the male body redefined aesthetic taste. Beauty, as represented by Winckelmann, was quintessentially masculine and youthful, remote, and unavailable, to be gazed at, worshiped and admired. He was read and quoted by late Enlightenment and Romantic writers –

[42] Winckelmann's major thesis concerning Greek art was worked out in Germany long before he had viewed many of the great works of art in Rome.

[43] Winckelmann was murdered in Trieste, by a young man called Angelo, on his way (from Vienna) back to Rome. Although the murder was described as a robbery, the homoerotic nature of Winckelmann's life, his descriptions of the Greek male nude, coupled with his numerous relationships with beautiful young men give a homoerotic twist to his death.

Herder, Lessing, Goethe, the Schlegel brothers as well as by Hegel. Goethe[44](1749-1832) Pater (1839-1894) and Karl Justi[45] all wrote important biographies on Winckelmann thus instituting a tradition of interest in Winckelmann and his Greek ideal.[46] Winckelmann's reputation as the foremost art historian was unassailable, he was quoted in all the academic publications on Greek antiquity and his vision of Greece dominated every inquiry into this domain.

His theories also found their way into Johann Jacob Volkmann's *Historisch-Kritische Nachrichten von Italien*, an eighteenth century guide to the art of the ancient world, and the sight-seeing bible of thousands of German tourists to Rome each year. Volkmann's guide was determined by Winckelmann's standards of criticism and aesthetics, and the descriptions are presented entirely through Winckelmann's eyes (Hatfield 1943). The indispensability of Volkmann's guidebook for visitors interested in antiquity resulted in Winckelmann' vision informing every encounter with the antique world. Even Goethe took Volkmann's *Historical-Critical Account of Italy*, (3 vol. 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1777) with him to Italy (Richter 1992). From his diary and selected letters he appears to have studiously "done" Italy by the book. Tired of describing the sights of Rome to his fiancé in his letters, Goethe writes:

> I'll go on writing conscientiously, but if you'll get Volkmann's *Journey to Italy*, from the Library perhaps, I'll give the page references and proceed on the assumption you've read the book (Reed 1999).

In his 'flight to Italy' Goethe purchased an Italian edition of Winckelmann's *History of Art* which he found "very usable" as well as a copy of Winckelmann's letters. In December 1786 he wrote to Herder:

> This morning I picked up the letters Winckelmann wrote from Italy. With what emotion I started to read them! He came here thirty-one years ago, in the same season, an even poorer

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[44] On Winckelmann's influence on Goethe, Pater writes "as it was, Winckelmann became to him something like what Virgil was to Dante" Pater (1998).

[45] The biography of Winckelmann by Justi *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen* (2nd ed., 3 vols. Leipzig, 1898) is considered the best.

[46] Nietzsche wrote that if "an impartial judge may determine in which age, in which men the German spirit has most resolutely striven to learn from the Greeks" one could confidently assume that this honour "must go to the noble cultural battle of Goethe, Schiller and Winckelmann" (Nietzsche 1969:107).

> fool than me, and he was so earnestly German about making a thorough and solid study of art and Antiquity. What sterling good work he did from first to last! And what the memory of this man means to me in this place (in Reed 1999:120).

The writings of Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Herder perpetuated Winckelmann's ideal of Greece and influenced each succeeding generation.[47] The prominent position held by Winckelmann throughout Europe and particularly in England is seen reflected in the Arnoldian tradition, and in the English aesthetic circles of the nineteenth century.[48] Freud also associated Rome, and by implication Greece, with Winckelmann's name.

> I discovered the way in which my longing for the eternal city had been reinforced by impressions from my youth. I was in the act of making a plan to bypass Rome next year and travel to Naples, when a sentence occurred to me which I must have read in one of our classical authors: 'Which of the two, it was debated, walked up and down his study with the greatest impatience after he had formed his plan of going to Rome – Winckelmann, the Vice-Principal, or Hannibal, the commander-in Chief? (S.E. 4:196).

It took Freud many years before his dream of reaching Rome was realised, but clearly Winckelmann still dominated the *Gymnasium* of the nineteenth century and the discourse around antiquity.

Winckelmann's Legacy

What exactly was contained in the legacy bequeathed to Germany by Winckelmann? First of all Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1776) provided a model for conceptualising and synthesising art through a systematically conceived history of its rise, flourishing, and decline (Potts 2000). As the finds of early Greek sculpture came to light they were simply slotted into his schema, and even today Winckelmann's periods of ancient Greek and Roman art still retains some hold.[49] According to Winckelmann, Greek art was the highest expression of human culture. His scheme of Greek art is an effort to convey these abstract ideas by way of "beautiful figurations of the human

[47] For a detailed analysis of Winckelmann as a prelude to Weimar classicism see Hatfield (1943).
[48] Pater's essay on Winckelmann written in 1873 is particularly interesting for, although it is grounded in Winckelmann theory of art, it also reflects many of the themes to be found in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872).
[49] See Karl Schefold (1967 - first published in German 1965). The conception of Greek art is still strongly influenced by Winckelmann and the idea of conceiving Greek art in terms an evolutionary progression that moves from the archaic to classic and finally into a decadent phase is still retained.

body"(Potts 2000). Winckelmann envisioned the development of art in terms of four evolutionary stages. An archaic phase, followed by an austere early classic phase identified with the art of Phidias, and then a more graceful or sensuously beautiful later classic phase exemplified by the work of Praxiteles.[50] This was followed by the long decline of imitation in Hellenistic and Roman times (Potts 2000).

A Platonic conception of art and culture is evident in Winckelmann's writing. He describes "high" or "ideal" beauty as "the highest possible beauty of the whole figure, which can hardly exist in nature in the same degree in which it appears in some statues". These ideal 'brain-born images' were raised above the reach of mortality (Winckelmann 1881). With time these ideal forms of classical Greek art degenerated into the decadent copies found in the Roman period.[51] Winckelmann's distinction between "high" art on the one hand and "beautiful" (or "sensuous") art on the other recalls the distinction that Plato makes between celestial and erotic love in the *Symposium*. Sensual beauty writes Winckelmann:

> furnished the painter with all that nature could give; ideal beauty with the awful and sublime; from that he took the Humane, from this the Divine (Winckelmann 2001:14).

Thus from the beginning, art and indeed all cultural activity, was seen in terms of a "ladder of ascendancy", with a clear distinction made between the celestial and the earthy, the ideal and the flesh, reason and desire.[52] Winckelmann's grand cultural project also drew analogies between ideas of style in visual art and writing. Art and literature were seen by Winckelmann to follow the same pattern of development. Thus the classic period of visual art exemplified by Phidias shared

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[50] Winckelmann's privileging of Praxiteles has influenced modern histories of Greek sculpture to this day. According to Potts (2000) Winckelmann set the stage for a fashion that saw a rash of ascriptions of antique sculpture of beautiful little fauns and satyrs to Praxiteles. Modern artists copied this sculptural ideal producing a number of interesting renderings of boyish gracefulness and supposedly 'innocent' homoeroticism (Potts 2000:91).

[51] Degeneration is of course a dominant trope in the nineteenth century. Many of the discourses in medicine and art revolved around the concept of degeneration, and as we have seen, the whole of fin de siècle Vienna has been described in these terms.

[52] Plato's distinction between celestial and earthly love in the *Symposium* is alluded to by Winckelmann when contrasting the two forms of grace "One is, like the heavenly Venus, of more elevated birth, and shaped by harmony, and is constant and unchanging, like the latter's eternal laws. The second grace is, like the (earthly) Venus born of Dione, more subject to matter: she is a daughter of time, and only a follower of the first, whom she announces to those who are not devotees of the heavenly grace" (cited in Potts 2000).

the same features as the "sublimity" of texts by Aeschylus and Sophocles. The style of Praxiteles was marked by that same grace admired in the writings of Xenophon and Plato (Potts 2000).

Crucial to the development of Greece's influence was Winckelmann's attempt to reconfigure the aesthetic aspect of art and integrate this ideology into the social fabric of Germany. Potts (2000) points out that although Winckelmann's writing was designed specifically as an archaeological and antiquarian study of Greek art, it was also and perhaps essentially, about culture – how one comes to perceive and define culture and the social and political requirements for such a culture. According to Winckelmann Greek art flourished because of the interrelationship between environmental factors (a temperate climate which encouraged physical health, nudity and beauty) and political factors. Democracy encouraged both the political and social freedom essential for any cultural development. These same factors isolated by Winckelmann, crop up repeatedly in the eighteenth and nineteenth century discourse on nations, culture and race (Goethe, Arnold, Freud). In his lectures on aesthetics, Hegel wrote that Winckelmann succeeded in representing art as a phenomenon that transcended the narrow concerns of the art world and made it the basis for analysing some of the fundamentals of human culture and philosophic self-awareness (Potts 2000). Winckelmann's influence is best revealed in the many debates that surround his privileging of the Laocoön above all other Greek art.

The Laocoön

In placing a small plaster cast reproduction of the Laocoön in his study, Freud implicitly acknowledged the continuity of Winckelmann's legacy in his life and work. To fully appreciate this gesture, one needs to situate the Laocoön within the debates that circulated around the construct of Greece from the eighteenth century up to the present. The statue of the Laocoön, and the debates around it, indicate the complexity of responses to Hellenism, and analysis by Butler (1958), Richter (1992) and Potts (2000) provide important insights into the position of the Laocoön

in terms of the cultural representations it embodies, not only at the time that Winckelmann was writing, but in contemporary discourse.

The marble statue group, the Laocoön, is something of an icon in Winckelmann's work.[53] He explicitly states, "Laocoön was the standard of the Roman artists, as well as ours; and the rules of Polycletus become the rules of art" (Winckelmann 2001:3). Winckelmann first singled out the Laocoön[54] as the epitome of noble simplicity and still grandeur – "Eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Grösse" in his early essay *On The Imitation of the Greeks* (1755). His analysis of this work of art immediately became the criterion by which all other works of art were measured, not only by Winckelmann but, in the wake of his aesthetics, by most of Germany's greatest thinkers and poets. In discussing the Laocoön, Winckelmann wrote:

> The last and most eminent characteristic of the Greek works is a noble simplicity and sedate grandeur in Gesture and Expression. As the bottom of the sea lies peaceful beneath a foaming surface, a great soul lies sedate beneath the strife of passions in Greek figures (Winckelmann 2001:30).

The repression of pain, the renunciation of passion and the effacement of individual suffering for an ideal of self possession, emotional control and beauty epitomised, according to Wincklemann, the Greek ideal. This ideal later became the standard of *Bildung* and a trope for human conduct. Discussing the Laocoön Winckelmann writes:

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[53] This famous statue depicts the Trojan priest, Laocoön and his sons struggling in the coils of two serpents.

[54] According to Richter, the history of the Laocoön is intriguing for it encapsulates one of humanity's greatest dilemmas and paradoxes; the actual confrontation between the ideal and the real. For centuries, this lost statue was considered to be the ideal work of art. This idealisation was based upon the writing of Pliny who in his *Natural History* praised the Laocoön as "a work to be preferred to all that the arts of painting and sculpture have produced". Nobody dreamed that one day it would be discovered and that the ideal would become real. But this is precisely what happened. In 1506 it was discovered outside Rome and moved to the Belvedere Courtyard of the Vatican. This discovery, and its meaning – the tension between the real and ideal bodies of Laocoön - is wonderfully described by Richter: "The idea of Laocoön now had a material body. All the artistic and aesthetic desires, the directing principles and imperatives of art that had found an easy referent in the invisible Laocoön, were now confronted by its real presence. The next four hundred years would see artistic practice and aesthetic ideal strain within the uneasy contradiction between an aesthetic ideal – the imaginary Laocoön as a repository of artistic values and aspirations – and a corporate real- the material statue in all its determinacy. For centuries after its discovery, it was impossible to see the Laocoön in a manner unprejudiced by Pliny's remarks. Only in the twentieth century has it become possible to sand in puzzlement before the statue, astonished by the lack of fit between this "baroque" work and the superlative ideals it is claimed to embody (Richter 1992:14).

> In the representation of this most intense pain, however, there emerges the afflicted spirit of a great man, who struggles with extremity, and seeks to quell and stifle the outbreak of feeling (quoted in Potts 2000:137).

Why Winckelmann chose the Laocoön to be the supreme example of his thesis of noble simplicity and sedate/still/quiet grandeur has been debated by a number of different critics (Butler 1958; Potts 2000; Richter 1992) for the common consensus is that serenity and grandeur are precisely the qualities that the Laocoön lacks! According to these critics, it is one of the most fluid sculptures of its kind. In execution and theme it is more baroque than classical. Full of passion, suffering and movement it is "possibly the least calmly poised of the famous antiques of the period" (Potts 2000:4). And yet Winckelmann's admirers' continued to accept his definition of the Laocoön. These included, with certain caveats, Herder, Hölderlin, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe (Butler 1958). It was precisely the early debates of German Classicism surrounding the Laocoön and its representations that, according to Butler, inaugurated an intense interest in all things Greek among these poets and their readers. This marble statue is thus partly responsible for the "boundless, even uncritical enthusiasm, which entered into German literature with Laocoön and has been a vital factor ever since " [55](Butler 1959:70).

One of Winckelmann's major aesthetic rules was that passion had to be suppressed in order to serve beauty, and the German classical tradition located the Laocoön as the quintessential example of Greek serenity triumphing over the passion and tragedy of life. Butler sees in the Laocoön not only the erection of an absolute standard of perfection, but more importantly, the constriction of a whole society in pursuit of this ideal. She writes:

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[55] In his description of a group of tourists being guided around the Belvedere court-yard of the Vatican Museum, Richter (1992) has captured not only the symbolic nature of the Laocoön for contemporary Germans, but also the sense of cultural continuity which stretches from the eighteenth century in Germany to the present. He notes that there is no need for the guide to inform present day German visitors that they are standing in front of one of the most famous classical works of art. The Laocoön is a familiar cultural icon. "Even though housed abroad, the Laocoön statue is virtually a German cultural possession, as broadly meaningful to Germans today as it was two hundred years ago, and as it is to no other nation. The German tourists who consulted their Volkmann in the eighteenth-century learned much the same as their twentieth-century counterparts did from the tour guide" (Richter 1992:9).

> The Laocoön group is the ironical symbol of the German classical movement, which was strangled into painful contortions by pre-conceived notions of what Greek art should be. The German poets who subscribed to the myth of Laocoön achieved (as the sculptors had done) something strangely arresting, not a little bizarre, and undeniably piteous; a monument in which the effect of tragedy they (unlike the artists) strove to efface predominates on the whole (Butler 1956:81).

This repression of emotion and pain in order to realise an abstract Apollian ideal is the subject of Nietzsche's attack on philology. He believed that by denying suffering and the darker and more irrational elements of Greek art and literature classical scholarship had destroyed the very heart and driving force of classical art. The effacement of pain and suffering, "the sedate grandeur" beneath "the strife of passions" that Winckelmann believed to be the quintessential quality of Greek art made denial, sublimation and repression a psychological ideal to be emulated by every German. According to Gay (1998), the presence of the Laocoön in Freud's study symbolically unites a private appreciation of a work of art with a very public cultural identity. It also points to the exchange that continued to exist between Freudian psychoanalysis and classical studies. Winckelmann's paradoxical ideal, the experience of pain and its denial, continued to dominate German thinking well into the nineteenth century and beyond. Significantly, repression is one of the founding principles of Freud's theory of the unconscious. In hysteria, the serene and ideal surface of the patient finally shatters. The quiet depths at the bottom of the ocean break their bonds and finally the body overrides the mind to reveal the torment beneath the calm exterior.

Modern theorists in analysing the Laocoön point to the symbolic function that this work of art played in theorising the human body. Richter (1992) claims that there is nothing accidental about Winckelmann's choice of the Laocoön. He argues that the relation of pain, eroticism and beauty is crucial to Winckelmann's theorising and the various versions of classical aesthetics that were developed in the last half of the eighteenth century. In considering the Laocoön as an iconic representative of Greek art, Richter states that the serene surface of ideal beauty as well as the equally serene surface of its discourse simultaneously conceals and is dependent on some form of

the dynamics of the infliction of bodily pain. He argues that aesthetic discourse should no longer be artificially separated from the many other discourses that between them constitute a historically specific understanding of the human body (Richter 1992). Potts (2000) also explores the relationship between pleasure and pain in the classical representation of the nude body and between the erotic and at times sado-masochistic fantasy that is woven around the male nude.

These are of course modern debates, but it is interesting that many of Freud's later theories of sexuality explore similar themes of sadomasochism and sexuality. His papers "*A Child is Being Beaten: A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions" (1919)* and "*On the Universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love"* (1912) explores the relationship between sexuality and pain. In his essay on "*Instincts and Their Vicissitudes"* (1915) Freud analyses sadistic sexuality – the sexual arousal occasioned by the suffering of others - and he suggests that the spectacle of pain in others stimulates a mimetic representation that shatters the subject into sexual excitement (Bersani 1986).

Homoeroticism in Winckelmann's Legacy

In a post-Freudian world it is difficult to come to grips with Winckelmann's underlying response to classical art without at the same time taking into consideration his "temperament", the phrase used by Walter Pater to describe Winckelmann's "homosocial" orientation to art and culture. It is however, this "temperament" that infuses so much of the discourse around culture and sexuality in the nineteenth century. Pater writes about Winckelmann:

> That his affinity with Hellenism was not merely intellectual, that the subtler threads of temperament were inwoven in it, is proved by his romantic, fervent friendships with young men. He has known, he says, many young men more beautiful than Guido's archangel. These friendships, bringing him into contact with the pride of human form, and staining the thoughts with its bloom, perfected his reconciliation to the spirit of Greek sculpture (Pater 1998:122-123).

The "staining" of Winckelmann's Greece, with the "bloom" of homoeroticism, is one of the threads that I shall follow in this labyrinthine exploration of the relationship between classicism,

sexuality and Freud's writing. As Richter (1992) observes, Winckelmann's response to Greek art becomes translated (albeit in many different forms) into the culturally persuasive discourse on the body and sexuality and as this discourse becomes more and more divorced from Winckelmann's authorship, it becomes more and more implicit. Winckelmann's "homosocial" discourse infuses the very core of his aesthetics and as this aesthetic moves away from its source, so it becomes an unconscious reality and not simply one of many contending theories on art. Davis (1999) claims that Winckelmann's obvious enthusiasm for members of his own sex was conventional. For many generations, it had been possible for men to express "homoerotic" sentiments of mutual admiration and affection, often highly romantic. Winckelmann's writing identified this particular "taste" or "predisposition", although obviously later terms, such as "contrary sexual instinct" or "inversion" were unavailable to him. His construction of homoerotic relationships was based upon ancient practices and concepts, but one that he also found discernible in certain modern men. Davis claims that Winckelmann's imagination of the sexual history of the ancient world enabled him to reconfigure his own erotic imagination and his vision of erotic possibilities. These images later became a crucial point of reference for emerging modern sexuality (Davis 1999:262).

If the "Greece" of the nineteenth century is essentially the Greece of Winckelmann and if Winckelmann's intellectual history of Greece advances the claims of a homoerotic and homosocial tradition in human culture, as Pater and Goethe have stated and modern writers like Potts, Richter and Davis contend, then it is necessary to unravel the implications of this tradition in Freud's work. In analysing Winckelmann's "homosocial" development Davis (1999) suggests that Winckelmann's vision of erotic possibilities becomes a crucial point of reference for an emerging modern sexuality – what came to be called in the nineteenth century "homosexuality". He writes: "To retrace Winckelmann's steps is to explore how a distinctively modern sexuality was partly constituted in an engagement with ancient art" (Davis 1999). Potts (2000) claims the ambiguity of

desire that lies at the centre of Winckelmann's theory, creates, distorts, and amplifies some of the critical debates on culture and sexuality.

In discussing the sublime form of classical art Winckelmann extolled the almost sexless purity of the male body, while at the same time describing the male nude in the most sensuous and erotic language. His ideal of beauty is universal rather than particular – a "selection of the most beautiful parts and their harmonious union in one figure produced ideal beauty". Beauty, as seen by Winckelmann, is a composite of male and female genders - his beautiful youths (the Apollo Belvedere, Mercury, and Hercules, for example) are an intermediate between the two sexes. Of the marble Hercules he writes: "Hercules is likewise represented in the most beautiful youth, with features which leave the distinction of sex almost doubtful" (Winckelmann 1881: 328) and he describes the face of a sculpture of Bacchus, as exhibiting " an indescribable blending of male and female beautiful youth, and a conformation intermediate between the two sexes" (Winckelmann 1881:330). His bi-sexual ideal embraced the "equivocal beauty" of both eunuchs and hermaphrodites.

> The ancient artists have risen to the ideal, not only in the conformation of the face, but also in the youthful figures of certain gods, as Apollo and Bacchus. This ideal consists in the incorporation of the forms of prolonged youth in the female sex with the masculine forms of a beautiful young man, which they consequently made plumper, rounder, and softer, in admirable conformity with their ideas of their deities. For to some of these the ancients gave both sexes, blended with a mystic significance in one, as may be seen in a small Venus of bronze, in the museums of the Roman College. This commingling is especially peculiar to Apollo and Bacchus.
>
> Art went still farther; it united the beauties and attributes of both sexes in the figures of hermaphrodites. The great number of hermaphrodites, differing in size and position, shows that artists sought to express in the mixed nature of the two sexes an image of higher beauty; this image was ideal (Winckelmann 1881:318).

These aesthetic and sexual ambiguities in Winckelmann's discourse were not made explicit, especially within the context of *Bildung*, but they did inform and transform many of the discussions around sexuality and gender.

What is being suggested is that there is a lineage, a way of looking at the body that begins with Winckelmann's paradoxical and ambiguous reading of the male nude in Greek art and which then is passes down to succeeding generations. This view of the body and the erotic is a constant theme in the writing of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While perfection, either physical or psychical, is a male privilege, the contours that define it are fluid and rest on the notion of a continuum rather than on a polarisation between male and female. As Boscagli (1996) argues, only in the early twentieth century, following the rise of fascism, was this ideology extinguished. In order to counter the perceived ambiguities inherent in the construct of Hellenism, hyper-masculine Roman and German heroes were fore-grounded in an attempt to signify vitality and renovation.[56]

The diffusion of Winckelmann's ideal of beauty is evident in Freud's writing. Freud read Pater's *The Renaissance* (a text heavily indebted to Winckelmann) for his analysis of homosexuality in the painter Leonardo da Vinci. First published in 1873, Pater's work is a continuation of Winckelmann's discourse on aesthetics.[57] Freud's description of Leonardo's paintings reveals a deep understanding of this discourse and his writing displays many of the same textual qualities discerned in the writing of Winckelmann and Pater.[58] In discussing Leonardo's art Freud writes:

> These pictures breathe a mystical air into whose secret one dares not penetrate; at the very most one can attempt to establish their connection with Leonardo's earlier creations. The figures are still androgynous, but no longer in the sense of the vulture–phantasy. They are beautiful youths of feminine delicacy and with effeminate forms; they do not cast their eyes down, but gaze in mysterious triumph, as if they know of a great achievement of happiness about which silence must be kept. The familiar smile of fascination leads one to guess that it is a secret of love. It is possible that in these figures Leonardo has denied the unhappiness of his erotic life and has

[56] The sixties saw a rejection of hyper-masculinity with the appearance of unisex norms of dress and behaviour. Today, the advertising media has responded to the fluidity of gender roles by marketing and defining the Metro-male.

[57] Freud had some interest in the area of aesthetics, as he read works by Plato, Aristotle, Pater and Wölffin on this subject.

[58] It is difficult to demonstrate a direct link between Winckelmann and Freud, as one has no way of knowing if Freud actually read Winckelmann. It is easier to assert that familiarity with Winckelmann's ideas would have been derived from his early education, literary readings - Goethe, Lessing, Schiller - and later from conversations with classical scholars. That Freud read Pater on Leonardo da Vinci would make it more than plausible that he would have also read (given the German connection) and understood the homo-erotic temperament of Pater's essay on Winckelmann as it occurs shortly after the Da Vinci chapter in Pater's magnum opus *The Renaissance* (1873)

> triumphed over it in his art, by representing the wishes of the boy, infatuated with his mother, as fulfilled in this blissful union of the male and female natures (S.E.11: 116).

Hughes (1967) has suggested that Freud's *Leonardo* is a good book with which to begin an analysis of Freud's only half-recognised assumptions concerning his own sexuality.

> In his sympathetic understanding of the Florentine painter's bisexuality he reflected the androgynous tendencies he had discerned in himself - and that through his patients he was to find in mankind in general (Hughes 1967:108).

I argue that Winckelmann's homoerotic discourse infiltrated German society, saturating it with a particular reading of the body. As Potts (2000) argues, while a continuum of masculine and feminine is advanced by Winckelmann and his adherents, there can be little doubt that the dominant signifier is always male. It is important to recognise that Winckelmann's writing, for the most part, excludes the female gender from aesthetic appreciation, and as such redirects the artistic criteria, established during the Renaissance, away from the female as an object of beauty. It can be argued that Freud later follows this aesthetic. The masculine is always privileged above the feminine. In the male body Freud sees plenitude, activity and completeness. The female body is often blanked out, and speaks of lack, shame, and passivity.

Challenges to Winckelmann's ideal.

Nietzsche's early writing indicates that he was still under the sway of Winckelmann's ideal. In *On the Future of our Educational Institutions* (1872)[59] he castigated the *Gymnasia* for falling short of this ideal.

> In a very large majority of cases to-day we can observe how sadly our scholars fall sort of the standard of culture which the efforts of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and Winckelmann established (Nietzsche 1964:60).

Nietzsche's early lectures indicate the importance of Winckelmann's ideal as *the* standard of culture and the role of the *Gymnasia,* Germany's elite classical schools, in observing and perpetrating this ideal. According to Nietzsche the *Gymnasia* were the closest approximation to

[59] A series of five lectures delivered by Nietzsche when Professor of Classical Philology at Basel University when he was twenty-seven years of age.

the ideal that gave them birth and thus the only institutions that could "inculcate severe and genuine culture". Exactly what was meant by severe and genuine culture? According to Nietzsche the "incarnate categorical imperative of all culture" could be measured by three graduated scales – a need for philosophy; an instinct for art, and third, by Greek and Roman antiquity. Only a classical education found in the *Gymnasia* was able to provide the "pinions" which would "bear one to the only real home of culture – ancient Greece".

> Take away the Greeks, together with philosophy and art, and what ladder have you still remaining by which to ascend to culture? For, if you attempt to clamber up the ladder without these helps, you must permit me to inform you that all your learning will lie like a heavy burden on your shoulders rather than furnishing you with wings and bearing you aloft (Nietzsche 1969:131).

When "Greece" was later rejected by Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy*,[60] it was Winckelmann's idealisation of Greece that was rejected, not Greece as an absolute standard of culture.

> From scenting out 'beautiful souls', 'golden means' and other perfections in the Greeks, from admiring in them such things as their repose in grandeur, their ideal disposition, the sublime simplicity – from this 'sublime simplicity', *a niaiserie allemande* when all is said and done, I was preserved by the psychologist in me. I saw their strongest instinct, the will to power, I saw them trembling at the intractable force of their drive – I saw all their institutions evolve out of protective measures designed for mutual security against the explosive material within them (Nietzsche 1969:107).[61]

Nietzsche, the philologist turned psychologist, discovered another Greece, a Greece that had very little to do with Winckelmann. Instead of "repose in grandeur" and "sublime simplicity" Nietzsche saw "the explosive material within them", irrational desire and the strong instincts of love and hate. For Nietzsche, the satyr, rather than Apollo, was to serve as the "archetype of man" something "divine and sublime" and a symbol "of nature's sexual omnipotence, which the Greeks were accustomed to considering with respectful astonishment" (Nietzsche 1969:40). In *The Birth*

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[60] The *Birth of Tragedy* is a not so much a rewriting as a redefinition of Winckelmann. He accepts the restraint and the serenity of Apollian Greece, but sees it as a response to pain and lack.

[61] It is difficult to come to a full understanding of Nietzsche's texts unless one has some grasp of Winckelmann's ideological construction of Greece.

of Tragedy Nietzsche provides a new definition of Greece, one that rejects the "Apollian deception" of Winckelmann and Goethe:

> We are affected quite differently when we probe the concept 'Greek' which Winckelmann and Goethe constructed for themselves and find it incompatible with that element out of which Dionysian art evolved – the orgy. I have, in fact, no doubt that Goethe would have utterly excluded anything of this kind from the possibilities of the Greek soul. *Consequently Goethe did not understand the Greeks*. For it is only in the Dionysian mysteries, in the psychology of the Dionysian condition, that the fundamental fact of the Hellenic instinct expresses itself – its 'will to life'. *What* did the Hellene guarantee to himself with these mysteries? *Eternal* life, the eternal recurrence of life; the future promised and consecrated in the past; the triumphant Yes to life beyond death and change; *true* life as collective continuation of life through procreation, through the mysteries of sexuality (Nietzsche 1969:109).

Nietzsche's vision ran counter to the prevailing theories of German philologists. He argued that one should observe particular caution when reading their work: "One should take a look at the almost laughable poverty of instinct displayed by German philologists whenever they approach the Dionysian" (Nietzsche 1969:108). Instead, he offered a new interpretation of Greece and with it a new interpretation of man. Rather than a disembodied ideal of rationality and restraint, he saw in the Greeks the passion and pain that made it possible for them to create their great tragedies. From his interpretation of Greek art, Nietzsche constructed, what he termed, "the psychology of the Dionysian condition", a psychology that accepted the irrational passions and "the mysteries of sexuality".

Freud was heir to both Winckelmann's and Nietzsche's Greece. As such his response to Greece is complex and layered. It is in the interplay between these opposing ideological constructions that one needs to search for an understanding of Greece's legacy and its influence on Freud. Traditional liberal culture had centred upon rational man whose scientific domination of nature and whose moral control were expected to create the good society. Schorske (1981) argues that after Nietzsche, European high culture became especially prone to fragmentation, irrationality and subjectivity. Some of these seeds were already visible in the 18th century – one only has to

look at the history of Romanticism and *Naturphilosophie* – but it was in the late nineteenth century that these various strands developed into what we now call modern society. This dialectical tension (between the rational and the irrational, the mind and the body, reason and the emotions) fostered a new way of conceiving human nature. Freud, perhaps more than any other man, was able to understand and give a voice to these tensions. Moulded in youth by his *Gymnasium* education, grounded by the liberal bourgeois aspirations of his family, his peers and his "race", he was still sensitive enough to resonate to the underlying currents emanating from Nietzsche's reception of Greece.

Fin de siècle Vienna

> We have all heard of the interesting attempts to explain psycho-analysis as a product of the Vienna milieu. The suggestion is that psycho-analysis, and in particular its assertion that the neuroses are traceable to disturbances in sexual life, could only have originated in a town like Vienna – in an atmosphere of sensuality and immorality foreign to other cities – and that it is simply a reflection, a projection into theory, as it were, of these peculiar Viennese conditions (S.E. 14:39).

Freud used to dismiss "the interesting attempts" to view his life, or the development of psychoanalysis, as a product of a Viennese milieu. Nevertheless, very few biographers or historians of psychoanalysis would entirely agree with him. Freud spent most of his life in Vienna and although he often made disparaging remarks about his home city, it was only in 1938 in the face of Nazi domination that he reluctantly agreed to leave. Aided by a number of close friends, including Ernst Jones and Marie Bonaparte, Freud finally settled in London until his death in 1939. His life cannot be divorced from his birthplace and indeed it is almost impossible to imagine Freud's oeuvre being created outside Vienna. An article by Hobsbawn (2005) devotes some attention to the importance of topography in our understanding of history. Using the example of the dry landscape in Brazil, he explains how this landscape makes it easier for us to understand the emergence of back-country evangelists; similarly a minor hill fort in mid-Wales makes it more possible for us to visualise the no-man's land of the medieval marches. Cities he says, often speak

louder than words, conjuring up a whole set of images - St Petersburg, for instance or Prague. Vienna is another such city. Few cities in the world tend to evoke such jarring and disparate images, especially in the fin de siècle.

Fin de siècle is a term used to express an underlying mood prevalent among members of elite society at the close of a century, though often vague and inarticulate, it generally intimates some form of emancipation from traditional discipline, a fatigue with the old order its dogma and its certainties. Although the term derives from the French and expresses a subjective consciousness of alienation from the past and a new world change, it has come to be intimately associated with Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century. Under the Habsburg family, Vienna was the political and economic centre of the Austrian Empire and the capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy between 1867 and its collapse in 1918. During this period it is portrayed as a city of contrast and paradox. The elegant coffeehouses, the Ringstrasse,[62] the baroque Vienna Opera, all speak of a culture of refined liberalism, bourgeois decency and repression. But the artists and writers of Vienna (here one only has to think of August Klimt, Egon Schiele, and Kokoschka) presented a very different image of the city, one that is vibrant, creative, decadent and amoral. These opposing and paradoxical visions of Vienna suggest a city in turmoil and point to a crisis in the old Viennese values.

As it struggled to deal with the shattering onslaught of modernity, European high culture entered a whirl of innovation and disintegration. It is this crisis of Viennese liberal culture that provided Schorske (1981) with his major theme, the fragmentation of the past and the emergence of modern man, or as he put it, the birth of psychological man. Schorske writes:

> Vienna in the *fin de siècle,* with its acutely felt tremors of social and political disintegration, proved one of the most fertile breeding ground of our century's a-historical culture. Its great

[62] The Ringstrasse reflects the principles and orientation of liberal culture. The statuary around the Reichsrat is dominated by classical figures. Positioned along the ramp are eight classical historians, and Athena, a symbol of both the polis and of wisdom, was chosen to stand at the front of the new building. Schorske states that Athena was an appropriate deity as she represented the liberal unity of politics and rational culture, a unity expressed in the oft-repeated Enlightenment slogan, "Wissen macht frei" (Schorske, 1981:43).

> intellectual innovators – in music and philosophy, in economics and architecture, and, of course, in psychoanalysis – all broke, more or less deliberately, their ties to the historical outlook central to the nineteenth-century liberal culture in which they had been reared (Schorske 1981:xviii).

Schorske describes Vienna as a city locked in an Oedipal struggle, a painful clash between modernity and the authority of the past. The gay and elegant city that gave birth to the waltz was suddenly shattered by the discordant notes of Wagner (1813-1883) Mahler (1860-1911) and Schoenberg. Arnold Schoenberg used the term "a death dance of principles" to describe these modernist movements (Schorske 1981). By the mid nineties the revolt against tradition had spread to art and architecture.

The Vienna Secession was founded in 1897 and devoted itself to breaking the stranglehold of the past. According to Schorske the whole intellectual and emotional thrust of the first Secession exhibition was summed up by Klimt in a poster advertising the event. The poster was devised around the theme of Theseus liberating the youth of Athens from the Minotaur, and Theseus soon became the symbolic champion of the Secession, a hero who would lead art against the constraints of the city fathers.[63] [64] Like Freud, Klimt[65] was passionate about archaic culture and archaeological excavation and used classical symbols to serve as a metaphorical bridge to the excavation of the instinctual, especially in erotic life (Schorske 1981). He reinterpreted Greek myths to symbolise the fin de siècle crisis of rationalism and in this, like so many of his contemporaries, he owed an enormous debt to both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. At the same

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[63] This splinter group deviated from the generally accepted conduct for artists under the motto: "to the times its art, to the art its freedom".

[64] Theseus is a figure often associated with Vienna. In the Volksgarten (attached to the Kaiserburg) is a building copied with slight variants from the temple of Theseus at Athens which contains the Canova group (1817) of Theseus killing the Minotaur. Hodder (1882) writes that this work was commissioned by Napoleon and fell into the hands of the Austrians after the wars. It was brought to Vienna in 1822 and in 1830 it was placed in a building which had been specially constructed to contain it.

[65] Klimt's controversial painting *Hygeia* uses many symbols drawn from Greek mythology. According to Schorske she is one of the most ambiguous figures of Greek legend and is associated with the snake, the most ambiguous of creatures. Both Hygeia and Asclepius were born as snakes out of the tellurian swamp. In discussing the importance of this symbol in Klimt's work, Schorske writes that she accords well with the concern with androgyny and the homosexual reawakening of the fin de siècle, and expresses erotic liberation on the one hand and male fear and impotence on the other (Schorske: 240-241).

time that Klimt was reinterpreting the Greek myths to liberate art, Freud, working independently of the modernist avant-garde, was formulating his own thesis of revolt, the Oedipus complex.

Freud's role in both constructing and articulating the "Promethean creature" that arose out of the decay of eighteenth century rationalism is undisputed. History shapes us and Freud, the man who investigated and recorded the complex nature of hysteria was, as Schorske remarks, an inhabitant of a city that had fallen into deep political and social hysteria. As his personal letters so clearly indicate, Freud, no less than his Viennese patients, responded to these unsettling currents with anxiety and depression. Out of the uncertainties and anxieties of this time Freud created one of the most controversial and powerful theories of the human psyche.

One of the clearest portraits of the confusion surrounding fin de siècle Vienna is to be found in the polemical attack written by Max Nordau on the emerging intellectual thought at that time. *Degeneration* (1895) attempts to chart the role of degeneracy in fin de siècle movements and is dedicated by Nordau to Cesare Lombroso.[66] Nordau writes:

> But the physician, especially if he have devoted himself to the special study of nervous and mental maladies, recognises at a glance, in the fin-de-siècle disposition, in the tendencies of contemporary art and poetry, in the life and conduct of the men who write mystic, symbolic and 'decadent' works, and the attitude taken by their admirers in tastes and aesthetic instincts of fashionable society, the confluence of two well defined conditions of disease, with which he is quite familiar, viz. degeneration (degeneracy) and hysteria, of which the minor stages are designated as neurasthenia (Nordau 1920:15).

Degeneration was the leitmotif of the fin de siècle and Nordau specifically identifies this condition with Vienna. The term degeneration was formulated in 1857 by Morel and according to Foucault (2003) was the major theoretical element of the medicalisation of the abnormal. Nordau couched his treatise in the language of psychiatry and cited Morel, Lombroso, Janet and Charcot to support his theory of mental and emotional decay. Finding its antecedents in Plato's myth of the cave, degeneration as a trope became a powerful construct of psychiatry. Often linked to the

[66] Professor of psychiatry and forensic medicine at the Royal University of Turin. Lombroso specialized in charting the aetiology and development of "degeneration", especially in criminals, and was one of the theorists attacked by Freud.

emerging science of eugenics, the theory of degeneration was easily woven into the new forms of racism that took hold at the end of the nineteenth century (Gilman 1994; Foucault 2003). Nordau looked upon Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century as sick, and this sickness manifested itself in hysteria and degeneration. The confusion and despair at the vanishing of the old order, "the dusk of nations" as Nordau refers to it, immediately recalls Nietzsche's "twilight of the gods" and many of Nordau's passages are delivered in much the same tones as Nietzsche's Zarathustra. The following excerpt, written at the time, highlights the response to the advent of modernist culture:

> One epoch of history is unmistakable in its decline, and another is announcing its approach. There is a sound of rending in every tradition and it is as though the morrow would not link itself with today. Things as they are totter and plunge, and they are suffered to reel and fall, because man is weary, and there is not faith that is worth an effort to uphold them. Views that have hitherto governed minds are dead or driven hence like disenthroned kings, and for their inheritance they that hold the titles and they that would usurp are locked in struggle...Men look with longing for whatever new things are at hand, without presage whence they will come or what they will be. They have hope that in the chaos of thought, art may yield revelations of the order that is to follow on this tangled web. The poet, the musician, is to announce, or divine, or at least suggest in what forms civilization will further be evolved. What shall be considered good tomorrow – what shall be beautiful? What shall we know to-morrow – what believe in? What shall inspire us? How shall we enjoy? So rings the question from the thousand voices of the people, and where a market-vendor sets up his booth and claims to give answer, where a fool or knave suddenly begins to prophesy in verse or prose, in sound or colour, or professes to practise his art otherwise than his predecessors and competitors, there gathers a great concourse, crowding around him to seek in what he has wrought, as in oracles of Pythia, some meaning to be divined and interpreted. And the more vague and insignificant they are, the more they seem to convey of the future to the poor gaping souls gasping for revelations, and the more greedily and passionately are they expounded.
>
> Such is the spectacle presented by the doings of men in the reddened light of the Dusk of the Nations. Massed in the sky the clouds are aflame in the weirdly beautiful glow which was observed for the space of years after the eruption of Krakatoa. Over the earth the shadows creep with deepening gloom, wrapping all objects in a mysterious dimness, in which all certainty is destroyed and any guess seems plausible. Forms lose their outlines, and are dissolved in floating mist. The day is over, the night draws on. The old anxiously watch its approach, fearing they

> will not live to see the end. A few amongst the young and strong are conscious of the vigour of life in all their veins and nerves, and rejoice in the coming sun-rise. Dreams, which fill up the hours of darkness till the breaking of the new day, bring to the former comfortless memories, to the latter high-souled hopes. And in the artistic products of the age we see the form in which these dreams become sensible (Nordau 1920:6).

Degeneration was first published in 1895 and reprinted six times in that year, a clear indication that Nordau's book articulated many of the concerns felt by the Viennese at this time. Freud lived and worked in this city, his patients were drawn from its inhabitants, and his medical colleagues attended their illnesses. It is therefore important to consider Freud's work as a response to this milieu. Freud was close enough to the city to be able to listen and respond to "the thousand voices of people" asking questions of civilisation and its discontents. Admittedly Freud disclaimed his right to speak as a prophet:

> Thus I have not the courage to rise up before my fellow-men as a prophet, and I bow to their reproach that I can offer them no consolation: for at bottom that is what they are all demanding – the wildest revolutionaries no less passionately than the most virtuous believers (S.E. 21:145).

This disclaimer is, however, in itself an acknowledgement of his perceived role in society. Certainly many of his writings make it clear that he saw psychoanalysis as method of dealing with modern man and his ills. Freud's greatest work, *The Interpretation of Dreams,* was published on the cusp of the fin de siècle. In the "dreams which fill up the hours of darkness" Freud was able to decipher the memories and hopes of, not only his own consciousness, but also of his milieu.

In the arts and the sciences individuals struggled to articulate this changing world. The close relationship between the artist and the neurotic is often touched upon by Freud. He believed that some people due to their "artistic gifts" could transform their painful experiences into a creative work of art rather into hysterical symptoms. Freud does not appear aware of his kinship with Viennese painters such as Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele (1890 – 1918) and Oskar Kokoschka yet they were, like Freud, all interested in human psychology. Freud's psychology focused on dreams and the sexual life of man, and Klimt and Schiele's art explored sexuality, erotic desire and

revulsion. Impotence and fear of female sexuality haunt the fin de siècle, and many of Schiele's paintings (like those of Munch) concern the vampirism of female sexuality. Freud's anxiety over the female genitalia (consider the "*Medusa's head*") makes his concerns easier to comprehend when seen from the perspective of the fin de siècle.

Schorske's analysis of fin de siècle Vienna firmly establishes the Austrian capital as one of the most important centres of modernist culture. It is here, according to Schorske, that art, music, philosophy and science defined themselves "not out of the past, indeed scarcely against the past, but independently of the past" (Schorske 1981). Vienna, according to Schorske was to become one of the most fertile breeding grounds of the twentieth century's a-historical culture.

> The new-culture makers in the city of Freud thus repeatedly defined themselves in terms of a kind of collective Oedipal revolt. Yet the young were revolting not so much against their fathers as against the authority of the paternal culture that was their inheritance. What they assaulted on a broad front was the value system of classical liberalism-in-ascendancy within which they had been reared (Schorske 1981:xxvi).

Schorske attributed this break in historical continuity to the slow but inexorable social and political disintegration of Austria-Hungary.[67] Freud's "psychological man" was, according to Schorske, born out of the political frustrations of Viennese society and the crisis in traditional liberal culture.[68] Schorske (1981) claims that the whole concept of history conceived as a continuous nourishing tradition was useless to an age that defined itself in terms of a rupture with the past.

The cultural values nurtured and sustained by Winckelmann's Greek ideal and embedded in the cultural fabric of Austria and Germany were seriously challenged by the advent of modernism and the arrival of post-Nietzschean man. Schorske's argument may lead one to conclude that the present thesis is writing somewhat against the grain. After all, the major focus of this study is to

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[67] The Austria-Hungarian Empire at one time included Austria and Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Carniola, Küstenland, Dalmatia, Croatia, Fiume, and Galicia. The Hapsburg monarchy maintained a precarious balance among its many minorities. Its slow political and social disintegration ended in 1918 when it finally toppled with the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian Francis Ferdinand.

[68] The heroic age of Austrian liberalism ended in the defeat of 1848. By 1880 new social groups, anti-Semitic Christian Socials and Pan-Germans as well as Socialists and Slavic nationalists formed mass parties to challenge the liberal hegemony. By 1900 the liberals were broken as a parliamentary political power, never to revive (Schorske 1981, Decker 1991).

trace Freud's debt to antiquity. How is it possible to reconcile an investigation of Freud's work in terms of the past (the past as represented by antiquity) when Freud's work, at the same time, points to a rupture with the past? To come to terms with this paradox it is important to understand something about the cultural traditions that existed before this break for it is only once one has some knowledge of Freud's cultural inheritance, Freud's own past, that one can understand how he used these aspects of his cultural experience to reinterpret the present and thus forge his revolutionary theory of the mind.

CHAPTER 3
THE GYMNASIUM

The *Gymnasium* was modelled on Winckelmann's vision for the modern world - a vision predicated upon a concept of the timeless and absolute beauty of classical Greece. He believed that only by imitating the Greeks could Germany fulfil its destiny and become a great nation.

> There is but one way for the moderns to become great, and perhaps unequalled; I mean, by imitating the antients. And what we are told of *Homer*, that whoever understands him well, admires him, we find no less true in matters concerning the antient, especially the Greek arts. But then we must be as familiar with them as with a friend, to find *Laocoon* as inimitable as *Homer*. By such intimacy our judgement will be that of *Nicomachus: Take these eyes*, replied he to some paltry critick, censuring the Helen of Zeuxis, *Take my eyes, and she will appear a goddess* (Winckelmann; 2001:2-3).

Winckelmann's s first and most popular book *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (1765) provided the framework for the educational system in both Germany and Austria during the latter half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. Underlying this framework was the premise, as old as that of Plato's Republic, that the only way to stem the tide of decadence and barbarity was to emulate the past. Although nostalgia is a common *leitmotif* found in almost every successive generation, Winckelmann's message was particularly powerful in the face of the socio-political disintegration of Austria.

Butler's book *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (1935) analyses the influence exercised by Greek art and poetry over German writers. It is still considered a seminal text. Her major thesis is that although Winckelmann's Greece both nourished and sustained some of Germany's greatest writers and thinkers, it also exerted a kind of tyranny over their lives and work. There is little doubt that the way that Winckelmann represented the Greek ideal of serenity, grandeur and freedom as being embedded within the larger totality of Greek culture provided inspiration to the poets and philosophers of both the Idealist and Romantic tradition. The philosophical writings of Hegel and Schopenhauer, as well Nietzsche (if only in opposition) attest to his influence. The

poetry of Goethe,[69] Heine, Lessing and Schiller also owe an immense debt Winckelmann. Discussing this particular vision of Greece and its influence on German Hellenism, Butler writes:

> Greece has profoundly modified the whole trend of modern civilisation, imposing her thought, her standards, her literary forms, her imagery, her visions and her dreams wherever she is known. But Germany is the supreme example of her triumphant spiritual tyranny. The Germans have imitated the Greeks more slavishly; they have obsessed them more utterly, and they have assimilated them less than any other race. The extent of the Greek influence is incalculable throughout Europe; its intensity is at its highest in Germany (Butler 1958:6).[70]

The architects of *Bildung* built a system of education based on Winckelmann's edict that the cultural institutions of Greece provided the necessary point of reference for all succeeding generations. From Winckelmann up to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Hellenism was not merely an absorbed element in German intellectual life, but a conscious tradition in it.

Freud's cultural roots were firmly planted in the ground of classical liberalism and the ideals of *Bildung.* These ideals were more projection than reality as they were based on the lost and golden age of classical Greece. It is only when considering the context in which Freud lived and worked that one can fully appreciate the irony of Freud's psychoanalytic theory, his "Copernican revolution". Psychoanalysis presaged both modernism and post-modernism and it is seen by many historians of ideas to be one of the most important influences in shaping our modern consciousness. Ironically this revolutionary theory that challenged the foundations of the rational world was almost entirely premised on the relationship of both society and the individual to history. Psychoanalysis can easily be defined as a science of the past; not only is it ultimately concerned with memory, but as a discipline it also owes a debt to the classical past. In both its method and its content it is an archaeology of knowledge. The revolutionary break with the past

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[69] For example Walter Pater on Goethe writes, "At Rome, spending a whole year drawing from the antique, in preparation for the *Iphigenie*, he finds the stimulus of Winckelmann's memory ever active" (Pater, 1998:121).

[70] Although Butler largely emphasised the negative impact of this vision on Germany's poets, her analysis on the role of *Bildung* is still considered one of the most important contributions in this area.

that so clearly characterises Freud's thinking, would not have been possible if he had not first been inculcated into the traditional ideology of Hellenism. [71]

The concept of *Bildung*

Winckelmann's belief that only by imitating the Greeks could one aspire to intellectual and cultural greatness was institutionalised half a century later by Wilhelm von Humboldt who saw classical languages and literature as a key element of *Bildung* - a concept of self-formation marked by rationality, self-control, and civic engagement. He persuaded the Prussian state to accept Greek and Latin as the curricular fundamentals of the *Gymnasium* and contended, in much the same way as his predecessor Winckelmann, that an education modelled on the ancient Greeks would lead to a system based on *logos* (reason and true judgement) the outstanding values of traditional liberal culture. Humboldt argued that the German people were very similar to the ancient Greeks and therefore they would benefit more than any other nation from exposure to Greek culture. He recruited Friedrich Wolf, renowned for his classical scholarship, to assist him with a programme of education that would build full self-realisation in every individual, in other words *Bildung*. This "philhellenic" pedagogy emotionally moulded Germany to the ideas and images of the classical world.

Nobody better captures this dream of education than Nietzsche. In an early lecture on the future of educational institutions he notes,

> (h)ere one gets another glimpse of the scholarly tendency of public schools: a phenomenon which throws much light upon the object which once animated them, - that is to say, the serious desire to cultivate the pupil. This belonged to the time of our great poets, those few really cultured Germans, - the time when the magnificent Friedrich August Wolf directed the new stream of classical thought, introduced from Greece and Rome by those men, into the heart of the public schools. Thanks to his bold start, a new order of public schools was established, which thenceforward was not to be merely a

[71] On Winckelmann's contribution to the Hellenic tradition, Walter Pater writes, "The Hellenic element alone has not been so absorbed, or content with this underground life; from time to time it has started to the surface; culture has been drawn back to its sources to be clarified and corrected. Hellenism is not merely an absorbed element in our intellectual life; it is a conscious tradition in it" (Pater 1998:127-128).

> nursery for science, but above all, the actual consecrated home of all higher and nobler culture (Nietzsche 1964:64).

The liberal bourgeoisie dedicated themselves to this concept. *"Bildung"* carries with it the idea of forming, shaping, and fashioning and also entails meanings such as development, growth, structure, education and civilisation. A *"gebildeter Mann"* designates a cultured man, particularly someone possessing *"Gelehrtebildung"* - classical learning. There is little doubt that Freud considered himself to be such an individual. From the moment that Freud entered a *Gymnasium* school, his professional status, literary preferences, and hobbies were to be formed by this concept (Gilman 1994). One of the great paradoxes of Freud's life was that he ardently upheld these values even when he offered the most revolutionary challenge to their existence. The importance of Greek and Latin in German intellectual and cultural life can be gauged from the outrage expressed by Schopenhauer (1788-1860) at the "vile practice" of citing Greek and even Latin authors in German translation rather than "in the original":

> A vile practice appearing with more impudent blatantness every day which deserves special reproof is that in scholarly books and in specifically learned journals, even those published by academies, passages from Greek and even *(pro pudor)* from Latin authors are cited in German translation. Devil take it! Are you writing for tailors and cobblers? If this is what it has come to, then farewell humanity, noble taste and cultivation! Barbarism is returning despite railways, electricity and flying balloons (Schopenhauer 1983:228).

The Gymnasium curriculum

With its heavy emphasis on classical Greek and Latin, the *Gymnasium* was designed as an elite educational system and until 1904 it was the only form of secondary education that allowed entry into the universities. It provided high status careers, but also served as an introduction to the world of European *Kultur* and *Bildung*. Although the *Realschulen* offered a good education, they only qualified graduates for entry into technical or trade school equivalents of the university (Beller 2000). These two systems of education sharply divided Viennese society. Anyone wishing to pursue law or medicine as a career had to attend a *Gymnasium*. Students studied Latin, Greek, German language and literature, history, geography, mathematics, physics, and religion, and took

electives in French and English. The core of the *Gymnasium* program was however the rigorous study of the classics. Students were required to devote between five and eight hours per week to Latin in all eight years of the *Gymnasium*, and from the third to the eighth year they spent between four and five hours per week on Greek. Some perspective on the emphasis placed on classics is gained if one considers that only three hours a week were scheduled for the study of mathematics and science (Beller 2000).

The curriculum with its solid grounding in the study of Latin and Greek grammar was deemed essential to the development of logical thought patterns and rational discourse, while the study of classical literature ensured the cultivation of a taste for beauty and simplicity. The curriculum also concentrated on ancient history and philosophy as these disciplines were seen to inculcate noble and heroic sentiments in young scholars who afterward could pursue independent academic study and prepare for a profession at the university.

Freud's scholastic career

Freud's scholastic career was fairly representative of other Jewish male children of the middle-classes in Vienna at this time. At the age of nine he passed an examination that enabled him to attend the *Leopoldstädter Kommunalreal* und *Obergymnasium,* more commonly known as the *Sperlgymnasium.*[72] In 1873 he graduated with distinction and was placed first in his class.[73] Significantly, in the light of Freud's later development, his final examination in Greek required him to translate twenty-three verses from Sophocles' *Oedipus*. In discussing the role of the *Gymnasium* in Freud's career Trossman writes:

> (t)he humanistic tradition, developed during the Renaissance in Italy as a reaction against authoritarian restrictions of the Middle Ages, found its visible form in the university preparatory schools of the nineteenth century. Universalism, order and harmony were to be arrived at through exposure to the highest levels of Western thought as exemplified by the

[72] This school acquired the colloquial name of Sperlgymnasium after 1870 when it expanded from the Taborgasse into the Sperlgasse (Ernest Jones:1963).

[73] Freud wrote to his school friend Eduard Silberstein, "I take the liberty of informing you herewith that, with God's help, I passed my examination yesterday, July 9, 1873, and that I was awarded a matriculation certificate with distinction" (Boehlich 1990).

> classical ideal. The formal discipline acquired by the mind in the mastery of the rudiments of the literature and language of Greece and Rome would carry into other modes of thinking and provide a basis for an educated outlook (Trossman 1973:67).

Freud's letters written between the years 1871 to 1881 to his school friend Eduard Silberstein reveal the influence of the *Gymnasium* on his thinking and development. This correspondence (started when Freud was fifteen years old) indicates how immersed Freud was in Viennese culture and *Bildung,* They contain numerous references to classical and European literature and display all the qualities of a *Gymnasium* education. The ease with which Freud slips in and out of Greek and Latin quotations, his accomplished use of classical reference, his playful use of Homeric style epithets,[74] his use of style, especially mock heroic,[75] and above all his assumption that his friend will be able to follow all his literary allusions were a testament of the years of rigorous training in classical literature and history.

The maternal eggshell of the *Gymnasium.*

Freud's positive view of the education that he and his peers received at school can be gauged from the correspondence between Freud and Silberstein. They both attended the same *Gymnasium* and had been close friends throughout their school days. Silberstein left Austria to study law in Berlin, and soon after his enrolment he sent Freud an outline of his lecture schedule that included subjects such as public finance, statistics and economics. Freud was shocked by the subjects elected by Silberstein:

> To attend lectures for six hours at a stretch is something I could no more do than breathe fire or walk a tightrope for six hours; worse still, your lectures are of a kind to make all nine Muses take to their heels: public finance, economics, statistics, and so on. Have you never heard that we only live once? Even a professor of statistics must have been young in his day and could not possibly have undertaken as a freshman, the maternal egg-shell of the Gymnasium still stuck to his back, the arid stuff you pursue (Boehlich 1990:70).

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[74] For example, he speaks of the beast-killing (zooktonos) science that he is pursing while dissecting eels in Trieste. He calls Silberstein πολυμήχανος (polymechanos) an epithet Homer applies to Odysseus.

[75] In one letter Freud enclosed a poem to Silberstein written upon the marriage of a girl he had once admired. - *Epithalamium- by a Homerian of the Academia Espanola.* He writes, "Enclosed with this letter you will find a piece of paper covered with verses that people conversant with the classics call hexameters". Although rather clumsy in form and content it still serves to demonstrate the educational system in which Freud operated (Boehlich 1990).

The above passage indicates how acutely Freud experienced the gymnasium as a protective nest that nourished and incubated each new generation on a worldview dedicated to the humanities. Freud, like Nietzsche, believed that public schools were not only a nursery for science but a "consecrated home of higher and nobler culture". In evoking the nine Muses of Greek antiquity, Freud eloquently summed up both the content and the ethos of the *Gymnasium* curriculum. In classical mythology the Muses presided over choral song and dance, hymns, lyric poetry, erotic poetry, epic poetry, comedy, tragedy, history and astronomy – a far remove from finance, economics and statistics. To replace the Muses with such "arid stuff" seemed a travesty to Freud who was never able brush away the maternal eggshell from his back. Nor could he ever silence the Muses of the *Gymnasium*. They remained with him throughout his life and provided him with an alternative view to oppose to the positivism that so often prevailed in the field of medical science. The lasting impression made by his schooldays upon Freud is evident in his life and in the way he conducted himself in all his affairs. The man who helped to usher in our modernist and post-modernist world was himself traditional, courteous, and conservative. Freud was a radical by default. Conservative in both his conduct and his artistic tastes, he would be more comfortable in a gallery devoted to Graeco-Roman art than visiting a Secessionist exhibition.[76]

Bildung also underlies many of the assumptions made by Freud with regard to his reading public. In "*The Question of Lay Analysis*" (1926), which Strachey considered to be one of Freud's liveliest non-technical accounts of psychoanalytic theory, one finds a clear example of the way in which Freud's early education colours his perception of his reading public. As Winter (1999) notes, his paper addressed to "the Impartial Person", demonstrates the competence that Freud expected in his readers with regard to classical learning and mythology. To illustrate his theory of psychosexual development Freud repeatedly called upon mythology as the "chief witness" in his argument, no doubt believing that this would make it easier for the audience to digest the material

[76] The Secessionist exhibitions challenged the traditional view of art and figured prominently in the cultural life of Vienna. Their first exhibition was held in March 1898 (Decker 1991).

presented (S.E. 20:214). In using mythology to illustrate his theory Freud apparently felt confident that here at least, (unlike his psycho-sexual theory) his reading public would be able to follow him. The style of this paper is also interesting as it is modelled on classical rhetoric - direct address and Socratic question and answer. Reading Freud's texts one is struck by the fact that not only the content but also the form of his writing is shaped by his *gymnasium* education.

Top of his class in the Gymnasium for seven years, and eventually head boy, Freud carefully selects and constructs his audience. He establishes a "we" that consists of all the people who share the experience of *Bildung*. The implication is that all those who are truly educated will understand his theory, while those who reject it fall outside this elite community. The *Gymnasium* educational system is apparent throughout Freud's work and is often captured in a few words:

> But I must remind you of the mythological tale which you may still recall from your schooldays of how the god Kronos swallowed his children. How strange this must have sounded to you when you first heard it! But I suppose none of us thought about it at that time (S.E. 20:211).

The "cognitive disposition" that Winter (1999) refers to, when discussing Freud's debt to *Bildung,*[77] is clearly evident in this passage. In the cultured world of Vienna, children were familiarised with the classics from an early age, Achilles and Hercules were story time heroes and Hesiod's cosmology was as important as that of Genesis.[78]

James Strachey asserts in his introduction to Freud collected works, that few children today are exposed to Greek mythology, and many of Freud's sources and references appear obscure even to educated adults. What was considered commonplace in Freud's world is exceptional today. The ease with which Freud introduced classical allusions into his work in order to explain psychoanalysis speaks of a shared classical education, an education that was commonly found in fin de siècle Vienna. Frankland's (2000) comments extend this point. He claims that when

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[77] Winter (1999) asserts, "Through Freud's and his followers' writings and training analyses, the cognitive dispositions *Bildung* encouraged became part of the psychoanalytic thought style" (Winter (1999) 1999:46).

[78] The use of mythological themes rather than biblical sources may also have served to downplay Freud's Jewish origins. Billig (1997) in analysing the Dora case asserts that in Vienna the Jewish/Christian division was central, politically, socially and culturally and yet the "fragment" contains no overt signs that the author was Jewish.

referring to works by Goethe, Shakespeare or classical writers, Freud rarely identifies the source, nor does he tend to give German translations of passages quoted in English, French, Italian, Latin or Greek. He simply makes the assumption that his readers share his own highly literary *Bildung* and can automatically understand his quotations and place his allusions. From this one can conclude that Freud's literary culture was the common property of the well-educated German bourgeoisie of his age. It is little wonder therefore that *Bildung* is so formative to psychoanalytic theory.

Although one immediately associates Germany with the concept of *Bildung* one should note that England's educational system closely paralleled that of Germany. Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), who held the position of Chief Inspector of Schools in England, was very much influenced by Goethe and was a staunch advocate of a classical curriculum in education. The "sweetness and light" that Arnold discovered in the Greek classics is closely related to Winckelmann's concept of Greek art and the idea of "noble simplicity and serene greatness".[79] It is perhaps partly due to this educational congruence that Freud felt so drawn to England.[80] Freud's attraction to the writing of John Stuart Mill can in part be explained by the link between Mill's ideal of nobility, derived from Greek and Roman sources, and the ideals of *Bildung*. It is interesting that many of the English writers that Freud read with such respect (Carlyle, Pater, Tennyson and Macaulay for example) were all deeply influenced by this idealisation of Greece.

Freud, the Gymnasium and Jewish assimilation

Schorske (1981) maintains in his analysis that by the mid nineteenth century *Gymnasialbildung* had increasingly become emptied of its deeper significance and had simply come to denote high culture and social substance in Germany and German speaking countries. Even so, among many

[79] In 1857 Arnold was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford. He argued that the best literature for the modern age was that of ancient Greece, because it was able to retain a "noble serenity" when contemplating the "confused spectacle of life" (Houghton 1975).

[80] Freud writes to Silberstein in 1873: "Though, unlike you, I have not taken to philosophy out of despair, I have other vices that threaten my salvation. If this were to go on, I shall get the "English Disease" rather late in life. I read English history, write English letters, declaim English verse, listen to English descriptions, and thirst for English glances" (Boehlich 1990:32).

of its adherents, *Bildung* still retained its former, and richer, meaning of individual integration, moral-aesthetic freedom and liberal humanism. This was particularly true of the Jewish middle-classes. The high proportion of Jews attending the *Gymnasium* is remarkable when one considers the distinction made by Beller (2000) between "official intelligentsia" and "liberal intelligentsia" in Vienna. Beller argues that the practical purpose of a university education in Austria was to provide the State with enough teachers and civil servants to fill their ranks. These State careers were however closed to Jews unless they converted to Christianity. For those Austrian Jews who did not convert, a *Gymnasium* education provided little guarantee of professional security within the State bureaucracy.[81] Yet despite this, Jews continued to value the education provided by the *Gymnasium*. The reasons for this are not difficult to understand; a *Gymnasium* education offered first generation emancipated Jews like Freud a transition from Eastern European ghetto life to Western culture. But more importantly it offered an opportunity for Jews to take their place among the liberal intelligentsia of the world. Jews, particularly German Jews, valued education above all other forms of activity. As Roith (1987) has pointed out, in traditional Jewish society there was an enjoinment on all males to acquire learning above everything else. This privileging of education meant that in Jewish culture it was learning rather than wealth that ultimately conferred social status.

Jews from the Austrian provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia and Hungary flocked to Vienna when the Austrian government lifted Jewish residential restrictions after the Revolution of 1848.[82] In 1910 the Jewish community of Vienna became the largest Jewish community in Western or Central Europe with Jews numbering approximately 200 000 just before World War 1. According to Rozenblit:

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[81] Freud's choice of a career was affected by anti-Semitic discrimination. He first wished to study law, but anti-Semitic discrimination in the legal profession, made it easier for him to follow medicine. Even here his progress in the medical profession was impeded because he was a Jew (Billig 1997; Beller 2000; Decker 1991).

[82] A detailed description of Jewish assimilation in Vienna between 1867 and 1914 can be found in Rozenblit (1983).

> (t)hey identified with Habsburg Austria, with the German Liberal Party that had brought them emancipation (even after the party abandoned them in the anti-Semitic fin-de-siècle) and especially with German culture (Rozenblit 1983:6).

Viennese Jews attended the *Gymnasium* in record numbers and contributed more than thirty per cent of the *Gymnasium* students in a city where they made up only eight per cent of the population (Rozenblit 1983). Decker makes the following observation:

> The Jews' economic ascent was matched by an intellectual flowering and a cultural influence which Jews had achieved nowhere since the days of Moorish Spain. Jewish boys went to the Gymnasium and the university in record numbers. In 1880, when Jews were 10 percent of the Viennese population, Jewish students comprised almost 40 percent of the medical school at the University of Vienna and almost 25 percent of the law school. In 1890, when Jews were not quite 9 percent of the city's population, Jews were one-third of the entire student body of the university and almost one-quarter of the students at the Vienna Technical College (Decker 1991:26).

Beller (2000) has pointed out that these Jewish *Gymnasium* pupils were mostly concentrated in schools in the "liberal" districts (the First, Second and the Ninth[83]) and in these areas made up over 46 per cent of *Gymnasium*. These statistics lead Beller to comment that the predominance of Jews in cultural life was in fact a function of the educational system of the *Gymnasium*. He writes:

> (t)he culture that arose in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century was not that of the nobility of the blood, but of the mind. It was much more devotion to *Bildung* than to aristocratic *Kultur*. The great achievements in culture could not have come about if there had not been from the start a group of people prepared to devote their time and money to the world of *Geist*, to the world of ideas and creativity. In Vienna this meant to a great extent people from the Jewish background described here (Beller 2000:105).

Rozenblit highlights the role of the *Gymnasium* in Jewish assimilation and acculturation in Vienna.[84] Her research, based on archival evidence, indicates that Jews participated far beyond their numbers in Viennese culture, especially in Modernist development. One only has to think of

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[83] These three districts were the only districts in which the Second Curia remained Liberal in the electoral collapse of 1895 (Beller: 2000).

[84] The analysis of Jewish assimilation between 1867 and 1914 is based primarily on several quantifiable sources: Jewish birth, marriage and conversion records, registration records of several *Gymnasien* in the city, and the tax records of the organized Jewish community of Vienna

names such as Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Stefan Zweig, Otto Weininger, Wittgenstein, Gustav Mahler, Schoenberg and Erwin Schrödinger to get an idea of the impact of Jews in fin-de-siècle Vienna. According to Beller (2000) Jews in Vienna were not only the primary producers but also the primary consumers of Viennese culture. Stefan Zweig wrote that Jews were the real audience of Vienna; they filled the theatres and the concerts, they bought the books and the pictures, they visited the exhibitions; practically all the great art collections of the nineteenth century were formed by them (Decker 1991).

Viennese Jews also dominated journalism, giving them a highly vocal profile. The *Neue Freie Presse* founded in 1864 held an authoritative position in the German-speaking world. This publication listed Anatole France, Zola, Ibsen, Strindberg and Shaw among its contributors (Decker 1991). Not coincidently they also feature prominently in Freud's writing. Mention also needs to be made of Karl Kraus, the ardent Jewish polemicist and founder of *Die Fakel*[85] whose ascerbic wit and satire was so often directed against Freud and psychoanalysis. Jewish *Gymnasium* students may have known more about Sophocles or Virgil than about the Torah or the Talmud, but their school experience did not lead to their full integration into Viennese society. One of the reasons for this was that middle-class Jews attended secondary schools in which the majority of students were fellow middle-class Jews. This closed network of social relationships is clearly reflected in Freud's life in Vienna. Not only his closest friends, but also his work colleagues were for the most part Jews from a similar *Gymnasium* background. The majority of Freud's patients was drawn from this society, and even a cursory analysis shows how closely connected the members of this society were to one another. In the early days of psychoanalysis, Freud's small circle of disciples was comprised, with few exceptions, such as Jones and later Jung, of Jewish medical practitioners. This is not surprising given the structure of Viennese society. There was little need for Jews to go outside their circle in order to find intellectual or cultural

[85] Die Fakel, "The Torch", was edited by Kraus from 1899 to 1936.

stimulation. More significant however is that the culture Jews so enthusiastically embraced was routinely anti-Semitic and Jews and Gentiles seldom mixed together socially (Billig 1997; Decker 1977).

While Schorske's analysis of fin de siècle Vienna acknowledges the role of *Bildung* in Jewish assimilation and individual and social advancement, Beller (2000) argues that his focus on the crisis of the liberal bourgeoisie tends to dismiss the "Jewish question" in Viennese culture as marginal and largely irrelevant.[86] He points out that Schorske failed to make a distinction between the Viennese bourgeoisie and Jewish bourgeoisie, and that the analysis is based upon the assumption that Viennese Jews no longer possessed a separate identity. Beller asserts that this is a serious lacuna that flies in the face of the evidence. He argues that the so-called "Jewish question" was a very prominent aspect of Vienna particularly around 1900 and that this held true for both Jews and non-Jews alike.[87]

> Given the widest definition of 'consciousness', it is plain that the Jewish question was still very prominent in Vienna around 1900. This was true for Jews and non-Jews. Vienna was governed by an anti-Semitic party after 1895 and was also the birthplace of modern Zionism. Vienna was the city where Hitler learnt to see Jews (Beller 2000:74).

Jews certainly identified with German culture as enshrined in the concept of *Bildung*, but this did not necessarily mean that they identified with German society. From 1900 most Jews were aware that the Germany of the nationalists was something very different from the cultural Germany of Goethe and Schiller and by the end of the nineteenth century it was increasingly evident that the concept of German culture was as much of an idealisation as that of Winckelmann's Greece. As the political and social cracks became more apparent in the fabric of German life, so did the emphasis placed by the Jews on education, learning and culture. *Bildung* became an ideal behind

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[86] Billig's (1997) analysis of Freud's treatment of Dora raises similar concerns. He claims that throughout the analysis both Freud and Dora, repress their oppressed identities, although as Jews they were directly affected by the worsening climate of political anti-Semitism in fin de siècle Vienna.

[87] Omitting the politics of anti-Semitism in Vienna is a mistake not only made by Schorske, Winter (1999) also plays little attention to this in her book).

which many Jews took shelter from the cold blasts of anti-Semitism.[88] While it would be naïve to discount the prestige of the *Gymnasium* as a guarantor of acceptance in Germany, Beller's argument indicates that *Bildung* cannot simply be characterised as a tool for Jewish advancement or survival. Very few Jews held positions of seniority, even at such liberal institutions as the University. Freud's protracted fight to be admitted as a *Privatdozent* at the University and his perception of anti-Semitism surrounding his case sharply illustrates this point.

The role of *Bildung* in Freud's psychological theories.

Beller's emphasis on the importance of *Bildung* over and above its function for political and social assimilation leads to a consideration of Winter's thesis regarding the role of *Bildung* in Freud's theory of psychoanalysis. She argues that Freud consciously used and manipulated the prestige associated with *Bildung* to insinuate psychoanalysis into being accepted into the respectable circles of Austria and Germany. She writes:

> Freud deployed classical learning as a source of prestige and authority – as cultural capital – for psychoanalysis. I demonstrate that Freud's formulations of the Oedipus complex worked to promote public "recognition" of psychoanalysis by affiliating the "new science" with classical *Bildung* and, more specifically with the canonical and generically paradigmatic status of Sophoclean tragedy within the nineteenth century Austrian/German secondary school curriculum. Through the Oedipus complex, Freud mobilized the socially reproductive function and competitive ethos of the nineteenth century all-male secondary school on behalf of psychoanalysis (Winter 1999:9)

Winter uses terms such as *Habitus*[89] (to avoid psychoanalytic constructs such as the unconscious) to account for the "strategies" that Freud acquired in childhood and which later served to drive his project of institutionalisation. Her analysis of the institutionalising strategies employed by Freud however, suggests that he, and by implication Viennese Jews in general, existed outside the ideology of *Bildung*, even though they were exposed to the rigorous curriculum

[88] Shared tenets provide a unique cohesiveness. Freud eloquently expressed this on his reception by representatives of the Hebrew Community of London who greeted him in 1938 after his flight from Vienna: "We Jews have always known how to respect spiritual values. We preserved our unity through ideas, and because of them we have survived through this day (Diller 1991:122).

[89] A term derived, like the expression "cultural capital" in the quoted passage, from Pierre Bourdieu.

of the *Gymnasium*. Instead of seeing Freud as moulded and formed by *Bildung* (the express mandate of *Gymnasium* education) she suggests that Freud somehow managed to stand outside this ideology and wield it to his advantage. Yet all the evidence points to Freud's deep immersion in *Bildung*.

The ambiguous position occupied by Jews in Vienna, and the conflict surrounding Freud's attitude to his Jewish identity has been explored by a number of writers (Rozenblit 1983; Roith 1987; Beller 2000; Decker 1991; Gilman 1994). Winter (1999), however fails to explore this aspect in her analysis. Of course, at one level, Winter is correct - Freud was far too intelligent not to be aware of the culturally unifying and historically resonant nature of Winckelmann's legacy. Nor could Freud fail to recognise that the classical spirit of the *Gymnasium* provided assimilated Jews with a legitimate sense of belonging to both a German and an international culture. Winter seems however to gloss over the fact that classical learning was a result of the particular zeitgeist in which Freud lived - it was internalised, not appropriated, as indeed was the case with all the great German thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lessing, Goethe, Schelling, Hölderlin, and Hegel did not use Greek themes in their writing simply to advance and institutionalise their work, nor to make it more acceptable to the general public. They used the classics because it formed part of their earliest experience; the classics were a bedrock upon which their understanding and those of their audience was built. While Freud's allusions to classical literature may well have served different polemical purposes, one cannot reduce Freud's natural forms of expression (inculcated during his years at the *Gymnasium*) to that of an outsider scheming for self-advancement. Winckelmann's ghost still hovered over all the institutions of fin de siècle Vienna. Freud's interest and enthusiasm for Greece was a direct response to his education at the *Gymnasium*. He grew up and inhabited a world where Greece was still acknowledged as the reference point in all aspects of cultural life and thought. In this he was no different from all the other fledglings hatched in the *Gymnasia* of Austria and Germany.

CHAPTER 4

FREUD, IDENTIY, AND THE LEGACY OF GREECE

This chapter examines the role of the Greek legacy in shaping Freud's personal life. It argues that Freud's education in the *Gymnasium* enabled him to forge an identity that allowed him to transcend the categories of Aryan and Semite and Christian and Jew so pervasive during his lifetime. Winckelmann's legacy provided a refuge from the schematic distinction between Indo-European (or Indo-Aryan) and Semitic that formed one of the central cognitive categories of nineteenth-century European thought. Freud's response to the world he inhabited - a growing philosophical pessimism - is explored and linked to his later writings on civilisation. This worldview can be attributed, at least in part, to the rise of intolerance and anti-Semitism in Germany, but it is also discernable in Schopenhauer's writing, as well as in Nietzsche. These men were all grounded in Greek classicism, and it is argued that this philosophic disposition is, to a large degree, predicated upon the Greek tradition that foregrounds a pessimistic worldview and extols the virtue of stoicism in the face of suffering.

German Hellenism and Jewish identity

Jews educated in the *Gymnasium* generally rejected the conservative religious Jews, the Eastern Jews (*Ostjuden),* along with Zionism[90] in favour of a German identity. In their search for a new, more cosmopolitan identity, they tended to disassociate themselves from the communities they had left behind. A generation after moving to Vienna, most Jews had very little in common with the eastern portion of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and in their attempt to assimilate into their new environment they turned their backs on the speech, religious habits and dress of these Jews. Educated Jews were often concerned about their identity in Austria-Germany and the poor and ill-educated stream of *Ostjuden* who flooded into Austria and settled around Leopoldstadt

[90] Roith draws attention to the prejudice among "distinguished Jews" against Zionism and uses the illustration of Maurice Benedickt, the Jewish editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*, who forbade all mention of the word Zionism in his columns (Roith 1987).

were often a source of embarrassment and humiliation to their Westernised and Germanic brethren. Freud articulates this embarrassment very clearly when he is forced to share his train compartment with an *Ostjude*. For those who saw themselves first as Germans and only secondly as Jews, the *Gymnasium* served to erect and preserve a barrier between these rural figures of poverty and their own social standing and cultivation (Roith 1987; Beller 2000).

Despite the barriers erected by educated German-speaking Jews against their past, Roith (1987) argues that they often suffered serious conflict. They passionately hoped that their German counterparts would view them as a new type of Jew, one who stood apart from the old life with its commandments, holy books and common language of old, yet, at the same time, it was abundantly clear that despite their efforts at assimilation, they were still not integrated into the larger German community.[91] The rapid *embourgeoisement* of the Jewish community led to Freud, like most Viennese Jews, to drop his religious observation. "Non-Jewish Jews" (Deutscher 1968) cultivated a secular approach to the world. Freud's wife, for example, complied with her husband's non-religious injunctions. It was only after her husband's death in London that she again lit the Shabbat candles on Friday nights. The fragile world of the Jews in fin de siècle Vienna was delicately balanced between acceptance and rejection. Assimilated Jews felt it necessary to efface their difference and often blamed anti-Semitism on the too fervent observance of Judaism (Decker 1991). To renounce all Jewish characteristic became a strategy followed by many in Vienna, and Jews in the cultural elite followed Gomperz, Kraus and others by radicalising the Enlightenment ideal of pure humanity and sought a sanctuary from racial prejudice in the world of *Geist* (Beller 2000). Culture became a substitute for historical, geographical and religious roots.

Nevertheless, Jews who had decided to move to Vienna in search of a better life were tossed between the past and the future - caught between the currents of Christianity and Judaism, urban

[91] The ultimate sacrifice was of course baptism, and a change of name. Freud refused to take this route although he was well aware of its advantages. In 1908 he wrote to Karl Abraham "I think that we as Jews, if we wish to join in, must develop a bit of masochism, be ready to suffer some wrong. Otherwise there is no hitting it off. Rest assured that, if my name were Oberhuber, in spite of everything my innovations would have met with far less resistance" (quoted Flem 2003:54).

and rural living, trade and professional interests. Freud's family was typical of this group. Freud was born in 1856 in Freiberg,[92] a small Catholic town in Moravia. The population of Freiberg numbered about 5000 of whom about one hundred were Jewish and mainly of German extraction. With the rise of Czech nationalism in the 1840's this small group was the target of both anti-Semitic and anti-German sentiment (Clark 1980). Freud's father decided to move to Vienna in 1860 and as with so many other Jews from the Austria-Hungarian Empire the early years were ones of financial hardship. Later, things improved enough for them to be able to afford a more comfortable home in Leopoldstadt, a mainly Jewish quarter of Vienna. The family was also able to send Freud to the local *Gymnasium*. Evidence such as this indicates that the family not only survived their dislocation from the rural area but that they were definitely on the path to upward mobility (Decker 1977). Freud passed the *Matura* (the school leaving examination) with brilliant results and registered in the University of Vienna's medical faculty in the autumn of 1873. Freud's academic performance in the *Gymnasium* and his attendance at the university raised his expectation of a better life. For individuals like Freud, whose families had so newly arrived in Vienna, there was a desperate desire to transcend the narrow parochialism of the past. Beller (2000) claims that what the Jews felt for Germany and German culture could not be explained away as simply an attempt to get on in the world, or to fit in:

> They were not escaping their Jewish fate so much as entering, crossing over, into a promised land of freedom. Historical circumstance was such that for a vast number of Jews in Germany and outside this promised land happened to be Germany. It came to sum up, to symbolize, all their great desires and came, like liberalism, to be desired in itself (Beller 2000:164).

German Hellenism provided a welcome home for these refugees. In a society riddled with anti-Semitism, this value neutral ideal provided a cultural construction that had little to do with "race" nationality or religion. Every *Gymnasium* scholar, no matter how different his background, could

[92] Freiberg lies about 150 miles northeast of Vienna. It reverted to its former name Pribor when Czechoslovakia was carved out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War (Clark 1980).

identify with Goethe's "*Iphigenie in Tauris*", or the poetry of Schiller[93] and Heine in praise of Greek gods and goddesses. For those Jews wishing to abandon the "baggage of Hebraism" it was much easier to embrace the myths and writings of Greek antiquity than the more medieval constructions of Christianity (Beller 2000). The art of the ancient world with its universal forms and timeless abstraction was a perfect vehicle for displacing and replacing the baroque icons of Christian theology.[94] The desire by German Jewry to downplay their religious roots and adopt a secular life-style is evidenced by the fact that although there were forty-two synagogues in Vienna in 1900, they were full only four times a year. As a result Viennese Jews were often dubbed "four-day Jews" (Decker 1977).

As an educated Jew, Freud reserved his expressions of praise for antiquity. "I could have worshipped the humble and mutilated remnant of the Temple of Minerva" he writes to Fliess from Italy in 1901 (Masson 1995). As an atheist, democrat and Jew, Hellas provided Freud with an example of a non-Christian society that had reached the highest degree of civilisation. For nineteenth century democrats Athens was the state that had come closest to political perfection,[95] and as such it provided a point of departure for those worried by the encroachment of totalitarian dictatorship. The association of the ancient Greeks with political freedom and liberty was further strengthened and romanticised by the memory of the struggle of the modern Greeks for independence from the Ottoman Empire (Jenkyns 1980). Freud's complex response to his identity is encapsulated in an open letter written by him to Romain Rolland in 1936 in which he attempts to understand his sense of alienation and de-personalisation "*Entfremdungsgefühl*" when he eventually is confronted with the reality of the Acropolis. His feeling of joy is also mixed with

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[93] Beller (2000) claims that Schiller was an idol for the assimilated German Jews of which the Viennese were no exception. Hans Tietze, the historian of Viennese Jewry, saw in Schiller the spark that ignited the Jewish wish to join German culture and the Enlightenment.

[94] The Austrian aristocracy was profoundly Catholic. The abbeys of Melk and St. Florian, with their specifically Austrian baroque style expressed the sentiment of Austria when it became the capital of the Austrian Empire. Much of the Christian iconography in Austria is based on this art (Holborn 1982).

[95] Greek democracy was very different from modern expectations associated with the term, but the adherents of *Bildung* tended to gloss over these differences (Green 1989).

doubt, anxiety and guilt. In analysing these emotions Freud's first response is that to visit Athens is "too good to be true" and "one cannot expect Fate to grant one anything so good". This "sense of guilt or inferiority" was analysed by Freud in the following way: "I'm unworthy of such happiness, I don't deserve it" (S.E. 22:242). This mixed response, appears to stem from two different but related sources, disbelief in actually seeing an ideal made concrete and a sense of disloyalty to and betrayal of his father and his Jewish roots (Flem 2003).

Flem claims that for Freud, as for many Germans, Athens was not a material city but a symbolic one. From his earliest youth, Freud was taught to see Greece as the ultimate symbol of human perfection. Greece was the lost paradise, the golden time before the fall, it was to be venerated, emulated, but like the Christian dream of heaven, or Plato's realm of the ideal, Greece was an almost unattainable vision. His first emotion on seeing the Acropolis was one of astonishment that it actually existed.[96]

> I was already a man of mature years when I stood for the first time on the hill of the Acropolis in Athens, between the temple ruins, looking out over the blue sea. A feeling of astonishment mingled with my joy. It seemed to say: 'So it really *is* true, just as we learnt at school! How shallow and weak must have been the belief I then acquired in the real truth of what I heard, if I could be so astonished now! (S.E. 21:25).

Freud's emotional response to Greece is an echo of Hölderlin's poem *Brot und Wein:*

> Seliges Griechenland! Du Haus der Himmlischen alle,
> Also ist wahr, was einst wir in der Jugend gehört?
> Festlicher Saal! Der Boden ist Meer![97]

Hölderlin's words "Also ist wahr, was einst wir in der Jugend gehört" are echoed by Freud "it really is true, just as we learn in school". To see the imagined made real is overwhelming, and Freud found himself caught in a net of contradictory emotion. One part of him saw the Acropolis as a myth made real – "it was if someone, walking beside Loch Ness, suddenly caught sight of the

[96] Freud was forty-eight years old when he first visited Greece in 1904.
[97] " Blessed Greece! You mansion of all the heavenly ones, so what we heard in our youth is true, after all? Festive hall! Ocean the floor!" (Hölderlin in Forster 1962:296).

form of the famous Monster stranded upon the shore and found himself driven to admission: 'so it really does exist – the sea-serpent we never believed in' (S.E. 22:241). But there was another part of Freud that stood aside and was surprised that he had ever doubted the reality of Athens. This paradoxical behaviour, Freud asserted, was a result of the fulfilment of an overwhelmingly powerful wish. This fulfilment left him, however, "wrecked by success", and suffering from "derealisation".

Freud interpreted this response to Greece as a defence mechanism against Oedipal guilt. He believed that this guilt stemmed from a realisation that he had succeeded in overthrowing his father: "The very theme of Athens and the Acropolis in itself contained evidence of the son's superiority" (S.E. 22:247). This "superiority" is seen by Freud to be a direct result of his education, and his acceptance of the ideals of *Bildung*. "Our Father", he writes, "had been in business, he had had no secondary education, and Athens could not have meant much to him" (S.E. 22:247). The anxiety experienced by Freud therefore arose from an understanding that in embracing the ideals of *Bildung* he had severed many of the ties of his past. This was a result of his acceptance of German culture; a culture that he believed had made him superior to his father. Freud once wrote that a great part of the pleasure of travel is rooted in dissatisfaction with home and family ("the limitations and poverty of our conditions of life in my youth") and a desire to escape these constraints.

> When first one catches sight of the sea, crosses the ocean and experiences as realities cities and lands which for so long had been distant, unattainable things of desire – one feels oneself like a hero who has performed deeds of improbable greatness (S.E. 22:247).

Bildung gave Freud a new destiny and an entirely different worldview from that of his father. It allowed him to "perform deeds of improbable greatness". This glimpse into Freud's mind allows us to understand the true depth of Freud's identification with Oedipus. Oedipus also overthrows his father, and because of this deed, is allowed to "perform deeds of improbable greatness".

Freud and Greek mythology versus Jung and German mythology

Classical Greece also provided an intellectual shelter for those concerned with the growing neo-pagan element in "völkisch"[98] movements and particularly the Aryan overtones of German nationalism. Many nineteenth century philologists, including Renan, Bopp and Max- Müller, framed their discourse in terms of Aryan and Semite categories. Language and race soon became conflated and, except in rare instances, these investigations were employed to justify not only historical and cultural difference, but also became convenient labels for "racial science" (Olender 1992). German nationalism almost always made use of Teutonic or Germanic myths and legends ("German antiquity" as Wagner was to refer to it) to enhance its political and social agendas.[99] The unification of Germany under Bismarck in 1871 gave Wagner the hope that he could unite "the soul of Germany" through his music and Germanic mythological themes.[100] Bayreuth's pervasive influence on nineteenth century Germany is often forgotten, and yet at the turn of the century all the major universities in German-speaking countries maintained Wagner Associations. Many of these Associations were based on Pan-Germanic sentiments which became increasingly permeated with anti-Semitism (Noll 1996).

As a Jewish intellectual, Freud would have recognised the undercurrents of anti-Semitism in this search for a new mythology and been aware of the way in which Wagner reworked Nordic legends to provide Germany with a new set of symbols that were easily adapted to the sinister tones of racial superiority. Although Freud drew heavily upon mythology in his theory of the

[98] Noll claims that nineteenth century Europe witnessed a revival of "völkische" (folkish) movements. These nationalistic groups were bonded together by a common ethnic and cultural identity (the idea of the Volk) and a wish to return to a mythical golden age of the old Teutons. Most of the information upon which such fantasies were based came from the *Germania* by Tacitus. Heredity became infused with social and political aims, and these were supported by "scientific" medical and psychiatric theories of hereditary degeneration. Many "völkisch" groups elevated racial purity to a quasi-scientific quasi–mystical ideal (Noll 1996).

[99] A fascinating window into this world is to be found in the diary by Cosima Wagner (1978). Here is but one example: "Read Walachian fairy tales with the children, and in the evening Frithiof's Saga and the Saga of Rolf and His Warriors in Uhland. Ever-growing delight in this Germanic literature, so much closer to us than the Greek" (Cosima Wagner 1978:681).

[100] Olender (1992) claims that Wagner dreamed of Germanising the Greek miracle. With Jakob Grimm's Germanic Mythology at his side he hoped to give Germany a new theatre by transposing the ancestral myths revealed by romantic science onto the operatic stage (Olender 1992:140). Wagner's strategy to influence contemporary society with reinvented myths is analysed by Arvidsson (1999) who argues that just as the classical dramas of antiquity were based on the mythology of the Greek people, Wagner dreamed of creating a new art where revitalized myths were to form the framework. Wagner received inspiration for the mythic themes from Christian, ancient Nordic, and medieval texts, strongly flavoured by his eroticized version of the philosophy of Schopenhauer (Arvidsson 1999:328).

unconscious, he almost always used Greek mythology to support his theories, and he seldom acknowledged the revival of Teutonic myths and Grail legends of "German antiquity" in his work. Jung with his "Aryan" background had no such reservations. Noll (1996) claims that the compilation of mythological material in Jung's *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* (1912) contains central "völkische" themes drawn from mythology and linguistic research into the roots of Aryan civilisation.[101] Many of the themes that dominate völkisch writing revolved around the identification of Christ with "Aryan" solar gods. This interpretation coupled with a revival of Teutonic legends and a central place given to the Grail legends serve to downplay the Semitic origins of Christianity. A close look at Jung's work reveals that these themes provided him with a number of powerful symbols in his exploration of the unconscious and in his theory of archetypes.

Arvidsson (1999) claims that Jung also postulated fundamental racial differences that required different psychological conceptualisations. Freud's psychology, being Jewish, was seen by Jung to be inapplicable to the "Aryan soul". Arvidsson argues that "with the concept of archetype Jung, influenced by the Völkische movement's flirtation with the heritage of the ancient Teutons, transported the old pagan deities into modern psychology" (Arvidsson 1999:346).

Not all völkische groups pursued political aims and Noll argues that it would be unfair to characterise Jung's early work as proto-fascist. Yet there is no doubt that particularly in the various mythologies concerning the Aryan "race", Jung both endorsed and identified with these beliefs[102]. Olender (1992) argues that one of the many functions of Indo-European research was to provide answers to a series of questions that became prominent in the nineteenth century. Many of these

[101] Noll writes, "The compilation of mythological material in *Wandlungen* contains central völkisch themes that were regularly discussed in conversation and in the journals of the Theosophical Society and the Monistenbund: the hero as sun; the sun as God; the god as self-sacrificing deity; Siegfried, Christ, Mithras, and other pagans identified as related personifications of the same self-sacrificing Aryan god (hence Jung's implicit adoption of the "Aryan Christ"); mythic interpretations of Wagnerian opera its Teutonic mythology (Ring cycle) and redemptive Holy Grail (*Parsifal)* imagery; the association of blood with the sun and with the hero; the presence of a pre-Christian ancestral layer (or racial or phylogenetic layer) of unconscious mind within which each of us that can be contacted and whose pagan ancestral images can be immediate and directly experienced" (Noll 1996:133-134).

[102] An article written by Jung and published in Germany, in 1934, explored the differences between "Jewish" and "Aryan" psychology. Roazen remarks that the closeness of Jung's distinction between "Jewish science" and "German science" to that of the Nazis is chilling (Roazen 1979:299).

questions pertained to the origins and vocation of the Western world in search of a national, political and religious identity (Olender 1992:139). Although Jung was deeply conscious of his German völkisch identity, this did not at first appear to present Freud with a problem. Indeed, early on it their association, Freud believed that Jung's Teutonic heritage would be advantageous for psychoanalysis. This view is expressed in a letter to Jung in 1908:

> With your strong and independent character, with your Germanic blood which enables you to command the sympathies of the public more readily than I, you seem better fitted than anyone else I know to carry out this mission (McGuire 1991: 121).

Initially, many of the problems that arose between Freud and Jung can be traced to the different interpretations they gave to the role of the libido in their respective theories.[103] There was, however, an underlying tension between the two men that many have claimed to be rooted in Jung's anti-Semitism (Clark 1980; Cocks 1985; Noll 1996). Even before the Salzburg Congress in 1908 Jung had told Jones that there was little hope of the Viennese and the Swiss working together. Jung believed that "Freud had no followers of any weight in Vienna, and that he was surrounded there by a 'degenerate' and 'Bohemian crowd' " (Jones 1964). If one considers the members of Freud's circle at this time – the Viennese psychoanalytic group was made up almost entirely of Jews - one can safely read "Jewish" for "degenerate". Freud, as the founder of psychoanalysis, had to defend and support both groups of followers. It is interesting that in a letter written to Abraham in 1910, Freud explained Jung's importance to the group not in intellectual but in "racial" and religious terms:

> Please be tolerant and do not forget that it is really easier for you than it is for Jung to follow my ideas, for in the first place you are completely independent, and then you are closer to my intellectual constitution because of racial kinship, while he as a Christian and a pastor's son finds his way to me only against great inner resistances. His association with us is the more valuable for that. I nearly said that it was only by his appearance on the scene that psychoanalysis escaped the danger of becoming a Jewish national affair (Roazen 1979:238-239).

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[103] Jung's concept of the libido is more general than the strictly sexual definition given by Freud. The downplaying of Freud's sexual theory caused a rift between the two men that eventually led to Jung's expulsion from psychoanalysis.

A year later the relationship between Freud and Jung seems to have undergone a qualitative shift. This occurred, according to Noll (1996), after Freud read the first part of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* in 1911, and Freud became concerned about Jung's growing fascination with Aryan origins. Freud expresses these anxieties in a carefully worded letter to Jung in 1911, where he comments that Jung's horizon had been "too narrowed by Christianity".[104]

Winckelmann's legacy provided a counter to these mythologies and Greece was seen by many Jews to provide a haven from the schematic distinction between Indo-European (or Indo-Aryan) and Semitic that formed one of the central cognitive categories of nineteenth-century European thought. These categories played an influential role in the human sciences throughout the nineteenth century and the grounding of these (mythological) religious and linguistic differences in biology became part of the raison d'être of völkisch mysticism and later laid some of the groundwork for the rise of National Socialism in the 1920's (Olender 1992; Noll 1996).[105] Freud's resistance to the authority of biological determinism in favour of a psychodynamic aetiology is partly rooted in this racially charged climate (Gilman 1994). In creating Semitic and Indo-European studies, comparative philology left behind a dangerous legacy ultimately leading to the invention of distinct racial characteristics - the "Hebrew" and the "Aryan". These distinctions infiltrated nineteenth century discourse and spilled over into the domain of psychoanalysis.

Although in later life Jung denied any charge of anti Semitism, Jung's attacks on Freud were from early on in their relationship, until well into the 1930's, couched in "Aryan" and "Semitic" terminology. The following letter written by Jung in 1934 to Wolfgang Kranefeldt indicates how easily terms such as "Aryan" and "Semite" were used to express scientific disagreements.

> As is known, one cannot do anything against stupidity, but in this instance the Aryan people can point out that, with Freud and Adler, specific Jewish points of view are publicly preached

[104] Letter from Freud to Jung, 12 November 1911.

[105] The *völkisch* movement, as it evolved, sometimes combined the esoteric aspects of folkloric occultism alongside *"racial adoration"* and, in some circles, a type of anti-Semitism linked to ethnic nationalism. The ideas of *völkisch* movements also included anti-communist, anti-immigration, anti-capitalist and anti-Parliamentarian principles: These *völkisch* ideas of "national community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*) came more and more to exclude Jews.

> and, as can be proved likewise, points of view that have an essentially corrosive character. If the proclamation of this Jewish gospel is agreeable to the government, then so be it (quoted in Clark 1980:493).

In 1934 in the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie*,[106] Jung specifically targeted Freud and his work, claiming that Freud, because he was a Jew, could not understand "the Germanic soul" and declaring that in his opinion:

> (I)t has been a great mistake of all previous medical psychology to apply Jewish categories which are not even binding for all Jews, indiscriminately to Christians, Germans or Slavs (in Clark 1980:493).

These racially charged exchanges point to a deep tension surrounding the psychoanalytic enterprise, a tension that mirrors the political situation in which Freud and his fellow Jews increasingly found themselves. The collapsing liberal values and rising anti-democratic propaganda caused Freud great anxiety. After being defeated in 1848, Austrian Liberalism again came to power in 1860's. During the two decades of rule the Liberal social base was weak, and confined to middle-class Germans and German Jews in urban centres. In 1888 new social groups such as the peasantry, urban artisans and workers formed mass parties to challenge the liberal hegemony. Their success was rapid. In 1893 the Christian Socials emerged as the dominant political party and formally entered Viennese politics. Led by Karl Lueger (1844-1910), who had moved from the left-wing Democratic Party to anti-Semitic and Socialist Politics, the Party soon gained a majority of seats on the Vienna City Council and Lueger was elected the Mayor of Vienna in 1895. For two years the Emperor refused to confirm Lueger's election but he was later forced to accept his appointment in 1897 to secure national support. By 1906 the Christian Socials were totally entrenched in Viennese politics and with their ascendancy came the new politics of anti-Semitism (Decker 1991).

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[106] Soon after Hitler came to power in 1933, the German Society for Psychotherapy was reorganised into the International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy. The existing president, Ernst Kretschmer resigned in protest since under the new regime psychoanalysis would come under Nazi control. After Kretschmer's resignation Jung accepted the position and also became the editor of the new Nazi-controlled *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie*. (Clark 1980:492). Although this position has been justified by Jung and his followers as an attempt to assist Jewish practitioners, the exodus of Jewish psychotherapists lucky enough to escape Germany attests to a different reality.

Few who have read Freud's letters to Zweig and Abrahams can claim that Freud was unaware of the growing tide of fascism. Yet he, like so many others, believed that Winckelmann's ideology of Greece as the home of rationalism, humanism and democracy, would still serve as a beacon of hope in this political and racial morass (Decker 1991). The humanity of Greece, or more particularly the Athenians, was contrasted with the cruelty of Rome, a distinction articulated by Winckelmann:

> The humanity of the Athenians is as well known as their reputation in the Arts. Hence a poet says that Athens alone knows the feeling of pity; for it appears that, from the times of the oldest wars of the Argives and Thebans, the oppressed and persecuted always found refuge and received help there.
>
> This is more easily understood by contrasting the Greeks with the Romans. The inhuman, sanguinary games, and the agonizing and dying gladiators, in the amphitheatres of the latter, even during the period of their greatest refinement, were the most gratifying sources of amusement to the whole people. The former, on the contrary abhorred such cruelty; and when similar fearful games were about to be introduced at Corinth some observed, that they must throw down the altar of Mercy and Pity, before they could resolve to look upon such horrors. The Romans, however finally succeeded in introducing them even at Athens (Winckelmann 1881:288).

The Liberal Democrats watched in dismay as from the 1870's Germany began to call itself the "New Rome". Gilman (1994) argues that Austria, the older, weaker imperial state, felt threatened by the appearance of this new force in Europe. In the face of the brutality, power and anti-intellectualism ascribed to the image of Rome, many still clung to the European fantasy of Greece.

Pessimism and the Greeks

Philosophical resignation in the face of suffering is an essential ingredient of Schopenhauer's writing, but it is also evident in Freud, in Nietzsche and in the pre Socratic Greeks. It is not my intention to provide an in depth analysis of the different responses that these writers had to philosophical pessimism. Rather, I wish to highlight aspects of philosophical pessimism in their work and situate it within the context of Greek thought. Freud may have been a humanist, but he was also deeply pessimistic. In 1930 he wrote, "One feels inclined to say that the intention that man should be "happy" is not included in the play of creation" (S.E. 21:76). This pessimism, like

that of the classical Greeks, is not so much a psychological disposition as a philosophical response to the world. In the late nineteenth century, pessimism enjoyed wide respectability in popular and intellectual discussions. This was largely attributable to Schopenhauer (1788-1860) whose *Parerga and Paralipomena* went through many editions after its initial publication in 1851 (Dienstag 2001). Freud knew and admired Schopenhauer's ideas, and there are many striking similarities in their thought (Gupta 1975; Dienstag 2001). Compare, for example, Freud's statement concerning happiness, with the following quote from Schopenhauer:

> If the immediate and direct purpose of our life is not suffering then our existence is the most ill-adapted to its purpose in the world: for it is absurd to suppose that the endless affliction of which the world is everywhere full, and which arises out of the need and distress pertaining essentially to life, should be purposeless and purely accidental. Each individual misfortune, to be sure, seems an exceptional occurrence; but misfortune in general is the rule (Schopenhauer 1983:41).

In *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930) Freud claims that happiness is elusive and fleeting, and more often than not built upon illusion. Unhappiness and suffering, on the other hand, constantly assail us:

> Unhappiness is much less difficult to experience. We are threatened with suffering from three directions: from our own body, which is doomed to decay and dissolution and which cannot even do without pain and anxiety as warning signals; from the external world, which may rage against us with overwhelming and merciless forces of destruction; and finally from our relations with men. The suffering which comes from this last source is perhaps more painful to us than any other. We tend to regard it as a kind of gratuitous addition, although it cannot be any less fatefully inevitable than the suffering which comes from elsewhere (S.E. 21:77).

Mitchell-Boyask draws attention to Freud's reading of Burckhardt. "Freud" he writes, "continually underlined Burckhardt's returns to Greek pessimism and fantasy" (1994:31) and concludes that this was a key source for Freud. Burckhardt was an important influence on Nietzsche, and Freud's vision of human existence is very similar to the pessimism Nietzsche attributed to the Greeks. Throughout his life Nietzsche was concerned with providing an alternative analysis of Greek culture. According to him, the "lamentable poverty" of German philologists had blinded them to true nature

of the Greeks, and he claimed that pessimism, not optimism,[107] afforded the philosophical grounding of Greek culture – it was the defining characteristic of their art and culture.

The Birth of Tragedy challenged the prevailing ideology of Greece, as "the home of sweetness and light". It argued that Winckelmann's ideal was but one aspect of the Greek legacy. In subjecting the tragic myths of Greece to scrutiny, Nietzsche forced Apollo to make room for Dionysus and the gods of nature. Terror and suffering, rather than serenity, is more often the correlate of human experience (Baeumer 1976; Weinberg 1999). Instead of a civilisation clothed in natural delight and freedom, Nietzsche stated that Greece with its art, its festivals and entertainments grew out of a lack, out of deprivation, melancholy and pain. Apollian art, according to Nietzsche was the inevitable product of a glance into the terrible depth of nature. It was "a balm to heal the gaze seared by terrible night" a blessing after "we have glimpsed the abyss" (Nietzsche 1993:47). The Greeks, according to Nietzsche, were forced to construct a world of illusion to counter the pain and suffering of the world. Nietzsche tore the veil from the face of "false antiquity" to reveal a different Greece to that of Winckelmann's dream. What he revealed beneath this Apollian surface was its substratum, the Dionysiac foundations from which the tragic conception of the world drew so much of its inspiration. Instead of focusing on the lofty Olympians, Nietzsche drew attention to the fallen world of the Titans, to a realm that was inhabited by mythological gods who were inhumanly powerful, bestial, natural and sexual. According to Nietzsche, these two elements of the Greek world existed side-by-side, each essential to the other -"And behold! Apollo could not live without Dionysus" (Nietzsche 1993:26) - and it was out of this realisation that Hellenic art was born. The Greeks interposed the radiant dream-birth of the Olympians between themselves and the horrors of existence.

> The terrible mistrust of the Titanic forces of nature; the Moira mercilessly reigning over all man's knowledge; the vultures that tormented the great friend to man, Prometheus; the terrible destiny of wise Oedipus; the family curse of the Atreid, forcing Orestes to matricide – in short the entire

[107] Nietzsche traces the death of tragedy to optimism and rationalism, found in the plays of Euripides and in the philosophy of Socrates and Plato (Kaufmann 1976).

> philosophy of the god of the woods, along with its mythical examples, which brought about the downfall of the gloomy Etruscans – the Greeks repeatedly overcame all this, or at least veiled and concealed it, with the artistic middle world of the Olympians. In order to live, the Greeks were profoundly compelled to create those gods (Nietzsche 1993:23).

This vision was most clearly realised in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Greek tragedy, according to Nietzsche, is pessimistic because the human condition is one of suffering and loss.[108] Only art can transform this pessimistic worldview into something sublime.

> (Art) alone can turn these thoughts of repulsion at the horror and absurdity of existence into ideas compatible with life: these are the *sublime* – the taming of horror through art; and *comedy* – the artistic release from the repellence of the absurd (Nietzsche 1993:40)

Nietzsche, not Freud, first invented the term sublimation (Lloyd-Jones 1976). This term evokes the sense of 'sublime' used in the arts, and is based on Winckelmann's aesthetics. Both Nietzsche and Freud make use of this concept and, although there are differences between them, a similar meaning is retained in their respective works. According to Laplanche and Pontalis (1988:431-432) sublimation when used by Freud accounts for human activities which have no apparent connection with sexuality but are assumed to be motivated by the force of the sexual instinct. Freud claims that the renunciation of our deepest instincts is the price we pay for civilisation. Unable to control our destiny, we console ourselves by creating something sublime – redemption through illusion. These acts are essentially Apollian in nature, and come close to Nietzsche's understanding of the word. In Nietzsche's work, moderation and denial mask another reality – the Dionysian - a reality that is found in the tragic chorus of Attic tragedy.

Freud's emotional and intellectual involvement with Greek tragedy is well documented (Armstrong 1999, 2005; Devereux 1976; Jones 1964; Winter 1999) and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* becomes the primary text upon which the Oedipus complex is built. Greek tragedy is thus situated at the heart of the psychoanalytic enterprise and the tragic hero, consigned by fate to suffer,

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[108] "At the moment of supreme joy we hear the scream of horror or the yearning lamentation for something irrevocably lost" (Nietzsche 1993:20).

becomes the template for human existence.[109] In analysing the birth of tragedy, Nietzsche claimed that Dionysian suffering is essentially human suffering; the chorus provides a mirror in which Dionysian man may contemplate himself. Silenus, [110] according to Nietzsche, encapsulates the pessimism of the Greeks. When asked by King Midas what was the best and the most desirable thing for all mankind, he replied:

> miserable, ephemeral race, children of hazard and hardship, why do you force me to say what it would be much more fruitful for you not to hear? The best of all things is something entirely outside your grasp: not to be born, not to be, to be nothing. But the second-best thing for you – is to die soon (Nietzsche 1993:22).

While pessimism in Nietzsche ultimately leads to strength, Schopenhauer responds to it with withdrawal and passivity,[111] and Freud with resignation. Unlike Nietzsche who glorified the "will to live" both Schopenhauer and Freud find relief from pain in the extinction of desire and in the release of bodily tension (Gupta 1975).

Nietzsche saw civilisation as a veneer that obscures the dark and irrational forces beneath the surface, and revelled in this vision, foreseeing a new beginning, the birth of a new kind of human being. Freud trembled to see how easily the thin veil of civilisation could be stripped away. Freud claims that Man's ideal conceptions of himself, his culture, art and humanity are bought at a terrible cost to the individual. Present-day man does not feel happy with the civilised ideals that he has created for himself – he is "a prosthetic god":

> Man has, as it were, become a kind of prosthetic God. When he puts on all his auxiliary organs he is truly magnificent; but those organs have not grown on to him and they still give him much trouble at times (S.E. 21: 91-92).

Our existence is at the mercy of the great forces of Eros and Thanatos which are always in conflict. This conflict is in turn replicated in the psyche of every individual where one finds a conflict

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[109] Freud's deep love of Shakespeare, and particularly the play *Hamlet*, can also be understood in terms of the hero's pessimistic worldview.
[110] Silenus is a Satyr famous for his instruction of Dionysus.
[111] Schopenhauer claims in *On the Suffering of the World* that, "All happiness and all gratification, is that which is negative, the mere abolition of a desire and extinction of pain" (Schopenhauer 1983:42).

between the ego and the id, the ego and the superego. For Freud, the price paid for civilisation is the renunciation of instinct, but this renunciation is accompanied by pain, guilt, and suffering.

> If civilization is a necessary course of development from the family to humanity as a whole, then – as a result of the inborn conflict arising from ambivalence, of the eternal struggle between the trends of love and death – there is inextricably bound up with it an increase of the sense of guilt, which will perhaps reach heights that the individual finds hard to tolerate. One is reminded of the great poet's moving arraignment of the 'Heavenly Powers':-
>
> Ihr führt in's Leben uns hinein.
> Ihr laßt den Armen schuldig werden,
> Dann überlaßt Ihr ihn den Pein,
> Den alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden (S.E. 21:133).

Plagued by internal conflicts and at the mercy of fate, nature and the gods, humanity vainly searchers for consolation and finally escapes behind illusion. Goethe's words and those of Freud's echo the great Greek choruses of Sophocles and Aeschylus as they look with pity upon the play of human life. In *Oedipus Tyrannus* the chorus sings:

> Sons and daughters of Thebes, behold: this was Oedipus,
> Greatest of men; he held the key to the deepest mysteries;
> Was envied by all his fellow-men for his great prosperity;
> Behold, what a full tide of misfortune swept over his head.
> Then learn that moral man must always look to his ending,
> And none can be called happy until that day when he carries
> His happiness down to the grave in peace (Sophocles 1969:68).

According to Nietzsche, (and before him, Schopenhauer) it is out of this realisation that Hellenic art was born. Freud's pessimism, observable throughout his writing, became darker as he grew older. In *The Future of an Illusion* (1927) Freud voiced his scepticism regarding the cultural ideals so closely held by civilisation. As "prosthetic gods", we tumble from the "heights of unimagined perfections". Intoxication or art, according to Freud may numb the pain of reality by providing an illusionary escape from suffering, but we are still left at the mercy of our instincts. Freud believed that the "heavenly powers" of Eros and Thanatos, seemed tipped towards death and destruction. As a Viennese Jew, he knew how fragile civilisation could be and in 1931 he added this final paragraph:

> Men have gained control over the forces of nature to such an extent that with their help they would have no difficulty in exterminating one another to the last man. They know this, and hence comes a large part of their current unrest, their unhappiness and their mood of anxiety. And now it is to be expected that the other of the two 'Heavenly Powers' eternal Eros, will make an effort to assert himself in the struggle with his equally immortal adversary. But who can foresee with what success and with what result? (S.E. 21:145).

In 1939 the world went to war for the second time in two decades. As its pillars collapsed, the great edifice of nineteenth century civilisation crumpled into flames. At the close of the Second World War more than fifty four million people had lost their lives, among them six million Jews who died in the Holocaust (Hobsbawm 1994). Freud was raised in a country renowned for producing some of the greatest philosophers, musicians, and artists ever to exist in the Western world. Ironically this culture of human endeavour soon exposed the fragility of civilisation by perpetrating one of the greatest acts of barbarity in the twentieth century. For Freud, as for Schopenhauer, man is not the crowning glory of the universe, but a creature that is unable to understand the unconscious impulses and desires that drive him. His intellect is powerless in comparison with his instinctual life. Humans, according to Freud, are driven to find release from sensation – later he called this the Nirvana principle – a concept in keeping with Schopenhauer's own views of worldly retreat.

Schopenhauer claimed that, "To the Greeks the world and the gods were the work of an unfathomable necessity" (Schopenhauer 1983:48). Freud's concept of Ananke, derived from the Greeks is very similar to this position. Wisdom, according to Freud, is found in:

> the resignation of the human being who subjects himself to *Ανάγκη*, to the laws of nature, and who expects no alleviation from the goodness or grace of God (S.E.11 125).

In the writing of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, we are presented with the clearest example of a tragic vision of life. Tragedy and pessimism are not one and the same, but as Felski argues, they are both a response to the fundamental ontology of the human condition (Felski 2008:119).

CHAPTER 5

THE GREEK LEGACY AND THE EMERGING 'SCIENCE' OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

Freud presents a portrait of the early years of psychoanalysis in "*On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*" (1914). In this paper he outlines his early isolation, the rejection of his work by his medical peers, and the gradual expansion of psychoanalysis as an autonomous domain of knowledge. In forging a new identity psychoanalysis defined itself as an area distinct from psychiatry and neurology. At this time psychiatrists no longer wished their work to be labelled as "a science of the soul", arguing that all of nature could be explained rationally and without recourse to explanations that relied on hidden forces or energies.[112] Consequently, psychiatry formed close links with neurologists and physiologists. In investigating the reception of psychoanalysis in Germany, Decker (1982) claims that:

> While psychoanalysis in Germany gained a home and a focus, it did not simultaneously influence and infiltrate German psychiatry. Moreover, once the analysts began to found their own journals in 1909, they tended to stop publishing in the psychiatric journals, so that knowledge of advances in psychoanalysis became limited to those physicians who read the analytic periodicals or Freud's later works (Decker 1982:591).

German psychiatry was made up of warring schools with their own professors, journals and loyal university departments. To be accepted, psychoanalysis needed a university affiliation, but this proved a difficult problem in the fiercely competitive and closed system of German psychiatry. Freud's thinking, and in particular his emphasis on the unconscious, aroused scientific distrust. This distrust was not assisted by Freud's refusal to attend medical and psychiatric meetings, nor by the fact that he repeatedly urged his followers to follow his example. This led to psychoanalysis being perceived by psychiatrists and psychologists as a regressive force, a throwback to the days of the philosophy of nature. To embrace Freud and his theories was to break with science and to open one's

[112] To Wundt, ideas of "energy" and "force" were unscientific thinking at its worst He viewed such ideas as "a legacy which has come down to modern science from a mythopoetic age". This attitude was also extended to Freud's theory of dreams (Decker 1982:598).

field to the charge of being mere metaphysics, mysticism, or superstition (Decker 1982). The structure of Freud's psychoanalytic school of thought has received a great deal of attention (Ellenberger 1970; Gedo 1976; Decker 1982; Gelfand 1992;Winter 1999). In an effort to professionalise its status psychoanalysis was forced to develop its own institutions of training and certification, as well as a new set of diagnostic and therapeutic procedures (Winter 1999). Interestingly, in the light of the objections raised against psychoanalysis by psychiatry, Freud appears to have exacerbated, rather than diminished psychoanalysis' professional insecurities.

This chapter explores some of the ways in which Freud used the Greece legacy to create an identity for psychoanalysis. Although Freud endeavoured to establish psychoanalysis as a legitimate field of scientific knowledge, and attempted to align himself with other emerging sciences, such as archaeology, anthropology and psychology, it is claimed that aspects of psychoanalysis were more closely modelled upon Hellenistic structures than upon the scientific structures available within the university. It is argued that although these models were often disparate in character, certain elements from these models were combined by Freud to create a discipline that was very distinct from that of psychiatry and neurology.

Psychoanalysis and initiation schools of Greece.

Along with an interest in the unconscious, the irrational, and body-mind interaction (all which were viewed as an example of a much earlier science), psychoanalysis also concerned itself with the most tabooed subject matter - human sexuality. Both Decker (1982) and Rudnytsky (1987) argue that the transgressive nature of psychoanalysis was an important factor in the closed and elitist structure that evolved around the teaching and practice of psychoanalysis. Decker (1982) argues that attitudes towards sexuality in Wilhelmine Germany were unconducive to the acceptance of Freud's sexual theories. Especially among the middle classes, there was a great deal of hypocrisy and conscious suppression. Freud's emphasis on the significance of sexuality in human life and his broadening of the meaning of sexuality fostered enormous resistance.

The Wednesday meetings, where from1902 onwards a small circle of Freud's intimate devotees discussed psychoanalysis, illustrate the general conduct of the psychoanalytic society in the early days of its inception. The Psychological Wednesday Society first met in Freud's waiting room. Matters of interest were discussed and cigars and black coffee were the staples of the gatherings. Paul Roazen (1979), in looking back at these meetings, claims that it was very difficult to disagree with Freud as the power of his intellect and character undermined any alternative formulations. In 1907 the schools of Vienna and Zurich were united and in 1908 the first meeting of the Psychoanalytical Congress took place at Salzburg. The following years saw the expansion of psychoanalysis despite internal disputes and the development of splinter groups. Psychoanalysis continued to exist independent of the university, and by1926 there were two institutes which gave instruction in psychoanalysis. The first was founded by Max Eitingon in Berlin in 1920, and this was followed shortly afterwards by the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. Freud described these training institutes as follows:

> At these Institutes the candidates themselves are taken into analysis, receive theoretical instruction by lectures on all the subjects that are important for them, and enjoy the supervision of older and more experienced analysts when they are allowed to make their first trials with comparatively slight cases. A period of some two years is calculated for this training. Even after this period, of course, the candidate is only a beginner and not yet a master. What is still needed must be acquired by practice and by an exchange of ideas in the psychoanalytical societies in which young and old members meet together. Preparation for analytic activity is by no means so easy and simple. The work is hard, the responsibility great. But anyone who has passed through such a course of instruction, who has been analysed himself, who has mastered what can be taught to-day of the psychology of the unconscious, who is at home in the science of sexual life, who has learnt the delicate technique of psycho-analysis, the art of interpretation, of fighting resistances and of handling the transference - anyone who has accomplished all this is *no longer a layman in the field of psycho-analysis*. He is capable of undertaking the treatment of neurotic disorders, and will be able in time to achieve in that field whatever can be required from this form of therapy (S.E. 20:228).

What Freud envisions here is an institution more closely aligned to apprenticeship than to the scientific transfer of knowledge.[113] In *The Question of Lay Analysis (1926)* Freud draws a portrait of psychoanalysis in which experienced masters impart their knowledge and understanding to the younger trainees who are then taught the psychology of the unconscious and the art of interpretation. The essential part of this training lies in the new recruit accepting to undergo a long and painful training analysis at the hands of one of his masters.[114] Freud argued that analytic training should not only include biology and psychiatry and the science of sexual life but also branches of knowledge remote from medicine – the history of civilisation, mythology, the psychology of religion and the science of literature. "Unless he is well at home in these subjects", Freud states, "an analyst can make nothing of a large amount of his material" (S.E. 20:246). The content of psychoanalytic instruction, accordingly, is far removed from the forms of medical training that emphasised experimental psychology and physiological research.

This style of instruction led to a further comparison - that between psychoanalysis and the initiation schools of antiquity. In concluding his historical survey of the origin and development of dynamic psychiatry, Ellenberger (1970) notes that Freud's departure from the concept of unified science to that of an independent "school" is modelled on the philosophical schools of Graeco-Roman antiquity. The similarity between the psychoanalytic and Graeco-Roman philosophical schools is reinforced, according to Ellenberger, by strict rules of membership and official doctrine as well as by the imposition of an initiation. According to Ellenberger (1970) the form of the training analysis (which not only demands a heavy financial sacrifice but also the surrender of the self in analysis) recalls forms of Orphic initiation. He argues that in psychoanalysis:

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[113] Winter (1999) (1999) makes the same argument. She claims that the training analysis proposed for all new analysts after the 1918 Budapest congress (and officially mandated in 1926) served both as a professional apprenticeship and also as a means to preserve the orthodoxy of psychoanalytic practice.

[114] Spezzana (1997) remarks that psychoanalytic training still invested too much energy in defining itself as a guild. Closely associated with guilds is the practice of apprenticeship and the perception (which can be traced back to the middle ages) of a secret society formed to protect the practitioners knowledge and skills. The most obvious modern example of such a society is Masonry.

> a follower is integrated into the Society more indissolubly than ever was a Pythagorean, Stoic, or Epicurean in his own organization. Freud's example in that regard was to be followed by Jung and a few other dynamic psychiatric movements. We are thus led to view Freud's most striking achievement is in the revival of the Greco-Roman type of philosophic schools, and this is no doubt a noteworthy event in the history of modern culture (Ellenberger 1970).

The closed nature of psychoanalysis, so suggestive of ancient initiation colleges, is highlighted in a comment made by Jung to Freud:

> Psychoanalysis thrives only in a very tight enclave of like minds. Seclusion is like a warm rain. One should therefore barricade this territory against the ambitions of the public for a long time to come (McGuire 1991:197).

A jokingly dismissive comment made by Jung to Freud about a new member is even more revealing:

> Winterstein has turned up, throbbing with the awe of an initiate admitted to the inner sanctum, who knows the mysteries and the hallowed rites of the *Katabsion*[115]. We welcomed him with the benevolent smile of augurs (McGuire 1991:269).[116]

Freud was aware of negative publicity surrounding psychoanalysis and in his lectures (delivered between the winter terms of 1915-16 and 1916-17) he attempted an apology:

> You can believe me when I tell you that we do not enjoy giving an impression of being members of a secret society and of practising a mystical science. Yet we have been obliged to recognize and express as our conviction that no one has a right to join in a discussion of psychoanalysis who has not had particular experiences which can only be obtained by being analysed oneself (S.E. 22:69).

Unfortunately, this apology does little to dispel, but rather reinforces the impression of a secret circle of initiates. All initiation practices emphasise experiential knowledge over and above intellectual apprehension. Downing's (1975:10) assertion that "Freud's understanding of therapy is to ritual as his theory of the psyche is to myth. There is a deep appreciation of the whole-making power of re-enactment" emphasises the initiation like qualities often perceived in

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[115] 'Mysteries' is derived from the Greek word *musteria* and means secret doctrine. Mystery cults refer to the religious rituals of the eastern Mediterranean of late classical antiquity and include the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Dionysian mysteries, as well as Orphic and Mithraic mysteries. The mysteries were closed to the non-inducted and kept secret from the general public. According to Starobinski (1987) Katabasis refers to an initiate's descent into the underworld, a practice commonly found in the mysteries.

[116] Noll (1996) claims that soon after Jung's break with Freud, Jung models his psychotherapy on the mystery cults.

psychoanalysis. This impression of being members of a secret society was furthered by the formation of a protective circle of disciples around Freud. In 1913, in the face of Jung's growing disaffection, Jones proposed a secret committee to protect psychoanalysis from heretical movements within psychoanalysis. Original members of this secret committee were Ferenczi, Rank, Sachs, Abraham and Jones. Jones writes:

> It was in the summer of 1913 that the Committee first assembled as a whole. Freud celebrated the event by presenting us each with an antique Greek intaglio from his collection which we then got mounted on a gold ring"(Jones 1964:416).

Later, when the threat of heresy no longer appeared so grave, the tight circle of ring-bearers was extended to other trusted friends and rings were presented by Freud to Eitingon, Lou Andreas-Salomé; Anna Freud, Princess Marie Bonaparte, Dorothy Burlingham, Ernest Jones's wife Katherine. Others to receive rings included Stefan Zweig, Ferenczi's wife Gisela, Ruth Mack-Brunswick, Edith Jackson, and Eva Rosenfeld (Clark 1980). Freud once again chose a Greek emblem to symbolise this intimate relationship of friends and supporters.

Detractors of psychoanalysis have often maintained that psychoanalysis is little more than a religious or mystical sect, a position that is well grounded in observation. In the closed world in which these analysts operated, challenges were often regarded as betrayals rather than scientific argument, and intellectual debate often degenerated into personal attack. The schisms that occurred early on in psychoanalysis (Adler, Jung) are also a common occurrence in religious societies. These "oedipal" battles had the unfortunate result of casting psychoanalysis more as a profession of faith than that of a science.[117] Max Graf, one of Freud's earliest followers, described the atmosphere of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and the (later) International Psycho-Analytical society:

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[117] One of the last letters written by Jung to Freud (December 1912) illustrates this claim. Jung writes, "You go around sniffing out all the symptomatic actions in your vicinity, thus reducing everyone to the level of sons and daughters who blushingly admit the existence of their faults. Meanwhile you remain on top as the father, sitting pretty. For sheer obsequiousness nobody dares to pluck the prophet by the beard (McGuire1991:292).

> There was an atmosphere of the foundation of a religion in that room. Freud himself was its new prophet who made the theretofore prevailing methods of psychological investigation appear superficial. Freud's pupils – all inspired and convinced – were his apostles (quoted in Clark 1980:217).

Szasz (1977), one of the most vocal critics of psychoanalysis, quotes a contemporary attack on Freud by Egon Freidell (1879-1938) which sums up many of the problems often associated with psychoanalysis in the nineteenth century:

> Psycho-analysis is in truth a sect, with all the signs and symbols of one – rites and ceremonies, oracles and mantic, settled symbolism and dogmatism, secret doctrine and popular edition, proselytes and renegades, priests who are subjected to tests, and daughter sects which damn each other in turn. Just as the whale, though a mammal, poses as a fish, so psychoanalysis, actually a religion, poses as a science. This religion is pagan in character: it embraces nature-worship, demonology, Chthonian belief in the depths, Dionysian sex-idolization, This connection of religion with therapy, hygiene, and the interpretation of dreams existed in the ancient world also, as for example the healing sleep for the sick in the temples of Asklepios. And we have here a seer and singer working for the powers of darkness in most enticing tones, an Orpheus from the Underworld: it is a new worldwide revolt against the Gospels (Szasz 1977: 71-72).

In this attack on psychoanalysis, one can discern an underlying stratum of truth. The nineteenth century experienced an upsurge in paganism. Freidell spoke for many when he saw psychoanalysis as a cult modelled on the pagan ritual of ancient Greece.[118] While Freidell's diatribe is excessive, as well as ill informed, it is also true that from the eighteenth century onward pagan religion was often used to question and attack Christianity. Pater attributes the beginning of these pagan sentiments to Winckelmann and sees it as the essential hallmark of Hellenism. Discussing paganism, Pater writes:

> Still, the broad foundation, in mere human nature, of all religions as they exist for the greatest number, is a universal pagan sentiment, a paganism which existed before the Greek religion, and has lingered forward into the Christian world, ineradicable, like some persistent vegetable growth, because its seed is an element of the very soil out of which it springs (Pater 1998:128).

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[118]. The neo-classical movement was explicitly devoted to rediscovering the virtues of the pagan societies Rome and Greece. In the nineteenth century and twentieth century, neo-pagan groups in Germany more often looked to Germanic myths to revitalise society (Stefan Arvidsson 1999).

Freud, like many secular Jews in Vienna found the pagan world of the Greeks a source of inspiration and intellectual stimulation (Clark 1980) and his two most important discoveries, sex and the unconscious, made it easy for any critic to identify psychoanalysis with neo-pagan thought.

The Greek Academy

Another institutional similarity is that between psychoanalysis and the classical Greek academies. Freud's early psychoanalytic gatherings had much in common with Greek *Symposia*,[119] although without the more jovial atmosphere of a "drinking party"(Santas 1988). Plato's *Symposia* drew upon a membership that was affluent, educated and elitist. An all male preserve *Symposia* were often bound by currents of homoeroticism[120], women were allowed to serve and entertain the guests but when the serious business of philosophy arose, the *symposiasts* would summarily dismiss the hired entertainment. Like Plato, Freud attracted a small, elite, male coterie about him, and especially in the early years of its existence the Vienna psychoanalytic society was very much a male preserve. Only later, and under pressure, were women admitted to this elect group.[121]

According to Collini (2009:8) this tradition of teaching persisted well into the twentieth century in some Classical Departments. He cites Maurice Bowra, one of the most celebrated dons in Oxford and therefore in Europe, who was born in 1898 and held office until 1970. He wrote over thirty books, mostly in praise of Greek culture, and extolled its aristocratic code of conduct, its view of life and its art. Bowra was renowned for his conversation and "his preferred pedagogical resource was the dinner party". Collini claims that at these meetings the chosen young men of Oxford were not so much being instructed in a "subject" as into a "civilisation". This civilisation was, of course Greek. While Plato, Freud and Bowra encouraged discussion, it is interesting that they always dominated the proceedings, the "master" always managed to have the last word (Santas 1998).

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[119] The symposium was an institution of upper class Athenian life. The party, made up entirely of men, usually imbibed liberal amounts of alcohol: musical entertainment and sexual partners were often provided at these gatherings. After amusing themselves, the guests usually fell into conversation, and as in the case of Plato's famous *Symposium*, matters of philosophical interest were raised and discussed.

[120] Waterford examines the role of homosexuality in Plato's circle in his introduction to Plato's Symposium (1994).

[121] This was to change later, and a significant number of women entered psychoanalysis as a profession. Among them, Lou Andreas-Salome, Helene Deutsche, Joan Rivière and Anna Freud (Appignanesi 2005).

Freud and Plato were also not dissimilar in terms of the content of their discussions. Like Plato, Freud and his circle were interested in the "psyche" and the "three elements" of the divided soul. Like Plato, Freud and his disciples distinguished between the rational and the irrational, and Plato's distinction between these two principles is often echoed in Freud's theory of the conscious and the unconscious.[122] While Plato's paramount concern was with the rational, Freud's investigations of the "soul" concentrated on the irrational elements in Plato's system - "hunger and thirst, and again willing and wishing"; of "desire giving assent to its own longing"; and conflict "attraction and repulsion, as pairs of opposites actions or states of mind" (Plato 1966).

Psychoanalysis and philology

Many of the forms that psychoanalysis was to take after its inception bear a close resemblance to the philological schools in Germany during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. First, it was traditional for students of philology to select their studies based on the reputation of the teacher rather than on the credentials of the academic institution. Each teacher passed down a coherent body of knowledge to a new generation of classical scholars and there was often violent argument between the rival teachings. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1982) provides an excellent survey of the history of classical scholarship in Germany. In it he records the fierce intellectual controversy that raged between the classical traditions of Hermann and Boeckh (and their students) in the early nineteenth century.

Secondly, these dissentions provide a good example of the different methodologies available, not only within classical scholarship, but also in other disciplines and point to a more general battle within the sciences. The schisms in classical studies, for example, sharply recall the later conflicts evident both within psychoanalysis and between psychoanalysis and the medical sciences and experimental psychology. Boeckh modelled his approach to classical studies on Wolf and

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[122] In *The Republic* Plato states, "We may call that part of the soul whereby it reflects, rational; and the other, with which it feels hunger and thirst and is distracted by sexual passion and all the other desires, we will call irrational. appetite, associated with pleasure in the replenishment of certain wants" (Plato 1966).

Schleiermacher and claimed that classical scholarship should be aimed at the understanding of ideas grounded in hermeneutics. On the other hand, Hermann and his school argued that classical philology should concentrate on the acquisition of linguistic expertise and the reconstruction of literary artefacts. Boeckh criticised Herman, not in terms of his linguistic construction of the text, but for failing to grasp the meaning of these texts because he lacked a systematic hermeneutic method to guide him. After a protracted battle Boeckh's approach was rejected within the discipline and modern hermeneutic theory was forced to develop outside the institutional boundaries of classics (Calder 1992). Later, this same controversy continued between Wilamowitz and Nietzsche. Wilamowitz, a close contemporary of Freud, had a profound impact on the discipline of classics, and upon the European conception of Hellenism. In his denunciation of Nietzsche, Wilamowitz called upon the historical-critical method of Hermann to lambaste the hermeneutic method employed in the *Birth of Tragedy.* In 1878, Nietzsche decided to resign his chair in philology at Basel, due to ill health, and his departure served to isolate his work from classical scholarship. These fissures in classical scholarship were comprehensively treated in a series of five lectures delivered by Nietzsche, while still a professor of Classical Philology at the University. Nietzsche criticised the narrow pedantry of classical training, and pleaded for a broader conception of philology, one that would lay stress upon understanding and interpretation.[123] Nietzsche's rejection by classical scholarship was not unique. Selden (in Hexter 1992) makes an interesting observation when he notes that Nietzsche, Freud and Marx all developed lines of critical inquiry grounded in classical philology, but that these inquiries failed to be assimilated into the mainstream discipline of classical philology. In contemporary times Derrida, Foucault, Lacan, Harold Bloom and Althusser have continued to work outside the Classics, although their work often focuses on Greek and Latin texts. Described as "inappropriate" or "foreign", this tradition has become synonymous with literary theory and kept at arms length by classical scholarship.

[123] Nietzsche writes in *The Future of Educational Institutions*, "Nobody reaches antiquity by means of leap into the dark, and yet the whole method of treating ancient writers in schools, the plain commentating and paraphrasing of our philological teachers, amounts to nothing more than a leap into the dark (Nietzsche 1964:63).

Freud, through his friendship with classicists and his reading of classical journals, would have been aware of the many disciplinary problems raging inside classical studies, and the almost autonomous schools that developed as a result, and the parallels between psychoanalysis and classical scholarship could not have escaped him. Many of the trends commonly found in the hermeneutical schools of philology during the nineteenth century are equally applicable to psychoanalysis. In its battle to understand the meaning of words, gestures and symptoms of hysteria, psychoanalysis became a hermeneutical science that operated over and above the narrow definitions of neurology. Psychoanalysis was never recognised as a discipline within the University although its methods and findings have been used extensively within the different disciples.

Greek medicine and dream interpretation

The science of Western medicine is based upon the Graeco-Romans, and in particular, upon the writings of Hippocrates[124] and Galen. Even in Freud's day, knowledge of its Greek sources was considered essential in order to study modern medicine. As a young student at the university Freud would have been grounded in the early models of Greek medicine and exposed to its language and its methods. What most distinguished the Greeks from other nations was that they based their practices upon observation accumulated systematically over time (Lloyd 2003). In discussing medicine in ancient Greece, Charles Singer (1942) observes that it is only the Greeks among the ancients who could look on their healers as *physicians* (from the word nature), and that the word itself stands as a lasting reminder of their achievement. Freud, in his attempt to understand some of the most difficult manifestations of disease, drew his inspiration from this model.[125]

While the approach to medicine in Greece was for the most part coldly rational, the practice of *Oneirocritice*, the art of interpreting symbolic dreams, occurred throughout Greece and the Mediterranean world, and played a vital role in early medicine. Techniques for promoting "divine"

[124] The Hippocratic Corpus consists of some sixty treatises that vary widely in terms of their subject matter, style and date. Most were written between C. 430 and 330 B.C. The writings deal with pathology, diagnosis and prognosis, methods of treatment but also with physiology, embryology and medical ethics (Lloyd 2003).

[125] Freud makes one of the clearest statements of psychoanalysis as a science in his *New Introductory Lectures, The Question of a Weltanschauung* (S.E. 22 158-182).

dreams were often practiced in early Greece and included methods such as isolation, fasting and incubation - ritual sleep to induce a dreams (Dodds 1951; Meier 1967). The use of dreams in diagnosis and healing has most often been associated with the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, although incubation was also practiced at Delos and at the shrines of heroes either of dead men or chthonic daemons, and at certain chasms reputed to be entrances to the world of the dead. From the sixth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. the cult of Asclepius flourished in over four hundred temples scattered throughout the ancient classical world (Meier 1967). Although incubation was the principal method, other practices such fasting and flagellation also existed at certain dream-oracles such as "Charon's cave" in Asia-Minor. In these rituals, patients entered the holy precinct (comprising a temple and extensive groves) and after cleansing themselves, lay down in the temple. Here they awaited dreams that they hoped would cure them of their affliction.[126]

Hippocrates attempted a rational and coherent explanation of these methods in the treatise *On Regimen.* In this text he relates the *oneirocritica* to the physiological state of the dreamer and treats dreams as symptoms important to the physician (Dodds 1951). Aristotle adopted the same scientific approach to dreams in his essay *On Dreams* and *On Divination in Sleep.* He rejected any religious explanation of dreams and only accepted two kinds of dreams as precognitive – dreams that conveyed foreknowledge of the dreamer's state of health (which can be explained by the appearance into consciousness of symptoms ignored in waking hours) and those which brought about their own fulfilment by suggesting a course of action to the dreamer (Dodds 1951). Freud does not dispute that the aetiology of some dreams arises from internal organic somatic stimuli and quotes Hippocrates and Aristotle to support this thesis. His knowledge of the place of dreams in antiquity is evidenced by the following footnote added to *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1914:

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[126] According to Meier (1967) incubation flourished in Egypt before it became associated with the Greek cult of Asclepius. It then spread rapidly during the classical and Hellenic periods reaching a peak in the first century A.D. Christianity took over many of the cult's attributes and functions when Asclepius began to wane in the fourth and fifth centuries.

> Apart from the diagnostic value ascribed to dreams (e.g. in the works of Hippocrates), their therapeutic importance in antiquity must also be borne in mind. In Greece there were dream oracles, which were regularly visited by patients in search of recovery. A sick man would enter the temple of Apollo or Aesculapius, would perform various ceremonies there, would be purified by lustration, massage and incense, and then, in a state of exaltation, would be stretched on the skin of a ram that had been sacrificed. He would then fall asleep and would dream of the remedies for his illness. These would be revealed to him either in their natural form or in symbols and pictures which would afterwards be interpreted by the priests (S.E. 4:34).

The publication of the Epidaurian Temple Record in 1883, which allowed access to many of the dreams and the cures recommended in antiquity, sparked a great deal of debate among classicists as they struggled to place these phenomena within a conceptual framework. Freud's theory of dreams, because it was predicated on a systematic model of the mind, is the most valuable of these conceptual attempts. Dodds, a classicist deeply influenced by Freud, interprets dream therapy in antiquity in the following manner:

> In the morning, those who had been favoured with the god's nocturnal visitation told their experiences. And here we must make generous allowance for what Freud called 'secondary elaboration', whose effect is, in Freud's words, 'that the dream loses the appearance of absurdity and incoherence, and approaches the pattern of an intelligible experience'. In this case the secondary elaboration will have operated, without conscious deception, to bring the dream or vision into closer conformity with the traditional culture-pattern (Dodds 1951:115).

These early Greek forms of medical practice laid the groundwork for Freud's interpretative method of diagnosis and cure and a new hermeneutics of pain, suffering and disease. It is a tribute to Freud that modern classicists in turn use Freud to provide insight into antiquity and the interpretation of dreams in Greek culture.[127]

Greece and the language of psychoanalysis

Freud drew his technical terminology from many sources. He borrowed words from Greek and Latin (the language of psychology, psychopathology and neurophysiology) but he also coined new terms to describe his observations. A great many of these words and expressions came from

[127] Arthur (1977) cites numerous classical articles that use psychoanalysis as a tool of analysis. George Devereaux (1976) provides an excellent psychoanalytical treatment of dreams in ancient literature.

German, the remainder, with few exceptions, had their roots in Greek. Olender (1992) has remarked that, particularly in the human sciences, words function as conceptual tools. Whether these words are borrowed from ancient traditions or forged for laboratory use, they always reveal implicit presuppositions and goals. Many of the words and forms that Freud employed in creating a vocabulary for psychoanalysis were derived from Greek roots. The cultural significance of these Greek words and forms is discussed by Gilman (1994) in his exploration of medicine and identity at the fin de siècle. He argues that the medical world operating at the time that Freud was writing and practising gave undue consideration to a person's racial or ethnic background when diagnosing and treating illness. European physicians were convinced that most mental illnesses were of organic origin and that racial (as well as familial) degeneracy played a major role in predisposing an individual to risk (Gilman 1994:15).

A great deal of the medical discourse around the turn of the century (Cesare Lombroso, Emil Kraepelin) focussed on the essential difference of the Jew. In fin de siècle medical science Jewish racial difference was believed to be statistically demonstrable and the theme of the diseased nature of the Jews in terms of both mental and physical attributes was enshrined in medicine. "Race" standards, according to Gilman, were inherent in the very definition of the biological and medical sciences of the nineteenth century, and these standards labelled Jews as unable to undertake the task of science because of their inherently pathological nature.[128] In order to practise as a medical scientist Freud needed to distance himself from many of the presumptions of the language of science. Gilman argues that language, more than any other factor associated with race, was traditionally understood in Germany as determining race or nationhood. The social sign of Jewish difference was seen to be inscribed on his tongue just as his sexual difference was inscribed on his genitalia. The "Jew's" language, Yiddish, was seen as a caricature of his adoptive German – German in ugly disguise - and *Judeln* - speaking with Jewish words, or *Mauscheln* - speaking with a

[128] The Jew's body and mind were seen as degenerate, unhealthy, sick. Terms like the 'diabetic Jew', the 'inbred Jew', the 'male menstruating Jew', the 'dirty Jew' were attached to him. Jews were also seen to be prone to homosexuality and incest.

Jewish accent - were ridiculed and insulted in Germany.[129] Freud's desire that psychoanalysis become a universal scientific discourse required distancing psychoanalysis from the existing scientific discourses of the fin de siècle. Gilman claims that the cultural significance of Greek words and forms that Freud employed in creating a vocabulary for psychoanalysis have been little appreciated. Although the medical vocabulary of nineteenth-century Europe was "classical" in that it was composed of Latin and Greek-based neologisms, Gilman argues that Freud used Greek rather than Latin terminology in his writing in order to distance himself from the Latinate technical vocabulary of the "high sciences".

The new language of psychotherapy with its Greek myths can be therefore be viewed as an alternative to the language of clinical psychiatry. In coining new terms Freud almost always drew upon Greek sources: Oedipus, Narcissus, Medusa, Prometheus. Even his choice of the word "catharsis" is drawn from Bernays' study of Aristotle's *Poetics*. This new nomenclature, according to Gilman, provided Freud with a radical alternative to the prejudices apparent in the dominant discourse of the time.

> Freud's acceptance of the implications of Greek in the world of literature and myth was, at least in part, linked to his rejection of the Latinate technical vocabulary of 'high science,' biology and medicine, and the power this discourse represented (Gilman 1994:107).

Gilman also maintains that Freud consciously used Greek versions of classical myths, even though it would have been more appropriate for a central European writer schooled in a German-language *Gymnasium* to have used the Latin tradition in which he read these myths. Freud's choice of the "liberating" language of the Greeks is, according to Gilman, closely tied to his sense of the link between the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the *Imperium* and his desire to create a science that transcended the limitations of the medical world. Armstrong (2005) has provided an alternative to Gilman's thesis. He suggests that one could equally interpret Freud's use of Greek as an acceptance of the

[129] In *Jokes and their relation to the unconscious* (1905) Freud made detailed use of Jewish humour, despite the fact that he was acutely aware that psychoanalysis was being labelled and dismissed as a Jewish science

universal culture of Hellenism and as such it could be read, not as an evasion of either Jewishness or German nationalism, but rather as the opposite, a sympathetic approach to the German appropriation of Hellenism that served a nationalist agenda before the advent of true political anti-Semitism. Both these positions have merit. Gilman's claim that Freud employed different strategic devices to detach himself from the stigma of being Jewish is convincing. At the same time it is clear, as this thesis argues, that from Winckelmann onwards, Hellenism played a central role in the identity of both Germany and Austria, and that Freud merely acknowledges this by drawing on this tradition.

Legitimacy and prestige: The institutional uses of Greek tragedy

Freud's use of classical tragedy in universalising the theory of psychoanalysis has been analysed by a number of writers including Gilman (1994), Nussbaum (1994), Winter (1999) and Frankland (2000). The most lengthy and significant discussion on this subject is Winter's *Freud and the Institution of Psychoanalytic Knowledge (1999).* Winter argues that in alloying Sophocles[130] *Oedipus Tyrannus* with his scientific theories, Freud was able to suggest both a universality and a timelessness in his work. Moreover, by using *Oedipus Tyrannus* as an iconic text in his writing, he was able to harness one of the cherished texts of *Bildung* to psychoanalysis. From this time forward Sophocles' *Oedipus* became indissolubly annealed to Freud's project. Winter's argument highlights the importance of classical knowledge during Freud's lifetime, and there can be little doubt that this importance was indispensable to psychoanalysis. As Decker (1982) asserts, psychology as a scientific discipline was still not ready for ideas outside its own field, even in the 1920's; and interest in psychoanalysis remained apathetic and limited during the Weimar period. Freud's work gained its greatest acceptance among the educated public and intellectuals, especially in Berlin. It is to this "impartial person", the cultured products of *Bildung*, that Freud addresses his theory.

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[130] Ever since the period of classicism in Germany, Sophocles had been the greatest name in classical tragedy. Freud was familiar with all of Sophocles' work and he cites not only his more popular works like *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Antigone* and *Electra*, but also *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*.

In Freud's system of thought Oedipus becomes everyman. The passions, desires, triumphs and suffering experienced by Oedipus are emotions that are universal. Freud believed that in some instances drama was able to connect with the repressed material in the unconscious and he gave the name "psychopathological drama" to plays such as *Oedipus Tyrannus* (and *Hamlet*). According to him psychopathological drama occurs:

> when the source of the suffering in which we take part and from which we are meant to derive pleasure is no longer a conflict between two almost equally conscious impulses but between a conscious impulse and a repressed one (S.E. 7:308).

Early in his writing Freud contended that only those suffering from neurosis respond to such drama with pleasure:

> Here the precondition of enjoyment is that the spectator should himself be a neurotic, for it is only such people who can derive pleasure instead of simple aversion from the revelation and the more or less conscious recognition of a repressed impulse (S.E. 7:308).

Later however, he was to see this enjoyment as a universal response, claiming that those suffering from neurosis do not differ from normal spectators, they only respond more powerfully to the drama before them. Freud argued that one of the most universal experiences in the mental lives of all children is being in love with one parent and hating the other. He finds confirmation for this in the way we all identify with Sophocles' Oedipus: "his destiny moves us only because it might have been ours" (S.E. 4:262). In this way Greek tragedy becomes aligned with Freud's work in order to justify one of his most controversial theories of childhood development, the male child's incestuous desire for his mother.

> This discovery is confirmed by a legend that has come down to us from classical antiquity: a legend whose profound and universal power to move can only be understood if the hypothesis I have put forward in regard to the psychology of children has an equally universal validity. What I have in mind is the legend of King Oedipus and Sophocles' drama which bears his name (S.E. 4:261).

One of the principle doctrines of Freud's theory is incestuous desire. Drawing upon characters such as Oedipus, Freud suggests that incest, with the mother as original object of desire, forms a timeless

and universal theme in art and creative writing. One of Winter's arguments against Freud is that by delimiting and submerging Sophocles' tragedy of destiny to themes of incest, parricide and psychological necessity, he twists the poet's play to suit his own ends. She writes:

> Not only does his claim to provide the most profound interpretation of Sophocles' drama endow psychoanalysis with the cultural capital associated with the classical curriculum, but Freud also makes use of tragic paradigms to authorize and universalise his theories of specifically psychological determinism (Winter 1999:54).

In many regards Winter is correct. Freud's view of Sophocles' Oedipus says very little about the themes that are generally analysed by classicists who study this play. Freud is not interested in the relationship between mortals and Gods, or in the major themes of destiny and hubris. Such lacunae must be understood in the context of Freud's project. Instead, Freud's interest lies in how to interpret the play in terms of unconscious instincts that constitute the psyche. In this, Freud is not the only one to stand accused of interpreting Greek tragedy as though its aims and methods were identical with those of modern drama. According to the renowned classicist Lloyd-Jones (1982), most critical discussions in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century abound with minute psychological analysis, and even Wilamowitz succumbed to the prevailing tendency (Reinhardt 1979). Winter (1999) maintains that Freud recognised the suitability of Sophoclean drama for the psychoanalytic project of constructing a general, scientific psychology and professional therapy of the individual. In discussing the institutional uses of Greek tragedy she argues that Freud's primary aim in using Sophoclean tragedy was to manipulate the prestige associated with Greece in order to enhance the status of psychoanalysis. In surveying Freud's use of the Oedipus myth, Winter (1999) claims that Freud attempted to align psychoanalytic ideas with the powerful discourse in nineteenth century German philosophic and literary practices which considered Sophoclean tragedy to be the culmination of whatever was most stable and enduring about Athenian culture.

Frankland (2000) has also noted the way in which Freud used to the prestige of classical learning to overcome resistances in his reader to psychoanalysis. He contends, however, that it would be mistaken to suggest that his use of classical allusion was merely to serve a polemical agenda. Crucial for this debate, and at least a partial counter to Winter's thesis, is the very personal nature of Freud's response to the Oedipus legend. One of Freud's earliest discussions of the Oedipus myth occurs only a month after he was forced to reject the seduction theory of hysteria. On September 21, 1897 Freud writes to Fliess:

> And now I want to confide in you immediately the great secret that has been slowly dawning on me in the last few months. I no longer believe in my *neurotica* [theory of neuroses] (Masson 1995:264).

Freud enumerates a number of reasons for abandoning his theory including the following:

> Then the surprise that in all cases, the *father*, not excluding my own, had to be accused of being perverse – the realization of the unexpected frequency of hysteria, with precisely the same conditions prevailing in each, whereas surely such widespread perversions against children are not very probable (Masson 1995:264).

Freud confessed to Fliess that he should feel depressed, confused and exhausted by the failure of the seduction theory to explain the aetiology of hysteria, but in fact he felt the opposite. He was grateful that he is still capable of enough criticism and intellectual integrity to reject the seduction theory and continue his work. In the following weeks Freud immersed himself in self-analysis in an attempt to reconstruct his theory.

In October 1897, a few weeks after the collapse of the seduction theory, Freud wrote another letter to Fliess. In this letter he expresses excitement at a new discovery. His self-analysis has led him to uncover his own incestuous desires and this finding has led him to conclude that Oedipus' incestuous wishes can be seen as a universal event:

> A single idea of general value dawned on me. I have found, in my own case too, [the phenomenon of] being in love with my mother and jealous of my father, and I now consider it a universal event in early childhood, even if not so early as in children who have been made hysterical. (Similar to the invention of parentage [family romance] in paranoia – heroes, founders

> of religion). If this is so, we can understand the gripping power of Oedipus Rex, in spite of all the objections that reason raises against the presupposition of fate ... [T]he Greek legend seizes upon a compulsion which everyone recognizes because he senses its existence within himself. Everyone in the audience was once a budding Oedipus in fantasy and each recoils in horror from the dream fulfilment here transplanted into reality, with the full quantity of repression which separates his infantile state from his present one (Masson 1995:272).

During the few weeks between his rejection of the seduction theory and his re-discovery of this myth Freud had discovered the core of his psychoanalytic theory. Greek classicism no doubt conferred legitimacy upon Freud's theories and positioned psychoanalysis within the broader cultural environment in which it operated. At the same time it would be difficult to see Freud's use of Greek tragedy simply as a convenient tool to legitimate psychoanalysis as a theory, practice and institution. Even at a cynical level, one could argue that the Oedipus myth assisted Freud in overcoming some of the pressing problems that were posed when he rejected the seduction theory.

Freudian metaphor and Greek antiquity

> In psychology we can only describe things by the help of analogies. There is nothing peculiar in this; it is the case elsewhere as well (S.E. 20:195).

Metaphor, according to Black (1979) is an instrument for drawing implications grounded in perceived analogies of structure between two subjects belonging to different domains. It consists in giving to one thing a name or description that belongs by convention to something else, on the grounds of some similarity between the two. The use of metaphor in the description and explanation of physical reality in science has been debated from the time of Aristotle. In its simplest terms one argument holds that cognition is the result of mental construction. The objective world is not directly accessible but is rather constructed on the basis of human knowledge and language. Opposing this is the non-constructivist position that argues that reality can be precisely described through the medium of language and that metaphor is an essential characteristic of rhetoric, not scientific discourse (Ortony 1979).

Arguments concerning the nature and validity of Freudian psychoanalysis as a scientific discourse have often centred on his frequent and varied use of metaphor (Spence 1987; Kuspit 1989). Freud employed numerous analogies and during the course of his writing he called upon things as disparate as onions and battlegrounds to elucidate his theory. As he tried to articulate his theory of dreams and the unconscious into a theoretical framework he required material that would illuminate and contextualise his experiences; some means of anchoring and validating his findings. Classical history and literature provided him with an immediate and accessible store of images, symbols and analogies. Analogies from antiquity support, illuminate and give depth to Freud's oeuvre. Jokes are described by Freud as being "Janus-like". Freud used the following analogy in describing the split between different forms of consciousness that occur in hysteria:

> the part of the mind which is split off is thrust into darkness, as the Titans are imprisoned in the crater of Etna, and can shake the earth but can never emerge into the light of day (S.E. 2:299).

Wishes from the past are also couched in chthonic imagery:

> (they) "are not dead in our sense of the word but only like the shades in the Odyssey, which awoke to some sort of life as soon as they tasted blood" (S.E.4:249).

The legend of the Labyrinth, according to Freud, is a representation of anal birth. The twisting paths are the bowels, Ariadne's thread is the umbilical cord (S.E. 22:25), and the births of Adonis, Osiris, Moses and Bacchus are interpreted by Freud as metaphors for the birth fantasies.

Throughout his writing Freud positioned himself very carefully with regard to evolutionary theory and biology. One discipline that could provide an alternative to the organic evolutionism of the later nineteenth century, or to the functionalist natural history of the earlier half, was philology (Forrester 1980:167). While it is generally the case that the human sciences in the nineteenth century were dominated by biological or organic terms and that these served as guiding metaphors in the study of society and psychology, it is less widely recognised (as Forrester points out) that the sciences of language, philology, exegetical sciences, comparative linguistics and historical linguistics, played a parallel and sometimes opposed role in the development of the human sciences.

John Burrow, writing on the use of philology in Victorian England (Burrow, 1967) argues that in the nineteenth century the philological sciences and the biological sciences were in a state of competition as to which was to become the dominant model for the human sciences. While analogies from biology gave rise to a social evolutionist positivism, a non-materialist, non-progressionist trend of social thought often gained its support from philology and its sister disciplines.

Freud, although a positivist and a materialist, drew extensively upon philology especially in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, and the relationship between Freudian psychoanalysis and linguistics has frequently been remarked upon by scholars (Sacks 1979; Forrester 1980; Petocz 1999). In "*Two Encyclopaedia Articles*" Freud writes:

> Linguistic usage, mythology and folklore afford the most ample analogies to dream-symbols. Symbols, which raise the most interesting and hitherto unsolved problems, seem to be a fragment of extremely ancient inherited mental equipment. The use of common symbolism extends far beyond the use of a common language (S.E. 18:242).

Freud used some analogies only once, others, like the archaeological metaphor, recurred throughout his work. He found analogies for language and the unconscious in ancient writing (cuneiform and hieroglyphics) but, above all, in the ancient mythology of Greece, he discovered a key that could be used to translate and interpret the language of his patients' dreams. Spitz (1994), in discussing the role of the language and symbol systems in clinical work, points out that a clinician's principal task is to listen attentively to the voice and words of another human being and to make sense of that person's private world of symbols, a world that resonates with culturally shared desires and meaning. She states:

> We in the West, even with our lately awakened sensitivities to multiculturalism, remain indebted in large part to language and symbol systems that hark back to deeply buried sources in Greek mythology, tragedy and philosophy. Ingested, assimilated, rejected, reintrojected, and ingeniously combined with myriad other influences, these symbols systems continue to influence if not still actually shape our cultural heritage. In an ongoing engagement with this legacy, we inhabit a kind of afterlife of the classical epoch (Spitz 1994:27).

In this chapter it has been argued that the importance of classical scholarship in nineteenth century Germany allowed Freud to utilise different elements gleaned from antiquity to conceptualise and create a school of psychoanalysis. Today, the focus is somewhat different: classical scholars turn to psychoanalysis to provide an understanding of Greek classical texts.[131] Thus modern interest in the work of psycho-analysis ironically ensures that we do inhabit a kind of afterlife of the classical.

[131] For a discussion of early classical approaches using psychoanalysis as a framework of understanding (from 1910-1972) see Justin Glen (1972).

CHAPTER 6

FREUD AND THE METAPHOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The use of the archaeological metaphor in Freud's theory is one of the most widely analysed and controversial aspects of Freud's engagement with antiquity. From 1892 until his death, Freud used this metaphor to demonstrate his methodology, as well as the process and the content of psychoanalysis. The archaeological metaphor is foundational to psychoanalysis. Hake (1993:151) argues that three fundamental assumptions regarding psychoanalysis underlie Freud's use of the metaphor: a model of stratification that supports a temporal-historical perspective; the emphasis on the continuing presence of the past, either in the form of repressed memories, or the symbolic material of antiquity; and identification with the role of the archaeologist, who makes it possible for the patient to remember what is forgotten.

Although it would be a distortion to argue that the study of archaeology was solely concerned with Greece, or that Freud's interest in archaeology was only confined to this area, Greece did provide the initial impetus for the great burst of archaeological activity in Germany, and Freud's greatest enthusiasm is reserved for the discovery of Troy. Schliemann, and his search for the hidden city of Homer's Troy, was a symbolic trope for a dream realised, and it is for th ese reasons that the archaeology metaphor is investigated in this thesis.

Altertumswissenschaft – an overarching model of the human sciences.

To understand the archaeology metaphor in Freud's work one needs to situate psychoanalysis within the context of nineteenth century science and consider the interrelationship between the sciences in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Arens (1989), in examining the structures of knowledge in the fin de siècle, has indicated how difficult it is to discuss psychology, or to grasp Freud's particular contribution, without first considering the paradigms underlying its development. One of the first requirements for such an understanding is to recognise the cross-disciplinary nature of the nineteenth-century German University. Philology, philosophy, history and science, were not

considered discrete disciplines requiring different methodologies but were rather viewed as different domains in a holistic approach to the humanities. Moreover, the particularly German tradition of viewing the mind as dynamic and active meant that philosophy and psychology were often merged. This scientific orientation was to change in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the reaction, especially in psychology and psychiatry, against the "speculative physics" of the earlier philosophers and scientists. This new approach held that the purpose of science consisted in the amassing of data, investigating only what was tangible, and the explaining of nature in physical, chemical, or mathematical terms. Despite this scientific shift in ways of doing science, many including Freud, were adherents of the earlier tradition of science as is reflected in the academic careers of many of Germany's leading thinkers including Wilamowitz, Brentano and Nietzsche.

Brentano (1838-1916), although essentially a philosopher and a metaphysician, made a major contribution to the development of psychology in Germany. As professor of philosophy at Würzburg and later Vienna (and for a short time one of Freud's teachers[132]) Brentano established a psychological laboratory in Vienna in 1874 that succeeded in launching a concerted challenge to Wundt's reductionist approach to psychology.[133] By doing this he managed to return contemporary psychology to the philosophical theme that had long dominated German intellectual endeavour –the activity of the mind.[134] Nietzsche (1844-1900), another hybrid of the nineteenth century, was the youngest professor to hold a chair in philology. His inaugural address, delivered at Basel University in 1869, was concerned with the multi-disciplinary status of philology, which he contended was an amalgam made up of history, natural science and aesthetics. These were mixed together "like a magic potion from the most outlandish liquors, ores and bones" (Nietzsche 1964:146).

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[132] Freud took courses from Brentano between 1874 and 1876.

[133] Wundt's model for psychology was an outgrowth of studies of sensory physiology and psychophysics. Under this natural science approach psychology was defined as the experimental study of the data of immediate experience through the method of trained introspection. The goal of psychology was to reduce the contents of consciousness to constituent elements of sensory origin.

[134] German culture generally rejected the tide of associationism, atomism and mechanism that developed out of British and French philosophy. Brentano's view of the mind is later reflected in Gestalt psychology and in Freudian psychoanalysis and is in sharp contrast to the English and American models.

Such examples serve as a justification for Arens' view that the tendency of modern historians to separate nineteenth century psychologists from philosophers or philologists does not always correspond to the situation at that time (Arens: 1989:21). Freud certainly did not see a clear divide between the different disciplines. Instead he envisioned "a synthesis of the sciences" (S.E.13: 165) – psychology, philology, philosophy, biology, history and aesthetics. His paper *"The Claims of Psycho-analysis to the Interest of the Non-psychological Sciences"* (1913), written for the Italian scientific periodical *Scientia,* discusses the "many spheres of knowledge in which psycho-analysis is of interest and the numerous links which it has begun to forge between them" (S. E.13:190). In the German Universities of the nineteenth century the concept of *Altertumswissenschaft* still exerted an extraordinary influence on all the academic institutions and during Freud's years at the Vienna University it enjoyed the status of the pre-eminent humanistic disciplinary methodology. According to Winter (1999:44):

> The status of classical scholarship as a "science" and "scholarly discipline" (Wissenschaft), enabled both the philologist and the professional man who had undergone a classical education to combine the "disinterested" autonomous practice of historian and aesthetician of classical culture with the training in rigorous scholarly self-discipline that served as preparation for work in state-controlled, bureaucratic professional structures.

In contrast to the narrow focus of structural psychology, *Altertumswissenschaft* encouraged the search for overarching theoretical constructions that tended to embrace everything - from philosophy, literature, art, religion, and archaeology, to natural science. Wilamowitz saw it as a discipline that encompassed, not only all the sciences, but also the whole of history. He wrote:

> The barriers have been lowered too between archaeology, classical and Christian, and scholarship. The monumental and literary traditions are inextricably intertwined. The science of antiquity is no longer classical or even claims to be. It is what it should be, an organic whole (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1982:160).

This idea of synthesis, or *Totalitätsideal*, is clearly seen in Freud's theory of psychoanalysis. His ability to draw upon different disciplines (geology, botany, physical science, medicine, aesthetics, philology, archaeology) typifies him as a nineteenth century German thinker. Although all these

disciplines are represented in Freud's writing, it is the offspring of *Altertumswissenschaft,* the new science of archaeology, which is most strikingly apparent in the development of psychoanalysis. Lloyd-Jones (1982) offers an excellent description of the position of archaeology within *Altertumswissenschaft*:

> The status of *Altertumswissenschaft* enshrined the concept of *Totalitätsideal* within the University and released scholars from the narrow definition of classicism (as the study of classical texts belonging to the traditional canon) allowing them to synthesise discoveries in domains such as archaeology and papyrology. Philologists like Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1848-1931) integrated and extended the domain of classical studies to embrace, not only the literature, but also the remains, 'the mutilated fragments', of those cultures that were to be found in artefacts, buildings, documents and historical records. Not only was archaeology raised to an unprecedented position but, and more importantly, this new approach looked to the ancient world to illuminate the modern. One of the underlying principles of *Altertumswissenschaft* was the impossibility of understanding the present, or predicting the future, without understanding the past (Lloyd-Jones 1982).[135]

Freud's psychoanalytic project sheltered under the umbrella of *Altertumswissenschaft* and "used the ancient world to illuminate the modern". His psychoanalytic enterprise, like that of archaeology, was based upon the proposition that it was impossible to understand the present, or predict the future, without understanding the past.

The rise of archaeology as a science in Germany

The eighteenth and nineteenth century heralded an age of unprecedented exploration for German archaeology (Troy, Mycenae, Olympia, Pergamum, Magnesia, Priene, Miletos). In *Antiquities acquired - The Spoliation of Greece,* Bracken (1975) notes that although the acquisition of Greek antiquities had been going for over 2000 years,[136] it is in the nineteenth century that the search became something that resembled a national pastime in Germany. Bittel (1980) claims that this upsurge in archaeology is a direct result of the classic revival in Germany and the importance of

[135] The older type of literary scholarship personified by the philology of Hermann came into conflict with the newer type that made use of the findings of archaeology, epigraphy and the new science of comparative linguistics - an approach exemplified in the work of Karl Otfried Müller, August Böckh, and Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker. Victory went to the latter.

[136] Bracken writes "Greece has been losing her antiquities for 2,000 years. But never, since Nero looted 500 statues from Delphi, has the rate of loss increased so sharply as during the early years of the last century" (Bracken 1975:9).

humanist *Bildung*. Kohl (1998) concurs with this assessment, and attributes German prominence in this field to the development of ancient history and Germany's pronounced "cultural obsession" with philhellenism. Kohl (1998) claims that German nationalistic archaeology found its purest expression in the excavation of Classical sites and in the establishment of German institutes throughout the Mediterranean. The *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* was founded in 1872 and was heavily subsidised by the State. As a State policy *Kulturpolitik* was intended to enhance German national prestige and to provide a point onto which German economic and colonising undertakings could be grafted.[137]

Although it is impossible to isolate one name out of the many early explorers of the Mediterranean world[138] it is Winckelmann who is generally accorded the distinction of being called "the father of archaeology". Wilamowitz, in *History of Classical Scholarship,* writes "Archaeology as a branch of the study of art was the creation of Winckelmann" and Freud refers to Winckelmann as "the eighteenth- century founder of classical archaeology" (S.E. 4:196). As superintendent of Roman antiquities Winckelmann visited the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum and his research enabled him to describe the antiquities hidden for centuries under the protective ash of Vesuvius. These descriptions captivated the world. Ceram writes:

> With unerring sensitivity he groped towards original insights, and expressed them with such power of language that the cultured European world was carried away by a wave of enthusiasm for the antique ideal. This rush of surrender was of prime importance in shaping the course of archaeology in the following century (Ceram 1956:15).

Not only did Winckelmann shape the course of archaeology, his presence served to make it a uniquely German enterprise. By the nineteenth century archaeology had become the most exciting new jewel in the crown of *Altertumswissenschaft*. Freud was no exception to this general excitement.

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[137] Kohl (1998) asserts that nationalistic archaeology in Germany resulted in a corresponding lack of attention to German prehistory. This situation was later 'rectified' by the Nazis.

[138] For example, Richard Chandler, Nicholas Revett, Robert Wood, James Dawkins, Lusieni and Fauvel, Ludwig Ross.

For over forty years Freud saw an intimate link between psychoanalysis and archaeology. He first started comparing psychoanalysis to archaeology in his full-length analysis of hysteria, the case of Fräulein Elisabeth Von R. (1892):

> I arrived at a procedure which I later developed into a regular method and employed deliberately. This procedure was one of clearing away the pathogenic psychical material layer by layer, and we liked to compare it with the technique of excavating a buried city (S.E. 2:139).

In *The Aetiology of Hysteria (1896)* the archaeological metaphor was extensively elaborated and it was used throughout the *Interpretation of Dreams* and other theoretical works. As late as 1937, a year before his death, Freud not only retained this metaphor, but extended its meaning in "Constructions in Analysis". The pliant nature of this metaphor can be seen in Freud's texts. Freud likens dreams to palimpsests. "We might say that, like some palimpsest, the dream discloses beneath its worthless surface-characters traces of an old and precious communication" (S.E. 4:135). He calls early childhood before the age of three the "prehistoric epoch". Forgotten memories are "gold dug up" from the depths, or "treasures unearthed". In discussing female sexuality Freud wrote:

> our insight into this early, pre-Oedipus phase in girls comes to us as a surprise, like the discovery, in another field, of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization behind the civilization of Greece (S.E. 21:226).

Freud's early scholastic foundation in classical studies appears foundational to his development of the archaeological metaphor,[139] but it is also important to consider the impact made by archaeology on the German imagination and the role it played in revitalising the study of ancient culture. Armstrong (1999) asserts that archaeology was the most interesting new field at the university when Freud began his studies, with a broad impact not only upon classical studies but also on the biological sciences through palaeontology. The glamour and romance of archaeological

[139] From an early age Freud's imagination was caught up in this web of exploration and adventure. In a paper written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his school's foundation Freud singled out for remembrance the years between ten and eighteen as particularly memorable. It was, he said, during this time that he caught his first glimpses of an extinct civilisation. This exposure, according to Freud was to bring him 'as much consolation as anything else in the struggles of life' (*Zur psychologie des Gymnasiasten* (S.E. 13:114).

exploration exploded the rather elite and exclusive academic reticence of classical scholarship. The work of German archaeologists such as Ernst Curtius, Friedrich Adler, Rudolf Virchow, Winckler,[140] and Schliemann, as well as the English discoverers, Petrie and Carter, were followed with avid interest.[141] Newspapers published daily accounts of their activities and readers were able to follow the stories of exploration, buried treasure, and adventure.[142]

Freud's life spanned the most important archaeological discoveries of the world - Greece, Troy, Mycenae, the Hittite and Minoan civilisations, as well as Egypt. Everywhere the past was being excavated, analysed and recorded. Never before had so much that was lost, forgotten or unknown been brought to light. In 1800, just fifty years before Freud's birth, mainland Greece was a run-down province of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire. The once magnificent port of Piraeus was little more than a ruined fishing village, and the vagaries of Turkish rule still confined most travellers and lovers of the antique to Italy (Bracken 1975). This isolation of Greece meant that even at the beginning of the nineteenth century the major representatives of Greek art were still the Laocoön and the Belvedere Apollo, simply because they were housed in Italy and thus accessible to the educated public. Only later, on the discovery of the Parthenon marbles, was it possible to situate or challenge Winckelmann's thesis of beauty.[143] The major archaeological event of the nineteenth century occurred with Schliemann's excavation of Troy in 1873, when Freud was an impressionable

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[140] Freud refers to Winckler 'the famous archaeologist' in the *Interpretation of Dreams*. "The extraordinarily important part played by punning and verbal quibbles in ancient civilizations of the East may be studied in the writing of Hugo Winckler" (S.E. 4: 99).

[141] Freud's national pride in these archaeological exploits is obvious in his discussion of the ancient city of Ephesus in which he immediately notes that "our Austrian archaeologists" have to be thanked (S.E. 12:342).

[142] Recent histories of archaeology stress the social and political settings in which the discipline functions. This concern inevitably leads to a consideration of archaeology's relationship to the political unit or state in which it functions. Germany was never a strong colonial or Imperialistic power and the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, a heavily state-subsidized organization was, according to Kohl, meant to showcase the achievements of German scholarship. Kulturpolitik was a state policy intended to enhance German national prestige through the support of "disinterested" German philanthropy and scholarship abroad (Kohl 1998).

[143] It is often necessary to remind oneself that neither Winckelmann nor any of the architects of German Hellenism ever visited Athens nor did they see any of her great artistic achievements *in situ*. When, for example, the Aegina statues were placed in Munich's sculpture gallery in 1830, their archaic strength and energy challenged Winckelmann's definition of classic art (Bracken 1975).

eighteen year old.[144] Other exciting finds soon followed. In 1871 the Hittite civilisation was virtually unknown, and yet just two decades later, archaeologists such as Winckler had succeeded in cracking most of the language codes of this ancient civilisation.[145] Evans' excavations in Minos were published in 1900, the year of the *Traumdeutung,* and in 1920 Carter discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun. Ancient studies became part of history.

Archaeology as a metaphor for psychoanalysis.

Freud frequently employed archaeology as a metaphor in his theoretical writing as well as in his letters and discussion with friends. This is not altogether surprising as both archaeology and psychoanalysis are concerned with similar goals, the recovery of forgotten pasts, and they were both reliant on historical fragments to reconstruct these pasts. In his early investigations into hysteria (1893 – 1895) Freud was forced to use similes such as files, dossiers, documents, packets and even onions, to illustrate his concept of the stratification of pathogenic psychical material. The archaeological metaphor proved far more pliant. On the first occasion that Freud used this analogy extensively (*The Aetiology of Hysteria, 1896)* his primary aim was to make a distinction between the earlier approaches to hysteria, anamnestic enquiry, and his new psychoanalytic method. In this text Freud highlights the different ways of doing science, and introduces archaeology as key to an understanding of his own methodology.

> Imagine that an explorer arrives in a little-known region where his interest is aroused by an expanse of ruins, with remains of walls, fragments of columns, and tablets with half-effaced and unreadable inscriptions. He may content himself with inspecting what lies exposed to view, with questioning the inhabitants- perhaps semi-barbaric people – who live in the vicinity, about what tradition tells them of the history and the meaning of these archaeological remains, and with noting down what they tell him – and he may proceed on his journey. But he may act differently. He may have brought picks, shovels and spades with him, and he may set the inhabitants to work with these implements. Together with them he may start upon the ruins, clear away the rubbish,

[144] Schliemann's impact on Freud's work can be inferred from the fact that in 1899, while writing *The Interpretation of Dreams,* Freud decided to purchase a copy of Schliemann's *Ilios.* He could see the diagrams of archaeological excavation and trace the strata of different civilisations.

[145] Expeditions to Boghazköy were funded by the German Near Eastern Society and the Berlin Orient Committee. In 1907 Winckler published his preliminary report of his readings of the first clay tablets (Ceram1956).

> and, beginning from the visible remains, uncover what is buried. If his work is crowned with success, the discoveries are self-explanatory: the ruined walls are part of the ramparts of a palace or a treasure-house; the fragments of columns can be filled out into a temple; the numerous inscriptions, which, by good luck, may be bilingual, reveal an alphabet and a language, and when they have been deciphered and translated, yield undreamed-of information about the events of the remote past, to commemorate which the monuments were built. *Saxa loquutur*! (S.E. 3:192).

This passage outlines subsequent psychoanalytic procedure. The surface account given by patients cannot be trusted when it comes to understanding the past. Psychoanalysis, like good archaeology, is about depth, uncovering what is buried, the "undreamed of information about the events of the remote past".[146] It is about the discovery of history at both an individual and a collective level.

This paper also addressed, for the first time, another recurring problem in analysis Freud's finding that scenes from a patient's memory are seldom uncovered in chronological order.

> The scenes are uncovered in a reversed chronological order (a fact which justifies our comparison of the work with the excavation of a stratified ruined site (S.E. 3:198).

Archaeology was full of these occurrences articulating spatial and temporal stratification simultaneously. Pottery shards, for example, often occur in different strata of the archaeological debris and the archaeologist needs to carefully distinguish and date these anomalies. Freud found that early childhood material is often found associated with much later experience, and he likened the chronological problems with this material to the problems of the dating and analysing pottery

The process of psychoanalysis and the art of restoration

The second time Freud makes use of the archaeological metaphor at length is in *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* - the famous Dora case.[147] In this paper the archaeological metaphor is primarily employed to articulate and demonstrate the developing technique of psychoanalysis. In this case history we find many words that are to repeat themselves over and again in Freud's writing - fragments, burial, memory, incompleteness, riddles, gaps and ruins. Freudian analysis is

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[146] This is exactly how Schliemann proceeded in his task. Ceram writes "Greek guides told Schliemann there was nothing of special interest in Tiryns. As usual, Schliemann paid no attention. Schliemann dug and brought to light the foundation walls of a palace exceeding in grandeur any hitherto found" (Ceram 1956:52).

[147] This paper was written in January 1901, but not published until 1905.

essentially the discovery of what is buried and lost; it restores memory and attempts to repair some of the damage. In discussing this case history Freud writes:

> In the face of the incompleteness of my analytic results, I had no choice but to follow the example of those discoverers whose good fortune it is to bring to the light of day after their long burial the priceless though mutilated relics of antiquity. I have restored what is missing, taking the best model known to me from other analyses; but, like a conscientious archaeologist, I have not omitted to mention in each case where the authentic parts end and my constructions begin (S.E. 7:12).

The title *Fragment of Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* points to the archaeological metaphor and the word "fragment" indicates something only partially complete. Freud states that in this case-study he will follow the example of those discoverers whose "good fortune it is to bring to the light of day, after their long burial the priceless though mutilated relics of antiquity". This is the world of archaeological restoration, a world where experts patiently[148] shift through the dust of time to expose small fragments that will enable them to restore a statue or an historical document.

The flexibility of the archaeological metaphor allows Freud to embrace related fields of inquiry - papyrology, epigraphy and antique restoration.[149] In his analysis of Dora, Freud writes that he has "restored what is missing" to his analysis, leaving the "authentic parts".[150] Those interested in classical scholarship would immediately identify these remarks with the discourse on restoration. The antique remains of Greece arriving on the shores of Europe were not always complete. To restore, and if so, how to restore, these relics of antiquity was a matter of burning controversy. Aware of the methods of restoration, Freud applies them to his analysis of the Dora case. He writes in his preface to the Dora case "I have restored what is missing, taking the best model known to me

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[148] Freud in discussing his painstaking reconstruction of the Dora case quotes Goethe in this regard 'Nicht Kunst und Wissenschaft allein, Geduld will bei dem Werke Sein!"(S.E. 7:16). "Not Art and Science serve, alone, Patience must in the work be shown".

[149] See for example the fate of the Laocoön in *Antiquities restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique* (Seymour 1990).

[150] Historically, restoration ranged from the simplest patching involving hack labour, through the banal replication of stock limbs, heads, and attributes, to the most extravagantly improvised creations. Modern attempts to give restored antiquities stylistic and hermeneutic or iconographic accuracy, as well as archaeological and philological meaningfulness based on scholarly pursuits and 'objectivity', became important only during the late eighteenth century following upon the work of Winckelmann, Casanova and Cardinal Albani (Seymour, H. 1990).

from other analyses" (S.E. 7:12). This statement indicates the inherent problems associated both with Freud's analysis and with the methodology of restoration. As Seymour argues, the phenomenon of art restoration is seldom objective, it always contains elements that are "are essentially self-fulfilling, reflecting desires to return to, to know, to control" (Seymour 1990). Restoration, always difficult, is made even more complex and is even more open to error, when conducted upon a living statue.[151]

Critiques of Freud's analysis of the Dora (Moi 1981; Collins et al 1983; Decker 1991; Hake 1993) raise problems with Freud's treatment of Dora that are remarkably similar to those raised by Seymore in his discussion on antique restoration. In the Dora case, Freud admits reordering information and chronological order. More importantly, he states that he fills in gaps in the archive that have been drawn from other case histories (Collins et al. 1983). Hake (1993) argues that it is the disquieting spectacle of hysteria that forces Freud to turn to archaeology, in his struggle for discursive mastery. The female body, according to Hake, invites comparison between the buried artefacts of antiquity because of its similar topography of surface and depth, visible and hidden. She writes:

> To restore "what is missing" may give the archaeologist his most satisfying moments. Psychoanalysis, however, has at its disposal neither the distinct outlines according to which "fragments" can be joined together nor the ideal shapes according to which its "finds" can be reconstructed. The connecting points between the symptom and the cure exist only in and through the analytical situation; they are a function of certain theoretical assumptions (Hake 1993:152).

To compensate for what is missing or unknown, the analyst, asserts Hake, must "avail himself of the skills of the poet: creativity, perceptiveness, and imagination" (Hake 1993 151). In using archaeological restoration as a metaphor for psychoanalysis Freud's methodology raises important problems that he often tries to avoid, such as the conjunction between art and science, or between creating and recording. In *Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique,* Seymour contends that scholars

[151] The living statue has been one of the great motifs of art and literature, Shakespeare's Hermoine in *A Winter (1999)s' Tale.* Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, and the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites serve as examples.

repeatedly recognize in restoration a mirror of taste, which is to say judgment, for it is essentially self-reflecting, like all criticism and interpretation. Since it tries to simulate or emulate a lost image, to which it ostensibly takes second place, its variations from the original becomes something of a confessional. Construction would thus resemble an act of recreation, rather than simply an objective assembly of data. Added to this, is the absence from most psychoanalytic case histories of reliable and repeatable methods of data gathering. Spence writes:

> We are confronted by the fact that most reports of clinical sessions are underdetermined by the patient's associations. Not only is there no second script, as Macmillan makes clear: there is frequently no first script either. Anecdotal reports of clinical happenings are almost always based on one-person accounts (the patient is almost never heard from), which depend on a mixture of memory and fragmentary notes. To rely on memory in the absence of witnesses or other kinds of corroboration can tempt the author to substitute what ought to happen for what actually took place. Thus the indeterminate nature of free association opens the door not only to suggestion to the patient but also to the psychoanalytic community and raises doubts about the standing of all published case reports (Spence 2001:150).

Dubois (1996), in discussing restoration in ancient art, at one point asks about the desire that drives a restorer to spend so much time on the restoration of "an archaic body in pieces" – an antique statue – to its former wholeness. What is the desire of the classical scholar, she asks, "when confronted by fragments of papyrus, of stone, shards of vases, bits of ancient culture that have always stood for lack?" (Dubois 1996:55). Her answer is that the Greeks have always constituted the lost childhood of mankind and it is this fragmented past that motivates one of the primary impulses of classical scholarship; the desire to find what is missing, to deny the broken, to restore our inheritance and our past. She writes:

> The efforts of many literary and art historical scholars are bent on this effort, not necessarily assuming a metaphysical origin, a perfection that once characterized the past, by nonetheless behaving as if the most important project of modern contemporary scholarship is restoration, recovery, reintegration of what is in fact irrecoverably lost (Dubois 1996:58)

Discovery, recovery, restoration, reintegration - the methodology of antique restoration, are the process that Freud brought to bear on the Dora case. His denial that anything is ever irrevocably lost

is contradicted by the fact that, despite his patient analysis and later reconstruction, this case remained a fragmented and incomplete text.

Freud's work is haunted throughout by fragments - dream fragments, memory fragments, fragments of analysis, fragments of poems, literature, and folklore. Freud's analytic project, despite his desire for historical truth, appears in the light of some of his statements, to be less optimistic than many nineteenth century scholars and his fascination with fragments presages a very modern concern.[152] The problem of the scientific status of analytic interpretation continued to vex Freud throughout his life. So important was this problem that he returned to it in one of his last papers "*Constructions in Analysis*" (1937). The task of the analyst according to Freud is to "make out what has been forgotten from the traces which it has left behind, or more correctly, to construct it" (S. E. 23:259).

> But just as the archaeologist builds up the halls of the building from the foundations that have remained standing, determines the number and position so the columns form depressions in the floor and reconstructs the mural decorations and paintings from the remains found in the debris, so does the analyst proceed when he draws his inferences from the fragments of memories, from the associations and from the behaviour of the subject of the analysis. Both of them have an undisputed right to reconstruct by means of supplementing and combining the surviving remains. Both of them, moreover, are subject to many of the same difficulties and sources of error (S.E. 23:259).

Archaeology, even at this late juncture in Freud's life, still functioned as the appropriate scientific model for psychoanalysis. Freud betrays a longing for historical truth, for scientific accuracy – but also a knowledge that inferences "from the fragments of memories" are subject to difficulties and error.

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[152] Modernist and post-modernist literature is consumed with the fragmentary nature of existence and the piecing together of memory and desire. *The Wasteland* perhaps stands as the pre-eminent text in this regard. Not only is the poem fractured, but it draws upon fragments of literature to form a pastiche of literary reference - "these fragments we have shored against our ruin" writes Eliot.

Archaeological demonstration

Freud's structural topology of the mind is conceived in archaeological terms, the oldest strata of the mind are also the deepest, hence his application of the term depth psychology to psychoanalysis. In *Notes upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis (1909)*[153] Freud explains the psychological differences between the conscious and the unconscious to his patient by using his collection of statues to demonstrate his theory.

> I then made some short observations upon the psychological differences between the conscious and the unconscious, and upon the fact that everything conscious was subject to a process of wearing-away, while what was unconscious was relatively unchangeable; and I illustrated my remarks by pointing to the antiques standing about in my room. They were, in fact, I said, only objects found in a tomb, and their burial had been their preservation: the destruction of Pompeii was only beginning now that it had been dug up (S.E. 10:177)

Freud used his antiques to situate his work and to ground it in a tradition of classical erudition. His statues would also serve as a constant reminder to his patients of the survival of the past. These ancient statues of Athena, Pan, Apollo and Hermes visually demonstrated the continuity of the past in the present; they demonstrated the survival of memory as tangible evidence.

The concept of the unconscious as a foreign realm, an archaic site with its own patterns of history allowed Freud to treat it as an archaeological dig, *a terra incognito* waiting to be excavated. In discussing the "primaeval phantasies" of his neurotic patients Freud claims that he has

> repeatedly been led to suspect that the psychology of the neuroses has stored up in it more of the antiquities of human development than any other source (S.E. 16:371).

Freud's term "the antiquities of human development" leads to a consideration of the phylogenetic and ontogenetic nature of human development. A common trend in nineteenth century biology was based on Ernst Haeckel's "biogenetic" law that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny.[154] Freud accepted this view and believed that human development recreates the history of mankind. The human mind thus becomes an archive of the past, containing "traces of old and precious communication". He argued

[153] This treatment, often referred to as the Rat Man case, took place during 1907 and 1908 and was published in July 1909.
[154] With advances in genetic science Haeckle's theories were largely discredited, leading to a collapsed of the theory in the 1920's.

that each individual inherits phylogenetic schemata, which are precipitates from the history of civilisation. Such schemata can triumph over the experience of the individual, as for example, in the case of the Oedipus complex. These contradictions between experience and the schema supply the conflicts of childhood with an abundance of material, and according to Freud, can be seen in the primal fantasies of incest, castration and seduction.

Archaeology in Freud's life

While reference is often made to Freud's use of the archaeological metaphor in his theoretical writing (Ellenberger 1970; Spence 1987; Dubois 1996; Armstrong 1999; Frankland 2000) few writers have noted how much of Freud's thinking about psychoanalysis is commonly expressed in language drawn from archaeology. A particularly intriguing example is the brief exchange between Freud and Jung concerning their respective methods of psychoanalysis. In November 1911 Freud wrote ostensibly to compliment Jung on his "*Transformations and Symbols of the Libido,* (1911), but at a deeper level he also wished to express his deep reservations and criticism of Jung's approach to the work. At the time both Freud and Jung were working in the same field (the psychology of religion) and there was some rivalry between them. Freud's use of the archaeological metaphor to attack Jung's methods and to contrast them with his own psychoanalytic method demonstrates the weight of this metaphor in his thinking. Drawing upon the idea of archaeological excavation, Freud states that his method of analysis (that of depth, of subterranean tunnels) must be contrasted with that of Jung's shafts (his shallow but extensive work).

> Why in God's name did I allow myself to follow you into this field? You must give me some suggestions. But probably my tunnels will be far more subterranean than your shafts and we shall pass each other by, but every time I rise to the surface I shall be able to greet you. (McGuire 1991:245).

Two days later Jung responded,

> Our personal differences will make our work different. You dig up the precious stones, but I have the 'degree of extension'. As you know, I always have to proceed from the outside to the

> inside and from the whole to the part. I would find it too upsetting to let large tracts of human knowledge lie there neglected (McGuire 1991:245).

However superficially friendly, this analogy encapsulates all the criticism that Freud felt towards Jung's work. Freud believed that Jung's analysis was over-extended and also too derivative of other people's writing (Noll 1996). Initially it was Freud who encouraged Jung to research mythology and archaeology, but this early enthusiastic encouragement soon led to concern on Freud's part. Heavily influenced by Friedrich Creuzer[155] (1771-1858) Jung started applying mythological and archaeological schemata to both psychoanalytic theory and his clinical observation.[156] Although both men were actively engaged in the field of archaeology, religion and mythology, Freud's letter to Jung shows the inherent difference in their approach to these subjects. Freud once acknowledged to Jung that his whole makeup was intuitive. Despite this, or indeed, because of it, Freud maintained that he subjected himself to extraordinary discipline in order to establish the purely empirical science of psychoanalysis.[157] Jung's "descent" into mythology, occultism and religion appeared to Freud to be a relinquishment of scientific endeavour.

Freud and Schliemann

Armstrong (2005) argues that Schliemann's fairy tale success was both admired and envied by Freud and that Freud, to a large extent, modelled his scientific endeavours upon Schliemann's almost mythical life and achievements. European expansionism in the nineteenth century was filled with stories of unknown worlds and studies of anthropological wonders; it was also a time when scientists could also be men of action. This excitement clearly infected Freud who often

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[155] *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker besonders der Griechen.* a four-volume set published between 1810 and 1812, was the first comprehensive scholarly source in the German language for information about the religious aspects of antiquity especially the ancient mystery cults of the Graeco-Roman world. Noll maintains that it is the source of Jung's theory of the collective unconscious (Noll 1996:179).

[156] In a letter to Freud dated January 1912 Jung admits, "I am overwhelmed with work and grappling with the endless proliferation of mythological fantasies. In order to master the overwhelming mass of material I have to work unceasingly and am feeling intellectually drained" (McGuire 1991:257).

[157] "I can see from the difficulties I encounter in this work that I was not cut out for inductive investigation, that my whole makeup is intuitive, and that in setting out to establish the purely empirical science of psychoanalysis I subjected myself to an extraordinary discipline"(McGuire 1991:102) .

described his work in terms of groundbreaking feats of physical courage and adventure. In writing about the difficulties he was experiencing with *Totem and Taboo*(1913) Freud confided to Jung:

> In my work on totemism I have run into all sorts of difficulties, rapids, waterfalls, sand-banks, etc; I don't know yet if I shall be able to float my craft again. In any event it is going very slowly and time alone will prevent us from colliding or crashing. (McGuire, 1991:248-249).

In the late nineteenth century German explorers and anthropologists still perceived Africa to be *Terra incognito*. Freud, following in the footsteps of these eminent men, also set out to explore unknown regions. In his case however, he transformed the "dark continent"' into female sexuality - a world of "primitiveness" and disorder, "dark regions where there are yet no signposts" (S.E. 19:17). Despite this interior journey, Freud noted with resignation that his pioneering revelations had failed to gain recognition:

> It will be a fitting punishment for me that none of the unexplored regions of psychic life in which I have been the first mortal to set foot will ever bear my name or obey my laws (Masson 1985:412).

Freud's description of himself, made to Fliess in 1900, and quoted by Ernst Jones encapsulates the zeitgeist, and Freud's very personal response to it:

> You estimate me too highly. For I am not really a man of science, not an observer, not an experimenter, and not a thinker. I am nothing but by temperament a conquistador – an adventurer, if you want to translate the word – with the curiosity, the boldness and the tenacity that belongs to that type of being (Jones 1964:297).

Nobody better personified the temperament of the conquistador and adventurer than Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890).[158] How closely Freud identified with Schliemann's archaeological exploits can be seen from numerous comparisons he made between his findings and his own work. On a patient's dream analysis he writes:

> Buried deep beneath all his fantasies, we found a scene from his primal period (before twenty-two months) which meets all the requirements and in which all the remaining puzzles converge. It is everything at the same time – sexual, innocent, natural, and the rest. I scarcely dare believe it yet.

[158] The relationship between Schliemann and Freud has been extensively commented upon by a number of writers including Armstrong (1999, 2005) Spitz (1989) and Gamwell (1989).

> It is as if Schliemann had once more excavated Troy, which had hitherto been deemed a fable (Masson 1995:391-392).

Schliemann and his exploits were never far from Freud's mind (Armstrong 1999, 2000; Gamwell 1989; Kuspit 1989; Spitz 1989). Excited by the progress of *The Interpretation of Dreams,* Freud celebrated the event by purchasing a copy of Schliemann's *Ilios*:

> I gave myself a present, Schliemann's *Ilios*, and greatly enjoyed the account of his childhood. The man was happy when he found Priam's treasure, because happiness comes only with the fulfilment of a childhood wish (Masson 1995:353).

A year later, despondent at the reception of the *Interpretation of Dreams*, Gamwell (1989) asserts that Freud again turned to Schliemann, this time for solace. He writes:

> I am reading Greek archaeology and revelling in journeys I shall never make and treasures I shall never possess (Masson 1995:427).

At the same time that Freud was engaged in reading Greek archaeology and following Schliemann's tale of discovery he was also seeing Dora. It is not surprising therefore to find that *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* (1901) so clearly articulates his debt to archaeology. And it is in this case history that he gives us a rather unusual portrait of his view of himself as a psychologist. It is a portrait influenced, to a large extent, by Schliemann and by the romantic concept of the new man of science then emerging in anthropology and archaeology - the scientist as discoverer and conquistador. Ellenberger (1970) in subjecting, what he terms, "the Freudian legend" to scrutiny suggests that one of the main themes throughout Freud's life and work is the "theme of the struggling hero" a man struggling against a host of enemies and suffering humiliation at the hands of the ignorant but finally triumphing in the end (Ellenberger, 1970:546). Certainly there are elements of the solitary hero in the way that Freud saw himself, especially during the early years of psychoanalysis. Despite Schliemann's triumph, the excavations in Troy, and the discovery of the "treasure of Priam", he was subjected to academic hostility especially in his native Germany. Both Freud and Schliemann were in their early forties when they announced their successes to the world and in both cases their work was often met with academic rejection (Kuspit 1989).

Kuspit (1989) has suggested that Freud's enthusiastic response to Schliemann can be understood as an appeal to make psychoanalysis more accessible to the non-medical, if educated public – a kind of theatrical sales pitch. According to Kuspit (1989), Heinrich Schliemann's discovery of Troy gave archaeology a special celebrity and an honoured social place in Germany, and Freud's use of this analogy should be interpreted as an attempt by Freud to associate an unpopular, suspect enterprise with a popular, respectable one. Kuspit appears to underestimate the degree of controversy generated by Schliemann and his activities. Schliemann was never considered academically respectable - neither in terms of his methods of archaeological excavation (these were unscientific at best, and at worst they often bordered on vandalism) nor in terms of his methodology (his finds did not always validate his theories). If anything, explicitly comparing his theory of psychoanalysis to Schliemann's methods could have had negative consequences for Freud's academic reputation.

Although Freud clearly identified with this popular hero, he was also deeply serious about the scientific status of the archaeological metaphor in his research. The first extended use of this metaphor occurred in *Zur Ätiologie der Hysterie* and published in the *Wiener Klinische Rundschau* in May 31, 1896. The paper was based on a lecture delivered by Freud before the *Verein fur Psychiatrie und Neurologie* at a select gathering of highly critical scientific peers, chaired by Krafft-Ebing. Clearly this presentation did not take place in a broad-based public forum. According to Freud it was coldly received, and Krafft-Ebing commented that Freud's theory sounded like a "scientific fairytale". The next time Freud made use of the archaeological metaphor was in *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria,* a paper written in January 1901, but not published until 1905.[159] When published, it occurred in *the Monatsschrift für Psychiatrie und Neurologie*,

[159] These findings were delivered by Freud in a lecture before the Verein fur Psychiatrie und Neurolgie chaired by Krafft-Ebing, and published "*in Zur Atiologie der hysterie*" in May 31, 1896. According to Freud his lecture met with an icy reception. Krafft-Ebing's comment that it sounded like a "scientific fairy tale" is interesting to place in context. Clearly Krafft-Ebing believed that Freud's archaeological metaphor had grown out of an extravagant enthusiasm for archaeology. Schliemann's discovery of Troy was heralded in the popular press of that time as a fairy tale come true, and Ceram opened the first chapter of his famous biography on Schliemann with these words, "Now comes a fairy-tale, the story of the poor boy who at the age of seven dreamed of finding a city, and who thirty-nine years later went forth,

hardly a publication of interest to the average lay reader. Furthermore in defending his publication of a sensitive case history, he remarks in his preface, "The publication of the case in a purely scientific and technical periodical should, further, afford a guarantee against unauthorized readers of this sort" (S.E. 7:8). In considering the above it seems easier to conclude that Freud's identification with Schliemann is not so much a bid for bourgeois respectability and institutional recognition but rather as the opposite, an identification with an outsider, who like himself, was misunderstood and ostracised by academia.

The archaeological metaphor in perspective

Armstrong's (2005) assertion that archaeology shaped the analytic enterprise makes it necessary to consider what Danziger (1990) has called the "generative function" of metaphor in psychology. He remarks that when we look more closely at how metaphors are used to delineate psychological entities or processes, it is clear that this is not simply a matter of static comparison. When a "root" metaphor has been set in place it continues to be elaborated and thereby to structure subsequent investigations and the findings they yield. Once a "root" metaphor is invoked and "naturalized", a whole complex of knowledge and belief associated with the first domain is brought to bear on the psychological domain that is likened to it.

Spence (1987) makes a similar argument when he argues that although Freud always maintained that the foundation of science is based on observation he failed to appreciate that observation is guided by theory. Metaphor, according to Spence, is never peripheral to the elaboration of theory, nor is it flexible enough to accommodate *all* observations. If the wrong metaphor is chosen, some of the "observations" will not be seen in the first place, others may be noticed but set aside because they do not make "sense" against the background of the prevailing model (Spence 1987:10). This, according to Spence, occurs when Freud uses the archaeological metaphor. The problem, according to Spence, is that the poetic and imaginative nature of such metaphors tends to shield them from

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sought, and found not only the city but also treasure such as the world had not seen since the loot of the conquistadors" (Ceram 1959:29).

emendation and they are likely to become reified. Instead of a provisional model we are left with a fully-formed structure that masquerades as a science (Spence 1987). Metaphors of this kind resemble a kind of mythology. They acquire a reality of their own that resists falsification and turn into what Black (1979) has called a 'self-certifying myth'.[160] According to Spence, the archaeological metaphor and Freud's theory premised upon it is just such a myth. Unlike a scientific hypothesis, it can be neither confirmed nor falsified. Precisely because it pervades so much of Freud's writing there is a great reluctance to accept that the theory itself is largely metaphorical and lies outside science.

Another problem is Freud's belief that past experiences are retained as whole memories in the unconscious mind and that these memories can be recovered intact. This claim contradicts recent research into memory, and is dismissed by Hutton (1994) as a relic of nineteenth century historicism. Modern research casts doubt on whether memories preserve "historical truths". Memory, it is argued, is changed in the narration of the original event (Steen 1987, Hutton 1994; Spence 2001). Hutton (1994), for instance, argues that "memory is not the hidden ground of history, as it was for Freud "but an act of the living mind and as such it is constantly being reinterpreted and recreated. To think of memories as concrete, unchanging pieces of the past, can, according to Spence (2001) also leads to a disregard for context. He argues that clinical experience suggests that the shape of a memory is partly formed by the climate of the transference; the same event can be pictured in quite different ways depending on the analyst-patient relationship. Freud's position is complex in this regard. While largely agreeing with Spence's claims, he believed that there was an indestructible memory trace that survived unchanged – the "memories" may be reshaped by in analysis, but Freud considered this as a rewriting of original memory. Although Spence is sceptical about Freud's theory of memory he does caution that in some instances Freud's model may deserve more careful study. Many examples of post-traumatic stress disorder tend to follow Freud's model; the identical memory of the trauma is

[160] Wittgenstein makes a similar argument with respect to Freud's theory.

often repeated in the same sequence over and over again. These findings suggest that some memories may in fact be recalled intact. Whether analysis produces historical truth, or merely narrative truth still continues to plague the psychoanalytic enterprise.

Freud's comparison of the analyst to the archaeologist has also been criticised for the privileging of masculine power in the analytic setting (Armstrong 2005; Hake 1993). Hake claims that:

> The power of the analyst as archaeologist is reflected in the image of archaeology as an active, intrusive, and explicitly male activity, while the woman, who, as terra incognita, makes his quest for knowledge both necessary and possible, is regularly identified with images of the unknown: the buried city, the hidden treasure (Hake 1993:151).

These critiques and the debate around them raise important questions about the nature of scientific endeavour and Freud's place within it, but are also an indication of the significance of this metaphor in Freud's life and work.

In surveying "the mighty metaphor" in Freud's work, Kuspit claims:

> To understand the archaeological metaphor is to understand the thrust, if not the detail, of psychoanalytic thinking, its general orientation, if not its particular procedures and concepts. It is not simply a dramatic device to enliven and adorn the discourse of psychoanalysis – a way of disseminating and even popularizing its approach to the psyche – but the major instrument of its self-understanding (Kuspit 1989:133).

Whether or not this metaphor led Freud into a scientific trap is still an ongoing debate. What is not debatable, however, is the pivotal role it played in his theory. Kuspit's response to this metaphor parallels my position with regard to the Greek legacy in Freud's work. It is a legacy that cannot simply be dismissed as a way of popularising psychoanalysis.

CHAPTER 7

PHILOLOGY, MYTHOLOGY AND DREAMS

> Greek myths inevitably echoed and nourished Freud's investigations, since they convey with such great expressive power the fantasies and metaphors of the unconscious. They reveal an astonishing tolerance for the varieties of human desire and allow for a harmonious compromise between a broad instinctual freedom and the limitations imposed by the reality principle. The mythology of the Greeks understood man's irreducible duality, putting humanity on stage in its endless oscillation between bestial and divine (Flem 2003:72).

In mythology Freud found an iconography to construct and extend his psychoanalytic concepts. From the inception of his work the gods and heroes of Greece are a constant presence in Freud's texts. There are many reasons for this, but most essential perhaps, is the prominence of mythology in German cultural life. From Lessing onwards, German poets and writers embroidered their texts with mythological themes. No one interested in the life of the mind could overlook these mythological creations. Myths are, as Doherty (2001) notes, particularly "good to think with".[161] They provide a complex symbolic vehicle to explore and analyse the human condition, and their flexibility allows for different interpretations of the same material. One can, moreover, select different versions of a mythological theme in order to advance a particular cause.

The myth of Prometheus, for example, is subject to a number of conflicting interpretations depending on the author and the date when it was written. Hesiod's version is different from that of Ovid and Ovid's myth of Prometheus differs in turn from that of Apollodorus. Myths also have the virtue of combining strangeness with familiarity - the most exotic ancient myths seldom pose overt threats to the traditional assumptions about the structure of the family or of society. The Olympian family is just as hierarchical and patriarchal as most of the family structures in Freud's experience. Because of this, ancient myth offers a safe space in which to ponder theoretical assumptions and experiment with variations of them. This doubleness of myth –strangeness and familiarity - can be used to either support traditional values or to contest them in an acceptable way (Doherty 2001).

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[161] A concept first articulated by Levis-Strauss.

This creativity of myth is recognised by Freud when he asserts that myth particularly attracts artists and poets because it permits them the freedom to fill in historical gaps in memory according to imagination and desire (S.E. 23:71).[162] Above all, myths differ from newly created narratives in having the weight of the past behind them. When Freud calls upon the myths of Oedipus, Medusa or Prometheus he calls upon a tradition that is endowed with more than two thousand years of cultural significance, and his psychoanalytic assumptions appear to flow logically from the great river of Western tradition. The continuity of this tradition is clearly observed in German classical studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The reworking of mythological themes in philosophy, poetry and literature provided a bridge between the ancient culture of the Greeks and the modern mind.

Freud devoted a great deal of attention to understanding the origin of tribal legends and hero-myths. He was so at home in this domain that he claimed that the psychological insights he had obtained in his investigations made it possible for him to predict, long before Schliemann and Evans, where the Greeks obtained "all the legendary material which was worked over by Homer and the great Attic dramatists in the master-pieces" (S.E. 23:70). This material, Freud believed, grew out of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation that existed before 1250 B.C. In the ninth or eighth century B.C., these half forgotten legends were incorporated into the two Homeric epics. The importance to Freud of these ancient myths, which stretched back into the early infancy of human psychic life, was their ability to provide a portal to early consciousness. Centuries old, yet still accessible, he argued that these works still speak to our deepest fears and our most cherished desires. Historically, Freud's life spanned the great age of German philology and the science of antiquity –*Altertumswissenschaft.* He was a close contemporary of Germany's greatest nineteenth century classicist Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and the influence of classicists such as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Gomperz, Burckhardt, and Nietzsche is everywhere apparent in Freud's writing on mythology. Freud was

[162] Freud claims," One might almost say that the vaguer a tradition has become the more serviceable it becomes for a poet" (S.E. 23:71).

influenced by the great debates in classical scholarship, and he surrounded himself with people who shared his interest in this area. Heirs to the psychoanalytic tradition such as Otto Rank, Ferenczi, Stekel, Riklin, Jung and Ernest Jones all at one time or another applied mythology and its themes to their own psychoanalytic theories. [163]

Germany and the Mythic gods of Greece

From the eighteenth century, Greek culture, and particularly her myths, was frequently used to articulate the thoughts, dreams and imagination of the German people. It is easier to come to grips with Freud's use of mythology if one considers the extent of this tradition. In the early nineteenth century Germany was gripped by what Friedrich Paulsen,[164] historian of the German universities, called "Griechenenthusiasmus", a kind of Hellenic obsession whose effects are evinced in the title of Butler's book *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*[165] (Held 2005). Butler's claim that German thought was deeply influenced, and in many cases stultified, by Winckelmann's ideology is articulated by Nietzsche in the *Birth of Tragedy*:

> Practically all eras and stages of civilization have tried, with profound displeasure, to free themselves from the Greeks, because all their own achievements, everything supposedly original and thoroughly admired suddenly seemed to lose colour and life in comparison, shrivelling into a poor copy, a caricature (Nietzsche 1993:71).

In surveying the legacy of Hellenism in Germany, Butler (1958) ironically remarks that although Germany's borders were violated throughout history and conquered by outside invaders, no army remained as long, nor subjected her population to such complete surrender, as the invasion of Germany by the mythical inhabitants of Greece. Germany, according to Butler, fell prostrate before these alien

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[163] Glenn (1972) in a survey of the literature between 1909 and 1970 asserts that Freud's theories pose a great challenge and opportunity to classicists, and yet the response for more than fifty years has been, for the most part, indifference. Even today most papers on myth and psychoanalysis are not written by classicists, but by people outside the discipline.

[164] German philosopher and educator (1846-1908).

[165] In 1935 E.M. Butler, professor of German in the University of Cambridge published *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* in 1935. Although somewhat outdated it is still the starting point of any analysis on the influence of Winkelmann's Hellenism on German writers and thinkers. Butler claims that the desire to emulate the Greeks lead to a distortion of German poetry and literature. Once seen a liberating, it soon became a rigid canon which became intellectually and morally vacuous. This position is supported by Suzanne Marchand's *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany* (2003) which covers the same subject from a more modern point of view.

gods who, "under the demure disguise of humanitarian ideals" quietly conquered their country and subjected them to intellectual tyranny (Butler 1958:80).

Why Germany appeared to be so susceptible to mythology, and Greek mythology in particular, is open to conjecture, but there is little doubt that from the middle of the eighteenth century until the early twentieth century, the "gods of Greece" cast an extraordinarily long shadow over Germany. Butler's thesis that the country's greatest classical and scientific minds were seduced by mythology appears to be well supported. The best playwrights and poets found inspiration in the "brain-born images" of the past. Monstrous and awful or beautiful and sublime, mythology provided many of the themes, conflicts, and symbols of their work. The tragic figures in Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides were recast in the art of Lessing, Goethe, Herder, Schiller and Hölderlin, who all, at one time or another, aspired to become worthy successors to the artistic glory of Greece. Although there were a number of eighteenth century forerunners to the study of mythology - Bernard de Fontenelle,[166] Francois Joseph Lafitau and Nicolas Fréret for example - the early scientific study of mythology was for the most part a German enterprise Graf (1993). The modern concept of myth can be traced back to the German philologist Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812) who as a young man worked with Winckelmann in the library of Count Heinrich von Bruehl in Dresden (Graf 1993). Inspired by Winckelmann's research into Greek antiquity, Heyne evidenced a particular interest in Greek mythology and as professor of Greek at Göttingen succeeded in laying the foundation for later studies in mythological research (Graf 1993).

Following on from Heyne, Herder collapsed myth, language, religion and poetry into a unity and argued (as Freud and Jung were to do later) that myth was not simply allegorical but should rather be understood as a symbolic system of knowledge. The notion that myth should be understood as a form of symbolic expression was further developed by Karl Philipp Moritz (1756-93) in *A Treatise on the Gods or the Mythological poetry of the Ancients.* Moritz (1791) argued that myth should be

[166] Over two hundred years later Andrew Lang and Lucien Lévi-Bruhl were to hold much the same view concerning the historical nature of myth as that found in de Fontenelle.

conceived of in terms of a language. It should not simply be viewed as a culturally irrelevant aesthetic creation, but rather as humanity's compelling answer to the powers that shape the world[167] (Williamson 2004). This approach survived in *A Treatise on the Greek Gods* by Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784-1868) "who breathed new life into the gods" (Graf 1993) and whose position was later to be endorsed, in the next generation by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848 – 1931). The Romantic school of mythology (Heyne, Welcker, Moritz, Schelling, Goethe), was followed by the theoreticians, and in particular Goerres (1776-1848) and Creuzer (1771-1858). Both proved to be controversial figures in terms of academic standards and also because they were regarded as early protagonists of German nationalism. Creuzer's four volume work *The Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Peoples, especially of the Greeks* (1810-1812) was widely read, even in the late nineteenth century and formed the basis of discussion between Freud and Jung.[168] Creuzer, like Moritz and Friedrich Schlegel, understood myth to resemble a language in its own right, a form of symbolic expression.

According to Graf (1993) one of the most important problems that these scholars of mythology had to grapple with was that although myths were found in widely differing geographical regions and among different civilisations, they still shared a common form. Both the structure and the content of many of the myths were similar. Two explanations presented themselves. Either myth could be traced to a common root (the Indo-European hypothesis) or myths were similar because they were an unchanging product of the human mind (an approach subscribed to by Jung). Although the Indo-European hypothesis dominated a great deal of the discourse around mythology and extended well beyond the discipline of comparative philology,[169] the latter hypothesis encouraged students to search for a mythopoetic mentality in primitive culture. It was this approach that resulted

[167] Both Schelling and Moritz traced the meaning of myth to human imagination, and rejected the *Buchstabenmenschen* (alphabet men or overly literal-minded men) who tried to reduce myth to either history or allegory (Williamson 2004).
is present in Freud's library (Davies et al 2006).
[169] For a discussion on the discovery of Indo-European see Olender (1992).

in mythology moving away from being the sole province of classicism to eventually become incorporated into the fields of anthropology, biology and archaeology.

The ethnological approach to mythology was used early on by Max-Muller in *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* (2 vols. [1897]), Reinach (1905-12) in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* (4 vols.), and Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* (1861). All these books were read and quoted by Freud in his writings on mythology.[170] This approach to mythology was also advanced by a number of scholars resident in England. The most prominent and influential exponents of this view were Edward Burnett Taylor (1832-1917), Andrew Lang (1844-1912), and James George Frazer (1854-1941), a classical philologist at Cambridge. Again, Freud was familiar with their work, along with those of Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (1902), Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1877) and Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage* (1885). In *Totem and Taboo* (1913) Freud relied heavily upon the work of these ethnologists and anthropologists,[171] and in particular upon Frazer's work *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910) and *The Golden Bough* (1911). In formulating his theory of group psychology, Freud used Frazer's theory that myth was significant because it allowed a glimpse into earlier stages of human thought, and he applied Frazer's insights to his own understanding of neurotic behaviour. While students of anthropology eventually found fault with much of Frazer's thesis, his influence among classical scholars continued because of the impact his work had on the students of Usener[172] in Germany. Frazer's work also had an enormous influence on English literature and arts, the most famous example being that of T.S. Eliot's *The Wasteland.* This icon of modernist poetry drew many of its themes from Frazer's *The Golden Bough.*

[170] All these books appear in Freud's library.

[171] Other writers in this area that were consulted by Freud include E.B. Tylor, W.H.R. Rivers, W. Westermarch, Herbert Spencer, H.A. Junod, F. Boas, and Emile Durkheim.

[172] Hermann Usener (1834-1905) is considered by Graf (1993) to be the founder of the scientific study of religion in Germany. Usener thought that myths and rituals reflected the cycle of the seasons and his emphasis on the sun as a mythological symbol shows his kinship to nature mythologists such as Frazer.

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Mythology and the German poets

> Jede irdische Venus ersteht, wie die erste des Himmels,
> Eine dunkle Geburt aus dem unendlichen Meer;
> Wie die erste Minerva, so tritt, mit der Ägis gerüstet,
> Aus des Donnerers Haupt jeder Gedanke des Lichts[173].
>
> (Friedrich von Schiller)

Situated at the boundaries between the imagination and science, mythology had an enormous impact on the German psyche, and during Freud's lifetime, it formed a major part of the discourses that concerned themselves with the origins of language, religion and civilisation. To better understand the prominent position occupied by mythology in Germany it is important to trace the role of some of the poets who made mythology such an integral part of German life and letters. Lessing (1729-81), inspired by Winckelmann, was one of the first to show an intense interest in Greece, and in all things Greek. In his great work *Laocoön, or The Boundaries between Painting and Poetry* (1766) he outlined the nature of poetry and art, paying particular homage to both Homer and Sophocles. The richness of classical reference in Lessing's *Laocoön* is daunting and demonstrates the poet's deep understanding of legend and myth (Butler 1958; Hatfield 1943).[174] Always deeply attracted to the study of archaeology, Lessing made a significant contribution in this area, in particular, *Briefe Antiquarische* (Letters on Archaeology, 1768-69), and *Wie die Alten den Tod Gebildet* (How the Ancients Depicted Death, 1769).

Like Winckelmann, Lessing also believed that no nation could compare with the Greeks, and many of his themes were drawn from Greek mythology. His interest in mythology was shared and carried forward by his close follower, Herder (1744-1803). Although Herder tended to range more widely in his mythological pursuits he remained under "the shadow of Greek antiquity" until his

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[173] "Every earthly Venus, like the first, the heavenly Venus, appears as the mysterious child of the infinite ocean, and every luminous thought steps like the first Minerva armed with her aegis from the Thunderer's head" (Schiller in Forster 1962:260).

[174] It is interesting, given Freud's veneration for and interest in Shakespeare that it was Lessing who suggested that German dramatists should model themselves on Shakespeare rather than on French classical dramatists. To this end Lessing contributed a notable series of essays to the periodical *Briefe, die Neueste Literatur Betreffend* (1759-65) around the subject.

death. Herder mourned the disappearance of the Greek gods and argued that the mythical element should be retained in art and culture. He believed that myths needed to be reinterpreted symbolically and he presaged a great deal of modern literature and thought, including that of Freud, when he states that myths should be used creatively to enhance our understanding of humanity. Myths, according to Herder (in Butler 1958:78) should be used

> not as the Greeks and Romans used them (as religious and historical truths); not as the reformers kept them on after the barbarous ages (as a sacred relic of antiquity, and because of their prestige); not as brainless heads use them (as an empty sound); not as wretched chatter-boxes use them (planking down similes which have been used nine and ninety times already rather than racking their brains for a new one); but with a new creative and fertile artistic hand.
> (in Butler 1958:78).

Goethe (1749-1832) also succumbed to Greece and her myths. Although he borrowed from all the mythologies of the world, he always returned to Greek mythology to frame his deepest experiences:

> Froh empfind ich mich nun auf klassichem Boden begeistert:
> Vor – und Mitwelt spricht lauter und reizender mir.
> Hier befolg' ich den Rat, durchblättre die Werke der Alten
> Mit geschäftiger Hand, täglich mit neuem Genuß.
>
> Goethe[175]

He created his great play *Iphigenia* (1802) out of the seeds of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* and immersed himself in Homer. Under Schiller's guidance Goethe studied the technique of Greek literature and experimented with classical hexameter and pentameter. At one stage he dreamed of writing an epic poem that would take its place alongside Homer.[176] Schiller's (1759–1805) poems display a pantheon of Graeco-Roman divinities and in the tragedies of Sophocles he found the themes of ancient fate and modern guilt that were to haunt his work. Intensely interested in

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[175] "Here on classic ground I feel joyously inspired; the worlds of the past and of the present speak to me more distinctly and enchantingly. Here I do as (Horace) advised and with eager hand I turn the pages of the classics every day with fresh enjoyment" (Goethe, *Roman Elegies V*, in Forster 1962:219).
[176] Based on the theme of Achilles.

Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* he concluded that it was impossible to write a modern parallel to this great drama. In

1797, he wrote to Goethe:

> I have been much occupied these last few days in trying to discover a subject of the same nature as the *Oedipus Rex*, and which would have the same advantages for the dramatist. For these advantages are incalculable .....What has happened is, by its very nature, much more terrible, and the fear that something may have happened affects the mind much more greatly than the fear that something is going to happen. But I fear that Oedipus is a genus of its own which has no second species: least of all would one be able to find a pendant to it in less legendary times (in Butler 1958:193).

All the names mentioned above owe a debt to Winckelmann's discovery of a golden age - an age that many thought had actually once existed. They believed in Winckelmann's vision and saw in Greece not only a repository of antiquity, but also the revelation of an ancient dream - a strange and miraculous world, a golden mirror held up to humanity. Some of the greatest minds of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tried to incorporate this mythological vision into the modern world, as we saw previously, and it is from their endeavours that the ideology of *Bildung* eventually sprang. Although a nostalgic longing for the past can be detected throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was Germany that of all countries in Europe most lamented the passing of the Gods of Greece and the great mythological heroes of antiquity. Hölderlin (1770-1843) wrote in a preface to *Hyperion*:

> From my early youth I was happier on the shores of Ionia and Attica and the beautiful islands of the Archipelagus then anywhere else; and it was one of my dearest dreams to go there in reality one day and visit the holy shrine of youthful humanity. Greece was my first love, and shall I say that she will be my last (in Butler 1958:215).

This ideological construction of Greece[177] continued almost uncontested until the middle of the nineteenth century. Freud was inculcated into Greek mythology from an early age, and his

[177] The persuasive nature of this ideology is seen in the twentieth century in Heidegger, especially in his interest in the Pre-Socratics, and his claim that Greek and German are the only languages suitable to deep philosophy (Andries Gouws). His obsession with Greece culminated in a journey to Greece in 1962, motivated by a wish to confirm his

psychoanalytic theory is a living testament to a fading tradition.

Dreams and their interpretation

From his work on *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud began to see that mythology could provide a critical tool for his reflections on human civilisation and human psychology. He was not only knowledgeable about different mythologies (Egyptian, Hebrew as well as Graeco-Roman) but also conversant with the current debates in this area. Anzieu writes:

> Freud was as at home with mythological thought as he was with scientific observation, and his experience of it was longer-standing. He was very familiar with Mediterranean mythologies – particularly the Graeco-Roman mythology of Homer, Sophocles, and Virgil's Aeneid (Anzieu 1986:21).

Herder's belief that the mythical element is retained in art found full support in Freud's collection of antiquities. In a letter to Fliess dated 17.7 1899 he writes:

> The ancient gods still exist, for I have bought one or two lately, among them a stone Janus, who looks down on me with his two faces in very superior fashion" (Masson 1995:361).

Unlike Herder however Freud did not mourn the death of the old gods. For him they formed an integral part of our psychological inheritance. He took the gods of Greece and "with a new creative and fertile artistic hand" reshaped them to his purpose.

The Interpretation of Dreams sets out to use dreams to explore the realm of the unconscious, its contents and its processes. Freud's dream theory grew out of his clinical work on hysteria and his search for ways in which to interpret his patients' symptoms. Although the concept of the unconscious cannot be solely attributed to Freud (there is a long history of the unconscious before Freud) he was the first to apply this construct in a systematic way to a theory of the mind. Freud claimed that three groups of mental phenomena provide the technical instruments of psychoanalysis - parapraxes, free association and the interpretation of dreams. He was of the opinion, however, that the most certain route to the unconscious was that of dream interpretation:

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idea of ancient Greece: He wanted to go to the geographic origin- the "Ursprung," meaning for Heidegger both the beginning and the primal leap into the past via the future. Like Hölderlin, Heidegger fears being disappointed by what he might find, and he quotes Hölderlin poem, "Brot und Wein", a mourning for the passing of the gods (Williamson 2004:419).

> The interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind (S.E 5:608).

According to Freud, the language of dreams is the language of the unconscious. Briefly, dreams mirror the unconscious processes in, for example, the use of picture language, the failure to distinguish between past, present and future and in the way they treat opposites as though they were one and the same, as well as in the use of displacement and condensation of images. Dreams, Freud argued, were the gateway between the conscious and the unconscious. He held that repression often manifested itself in either symptoms (hysteria, obsessions, arrested psycho-sexual development) or in dreams. One of his major claims is that the material that is repressed usually has a sexual aetiology and the dream distortion serves the purpose of disguise – thus Freud's statement that dreams are the disguised fulfilment of repressed wishes. Dream analysis is paradigmatic for psychoanalytic interpretation; the patient freely associates taking the elements in the manifest dream as a point of departure and disregards the apparent connections between the elements in the dream. In Freud's theory of dreams the restoration of the connections that the dream-work has destroyed is a task that is performed by the work of analysis:

> The process by which the latent dream is transformed into the manifest dream is called the dream work; while the reverse process, which seeks to progress from the manifest to the latent thoughts, is our work of interpretation; the work of interpretation therefore aims at demolishing the dream work (S.E. 4:277).

In this way the latent material of the dream is made conscious and the underlying meaning of the dream exposed. In order to understand Freud's theory of dreams it is important to have some grasp of what Freud means when he speaks of the unconscious. Freud described the unconscious in the following manner:

> the nucleus of the Unconscious consists of instinctual representatives which seek to discharge their cathexis; that is to say, it consists of wishful impulses. These instinctual impulses are co-ordinate with one another, exist side by side without being influenced by one another, and are exempt from mutual contradiction... There are in this system no negation, no doubt, no degrees of certainty: all this is only introduced by the work of the censorship between the Ucs. and the

> Pcs....The processes of the system Ucs. are timeless; i.e. they are not ordered temporally, are not altered by the passage of time; they have no reference to time at all (S.E. 14:186-187).

The Freudian unconscious is primarily a topographical and dynamic concept derived from Freud's experience of treatment. This experience showed that the psyche cannot be reduced to the conscious domain and that certain "contents" only become available to consciousness once resistances have been overcome (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988). The intra-psychic conflicts between the unconscious and the conscious that are played out within each individual result from repressed wishes clamouring to express themselves but meeting refusal from consciousness. Freud argues that all experiences that involve the emergence of wishful impulses incompatible with the ethical and aesthetic standards of a subject's personality are likely to be repressed. To be repressed means that the idea is pushed out of consciousness with all its attached memories and forgotten. These repressed impulses are far stronger if they are unconscious than if they are conscious. This is because an unconscious wish cannot be influenced and is independent of contrary tendencies. These repressed wishful impulses continue to exist in the unconscious, and Freud argued that the only way to treat psychological disorders was to make these repressed memories accessible to consciousness.

Freud believed that dreams were crucial to this understanding. In holding this view he consciously aligned himself with the dream interpreters of the past. He wrote:

> The author of the Interpretation of Dreams has ventured, in the face of the reproaches of strict science, to become a partisan of antiquity and superstition (S.E. 9:7).

What exactly does Freud mean when he states that he has become a partisan of antiquity and superstition? To answer this question one needs to look at the body of work developed in classical times and designed to foretell the future. Thereafter, one needs to situate Freud's great masterpiece of dream interpretation within this context.

Oneirocritica

By calling his book *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud paid tribute to the most famous writer of ancient dream analysis, Artemidorus of Daldis, whose dream book written in the second century B.C. has the same title. Freud, looking back at his own work more than thirty years later, stated that:

> *The Interpretation of Dreams* contains, even according to my present-day judgement, the most valuable of all the discoveries it has been my good fortune to make. Insights such as this falls to one's lot but once in a lifetime (in Price 1986:3).

In his letters to Fliess one gets the impression that Freud regretted the need to supply a lengthy literature discussion at the beginning of *The Interpretation of Dreams* and viewed it as nothing more than a bow to "the scientists" who would otherwise "take an axe to slaughter the poor book" (Masson 1995). On closer examination, however, one realises how critical ancient sources were to his undertaking of dreams and the unconscious and how often Freud makes use of this legacy in his work. In his section on dreams in *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis* (1916-17) Freud wrote:

> So far as we know, all the peoples of antiquity attached great significance to dreams and thought they could be used for practical purposes. They deduced signs for the future from them and searched in them for auguries. For the Greeks and other oriental nations, there may have been times when a campaign without dream-interpreters seemed as impossible as one without air-reconnaissance seems to-day. When Alexander the Great started on his conquests, his train included the most famous dream-interpreters. The city of Tyre, which at that time still stood on an island, offered the king such a stiff resistance that he considered the possibility of raising the siege. Then one night he had a dream of a satyr who seemed to be dancing in triumph, and when he reported it to his dream-interpreters they informed him that it foretold his conquest of the city[178]. He ordered an assault and captured Tyre. Among the Etruscans and Romans other methods of foretelling the future were in use; but throughout the whole of the Hellenistic-Roman period the interpretation of dreams was practised and highly esteemed (S.E. 15:85).

By assigning to dreams and dreaming such importance Freud joined the ranks of the ancient Assyrians, Etruscans, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans (to mention only the Mediterranean

[178] From the word association "Sa-tyros", "Tyre (is) yours" (information supplied by Andries Gouws).

world) who were all convinced of the significance of dreams. Later on in this passage, Freud concentrated his attention on the dream book of Artemidorus of Daldis:

> Of the literature dealing with the subject the principal work at least has survived: the book by Artemidorus of Daldis, who probably lived during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. How it came about after this that the art of interpreting dreams declined and that dreams fell into discredit I cannot tell you. The spread of the enlightenment cannot have had much to do with it, for many things more absurd than the dream-interpretation of antiquity were faithfully preserved into the obscurity of the Middle Ages (S.E.15:85-86).

Very little is known about the life of Artemidorus. The chief source of our knowledge is his study in dream interpretation, the *Oneirocritica*. Freud's interest in Artemidorus and his dream book can be gauged from the fact that he read Krauss's translation of the *Oneirocritica*, as well as a number of secondary texts, including Gomperz's *Traumdeutung und Zauberei* (1866) and Gruppe's '*Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906). What immediately becomes apparent is the number of parallels that exist between Artemidorus and Freud in their methods of dream interpretation (Price 1986). The most important point of similarity between them is that they shared the belief that the meaning of a dream is dependent upon the context of the dreamer.[179] Other theoretical affinities are also evident and include Artemidorus' emphasis on association and the juxtaposition of similarities, his belief in condensation and displacement of imagery,[180] as well as the importance of language and metaphor in connecting the dream imagery with the real world. All these factors lead Price (1986) to observe that the work by Artemidorus makes Freud's position with regard to dream interpretation looks "slightly less paramount".

Although Freud treated Artemidorus as a predecessor, he stated that his own work differed from that of Artemidorus in a number of respects, particularly with regard to the belief in the predictive

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[179] Artemidorus writes, "It is profitable – indeed, not only profitable but necessary – for the dreamer as well as for the person who is interpreting that the dream interpreter know the dreamer's identity, occupation, birth, financial status, state of health, and age. Also, the nature of the dream must be examined accurately, for the following section will make clear that the outcome is altered by the least addition or omission, so that if anyone fails to abide by this, he must blame himself rather than us if things go wrong" (Artemidorus 1975:22).

[180] Similar to Freud's theory of dream interpretation, Artemidorus states that, "Some dreams proclaim many things through many images; some, a few things through a few images; a third group, many things through a few images; a fourth, a few things through many images" (Artemidorus 1975:18).

nature of dreams. Freud also tended to reject as unscientific the symbolic method of dream interpretation. In this method, the content of the dream as a whole is replaced by another content that is in certain respects analogous to the original. An example of the symbolic method occurs in the Bible where Joseph interprets the Pharaoh's dream (Price1986). Freud's attitude to the decoding method of dream interpretation used by Artemidorus is far more complex. This method decodes and interprets the dream by means of a fixed key; for example, if a dreamer were to dream of keys, locks, or water, the decoding method would translate these symbols into a more or less established system of meaning. Freud appeared to distrust this method, but this distrust wavers throughout his writing and in many instances he effaces this essential difference between his method and those of the ancients. For example, he suggests to Jung that the Vienna group needs to research the nature of symbolism and later even argues for a straightforward "dictionary" interpretation of dream symbols (Forrester 1980).

Moreover, while Freud rejected the predictive value of dreams - the view that dreams could foretell the future - his insistence that dreams are a form of disguised wish fulfilment seems to point towards some form of prediction. Wishes are, after all, the projection of hopes into the future and if one can gain some understanding of a person's wishes, one can then predict with some degree, the desires that a person projects into the future. Freud makes this point, at the end of the *Interpretation of Dreams*, when he states that he has not been entirely able to reject the relation of dreams to the future:

> Nevertheless the ancient belief that dreams foretell the future is not wholly devoid of truth. By picturing our wishes as fulfilled, dreams are after all leading us into the future. But this future, which the dreamer pictures as the present, has been moulded by his indestructible wish into a perfect likeness of the past (S.E. 5:621).

Later in *Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's Gravida* (1907) Freud writes:

> For the dream, when the laborious work of translating it had been accomplished, revealed itself as a wish of the dreamer's represented as fulfilled; and who could deny that wishes are predominantly turned towards the future? (S.E. 9:7).

Even more important, is Freud's gradual acceptance of the decoding method of dream analysis in his later writing and the importance of symbolism in the interpretation of dreams (Petocz 1999).

The role of myth and symbolism in dream interpretation.

In the preface to the third edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Vienna 1911) Freud writes:

> My own experience, as well as the works of Wilhelm Stekel and others, has since taught me to form a truer estimate of the extent and importance of symbolism in dreams (or rather unconscious thinking)...I may venture to prophesy in what other direction later editions of this book - if any should be needed - will differ from the present one. They will have on the one hand to afford a closer contact with the copious material presented in imaginative writing, in myths, in linguistic usage and in folklore; while on the other hand they will have to deal in greater detail than has been here possible with the relation of dreams to neuroses and mental diseases (S.E. 4:xxvii).

To explore the parallels between myth and the unconscious, between ancient systems of dream interpretation and Freud's modern theory, one is required to look at the role of symbolisation in dreams, for it is here that Freud most closely approaches the ancient forms of interpretation. Freud wrote in a postscript to the Schreber case:

> The mythopoetic forces of mankind are not extinct, but ... to this very day ... give rise in the neuroses to the same psychical products as in the remotest past ages (S.E.12:82).

Examining the role of regression, Freud intriguingly quoted Nietzsche on dreams.

> We can guess how much to the point is Nietzsche's assertion that in dreams 'some primaeval relic of humanity is at work which we can now scarcely reach any longer by a direct path'; and we may expect that the analysis of dreams will lead u to knowledge of man's archaic heritage, of what is psychically innate in him. Dreams and neuroses seem to have preserved more mental antiquities than we could have imagined possible; so that psycho-analysis may claim a high place among the sciences which are concerned with the reconstruction of the earliest and most obscure periods of the beginnings of the human race (S.E.5: 549)

Basing his thesis on Ernst Haeckel's "biogenetic" law that holds that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, Freud maintained that these "forces" form part of each person's phylogenetic

inheritance. The dream world is atavistic in that it repeats "the whole course of the development of the human race".

The following passage presents Freud's thinking on the phylogenetic and the ontogenetic contents of the dream and makes clear his theory that in dreams we find content that is related to our individual past but also to content that has its roots in "the infancy of the race":

> The prehistory into which the dream-work leads us back is of two kinds – on the one hand, into the individual's prehistory, his childhood, and on the other, in so far as each individual somehow recapitulates in an abbreviated form the entire development of the human race, into phylogenetic prehistory too .... it seems to me, for instance, that symbolic connections, which the individual has never acquired by learning, may justly claim to be regarded as a phylogenetic heritage (S.E. 15:199).

Freud distinguishes between the individual content of the dream, the highly personal material that is open to a patient's understanding via association, and the more universal dream content that is not available to the patient's associations but exists independently as a "racial characteristic". Freud's use of the term "symbol" is generally reserved for certain elements which occur in dreams and which are distinguished from all other unconscious, indirect, substitutive, representational material used in the service of defence.

Petocz (1999) in analysing Freud's writing on symbolism has isolated three specific characteristics of symbols. Firstly, symbols are silent or mute. The patient or dreamer cannot give any personal or individual association to such symbolic representations and remains silent in their presence. In such cases the dream interpreter needs to translate these symbols without reference to the associations of the individual dreamer. Secondly, symbols have constant meanings, unlike all other elements in the dream. These meanings are not derived from the individual's experience but are to be understood as a part of an ancient system of signifiers. These symbols are universal and are open to interpretation using the general methods of decoding set down in dream books such as that of Artemidorus. Finally, symbols are phylogenetically inherited and this explains their constant universal meanings. These symbols are already present in the unconscious and are not products of

repression. Freud writes: "there are a certain number of dreams which almost everyone has dreamt alike and which we are accustomed to assume must have the same meaning for everyone" (S.E. 4:241). These symbols are already present in the unconscious and are not products of repression. It is this "basic language"[181] that is close to mythological systems of thought.

Scholars like Herder, Moritz, Creuzer, and Friedrich Schlegel all saw myth as a sensuous, concrete and vivid language, different in quality from our abstract and conceptual modes of thought. Early on in his career Freud was already aware of the importance of symbolism in dream interpretation and later he stressed the close connection between psychoanalytic dream interpretation and that practiced in antiquity. Although Freud's attitude to symbolism is fraught with tension it is clear that from the outset he was aware that symbolism afforded invaluable assistance to dream interpretation. He argues:

> Dream-symbolism extends far beyond dream: it is not peculiar to dreams, but exercises a similar dominating influence on representation in fairy tales, myths and legends, in jokes and in folk-lore. It enables us to trace the intimate connections between dreams and these latter productions. We must not suppose that dream-symbolism is a creation of the dream-work; it is in all probability a characteristic of the unconscious thinking which provides the dream-work with the material for condensation, displacement and dramatization (S.E. 12:80-81)

To understand these symbolic creations, Freud turned to mythology to provide him with a key to the contents of the dream. He claimed that many of these symbols are habitually employed to express the same thing, and asserts that a number of symbols are as old as language itself (snake, circle, sun, earth, water, father, mother, king, queen etc). They are, in other words, part of our archaic heritage. Jung, whose belief in the "collective unconscious" both attracted and repelled Freud, placed a great deal of emphasis on these "primordial images". This commitment of Freud's to an "archaic heritage" raises a question concerning the similarity between his views and those of Jung's. Freud always regarded Jung's theory of the "collective unconscious" with suspicion, yet his own theory of dream symbolism often comes very close to Jung's position.

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[181] Drawing heavily upon Reinach, Freud fleshes out the mythological interest that attaches to this 'basic language". See Freud's postscript to the Schreber case (S.E. 12:80-81).

The mythopoetic forces of mankind

"Traum von ihnen ist drauf das Leben"
Friedrich Hölderlin[182]

Freud's statement that "in the manifest content of dreams we very often find pictures and situations recalling familiar themes in fairy tales, legends and myths" (Freud 1985:54) indicates the close relationship he believed to exist between myth and dream and highlights the important role played by mythology in psychoanalysis. According to Eliade (1977), myth always relates an event that takes place in primordial time, at the fabled time of the "beginnings". It tells how reality came into existence. Freud, like most of his scientific contemporaries, was always in search of "the origin"; how something in the present was derived from the past. That is one of the reasons why he so often saw himself as "an archaeologist" of the mind. This desire to uncover the origin of neurosis, sexuality and later religion led him to the realm of dreams and the exploration of the unconscious. Because both mythology and psychoanalysis emphasise origins, Freud found many parallels between his work and mythology. Contrary to most views on myth, Freud could not accept that the first impulse to mythic construction lay in man's desire to find an explanation of natural phenomena. Instead he suggested that the origin of myth is to be found in the same "psychical complexes", in the same emotional trends, which he discovered at the base of dreams and symptoms. Psychoanalysis, according to Freud, was able to establish an intimate connection between myths and the psychical achievements of the individual by postulating one and the same dynamic source for both of them (S.E. 13:187). He believed that myth reflected the structure of reality.

Freud believed, like the classicists of old, that myth is part of our lost childhood. Typical dreams such as being naked, the death of loved ones, and of flying, all resemble, according to Freud, material from fairy tales and legend. They encapsulate our deepest nature and lie in the impulses of the mind that have their roots in a childhood. The connection between typical dreams, myth and fairytales, and creative writing is, according to Freud, not accidental, for they all express "the

[182] "Life henceforward is a dream of them" (Hölderlin in Forster 1962:300).

deepest and eternal nature of man" (S.E. 5: 247). Freud saw myth as part of our "archaic heritage", a rich fountainhead that could be accessed to frame the most universal experiences.[183]

The concept "endopsychic myth" expressed by Freud in *Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming* (1908) continues the theme of a common psychological inheritance that is forever preserved in mythology. Discussing 'endopsychic myth' Freud states that the study of the creations of mythology and of folk psychology suggest that "myths, for instance, are distorted vestiges of the wishful phantasies of whole nations, the secular dreams of youthful humanity" (S.E. 9:152). It is precisely because of this view that Freud believed that it was possible to apply the psychoanalytic views derived from dreams to products of ethnic imagination such as myths and fairy tales.[184]

Greek mythology predominates his thinking. Almost like oracles, these ancient products of the Greek mind were to provide him with important tools to explore and interrogate the human mind. A number of interesting parallels exist between myth and psychoanalysis that are to be found not only in the content of dreams and myth but also in their structure. Consider for example, the relationship between memory and forgetting. The need to always return to the origins, "the first time" in ritual (whether the archaic enactment of myth such as at Eleusis, or Christian religious ceremonial such as Easter or Christmas) is similar to psychotherapy, where the patient must remember (through dream analysis) the early experiences that have given rise to the psychological problem. Freud, like the ancient believers in myth believed that only by recreating the past could one understand the present. Freud claimed that myth and legend, even though separated by time and space and entirely independent were remarkably similar to one another. His belief in the transmission of mythic structure and content is encapsulated in the Oedipus myth. Freud argued that this myth encapsulated the "universality" of what he termed, the "nuclear complex" - the relationship between the parents and the child.

[183] For example birth-dreams often closely resemble myths such as the births of Adonis, Osiris, Moses and Bacchus. According to Freud in mythology, the delivery of the child from the uterine waters is commonly presented by distortion as the entry of the child into the water.

[184] In "Dreams in folklore" (S.E. 12:177-203) probably completed in 1911, but only published in 1958, Freud explores the way in which folklore interprets dream-symbols in a way reminiscent of psychoanalysis.

The Myth of Oedipus

The conformity between different myths is, according to Freud, reflected in the legends of Homer (for example, the heroic figures of Oedipus, Paris, Telephos, Perseus, and Heracles), in the Bible (Moses), as well as in the great epics of Gilgamesh and the Mahabharata. Freud argued that all these legends exhibit the same essential features. The hero is generally someone of aristocratic birth who is exposed at birth by a regal figure (usually the father) because an oracle has warned him that his son will overthrow him. The young man has the courage to rebel against his father and in the end, revenges himself against his father and comes to achieve greatness and love (S.E. 23:10). While all these legends speak to our primordial past, it is in the legend of Oedipus that Freud claimed to discover the underlying structure of sexuality, the family and by extension culture and civilisation. Nilsson (1966) suggests that the essential parts of the Oedipus myth had already been created in the Mycenaean age and attached to Thebes.[185] He argues that Oedipus is simply a Märchen-hero, a folk-tale character and that the story shares many of the motifs of this genre. Pared down to its essentials, Oedipus like so many folk heroes, is exposed to die, survives and vanquishes a monster that is terrorising a city. In so doing he wins the hand of the queen and becomes heir to a kingdom.

If this was all there was to the legend of Oedipus we would have a very simple folk-tale of a well-known kind. But this is not the case.[186] As Goux (2004) points out, other motifs are added to the legend. Jocasta, the queen is in fact Oedipus' mother, Laius, the man Oedipus kills is his father, and his children are the product of incest. It is precisely because of these added motifs that Freud made this myth the centre around which his oeuvre revolved. So much has been written about Freud

[185] Freud agreed with this theory.

[186] Goux (2004) while recognising common mythological motifs that exist between Oedipus and other heroes such as Jason, Bellerophon, and Perseus, maintains that there are also important structural anomalies in the Oedipus myth. According to Goux, the monster that is slain by the hero is not the father, but the mother. The great initiatory trial that every hero must go through is symbolic matricide. In the struggle against the beast, be it dragon or Gorgon, the hero develops his masculinity, and mobilises his inner strength to transform his infantile dependence on the mother into heroic manhood. The hero can only emerge triumphant, and win the hand of his bride, if he delivers himself from the lethal attachment to his monster-mother. In the Oedipus myth the hero does not overcome the monster in mortal combat, he defeats the Sphinx by solving the riddle. It is an intellectual victory and as such does not comply with traditional initiatory myths. The consequence for this failure is incest (Goux 2004).

and Oedipus, so many texts that analyse the myth and Freud's interpretation of it, that it is interesting to return to Freud's original text and read how he approached this myth:

> Oedipus, son of Laius, King of Thebes, and of Jocasta, was exposed as an infant because an oracle warned Laius that the still unborn child would be his father's murderer. The child was rescued, and grew up as a prince in an alien court, until, in doubts to his origin, he too questioned the oracle and was warned to avoid his home since he was destined to murder his father and take his mother in marriage. On the road leading away from what he believed was his home, he met King Laius and slew him in a sudden quarrel. He came next to Thebes and solved the riddle set him by the Sphinx who barred his way. Out of gratitude the Thebans made him their king and gave him Jocasta's hand in marriage. He reigned long in peace and honour, and she who, unknown to him, was his mother bore him two sons and two daughters. Then at last a plague broke out and the Thebans made enquiry once more of the oracle. It is at this point that Sophocles' tragedy opens. The messengers bring back the reply that the plague will cease when the murderer of Laius had been driven from the land.
>
> *But he, where is he? Where shall now be read*
> *The fading record of this ancient guilt?*
>
> The action of the play consists in nothing other that the process of revealing, with cunning delays and ever-mounting excitement – a process that can be likened to the work of psycho-analysis – that Oedipus himself is the murderer of Laius, but further that he is the son of the murdered man and of Jocasta. Appalled at the abomination which he had unwittingly perpetrated, Oedipus blinds himself and forsakes his home. The oracle has been fulfilled (S.E. 4 261-262).

In Sophocles' drama Freud discovered his major theme - "the fading record of an ancient guilt" – incestuous desire and the conflict between father and son. Freud compares the slow unravelling of the past that takes place in the play to the process of psychoanalysis. The journey towards knowledge undertaken by Oedipus, with its resultant feelings of guilt, repression, and denial, becomes the pivot around which Freud subsequently framed his theory of psychoanalysis.

Dodds (1951) provides an interesting discussion of "shame culture" and "guilt culture" in early Greece that is particularly relevant to an understanding of the Oedipus myth. He argues that Homeric man's highest good is not the enjoyment of a quiet conscience, but the enjoyment of *time*, public esteem. Any situation that exposes Homeric man to the contempt or ridicule of his fellows is felt as unbearable. Only in the archaic age do we find a growing awareness of guilt and a growth of

anxiety and dread in the evolution of Greek religion. Although legends such as Oedipus and Orestes existed in the past it was only in the Archaic Age that these myths were recast as stories of bloodguilt. And it was only because of this growing sense of guilt that catharsis, or purification, became the main concern of the greatest religious institutions. This privileging of guilt above the "shame culture" of Homeric Greek culture is attributed by Dodds to the loosening of paternal authority. He suggests that the family was the keystone of the archaic social structure, the first organised unit, and the first domain of law. The family structure, as in all Indo-European societies, was patriarchal. The human father had from the earliest times his heavenly counterpart, Zeus *pater*. This concept of Zeus as father belongs to our Indo-European inheritance, as his Latin and Sanskrit equivalents indicate. The authority of both the heavenly and the earthly father was unquestioned and unlimited. He was free to expel a rebellious son from the community and severely punish any act that challenged his authority. As sole judge of the family he could punish any act of *hubris* suspected in his son.

In the late archaic period there is, however, a growth in the concept of the individual and an emphasis on individual conscience. The liberation of the individual from the bonds of clan and family is, according to Dodds, one of the major achievements of Greek rationalism, and he attributes this event to the rise of Athenian democracy. It is during this rather fragile and contested era that the Greeks viewed offences against a father with particular horror[187] and it is from this archaic guilt-culture that we receive out most profound tragic poetry (Dodds 1951). The last great exponent of the archaic world-view is, undoubtedly, Sophocles who made human helplessness in the face of destiny the cultural inheritance of Western man. Freud, in a late paper, also traces the source of Sophocles' *Oedipus* to individual desire and family conflict:

> In fact, however, the source of the whole poetic fiction is what is known as a child's 'family romance', in which the son reacts to a change in his emotional relation to his parents and in particular to his father. A child's earliest years are dominated by an enormous overvaluation of

[187] The idea of cosmic justice represented an advance on the old notion of purely arbitrary divine Powers, and provided a sanction for the new civic morality (Dodds 1951:34).

> his father; in accordance with this a king and queen in dreams and in fairly tales invariably stand for parents (S.E. 23:12).

It is not in the trials of the hero culminating in the bloody battle with the monster and victory, but in the incestuous motifs of this legend that Freud found the substance of his own theory. From this myth Freud distilled the following - being in love with the one parent and hating the other are among the essential constituents of the stock of psychical impulses. This is a universal theme shared by neurotics and non-neurotics alike. Freud argues that Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* does not enthral us because it is a tragedy of destiny. It draws its power from the particular nature of the material. We react, according to Freud to the "secret sense and content of the legend" (S.E. 16:331). For in Oedipus we see the "primaeval wishes of our childhood" fulfilled. We respond to the play because we all labour under the same curse of destiny, a curse that is laid upon us before our birth. Each one of us shares our fate with Oedipus because we, like Oedipus, desire our mother and direct, "our first hatred and our first murderous wish against our father" (S.E. 4:262).

In Sophocles' play we are compelled to confront these desires "forced upon us by Nature". In unravelling the past, Freud believed that Sophocles exposes Oedipus' guilt and that this exposure compels us to recognise our own identically repressed impulses. We are all, Freud claims, subject to incestuous desire, and the myth of Oedipus is a primaeval response to the disturbing and incestuous dreams of childhood:

> There is an unmistakable indication in the text of Sophocles' tragedy itself that the legend of Oedipus sprang from some primaeval dream-material which had as its content the distressing disturbance of a child's relation to his parents owing to the first stirrings of sexuality. At a point when Oedipus, though he is not yet enlightened, has begun to feel troubled by his recollection of the oracle, Jocasta consoles him by referring to a dream which many people dream, though, as she thinks, it has no meaning,
>
> Many a man ere now in dreams hath lain
> With her who bare him. He hath least annoy
> Who wish such omens troubleth not his mind.
>
> To-day, just as then, many men dream of having sexual relations with their mothers, and speak of the fact with indignation and astonishment. It is clearly the key to the tragedy and the

> complement to the dream of the dreamer's father being dead. The story of Oedipus is the reaction of the imagination to these two typical dreams (S.E. 4:264).[188]

Freud believed that myth articulated our suppressed dreams, our unconscious desires, as well as preserving our instinctual history, our phylogenetic and our ontogenetic past. It is these universal "mythopoetic forces of mankind" that Freud writes into his work and it is these forces that Freud finds most clearly articulated in Greek myth. These structures are our common inheritance whether we are child or adult, primitive or civilised.

Freud's personal response to Oedipus

Although Freud drew upon many different myths in his work, Oedipus dominated his oeuvre. One needs to ask why he chose Oedipus above all the other myths at his disposal. Why not Perseus, Ulysses, or Prometheus? So many mythical themes seem to equal the power of the Oedipus cycle (Nussbaum 1994; Blundell 1999). The great maternal love of Demeter for her daughter Persephone, or Dionysus the androgynous god of fertility, ecstasy and the irrational. All these powerful myths are, however, eclipsed by that of Oedipus. On the one hand, one may argue that the myth of Oedipus provided Freud with a vehicle to resolve his theoretical impasse, the seduction theory. His letters to Fliess very clearly express his rejection of this theory and the ensuing collapse of his thesis on hysteria. "I no longer believe in my neurotica [theory of neuroses]", he writes to Fliess in September 1897 (Masson1995: 264), and gives a number of reasons for his rejection of this theory. These include the failure to bring a single analysis to a real conclusion; the unlikelihood that in all cases the father, not excluding his own, had to be accused of being perverse; that there is no reality in the unconscious,

[188] White (1975) gives a number of examples of incestuous dreams in antiquity. He mentions Plutrach, Parsanias, Herodotus and Plato who all give examples of undisguised Oedipal dreams. That these dreams are undisguised may suggest less sanction against incest in antiquity. In Artemidorus we find that the dream of mother incest is commonly found among men in antiquity. These dreams, according to Artemidorus, are complex and need to be interpreted carefully. Some dreams are auspicious, others are inauspicious, and their meaning is dependent upon the circumstances of the act and the dreamer. For example, if a son dreams that he is having intercourse with his mother and his father is still alive and in good health, the dream is inauspicious, as it points to rivalry and jealousy between father and son. If the father is sick it means that the he will soon die, and the dreamer will take care of his mother both as a son and a husband. In the case of a laborer or craftsman, intercourse with the mother is lucky, as a person's trade is called his 'mother', and as such predicts success. Dreams of having intercourse with one's mother are also auspicious in the case of public figures, if the dreamer is estranged from his mother, or if a son is poor but his mother is rich. Intercourse with one's mother while on foreign soil means that one will soon return to ones mother country. (Artemidorus 1975:60).

so that one cannot distinguish between truth and fiction; and finally, incest does not break through in the deep-reaching psychosis of the unconscious memory. The Oedipus myth could, if read selectively, provide Freud with a model that encapsulated all the fantasies of his hysterical patients, maternal incest, parricide, guilt and destiny. It could also be used to support all his observations, and replace the seduction theory without disturbance to his theory. As Freud noted to Fliess (1897), very little changed by replacing the seduction theory with the Oedipus myth, "The psychological remained untouched" (Masson 1995:266) along with *The Interpretation of Dreams* and his metapsychological work.

Freud's response to this myth was not, however only of theoretical importance. He also sensed a close identification with the hero. The Oedipus myth is not only foundational to the theory of psychoanalysis it is also a foundational myth in Freud's own life. In a letter to Fliess in October 1897 Freud confessed that he too was a participant in this drama of father and son conflict:

> A single idea of general value dawned on me. I have found, in my own case too, [the phenomenon of] being in love with my mother and jealous of my father, and I now consider it a universal event in early childhood, even if not so early as in children who have been made hysterical (Masson 1995:272).

From this time onward Oedipus became the central motif in Freud's theory of sexual development, as well as a dominant signifier in his personal symbolic universe. Freud's antiques appear to have been carefully chosen for their psychological and emotional significance. It is not surprising therefore to find a number of examples of Oedipus and the Sphinx[189] in his collection (Botting 1989; Davies 1993)[190]. This obsession with the myth of Oedipus was recognised by everyone who was close to Freud. In his biography on Freud, Jones (1964) gives some insight into Freud's complex relationship to Oedipus. According to Jones, a small group of Freud's adherents presented him with a medallion to commemorate his fiftieth birthday. One side had Freud's portrait, on the reverse was

[189] In the Greek legend of Thebes, the sphinx was a creature, half lion and half woman, who destroyed those who could not answer the riddle: 'What is it that walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening?' The correct answer, given by Oedipus to this riddle, is man.
[190] Even the ex libris markers affixed to Freud's books have a representation of Oedipus and the Sphinx.

a Greek design of Oedipus answering the Sphinx. Surrounding it was an inscription from Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* in Greek that read, "who divined the famed riddle and was a man most mighty". Jones writes that at the presentation of the medallion there was a curious incident:

> When Freud read the inscription he became pale and agitated and in a strangled voice demanded to know who had thought of it. He behaved as if he had encountered a revenant, and so he had. After Federn told him it was he who had chosen the inscription, Freud disclosed that as a young student at the University of Vienna he used to stroll around the great arcaded court inspecting the busts of former famous professors of the institution. He then had the phantasy not merely of seeing his own bust there in the future, which would not have been anything remarkable in an ambitious student, but of it actually being inscribed with the *identical* words he now saw on the medallion (Jones 1964:316).

This anecdote is extremely important. As a student, and therefore long before 1897 when Freud first tentatively mentioned his thoughts on Oedipus in relation to neurosis to Fliess, Oedipus already existed as an object of identification in Freud's imagination. The development of the Oedipus complex is generally traced to the first veiled allusion to Oedipus when Freud (on May 1897) mentions a dream to Fliess in which his daughter Mathilde was called Hella, the name of an American niece. Freud writes that this confusion of names can be explained by the fact that Mathilde was enthralled by the mythology of ancient Hellas "and naturally regards all Hellenes as heroes". He continues:

> The dream of course shows the fulfilment of my wish to catch a *pater* as the originator of neurosis and thus [the dream] puts an end to my ever-recurring doubts (Masson 1995:249).

A few months later, in October, Freud presented the legend of Oedipus as an example of a universal event in early childhood (Weber 1982). Oedipus becomes the *pater* in his new theory of hysteria. There is however, something of a paradox in this elevation of Oedipus to the role of the father in Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Oedipus throughout Sophocles play is primarily represented in the role of the son who murders his father and then marries his mother (Caldwell 1989). Moreover, Freud closely identifies himself with Oedipus as a son, not as a father. He writes to Fliess that the play

> seizes upon a compulsion which everyone recognized because he senses its existence within himself. Everyone in the audience was once a budding Oedipus in fantasy and each recoils in horror from the dream fulfilment here transplanted into reality, with the full quantity of repression which separates his infantile state from his present one (Masson 1995:252).

Freud continually elaborated and extended his identification with Oedipus. Oedipus' refusal to give up the search for his true identity is paradigmatic for the process of psychoanalytic therapy. This mythic theme was expanded in later life to include his daughter Anna, who during his long fight with cancer was his constant companion and helper, and thus earned the epithet of Anna-Antigone.

Many of the problems Freud encountered in his practice were framed in terms of riddles that required an answer. And just like Oedipus confronting the Sphinx, he set about unravelling these conundrums of human nature. Interestingly, Nietzsche preceded Freud in his belief that Oedipus represented an extraordinary hero who solved "the riddle of nature" because he articulated our secret knowledge of sexuality and incest. The "terrible trinity of fate" - the murder of his father, suitor to his mother, resolver of riddles - makes Oedipus' a perpetrator of "monstrous acts" and it is this power "to transgress sacred codes" that forces nature to yield her secrets. Nietzsche writes:

> Oedipus' fate: the man who solves the riddle of nature – of the dual-natured Sphinx – must also, as his father's murderer and his mother's lover, transgress the sacred codes of nature. Indeed what the myth seems to whisper to us is that wisdom, and Dionysiac wisdom in particular, is an abominable crime against nature; that any who, through his knowledge, casts nature into the abyss of destruction, must himself experience the dissolution of nature (Nietzsche 1969:47).

Nietzsche seems to have focussed his attention on the themes of incest and sexual knowledge in Sophocles' play, long before Freud. Freud's identification with Oedipus was intensified by Freud's belief that his theory of sexuality isolated him from his peers, and cast him out of polite society just as Oedipus' transgressive sexuality was later to result in exile from Thebes. Jung once wrote to Freud:

> anyone who knows your science has veritably eaten of the tree of paradise and become clairvoyant (McGuire 1991:64).

From the above quote one can see how Jung equates Freud's theory with knowledge and transgression. Wittgenstein uses very much the same analogy in discussing Freud and psychoanalysis. He remarked in 1939: "In a way, having oneself psychoanalysed is like eating from the tree of knowledge" (Bouveresse 1995:5).

Three founding forms of psychology emerged in the nineteenth century. Wundt founded the psychology of consciousness, evolutionary psychologists founded the psychology of adaptation, and Freud founded the psychology of the unconscious (Leahey 1980). Freud rejected many aspects of late nineteenth century (introspectionist) experimental psychology, especially its exclusive emphasis upon the conscious mind. In so doing, he acknowledged the strong historical trend of the unconscious in German thought. His theorising also recognized another important tradition, one that took Greek mythology seriously, and whose origin coincided almost directly with the establishment of *Bildung* in the second half of the eighteenth century (Williamson 2004). The development of psychoanalysis is the result of the merging of these two traditions.

CHAPTER 8

OF GODS AND MONSTERS

'Introite et hic dii sunt'[191]

It is not surprising that Freud mined Greek mythology for inspiration.[192] Mythological beings such as Uranus, Hebe, Priapus, Hermaphroditus and Narcissus had already lent their names to early sexology and had become part of common terminology in this field. In the strange borders between sanity and unreason, Freud often relied on the Greek imagination to signpost the terrain.

The devouring father

Although Oedipus dominated Freud's work, many of Freud's psychoanalytic ideas, especially the conflict between father and son, are presaged in other Greek myths. In Hesiod's *Theogony*[193] (composed circa 700 BC) Freud found a vivid account of the origins of the gods. In this narrative of violence and retribution, in which divine forces struggle against each other for succession, treachery, castration, incest and sexual licence abound. These patterns of desire and dominance are again repeated, albeit in considerably more muted form, in Freud's concept of the nuclear family. Many of the themes in psychoanalysis mirror Hesiod's cosmological vision of the Titanic clash of generations. According to Hesiod, in the beginning there was Chaos out of which arose Gaea and then Eros, who presided over the formation of the material world. Gaea bore Uranus and later coupled with her son to produce the first race – the Titans. Uranus, fearing a prediction which said that he would be overthrown by his sons, regarded his offspring with horror and locked them away in the bowels of the earth. Distraught by these events, Gaea sought the help of her last-born son Kronos. With a sickle devised by his mother, Kronos castrated his father and from his mutilated

[191] 'Enter for here too are gods'. Freud uses this quote in *An autobiographical study. A*ccording to Strachey (S.E. 20:13) Freud quoted these words in a letter to Fliess (December 4, 1896) as a 'proud motto' for a chapter on the psychology of hysteria in a book that he was planning (but never wrote). This quote was also used by Lessing as a motto for his play *Natan der Weise*. Aristotle, in *De partib. nimal.* (1,5,) attributes it in its Greek form to Heraclitus.

[192] A quick glance at the some of the mythical figures that Freud alludes to in his work will give some idea of the richness of this source. : They include Achilles, Adonis, Agamemnon, Aphrodite, Apollo, Ariadne, Artemis, Artemis-Hecate, Athena, Attis, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, Clytemnestra, Demeter, Dionysus, Eros, the Fates or the Moerae, Ganymede, Heracles, Iphigenia, Janus, Jocasta, Kronos, Medusa, Minos, Narcissus, the Nausicaä, Odysseus, Oedipus, Orestes, Orpheus, Persephone, Perseus, Priapus, Prometheus, Sisyphus, Theseus, and Zeus.

[193] Θεογονια (*theogonia)* meaning the birth of the gods, which describes the origins and genealogies of the gods.

genitals sprang the Furies, the Giants as well as Aphrodite. Kronos in turn raped his sister Rhea, who produced three daughters, Hestia, Demeter and Hera, and three sons, Poseidon, Hades, and Zeus. Kronos, like his father before him, feared he would be supplanted by one of his sons and accordingly swallowed each of his children as it was born.

In the *Interpretation of Dreams* Freud recalls Kronos, the old Titan god, to illustrate the hostility between father and son. He writes:

> Alike in the lowest and in the highest strata of human society filial piety is wont to give way to other interests. The obscure information which is brought to us by mythology and legend from the primaeval ages of human society gives an unpleasing picture of the father's despotic power and of the ruthlessness with which he made use of it. Kronos devoured his children just as a boar devours the sow's litter (S.E.4:256).

According to Hesiod, the etymology of the name "Titan" is derived from the word "to stretch out" and refers to the fact that the sons stretched out their hand against their father (Guirand 1979). Freud's acceptance of the Kronos myth as a foundational expression of father and son enmity is supported by Dodds (1951). In discussing castration in mythic construction he writes:

> but the father-castration motive is hardly a natural, and certainly not a necessary, element in such a myth. I find its presence in the Hittite and Greek theogonies difficult to explain otherwise than as a reflex of unconscious human desires. Confirmation of this view may perhaps be seen in the birth of Aphrodite from the severed member of the old god (Hesiod, Theog. 188 ff.) which can be read as symbolising the son's attainment of sexual freedom through removal of his father-rival. What is certain is that in the Classical Age the Kronos stories were frequently appealed to as a precedent for unfilial conduct (Dodds 1951:61).[194]

The Olympian god Zeus was also forced to flee his father and was hidden in the forests of Ida. He managed to survive and on reaching manhood he returned to punish his father. Castration in Greek mythology is not uncommon and Freud, in his discussion of this myth, was under the impression that Zeus also castrated his father. In a footnote added in 1909 he states "or so he is reported to have

[194] The use of Dodds' quote in this discussion is a good example of the circular nature of modern classical discourse. Freud's theories have obviously influenced Dodd's' interpretation of myth although this is not spelled out in the text. In quoting Dodds in this manner I am in fact using him to justify Freud. Yet Dodds is using Freudian theory to understand these mythic structures. The whole discourse is thus in many ways tainted.

done according to some myths. According to others, emasculation was only carried out by Kronos on his father Uranus" (S.E. 4:256).

The first appearance of the term "castration complex" is linked to the theme of these classical myths and legends. Freud claims:

> Legends and myths testify to the upheaval in the child's emotional life and to the horror which is linked with the castration complex – a complex which is subsequently remembered by consciousness with corresponding reluctance (S.E. 9:217).

The great battle that took place between the Titans and the Olympians is about filial insurrection, the overthrow of the old order by the new. Zeus, the son, takes his father's place and drives the Titans out of heaven. In these structural elements Freud believed he had discerned a universal pattern that is replicated in each individual's life. In attempting to understand the dynamics of the family Freud did not need to look any further than the house of Atreus with its narratives of parricide, matricide, sibling rivalry and incest.

Greek tragedy is remarkable for the amount of violence that takes place between children and their parents. Blundell (1999) in discussing the family dynamics found in Greek literature gives the following examples of family murder in classical drama: Parent/child murder is recorded between Agamemnon and Ephigenia, Argave and Pentheus, and Medea and her sons. Conversely, child/parent murder is evidenced in the myths of Oedipus and Laius, and Orestes and Clytemnestra. In the ancient myths of creation one finds a veritable cornucopia of unrepressed instincts (Caldwell 1989).[195] Freud argued that human desire is projected onto the gods and heroes of antiquity and that the myths of Greece articulate in narrative form the repressions, anxieties and guilt that rage in the human heart. In "*Obsessions and Religion*" (1907) he writes:

> In the development of the ancient religions one seems to discern that many things which mankind had renounced as 'iniquities' had been surrendered to the Deity and were still permitted in his name, so that handing over to him of bad and socially harmful instincts was the means by which man freed himself from their domination. For this reason, it is surely no accident that all the

[195] Caldwell (1989) makes this point in his discussion of Hesiod's Theogony.

> attributes of man, along with the misdeeds that follow from them, were to an unlimited amount ascribed to the ancient gods. Nor is it a contradiction of this that nevertheless man was not permitted to justify his own iniquities by appealing to divine example. A progressive renunciation of constitutional instincts, whose activation might afford the ego primary pleasure, appears to be one of the foundations of the development of human civilization. Some part of this instinctual repression is effected by its religions, in that they require the individual to sacrifice his instinctual pleasure to the Deity: 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord' (S.E. 9:127).

The gods of Greece are inconsistent in their dealings with each other and with humankind. They subscribed to codes of conduct that have little to do with the strivings of mere mortals, and their libidinal instincts are both accepted and satisfied. They were not required to censor their desires through the mechanisms of repression, denial, introjection, displacement or sublimation. On Olympus the id could reign supreme, unfettered by the ego or the superego. Fathers could devour their sons; and sons could castrate their fathers.

Medusa and female sexuality

In a letter to Jung (August 1908) Freud wrote:

> One thing and another have turned my thoughts to mythology and I am beginning to suspect that myth and neurosis have a common core (McGuire 1991:122).

The "common core" that Freud claimed to have discovered in both myth and neurosis was that of sexuality. In the myth of Medusa, Freud again returned to the problem of castration and explored the male fear of genital castration, along with the terror occasioned in males when confronted with the female genitals. Freud approaches this myth from his theoretical position on female sexuality. He argues that the penis is an essential component of every child's self image. All children, according to Freud, start out believing that both males and females are endowed with a penis. When they perceive that there are anatomical differences between the sexes, they immediately attribute the female lack of a penis to castration. Females believe they are castrated and desire a penis. Little boys, on the other hand, are filled with terror at the prospect of losing the penis. It is this fear of castration, asserts Freud, and the prohibitions against incest with the mother, that eventually lead to the boy's resolution of the Oedipus complex.

Explicit in this theory is the unrelenting belief that women are nothing more than castrated men, and that the sight of this mutilation causes horror, particularly in the male. The Medusa myth is used by Freud to support his theories about early sexual identity and the anxieties that accompany it. As such this myth functions as an interpretation of a mythological theme rather than a grounding myth such as that of Oedipus. "*The Medusa's Head*" is dated May 14th 1922 and, according to Strachey, appears to have been a sketch for a more extensive work. It was first published in 1940 and since then it has gained iconic status, particularly among poststructuralist feminists like Cixous[196] and Irigaray. Medusa was one of the three Gorgons and the only mortal daughter of Phorcys and Ceto. The most common version of the myth is it that Athena turned Medusa into a snake-haired monster for violating her sanctuary. According to Apollodorus however, Medusa and her sisters came into the world with snakes on their heads instead of hair. Any man who looked upon Medusa was immediately turned to stone, literally petrified. Medusa's power was so great that Athena eventually begged the great hero Perseus to destroy the Gorgon. Perseus journeyed to Medusa's home on an island off Libya and, aided by Athena, finally succeeded in decapitating Medusa. This was accomplished in the following manner. A mirror shield, given to Perseus by Athena, allowed him to see the reflected image of the Gorgon without looking directly upon her. He thus avoided being turned to stone. Having escaped petrifaction, Perseus was able to cut off Medusa's head with a *harpa* (a sickle). He then escaped the island with Medusa's bleeding head[197] and gave it to Athena. Because Medusa's head still retained the same power to petrify men, the goddess placed it in the centre of her aegis to arouse horror and fear in her enemies.

For centuries, the paradoxes and ambiguities inherent in the myth of Medusa have haunted the imagination of artists and poets. In Hesiod's *Theogony,* she is the guardian of the nocturnal borders of the underworld, and she appears in Dante's *Divine Comedy* and in Milton's *Paradise Lost* as well as in Goethe's *Faust* (Brunel 1996). As Freud was well aware, Medusa's head is frequently

[196] See Helene Cixous et al. (1976) "The Laugh of the Medusa".
[197] According to the myth, the drops of blood that spurted from the wound gave birth to the snakes that infest Africa.

represented in works of art and in antiquity her image is found on numerous coins. Caravaggio, Cellini and the Flemish artists immortalised her on canvas and in stone and she has fascinated Romantic and Modern poets alike. Part of this fascination lies in her ability to represent the 'other'. Medusa is both a beautiful woman and a monster, violator and violated, she evokes both seduction and horror. This "otherness" of the feminine is captured in Freud's analysis of the myth. For him the horror that is evoked in seeing Medusa's decapitated head is linked to the same horror felt by men on seeing a woman's genitals. Freud argues that:

> to decapitate = to castrate. The terror of Medusa is thus a terror of castration that is linked to the sight of something. Numerous analyses have made us familiar with the occasion for this: it occurs when a boy, who has hitherto been unwilling to believe the threat of castration, catches sight of the female genitals, probably those of an adult, surrounded by hair, and essentially those of his mother (S.E. 18:273).

The snakes that frame Medusa's head (think for example of the famous painting by Caravaggio) are derived, according to Freud, from the castration complex. Although snakes may represent an ancient fear, they also symbolise, according to Freudian analysis, the phallus. In Freud's system of interpretation, a multiplication of penis symbols signifies castration. In mythology, males who are confronted by Medusa are turned to stone. According to Freud this stiffing of terror in the male is similar in affect to the erection of the penis when a subject is confronted with fear. This erection offers some consolation as the subject is reminded that he is still in possession of his penis. Freud's extensive knowledge of Greek mythology informs and is an integral part of his analysis. He is aware, for example, that Athena's use of the Gorgon's head constitutes an apotropaic act:

> The symbol of horror is worn upon her dress by the virgin goddess Athene. And rightly so, for thus she becomes a woman who is unapproachable and repels all sexual desires – since she displays the terrifying genitals of the Mother…If Medusa's head takes the place of representation of the female genitals, or rather isolates their horrifying effects from their pleasure-giving ones, it may be recalled that displaying the genitals is familiar in other connections as an apotropaic act (S.E. 18:273-274).

According to Graves (1966) Athena's aegis was made, either from the skin of her father, Pallas, a winged goatish giant, whom she flayed after he tried to rape her, or from the flayed skin of Medusa. Graves states that it would have been death for a man to remove an aegis – the goat-skin chastity-tunic worn by Libyan girls –without the owner's consent; hence the prophylactic Gorgon mask set above it (Graves 1966). This statement by Graves indicates the relationship between female genitals and Medusa's head. The Gorgon's head, placed on the protective aegis, is in Freudian terms a symbol of the female vagina. It protected the wearer's chastity by forcing men to recoil in awe and terror. The severed head of the snake-haired Medusa symbolises the *vagina dentata*, the quintessential representation of the male fear of the female and of castration. Some support for Freud's analysis of this myth is offered by Camille Dumoulié (in Brunel 1996) and Graves (1966), who both read this myth as an illustration of the conflict between men and women. Many of the heroes in antiquity are required to kill a female monster.[198] Goux (2004) claims that not only do these terrifying beings have similar roles to play, but they are also related in terms of mythic genealogy.[199] It is Goux's thesis that these monsters represent the mother, and it is only by murdering this dangerous, dark, feminine force, that the hero is able to liberate himself and freely choose a bride.[200]

While the above discussion makes it evident that there is some congruence between Freud's interpretation of the myth and those of other scholars, the equation of female sexuality with male horror is contentious:

> When a little boy first catches sight of a girl's genital region, he begins by showing irresolution and lack of interest: he sees nothing or disavows what he has seen, he softens it down or looks about for expedients for bringing it into line with his expectations. It is not until later, when some threat of castration has obtained hold upon him, that the observation becomes important to him: if

[198] Oedipus must overcome the Sphinx; Bellerophon the Chimaera; and Jason the monster guarding the Golden Fleece
[199] The Chimaera, the Sphinx and the Colchis dragon are all children of the snake-woman Echidna, and they all, including the Gorgons, are descendants of Phorcys and Ceto.
[200] In "Infantile Genital Organization", written before "The Medusa's Head" (published posthumously in 1940), Freud argues, "what is indicated in the myth is the mother's genitals. Athene, who carries Medusa's head on her armour, becomes in consequence the unapproachable woman, the sight of whom extinguishes all thought of a sexual approach" (S.E. 19:144).

> he then recollects or repeats it, it arouses a terrible storm of emotion in him and forces him to believe in the reality of the threat which he has hitherto laughed at. This combination of circumstances leads to two reactions, which may become fixed and will in that case, whether separately or together or in conjunction with other factors, permanently determine the boy's relations to women: horror of the mutilated creature or triumphant contempt for her (S.E.17:252).

The horror of the feminine is palpable in this analysis. Freud asserts that there are only two reactions available to a male when "he catches sight of a girl's genital region" - "horror of the mutilated creature or triumphant contempt for her". This controversial assertion can be interpreted in a number of ways, all of them complex and all of them interconnected. At the simplest and most superficial level, it can be read as a remark made by a professional bourgeois male successfully entrenched in a patriarchal culture that sanctions these views. More challenging is Freud's claim that:

> Since the Greeks were in the main strongly homosexual, it was inevitable that we should find among them a representation of woman as a being who frightens and repels because she is castrated (S.E. 18:274).

Significantly, Freud tends to view every male's reaction to the vulva in terms of a homosexual orientation.[201] It is not only a fear of castration; it is also the horror of the female genitals that cause men to recoil. Homosexual aversion to female sexuality thus becomes the mirror through which this myth is refracted and interpreted by Freud. If beauty is to be found in the "plenitude" of the Greek male sculpture it is little wonder that, according to Freud, the factors that "permanently determine the boy's relations to women" – "horror of the mutilated creature or triumphant contempt of her" are the only reaction to the anatomical distinction between the sexes. Freud's homosexual fear of Medusa and all she stands for - the feminine, the other; the bleeding woman - calls into question Freud's theory of female sexuality. The "erect male organ" which Freud associates with petrifaction

[201] In "Infantile Genital Organization" Freud writes, "We know, too to what a degree depreciation of women, horror of women, and a disposition to homosexuality are derived from the final conviction that women have no penis" (S.E.19: 144).

in the myth, is according to Freud a symbolic way of saying "I am not afraid of you. I defy you. I have a penis" (S.E.18:274) and is in reality a triumphant rejection of the female.

Another interpretation is also available. Freud's religious upbringing would have placed extremely strict taboos upon female menstruation. Freud claims that the Medusa's head isolates "the horrifying effects" of the female genitals "from their pleasure-giving ones". In many cultures women have been subjected to negative characterisations, and some religions reify these attitudes into restrictive codes. The Jewish law (halakah) maintains that women are unclean and contaminated during their menstruation (the laws of niddah).[202] These restrictions imply that women are a potential source of pollution and disorder and that this must be regulated (Hartman and Marmon 2004). This code of practice regulates "the horrifying effects" of the female genitals by placing them under the control of a powerful, male rabbinic elite. Freud's equation of the mutilated, decapitated head of Medusa with the female genitals may symbolise his concerns regarding female menstruation especially as the ritual injunctions of impurity during this period ordain that women are unapproachable and repel all sexual desire. The ancient Greeks did not deny female sexuality - it is often portrayed as excessive and unrestrained. Women, unlike their male counterparts, were considered to lack self-control (Foucault 1986; Doherty 2001). The paradox that existed between the concept of women as keepers of the hearth, wives and mothers, and the inherent sexuality of the female, often led to their demonisation in Greek mythology. [203] Freud alludes to these female monsters of antiquity when he discusses his role as a psychologist of female hysteria. Although Freud presents himself as a humble man of science, "I have always avoided acting a part, and have contented myself with practising the humbler arts of psychology" (S.E. 7:109), he later elevates the "humbler arts of psychology" into a heroic struggle:

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[202]. It is forbidden for a man to have intercourse with a niddah for five days during their menstruation and seven days after the bleeding has ceased. Jewish feminists claim that these laws oppress and degrade women and their bodies.
[203] Compare Echidna, Hydra, the Sphinx, the Sirens, the Chimaera, the Gorgons, the Erinnyes, Charybdis and Scylla, and the Harpies.

> No one like me, who conjures up the most evil of those half-tamed demons that inhabit the human breast, and seeks to wrestle with them, can expect to come through the struggle unscathed" (S.E. V11:109).

Freud stood at the boundaries between madness and civilisation, between male and female. Not surprisingly, these boundaries have always been seen in ancient Greece as the realm of female monsters and demons. As a psychologist Freud identifies himself with the role of a classical hero, Jason, Perseus, Bellerophon and Oedipus, but instead of swords and shields, it is his science that allows him to master the monsters that reside within his elite, female clientele.

The chthonic gods

The chthonic gods of Greece are also present in Freud's work - Hecate, Minos, Hades, Persephone and the Eumenides. Like Nietzsche before him, Freud finds the fissures that crack open beneath our feet. There is no life without death, light without dark, joy without pain. We may pour libations at the feet of gods and monsters, but these can give us little guarantee in the face of fate. In the end the cycle of sexuality and reproduction leads to the grave. The idea of chthonic gods starts with the epic division of the world into two realms. One realm belongs to the higher gods on Olympus and mortal man; the other is the dark counterpart, the kingdom of Hades (Fairbanks 1900; Downing, 1975). Those who wish to descend to the underworld (Katabasis) to hear the oracular words of the shades did so under severe duress, and in fear and trembling. Freud's epithet at the beginning of *The Interpretation of Dreams* is therefore all the more astonishing - "Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo", translated by Strachey as "If I cannot bend the High Powers, I will move the Infernal Regions".[204] In evoking the underworld, Freud illuminates his project. He will move Acheronta and reveal the abyss that lies beneath the conscious world. The Chthonian world, according to Armstrong (2005), thus becomes a trope for the unconscious.

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[204] Acheronta is a river to the underworld, a subterranean portal to the abyss. According to Fairbanks (1900) the worship of Hades was carried out almost entirely in connection with *Ploutonia*, wild chasms where men felt that an open way led down to the underworld.

Dodds (1951) has remarked that the classical age inherited a whole series of inconsistent pictures of the 'soul' or 'self' derived from different culture-patterns. Alongside the glorious achievements of Greek rationalism there existed another human experience, dominated by the presence of dark, chthonic forces. What lay behind these irrational forces was the old Homeric feeling that things that were outside of man's conscious control and had a force and energy of their own. This "other world" of the Greeks was often neglected or repressed by nineteenth-century rationalism. Freud was not primarily concerned with the rational behaviour of human beings.[205] His area of expertise lay in that which was repressed, forced down into the unconscious, a world of shades and dreams and forgotten memory, a domain that was very akin to the subterranean world of the Greeks (Starobinski 1987). How compelling, both literally and psychologically, these "subterranean realms" were for Freud can be gauged from the following passage written in April 1898 to Fliess:

> In the morning we went to Rudolf's Cave, a quarter-of-an-hour from the station, which is filled with all sorts of curious stalactite formations, giant horsetail, pyramid cakes, tusks growing upwards, curtains, corncobs, richly folded tents, hams and poultry hanging from the above. Strangest of all was our guide, in a deep alcoholic stupor, but completely surefooted and full of humor. He was the discoverer of the cave, obviously a genius gone wrong; constantly spoke of his death, his conflicts with the priests, and his conquests in these subterranean realms. When he said he had already been in thirty-six "holes" in the Carso I realized he was a neurotic and his conquistador exploits were an erotic equivalent. A few minuets later he confirmed this, because when Alex asked him how far one could penetrate into the cave, he answered, "It's like with a virgin; the farther you get, the more beautiful it is. ...The caves of St. Cangian which we saw in the afternoon, are a gruesome miracle of nature, a subterranean river running through magnificent vaults, waterfalls, stalactite formations, pitch darkness, and slippery paths secured by iron railings. It was Tartarus itself. If Dante saw anything like this, he needed no great effort of the imagination for his Inferno (Masson 1995:309).

Freud's fascination is palpable. The Rudolf caves, according to him, resemble Tartarus himself, and immediately evoke in him images of Eros and Thanatos. In contrasting his work in psychology with Fliess' subject, biology, Freud writes, "you deal in light, not darkness, with the sun and not the

[205] Surrealists embraced Freud's work because of his interest in dreams and madness. Freud, always a conservative when it came to literary tastes, received their homage with caution (Descombes in Bouveress 1995).

unconscious". Like Orpheus, Freud ventured into the underworld to explore the realms of the unconscious. This was the terrain he had mapped for himself when he first became interested in the cause and treatment of hysteria. Often what he found in the psyche of his patients came closer to Hades than to Heaven, and had more to do with monsters than with gods.

Dionysian myth and the irrational

> Freud went back to madness at the level of its language, reconstituted one of the essential elements of an experience reduced to silence by positivism; he did not make a major addition to the list of psychological treatments for madness; he restored in medical thought, the possibility of a dialogue with unreason (Derrida 1998:81).

Psychoanalytic theory, as developed by Freud, claims to provide a conceptual framework within which to describe and understand irrationality (Davidson 1982).[206] Freud, like Groddeck, claimed that we are "lived" by incontrollable forces; the conscious is only the surface of the mental apparatus (S.E.19:19). These forces make themselves known in dreaming, in slips of the tongue and in psychopathology. The unconscious of his earlier formulations is later given the name "das Es"-"the it" and was first used by Freud in 1923. The id is described by Freud as a "psychical underworld", and we can only approach this region indirectly, "we approach the id with analogies: we call it a chaos, a cauldron full of seething excitations" (SE 22:73). The id[207] according to Freud is the deepest, darkest and most inaccessible part of our personality, "It is energy, but has no organisation, only a striving to bring about its own satisfaction" (22:73). The pre-historic nature of the id can be gauged from how closely Freud's description resembles the ancient cosmogonies in their presentation of the origin and differentiation of the world out of chaos. Hesiod's *Theogony* for example begins "Chaos was first of all". In Freud's structural typology the ego develops out of the id and is in turn followed by the development of the superego, the heir to the Oedipus complex.

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[206] The philosophical problems that present themselves in Freud's concept of the id as a topological structure cannot be discussed in the thesis. Suffice it to say that it is open to a number of different interpretations and criticisms (see Grunbaum 2001).

[207] In the *"New introductory Lectures"* Freud used the term id for the unconscious following a verbal usage of Nietzsche's (22:72). Freud's concept of the id is, however, far more complex. The id, according to Laplanche and Pontalis (1988:197), "constitutes the instinctual pole of the personality; its contents, as an expression of the instincts, are unconscious, a portion of them being hereditary and innate, a portion repressed and acquired".

Despite these chaotic qualities Freud still maintained that one could have a "dialogue with unreason". The exploration of the irrational in human behaviour is one of the decisive contributions made by Freud. In his attempt to articulate this subterranean world Freud had at his disposal the rich legacy left behind by ancient Greece.

Freud, perhaps consciously, avoided terms such as "Apollian" and "Dionysian" in his theoretical writing, but he was very well aware of the hidden underground of the classical - the ecstatic and orgiastic cult of Dionysus. The correspondence between Freud and Jung deals with this subject at length and in one letter Jung confesses to Freud that he is balanced so precariously on the fence between the Dionysian and the Apollonian that it might be worthwhile for him to retreat into a monastery to gain his equilibrium. Both Freud and Nietzsche identified the irrational as an important correlate of human experience, and both men understood the fructifying power of myth to articulate their concerns regarding man and the irrational. When considering the role of Greek mythology in Freud's work, it is important to always bear in mind the impact of Nietzsche's legacy in Germany, where from the beginning of the nineteen nineties it had become a compelling force. To underestimate the power of his presence in Freud's world would be a serious lacuna in this discussion [208] for there is little doubt that Freud's understanding of myth and the manner in which it highlights and amplifies the irrational aspects of humanity shared some ground with Nietzsche's vision of Greece.

It is important to chart the development of the Dionysiac tradition in order to show that Freud could not have avoided the Dionysian aspects of ancient Greece, even though he claimed that he did not read Nietzsche. This he claimed was a conscious decision made to avoid any intellectual contamination of his thought given the similarities in their approach to so many psychological domains. Whether this is entirely true is open to debate. Given, however, the presence of the "Dionysian" in German thought, Freud would have found it impossible to avoid exposure to this

[208] For a through examination of Nietzsche's legacy in Germany see Aschheim (1992).

topos. And it is in this topos that Freud would have encountered many of the irrational elements that so concerned him in his study of hysteria. Henrichs (1984) argues that the modern study of Dionysus begins in 1872 with *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872). In this publication, Nietzsche[209] set out to investigate the orgiastic rites associated with Dionysus, the goat sacrifice *(tragoidia),* which he argued lay at the root of our Western dramatic tradition. In trying to understand the "tragic vision" of the Greeks he revealed another Greece, a Greece that not only extolled the virtues of moderation, simplicity and rationality, but one that understood pain and suffering - a Greece of orgies, lust, sex and violence. In the satyr Nietzsche found "the harbinger of wisdom from the very breast of nature, a symbol of nature's sexual omnipotence" and throughout his work he glorified the sexual potency of these symbols of fertility (Nietzsche 1969). Nietzsche however, was not the first to explore the irrational elements in Greek antiquity.[210] Today when we speak of the "Dionysian", we are generally referring to the semantic context which was given to it by Nietzsche, but as Baeumer (1976) argues, Nietzsche's assertion that he was the first to discover the Dionysian is little more than rhetorical exaggeration. Before Nietzsche, the phallic and sexual nature of Greek religion and culture had already been noted by German classicists and poets and integrated into the corpus of their work. Winckelmann, Hamann and Herder formulated the concept of the Dionysian at a far earlier date than Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*, and it is in the writings of the German Romantics - Novalis, Hölderlin, Heine, Herder and Goethe - that the *topos* "Dionysus" first receives its full significance. Indeed, Baeumer (1976) attributes the first use of the word "Dionysian" to Goethe.[211]

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[209] Nietzsche writes about Greece and the Dionysian "today almost everything in this field still remains undiscovered and unexcavated by philologists! Especially the problem that there is a problem here – and that the Greeks, as long as we have no answer to the question 'what is Dionysiac?' will remain entirely unrecognised and unimaginable" (Nietzsche 1969:107).

[210] Dionysian refers to the semantic context that was given to it by Nietzsche. Baeumer (1976) points out that modern authors have derived their knowledge of the Dionysian and its antithetic concept Apollonian from Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*, but that these terms should not be uncritically accepted. He points to both Vogel *Apollinisch und Dionysisch: Geschicte eines genialen Irrtums*, and E.R. Dodds *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) as examples that reject Nietzsche's "Apollonian-Dionysian" concept as completely 'un-Greek' Baeumer (1976). Instead of opposition one should rather see a dialectical relationship between the two concepts.

[211] Baeumer writes, "Müller is the first to apply the adjective "Dionysian" consistently and with far greater frequency than "Bacchic", after Goethe had introduced the word "Dionysian" – probably the first to do so, even though only in passing" (Baeumer 1976:182).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century classicists such as Joseph Görres and Ludwig Preller explored the role of Dionysus in religion, ecstatic poetry and mythology and despite his controversial status, George Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858) dominated much of the discussion around the concept of the Dionysian. According to Noll (1996) one of the reasons for Creuzer's popularity lay in the fact that his work was one of the first comprehensive and scholarly sources of information about the ancient mystery cults of the Graeco-Roman world. Creuzer's work was widely disseminated in Germanic culture throughout the nineteenth century and, whether they agreed with him or not, successive generations of German scholars built their ideas about Hellenic antiquity upon this foundation. Creuzer's publication *Dionysus, or Learned Commentaries on the Origins and Causes of the Bacchus and Orphic Mysteries* first appeared in Latin in 1807. Over the next twenty-six years Creuzer published a four-volume work *Symbolism and Mythology of the Ancient Nations, Especially the Greeks* in German that attempted to trace the cults of Dionysus and the mysteries back to India (Baeumer 1976). How important Creuzer was in developing the concept of the Dionysiac can be seen from the fact that Nietzsche borrowed Creuzer from the library of the University of Basel in 1871 at the same time that he was writing *The Birth of Tragedy* (Baeumer 1976:187) and Jung read Creuzer before embarking on *Wandlungen und symbole der Libido*. The new Romantic conception of the Dionysian, even when the authors intentionally distanced themselves from Creuzer, can also found in the handbooks of Greek archaeology appearing around the middle of the nineteenth century. This tradition also permeated philosophy and, according to Baeumer, the writing of Hegel and Schelling is closely bound up with the development and significance of the Dionysian in classical philology and mythology. Although it has been argued that Nietzsche did not discover the Dionysian element in Greek thought (Baeumer 1976) there is little doubt that Nietzsche was the first to bring this controversial insight into the public domain. He exposed much of the ignorance surrounding classical studies and particularly the false idealisation of the humanity of the Greeks (O'Flaherty 1976). By discerning beneath the world of "sweetness and

light" the world of the irrational, an underworld of passion, pain and terror, Nietzsche challenged not only classical philology in Germany, but also the foundations of *Bildung*. Most importantly, his view of Greek tragedy rejected all attempts to see the Greeks as examples of rational perfection.

Who was Dionysus?

References to Dionysus and his worship exist as early as Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns,[212] and his rites continued well into the imperial Roman period (Kraemer 1979). Like any other Greek god, Dionysus must be seen as a composite figure whose identity was often changed or modified. The effete, gluttonous and ridiculous character of Dionysus often represented in Old Comedy[213] (Segal 1961) bears little resemblance to the Dionysus of post-Nietzschean, structuralist writers such as Girard and Detienne who emphasise the themes of violence, blood-shed and cannibalism (Henrichs 1984). These conflicting representations of Dionysus can best be understood as a response to the ambiguous nature of the god.[214] Some writers propose a distinction between a "light" Dionysus - god of the woods, fertility and wine, of vitality, the mask and the theatre, and a "dark" Dionysus or Dionysus Zagreus - the madness inducing god of the Bacchae, the god of suffering and. sacrifice. Henrichs (1984) claims that the Greeks themselves tended to regard Dionysus' two sides as inseparable, and worshipped both natures. Most modern writers on Dionysus, unlike the ancient Greeks, tend to concentrate on only one aspect of this "dual-natured god". Henrichs argues that during the first three decades of the nineteenth century poets, philosophers and mythologists such as Schelling, Hölderlin and, Hegel emphasised the romantic and idealised elements of Dionysus. This romantic Dionysus was essentially a product of German

[212] Rohde conceived the theory of Dionysus as a non-Greek - a Thracian god - whose wild rituals encouraged acts of violence among his worshipers and removed their inhibitions. Rohde's thesis of the foreign god saved the reputation of the Greeks and appealed to three successive generations of scholars ranging from Wilamowitz to Nilsson and Dodds until it was eventually disproved by the discovery of Linear-B tablets containing the name of Dionysus in Greek and antedating Rohde's Thracian import by half a millennium (Henrichs 225).

[213] Aristophanes' (1974) *The Frogs*.

[214] The complex nature of Dionysus can be seen in the numerous representations of the god. He is often depicted as a young child, a smooth-faced androgynous man or a bearded mature figure. Most familiar is the portrayal of Dionysus as a young man draped in fawn-skins, surrounded by maenads, nymphs and satyrs. Dionysus is associated with a number of symbols including the panther and fertility motifs such as the wine cup, the grape cluster and ivy vine (Kraemer 1979).

"Geist", turning Dionysus' traditional identity as a wine god in human shape into an abstract concept - Dionysus became the "Dionysian", and the god of wine became a metaphor for the unlimited realisation of their innermost creative powers. These themes are developed by Nietzsche and were later extended by Rohde and Dodds.

This psychological approach to Dionysiac religion stresses the liminal nature of the Dionysian, - sexual roles are often reversed, sexual mores overturned, and boundaries dissolved.[215] Because these rites could be attended by anyone, it has often been seen as an important cult for the dispossessed, especially women (Kraemer 1979; Henrichs 1984). Dodds (1951) claims that the *oreibasia* (a nocturnal gathering of women in praise of Dionysus)[216] may originally have developed out of spontaneous attacks of mass hysteria. By canalising such hysteria the Dionysiac cult kept such emotions within bounds and gave it a relatively harmless outlet (Dodds 1951:272).

The psychological element in modern classical discourse owes a debt to Nietzsche and later to Freud. Wheelwright (1966) summed up this debt when he wrote,

> The Nietzschean rehabilitation of Dionysus, backed by such related German theories as Schopenhauer's philosophy of the will and von Hartmann's of the unconscious, and subsequently by the experimental approach to unconscious phenomena associated largely with the name of Freud, encouraged a disposition to look for non-rational mental factors in the interpretation of human phenomena (Wheelwright 1966:251).

While modern classical discourse has certainly been deeply influenced by Freudian interpretation, it is important to make the point that Freud owes a similar debt to the classical tradition. Greek mythology contains numerous references to gods and individuals possessed by madness. The Bacchae, the maenads, as well as many of the women in Greek tragedy - such as Medea and Phaedra - are all portrayed as beings who at one time or another succumb to madness. Dodds (1951) isolates

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[215] Kraemer (1979) asserts that the principal object of liminal ritual is to create "communitas." During these rituals the community is stripped of all social barriers and social distinctions so that members of the community can experience one another "concretely" as equals.

[216] Literal translation of "oreibasia" is "mountain-treading". Euripides' *The Bacchae* provides one of the most famous examples of frenzied possession by the god Dionysus: "Aguë was foaming at the mouth, her eyes were rolling wildly. She was not in her right mind; she was under the power of Dionysus; and she would not listen to him. She gripped his right arm between wrist and elbow; she set her foot against his ribs; and she tore his arm off his shoulder. It was not her strength that did it; the god was in her fingers and made it easy" (Euripides 1971:217).

four types of madness to be found in Greek culture; prophetic madness, telestic madness, poetic madness and erotic madness. Prophetic madness fell under the auspices of the god Apollo - the Pythia at Delphi is the most famous example of this form of madness, but individuals like Cassandra, Bakis, and the Sibyl were all believed to have prophesied in a state of possession. Dionysus[217] was the patron of telestic or ritual madness. The aim of his cult was *ecstasis*, and this could be anything from drinking too much wine, wild orgiastic dancing, or sexual excess to a profound alteration in personality. Poetic madness, inspired by the Muses, was seen as indispensable to the production of the best poetry. Set apart from common humanity, the poet was seen to be in a state of heightened awareness and filled with divine inspiration. Finally there is erotic madness inspired by Aphrodite and Eros.

Kraemer (1979) argues that Dionysiac possession served to redress some of the grievances of oppressed women in male-dominated societies. She claims that it was able to function precisely because the men recognised, at least up to a point, the legitimacy of the women's grievances and thus permitted the syndrome to go on. If Dodd's and Kraemer's analysis of Dionysiac ritual among disenfranchised women is correct, then Freud's hysterical patients were seeking much the same outlet for frustration and anxiety as Dionysiac ritual and Corybantic treatment.[218] Dodds writes:

> If I understand early Dionysiac ritual aright, its social function was essentially cathartic, in the psychological sense: it purged the individual of those infectious irrational impulses which, when dammed up, had given rise, as they have done in other cultures, to outbreaks of dancing mania and similar manifestations of collective hysteria (Dodds 1951:76).

Nietzsche's privileging of Dionysiac ritual made female ecstasy and possession a dominant trope in the nineteenth century discussion in classical studies. One can only assume that Freud, with his interest in hysteria and female sexuality, would have found in this aspect of Greek myth and ritual

[217] In one of the three Homeric hymns to Dionysus he is called by the epithet "gynaimanes," he who drives women *insane* (Kraemer 1979).
[218] The malady which the Corybantes professed to cure is said by Plato to consist in 'anxiety-feelings arising from some morbid mental condition' (Dodds 1951:78).

added inspiration and knowledge. In noting the affinities between psychoanalytic practice and Dionysian madness, Kraemer (1979) claims that

> in the cult of Dionysus, where the god plays the role both of afflicter and of healer, it is perhaps not insignificant to note that Dionysus was himself considered in the myths to have been originally driven mad by Hera, prior to his affliction of Greek women. It is further interesting to note that psychoanalytic theory, based on nonempirical constructs of id, ego and superego, or in the Jungian system, anima and animus, appears to be not so much objective reality based on our scientific advancement and superiority so much as the only acceptable explanation for such activities and phenomena, given a rationalistic society in which demons and dead ancestors no longer fit the bill. Perhaps the most interesting connection here is that just as the shaman or exorcist is usually (as a preliminary qualification) the prior victim of possession and presumably cured, so also do we require our modern day analysts themselves to undergo the process of analysis (Kraemer 1979:75).

Madness and ecstasy were the flipside of reason, a Dionysiac response to the Apollian, and as Freud well knew often the only way that civilisation could ease and reconcile its discontents. Freud never succumbed to the Dionysian. The dissolution of boundaries between the self and others, madness and sanity that formed so much a part of Dionysiac ecstasy and other Greek mysteries, held no personal attraction for him, and he confessed that he could not discover this "oceanic" feeling in himself (S.E.21:64). In his understanding of the irrational, Freud was a rationalist, and above all an observer of human nature. Fascinated by the phenomena that manifest themselves on the boundaries of human experience, he attempted to trace such feelings back to the early phase of ego-feeling. He introduced his own system of knowledge - the unconscious, phylogenetic survival and hysteria - to account for these ancient feelings that still form a large part of the experience of mankind.

Other myths

> Without myth every culture loses the healthy natural power of its creativity; only a horizon defined by myths completes and unifies a whole cultural movement. Myth alone saves all the powers of the imagination and of the Apollonian dream from their wanderings. The images of myth must be the daemonic guardians, omnipresent and unnoticed, which protect the young mind, and guide man's interpretation of his life and struggles (Nietzsche 1993:109).

Freud uses the vehicle of myth to be both that of which he speaks, and that out of which he speaks (to use a phrase from Derrida (1996). He makes copious use of other mythological figures throughout his writing. Some of these figures feature prominently, others receive little more than a brief mention. The Titan gods, Atlas and Sisyphus, are hardly referred to but Prometheus, the creator of mankind,[219] plays a more important role. In Freud's paper on "The Acquisition of Fire" the Prometheus myth is used to illustrate the connection between fire and micturition. Unlike the myth of Oedipus, the Promethean myth is painstakingly analysed in the same way that Freud would analyse a dream. Here psychoanalysis is advanced to understand the myth, and the theory is used as a tool of understanding. The complex interpretation of the physiological and psychological association of the two functions of the penis – fire and water/ desire and urination - had been an important theme from Freud's earliest writings. In exploring the mythological connection of fire and the phallus Freud was able to draw upon a number of different myths that again indicate his substantial knowledge of Graeco-Roman mythology. He uses the legend of Servius Tullius (whose mother Ocrisia conceived him from a flame in the shape of a phallus) to illustrate the symbolism of flames of fire and male sexuality. In his discussion of the Phoenix, Freud argues that the myth of the phoenix, a bird that is consumed by fire and emerges rejuvenated once more, signifies the penis revivified after the discharge of libido. He equates the death and resurrection of the phoenix with the Promethean myth in which the liver is daily consumed and renewed as an apt representation "of the behaviour of the erotic desires, which, though daily satisfied, are daily revived" (S.E. 22:190).

Minos and the Labyrinth are first mentioned in a letter to Fliess in 1901 as an example of bull worship. In *New introductory lectures* (1933) Freud interprets the legend of the labyrinth to represent anal birth: the twisting paths are the bowels and Ariadne's thread is the umbilical cord (S.E.22:25). Minos and the labyrinth again crop up in *Moses and Monotheism* (1939) to illustrate lost cultural traditions. All these instances point to the plasticity of Freud's approach to a particular

[219] Prometheus' fashioning of mankind from earth and water is attributed to a fairly late date, but Freud accepted this version of the myth (see S.E. 10:98).

myth, a flexibility that allows him to discover multiple meanings to extend his analysis of human life and consciousness.

Freud's primary interest was always in the "the rule of the father" - the great patriarchal myths of the Olympian age. Although he acknowledged the mother goddesses of the Mediterranean basin in his writings, they always remained peripheral to his concerns, and there was little place for a gynaecocracy in Freud's thinking. This privileging of the masculine (active, powerful) over the feminine (passive, infantile) left Freud with little space for strong maternal figures although it is clear from a number of examples in Freud's text that he was familiar with the prominence of these mother deities in Indo-European myth.[220] Although conversant with *Das Mutterrecht* (1861) by Bachofen, Freud only briefly touched on the institution of matriarchy. This being said, Freud (besides "*The Medusa's head*") devoted two papers to women and myth – "*The Three Caskets*" and "*Great is Diana of the Ephesians*". In "the ancient theme" of the three caskets, Freud attempts to explore the truth underlying the tales of Cordelia, Aphrodite, Cinderella, Portia and Psyche. In all these myths and stories Freud discerns a reversal of meaning by which the figure of death is substituted for that of a beautiful maiden. Relying on his knowledge of the Moerae, Freud suggests that the three caskets represent the three figures of Clotho, Atropos and Lachesis. The Moerae were created as a warning to man that he too is part of nature and thus subject to the immutable law of death. In all these narratives the third sister is, according to Freud, the symbol of man's ultimate fate. The recognition of the truth embodied in the myth of the Moerae forced man, who cannot live with too much reality, to substitute the Goddess of love with that of death.[221] Freud continues:

> The Goddess of Love herself, who now took the place of the Goddess of Death, had once been identical with her. Even the Greek Aphrodite had not wholly relinquished her connection with the underworld, although she had long surrendered her chthonic role to other divine figures, to Persephone, or to the tri-form Artemis-Hecate (S.E.12:301)

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[220] Later, supported by female theorists such as Anna Freud, Melanie Klein and Helene Deutsch, Freud did however admit that he had neglected the role of the mother in early childhood development.

[221] This dual aspect of the Goddess finds its clearest expression later in the dual instincts of Eros and Thanatos.

For Freud, man is inescapably embodied and so inevitably finds himself in relation to the powers of sexuality and death (Downing 1975). The relations that a man has with a woman – the woman who bears him, the woman who is his mate and the woman who destroys him (S.E. 12:300), forms the substance of this paper, and highlights the importance of the triple goddess - virgin, mother, crone in Greek myth. Freud discusses the ancient cult of Artemis, in the Greek city of Ephesus, in a short paper "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" (1911). The main thrust of the paper is to show the continuance of mythological themes such as the mother goddess throughout the centuries.[222] What is curious about this little paper is Freud's reluctance to explore the psychological power of the goddess that allowed her to endure for so many centuries. The endo-psychic power of the myth remains unanalysed, obscured, and transformed into a simple historical account of the various metamorphoses of the goddess.

Psychoanalytic myth

A claim that is often made against psychoanalysis is that it more closely resembles a mythology than a scientific theory. Over the decades many arguments against the status of psychoanalysis as a science have been presented and criticism has often been directed against the belief in the unconscious as a substantive entity, the scientific status of dream interpretation, and the reality of the Oedipus complex. Wittgenstein, for instance, argues that despite its claims, psychoanalysis never arrives at the formulation of causal laws that might be confronted with proper experimental evidence and as such resembles a myth (Bouveresse 1995:52-53). Freud is not unaware of the speculative nature of some of his theorising, as his statement to Einstein makes clear:

> It may perhaps seem to you as though our theories are a kind of mythology and, in the present case, not even an agreeable one. But does not every science come in the end to a kind of mythology like this? Cannot the same be said to-day of your own Physics? (S.E.22:211).

[222] Freud traces the worship of the mother goddess at the temple in Ephesus from its first dedication to Artemis to it later incarnation as a cult site of the Christian Virgin Mary.

Freud's theory of the life and death instincts closely resembles the pre-Socratic thinker, Empedocles [223], and he refers to them as mythology in *New Introductory Lectures* when he states, "the theory of instincts is, so to say, our mythology. Instincts are mythical entities magnificent in their indefiniteness (quoted in Bouveresse 1995:52). Armstrong (2005) argues that it is often when Freud's own theories most differ from those of scientific thinking that one finds mythological elements employed. In analysing Freud's use of Eros and Thanatos, Laplanche and Pontalis (1988) claim that from *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) onwards Freud uses these terms in order to insert his new theory of the instincts into a philosophical and mythical tradition similar to that of Aristophanes' myth in Plato's symposium. Freud, according to Laplanche and Pontalis:

> appeals to metaphysical and Classical mythology in order to embody his psychological and biological speculations in a dualistic concept of a broader scope (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988:447).

Freud's use of the term *Ananke* (Necessity) as the final power, "the strict educator" (S.E.16:355) of the human race, indicates the manner in which "this broader scope" approximates what may be termed mythological. In similar vein, writers have remarked on the close similarity between many of Freud's case histories and those of other narratives, including myth (Starobinski and Meltzer 1987; Downing 1975). Wittgenstein, according to Bouveresse, thought that psychoanalysis was primarily in search of a "good story" that would produce the desired therapeutic effect once it is accepted by the patient. (Bouveresse 1995:53). Although Freud saw psychoanalysis as a scientific theory he nevertheless was well aware of its similarities to myth and narration. As early as Studies *in Hysteria* he remarked:

> I have not always been a psychotherapist. Like other neuro-pathologists, I was trained to employ local diagnoses and electro-prognosis, and it still strikes me myself as strange that the case histories I write should read like short stories and that, as one might say, they lack the serious stamp of science. I must console myself with the reflection that the nature of the subject is evidently responsible for this, rather than any preference of my own. The fact is that local diagnosis and electrical reactions lead nowhere in the study of hysteria, whereas a detailed description of mental processes such as we are accustomed to find in the works of imaginative

[223] Freud (S.E. 23:246) for instance states that the two fundamental principles of Empedocles – love and strife are in name and function the same as his two primal instincts, Eros and destructiveness.

> writers enables me, with the use of a few psychological formulas, to obtain at least some kind of insight into the course of that affection (S.E. 2 160-161).

Freud's response to myth and dream fluctuated throughout the course of his writing. Consistently however, he acknowledged a close correspondence between myth and dream. A quick glance at the some of the mythical figures that Freud alludes to in his work will give some idea of the richness this source

The Germans' obsession with Greek mythology (Hatfield 1943; Butler1958; Williamson 2004), and their need to ground experience in myth, finds expression in the following quotation from Nietzsche:

> What is indicated by the great historical need of unsatisfied modern culture, clutching about for countless other cultures, with its consuming desire for knowledge, if not the loss of myth, the loss of the mythical home, the mythical womb? (Nietzsche 1993:110).

Nietzsche believed that salvation lay in holding fast "to our luminescent guides, the Greeks" (Nietzsche 1993:111). Freud's clinical experience led him to a similar conclusion. While Oedipus dominated his theory, many of the Greek gods became symbols of both conscious and unconscious experience.

CHAPTER 9

GREECE AND THE DISCOURSE ON THE EROTIC

This chapter argues that the classical world played a complex role in the formulations around sexuality in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Many of the questions that were asked by classical scholarship were predicated upon the assumption that there was a common bond, a continuity, between "the Greeks" and modern society. This (supposed) congruence led to the Greek world often being called upon to sanction ideological positions, as in the case of patriarchy and phallocracy. Sometimes however this discourse could also be subversive.

Although, the sexual act may have been placed under an extremely careful regimen in antiquity (Foucault 1998; Dover 1978), the Greeks never shared the deep suspicion that Christianity directed towards the body. Indeed, as their art attests, it always celebrated the beauty of the human form. The acceptance of the erotic as an integral and dynamic part of individual and social life in ancient Greece,was applied by Nietzsche and later by Freud and the early sexologists, to challenge many of moral and sexual precepts of Christianity. Sulloway (1979), and indeed Freud himself, characterised psychoanalysis as developing out of the scientific framework of neurology and psychiatry. While it is true that there was a strong trend towards positivism in German scientific circles, it is also important to bear in mind that the German intellectual climate in the nineteenth century was still one of rationalism, Hellenism and German Romanticism. Winckelmann's re-discovery of Greece resulted in an increased interest in the neglected texts of antiquity. Classical Greek texts became more readily available and as the demand for them grew so did the demand for German translations of these texts (Dover 1988). Once only the preserve of Greek and Latin scholars, the often disturbing world of the Greeks, became readily accessible in the nineteenth century. The availability of these texts indicated many of the contradictions that surrounded the idealised and sanitised versions of Greece offered by the early Hellenists and encouraged alternative views on sexuality.

These discourses circulated for a long time outside the existing medical, psychiatric, pedagogic and judicial-legal domain, and were, in some instances, used to counter claims made by them. Largely aesthetic in nature, these discourses on sexuality were often predicated upon the discoveries of ancient cultures in the eighteenth century and were later woven, either explicitly or implicitly, into the cultural fabric of the fin de siècle. Winckelmann's aesthetics, predicated on Plato's philosophy of beauty and truth, provided the underpinning of German Hellenism and became the criterion of culture and the hallmark of judgement. The ambiguities contained within it, also made it possible, for those who wished to do so, to explore the possibility of different erotic alternatives. The hermaphrodite offered one strand of this debate, and led to the complex arguments that were developed in the cult of Uranism and the "third sex". Another strand, still predicated upon Winckelmann's aesthetics, was the ideal of manly love. One facet, repressed in Winckelmann's ideology, centred on the primacy of the phallus in Graeco-Roman sexuality. While this discourse was only made explicit among certain groups and individuals, its foundation did not question the patriarchal foundation of society.

The hermaphrodite and bi-sexuality

The prominence of bi-sexuality, noted by Sulloway (1979) in nineteenth century medical discourse, and the interest occasioned by the topic of hermaphrodites in the early writings on sexuality, had its beginnings in Winckelmann's rediscovery of Greece and in the way he represented Greece. By elevating the hermaphrodite to the dominant signifier of beauty, the traditional boundaries between masculinity and femininity were broken suggesting a continuum rather than a dichotomy. Many of the early sexologists, for example, Hössli, Ulrich, and Hirschfield were able to pursue their writing on the "third sex" more easily because of the space created by Winckelmann. This emphasis on a bi-sexual ideal infiltrates most of the later discourse on sexuality in the nineteenth century. Havelock Ellis traces the conception of bisexuality to Greece:

> It emerges at an early period in the history of philosophic thought, and from the first was occasionally used for the explanation of homosexuality. Plato's myth in the *Banquet* and the

> hermaphroditic statues of antiquity show how acute minds, working ahead of science exercised themselves with these problems (Ellis 1930:88[volume 2]).

In Graeco-Roman myth there are numerous examples of sexual ambiguity upon which Freud (and the early sexologists) could draw. While the myth of Hermaphroditus describes the possession of both sexes simultaneously (as does the myth of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*), there are other myths that tell of characters that change their sex. Ovid mentions six changes of sex in the Metamorphoses - Tiresias, Sithon, Hermaphroditus, Mestra, Iphis and Cainis - and Greek mythology often blurred the boundaries between the sexes. Many of these myths concern gods who share both male and female characteristics - womanish gods like Dionysus and bearded goddesses like the Cyprian Aphrodite. Another extraordinary feature of Greek myth is the feminisation of many of their heroes. Cross-dressing is a recurrent theme in Graeco-Roman mythology. Herakles exchanges clothes with Omphale and both Achilles and Odysseus are found hidden by women and disguised in their robes (Dowden 1992). In his discussion on sexual theories in children Freud indicates his knowledge of sexual ambiguity in classical mythology. He refers to "the numerous hermaphrodites of classical antiquity" (S.E. 9:216) who faithfully reproduce the child's own theories concerning the idea of woman with a penis, and he argues that this androgynous structure, a combination of male and female sex characters, is commonly found in Greece:

> Egyptian deities, like Nieth of Sais – from whom the Greek Athene was later derived – were originally conceived of as androgynous, i.e. as hermaphrodite, and that the same was true of many of the Greek gods, especially of those associated with Dionysus, but also of Aphrodite, who was later restricted to the role of female goddess of love. Mythology may then offer the explanation that the addition of a phallus to the female body is intended to denote the primal creative force of nature, and that all these hermaphrodite divinities are expressions of the idea that only a combination of male and female elements can give a worthy representation of divine perfection (S.E. 11:94).

Myths that attribute to a person a combination of masculine and feminine characteristics are, according to Freud, a means of recording and preserving the early fantasy of every child – the fantasy of the phallic mother. These myths, and Winckelmann's description of beauty as a

composite of male and female genders, is reflected in Freud's claim that a certain degree of anatomical hermaphroditism is found to occur in normal individuals, and that traces of the opposite sex are found in both male and females.[224]

"Greek love"

> Happy the man who's got boys for loving and single-foot horses,
> Hunting dogs and friends in foreign lands.
> The man who doesn't love boys and single-foot horses
> And dogs, his heart will never know pleasure
> (Theognis[225] in Hubbard 2003:41).

The modern study of Greek homosexuality is often traced to the outstanding work of Dover. Since the publication of *Greek homosexuality* in 1978 there has been a plethora of modern writers who have addressed and reappraised this important aspect of Greek culture. These include Sergent (1986), Jeffrey Weeks (1985), Boswell (1991), Halperin (1991), Percy (2003), Hubbard (2003) and Davidson (2001). The term "homosexuality" is, as Hubbard (2003) points out, problematic when applied to ancient cultures, as neither Greek nor Latin possesses any one word covering the same semantic range as the modern concept. Classical antiquity featured a variety of discrete practices in regard to same gendered sex that enjoyed differing levels of acceptance depending on the time and place. Aristophanes, especially in *Knights*, crudely mocks pederasty, and, in all his work passive homosexuality is a stock target for comic insults (Green 2008). Even Plato, who accepted and approved of pederasty in his early and middle writings, significantly revised his perception in the *Laws*.

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[224] In *Three essays on sexuality* (1905) Freud, however, rejects a close link between anatomical hermaphroditism and psychical hermaphroditism and states "inversion and somatic hermaphroditism are on the whole independent of each other" (S.E. 7:142). What Freud proposes throughout his work is the inherent bisexuality of each individual. Freud claims that a person's final sexual attitude is not decided until after puberty and that this choice is a result of a number of factors, some constitutional and others merely accidental.

[225] Theognis of Megara was a Greek poet of the sixth century B.C.

The origin of institutionalised homosexual practices in Greece is a matter of controversy. Some scholars trace it back to Indo-European or Minoan origins. Other texts credit the origin of this practice to the Spartans or the Cretans (Sergent 1986; Percy 2003). There is however no clear evidence for homosexuality in the epic poetry of Homer and Hesiod (Green 2008; Hubbard 2003),[226] and it is generally accepted that it is from about 600 B.C. that the institution of pederasty played an important role in the culture of Greece. Uninhibited scenes of pederastic courtship and sex are commonly found on Athenian vases from the six and fifth centuries, but this celebration of pederasty in art and in lyric poetry tends to diminish in favour of more coded arrangements from about 460 B.C. (Hubbard 2003). Historians such as Peter Green (2008) and Hubbard (2003) argue that this was most likely in response to the resurgence of democracy which saw institutional pederasty as a bastion of aristocratic privilege as Greek pederasty often functioned as a vehicle of cultural transmission in which the best of each older cohort selected and trained the best of the younger (Dover 1978; Foucault 1986; Percy 2003; Hubbard 2003). An exhaustive compilation of Greek documents dealing with Greek homosexuality leads Hubbard (2003) to conclude that the institution of pederasty was concerned with the most desirable boys from elite families. The goal of pedagogical mentorship was to advance their socialisation into the male world of the *symposium* and athletics and eventually into politics and the life of the mind (Hubbard 2003:12). As such, this institution encouraged Greek males, constrained from marrying before their thirtieth year, to take adolescent males as their lovers (Percy 2003). Usually a young aristocratic lover (*erastes*) selected a boy between the ages of twelve and eighteen, who was called the *eromenos* or the beloved. This relationship continued until the *erastes* married. The boy upon reaching maturity could take on a

[226] Hubbard (2003) argues that the date of the Homeric epics is disputed but is commonly thought to be c. 700 B.C.E. It has been suggested that the Achilles-Patroclus relationship in the *Iliad* may be erotic. Against this view Hubbard quotes research by Barett (1981) and Patzer (1982) who claim that the belief that an erotic relationship existed between Achilles and Patroclus is only found in later sources. Athenaeus, an author of the late second century C.E. writes that Aeschylus treated this theme on the stage in the *Myrmidons*. Fragments of this play support this claim. Sophocles also put sexual themes on the stage in *Niobe* (which is why some people call this play *Paiderastria*). Peter Green (2008) states that these are the only two instances of a homoerotic motif in Attic tragedy.

new youth of his own to initiate into the art of manhood, before he too went on to marry and raise a family.[227]

In Athens, same sex relationships flourished in the *Gymnasia*, and found its most formalised and elegant manifestation in the all-male drinking party (*symposium*). Formal pederastic courtship demanded money, taste and leisure, and Green (2008) claims that pederasty cannot be understood apart from the class-conscious culture in which it flourished.[228] Adult same sex bonds (as opposed to pederasty) were generally frowned upon in ancient Greece and homosexuality as is practiced today would have been considered distasteful in that it did not serve a pedagogical purpose. Winckelmann's formulation of Greece played down the purely sexual elements of Greek love, stressing instead the artistic idealisation of the male body in sculpture and the gymnastic culture. The Greek world, refracted through Winckelmann's eyes, was one in which the Platonic concept of love dominated relationships - heterosexuality was devalued and homoeroticism elevated to celestial heights. However, few who were familiar with the classics during the nineteenth century denied the physical side of Greek homosexuality. The lives and writing of both Winckelmann and Plato lent confirmation to a strongly homoerotic charge. Socrates is commonly portrayed as being an *erastes* of the young men in his circle (*Lysis, Charmides, Protagoras*), and Winckelmann's erotic fantasies around the male nude saturate all his texts.

The English eagerly embraced this vision of Greece. Noel Annan (1990) observed that ancient Greece exerted almost the same tyranny over English intellectuals as it did over Germany in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. He places Walter Pater at the forefront of the growing cult of homosexuality in England and maintains that the first sacred text of Victorian Hellenism was Pater's essay on Winckelmann (Annan 1990). Freud drew heavily upon Pater in his exploration of "the

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[227] How sexualised these relationships were is open to debate. Some classicists emphasise the act of penetration (Dover 1978; Foucault 1986), while others, who concentrate on courtship rituals and the rules that govern them, suggest a far more varied approach ranging from anal intercourse to intercrural sex to intellectual affection that transcends sex altogether.

[228] Green (2008) argues that the widespread belief, made popular in the nineteenth century, that ancient Greece as a whole, and Athens in particular, gave rise to a general culture uniquely aligned with institutionalised homoeroticism is based upon this elite culture and therefore is greatly exaggerated for the population as a whole.

riddle of Leonardo da Vinci's character"[229] and Hughes (1967) states that *Leonardo* is a good book with which to begin an analysis of Freud's half-recognised assumptions regarding homosexuality. According to Hughes, Freud's sympathetic understanding of the Florentine painter's bisexuality reflected the androgynous tendencies he had discerned in himself.

Freud's deep emotional investment in some of his friendships - Emil Fluss, Eduard Silberstein, Fliess, Ferenczi and Jung - bear witness to the importance of the construct of "homosocial" bonding in Freud's life.[230] Freud accepted as a matter of course the homosexual bonds "the androphillic current" that tied these friendships together. On frequent occasions, he analysed this affect in his relationships with Fliess, Jung and Ferenczi. In a letter to Fliess, Freud wrote:

> But I do not share your contempt for friendship between men, probably because I am to a high degree party to it. In my life, as you know woman has never replaced the comrade, the friend (Masson 1995:447).

The strength of such homosocial bonds were openly acknowledged and discussed by them in their correspondence. Ferenczi wrote:

> One constantly vacillates back and forth between homosexual (public-communal) and (exclusive, private) heterosexual interests (in Forrester 1980:49).

Other relationships were also analysed in terms of underlying homosexual motivation. Thus Bleuler's hesitancy in joining the psychoanalytic circle, is not viewed in terms of scientific reservation, but is instead described by Freud as homosexual resistance:

> He is dying to be analysed and torments himself with delusional ideas: I haven't the time, reject his love, etc. He does not feel in the least homosexual. Consequently, from love of me, he is turning himself into a woman and wants to behave exactly like a woman, to go along with our society only passively, to be scientifically fecundated since he cannot express himself creatively, is afraid of being violated. So, for the time being, he won't join chiefly because of homosexual resistance (McGuire: 1991:205).

Freud's intellectual and emotional relationship with Fliess acted as a catalyst in Freud's early

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[229] *Leonarda da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood* (S.E. 11.97).

[230] Forrester (1980) observes that Freud's relationships provided much of the impetus for him to explore how the covert homosexuality of friendship could be turned into paranoia.

formulation of psychoanalysis and there is little doubt that this relationship fell under the rubric of a homosocial relationship. The deep investment Freud felt for Fliess, the need to be admired and loved by him, the emotional break-up that left deep scars upon Freud all point to a nexus of sexual investment. From the beginning of his researches into hysteria, Freud was interested in the ambiguities surrounding sexual identity. This interest was also shared by Fliess, and the exploration of the nature and role of bisexuality in human development lent intensity to their relationship; in fact they both went on to make it a cornerstone in their respective theories. Gilman (1994) states that one of the reasons for Freud's "flight into Greek" was that it had always been seen as the language of male bonding and of unabashed masculinity. Greek texts frequently gave homoeroticism a positive value and are very much at odds with taxonomies of abnormality found in nineteenth century psychiatric texts. At the close of the nineteenth century Greek was the language associated with the flourishing of homosocial bonds. It was to Greece that the Olympic movement, as well as the cult of Urania[231] turned for inspiration and legitimacy. Other groups and individuals placed a heavier emphasis on masculinity and intellectual prowess and this concept of manly love (which coloured many of the institutions in Germany and England and dominated the ethos in boarding schools, universities, the army and men's dinner clubs) was either explicitly or implicitly prefaced upon the Greek ideal of masculinity and the exclusion of women from the public sphere.[232]

Mosse (1982) argues that against the fin de siècle picture of depravity and degeneration was set the emerging national stereotype of Greek beauty, which emphasised harmony and proportion, but also strength and vigour. He claims "those who worked at creating the stereotype praised the symbolic beauty of the male body and saw it as the manifestation of chastity and restraint" (Mosse

[231] The cult of Urania was founded by Ulrichs and is discussed in the next chapter.

[232] This association of homosexuality with masculinity and intellectual prowess finds one of its clearest expressions in Bethe's *Dorische Knabenliebe* (1907). This article traced homosexuality to the twelfth century B.C.E. Bethe claimed that homosexuality formed part of an initiatory process originally designed to produce warriors. From this evolved the development of the city-state. The skills and attributes of the Doric military culture later provided the foundation of "classical" *Knabenliebe*. During this transition warlike skills were gradually replaced by athletic prowess (Dover 1978). As an interesting aside, Oscar Wilde plays with this concept, alluding to his hero's homosexuality by calling him Dorian Gray.

1982:224). The attempt to harness the Greek ideal to bourgeois respectability was always a difficult task. The cult of Greek beauty was linked not to the family but to male friendships. This concept of a "*Mannerbund*" continued to play an important role in Germany throughout the First and Second World Wars. While there was an attempt to purge the erotic element in this Greek ideal and yoke it to ideals of nationalism, there always was a tendency towards homoeroticism within this male camaraderie. The German Youth Movement that began in the late 1890's based itself on the Greek *Gymnasium*. These movements elevated male beauty, and stressed naturalness, nudity and healthy sport. In search of genuine community the *Wandervögel* members roamed the countryside, took up sunbathing and nude swimming and the virile body became part of the Youth Movement's ideal of manly beauty. Those who have analysed the Youth Movement have often found eroticism at its core, a male society which at first excluded woman and only accepted them with extreme reluctance (Mosse 1982: 237).

This "homosocial" climate of Germany in the nineteenth century and its influence on early sexology is explored by a number of authors (Ellis 1930; Krafft-Ebing 1965; Steakley 1989). Havelock Ellis in *Studies in The Psychology of Sex* (1930) draws particular attention to the prevalence of sentimental and eroticised male friendships in nineteenth century Germany. These friendships were open to a great deal of comment and scrutiny in other parts of Europe. Thus, for example, the French termed homosexuality "le vice Allemande". The line that existed between these taken for granted "homosocial" bonds in Germany and the practice of homosexuality was often blurred and confused.

In the nineteenth century, the cult of male friendship came under increasing suspicion as psychiatric definitions of normalcy developed. A vivid insight into the values and anxieties concerning homosexuality is reflected in the enormous public interest centred on the Eulenburg Affair that rocked Imperial Germany from 1907 to 1909 (Steakley 1989). Functioning in much the same way as the Oscar Wilde trial had in Victorian England (1895), these trials, ensuing scandals,

and enormous press coverage concerning the allegations that the chancellor and a number of distinguished members of Kaiser Wilhelm II entourage were homosexual, raised German awareness of homosexual identity and structured public perceptions of sexual normalcy and abnormalcy.[233] Hirschfeld, one of the early fathers of sexology, was called upon to testify in the trials and his careful arguments concerning the nuances between sexual orientation and conduct, between "homosocial" attraction and homosexual activity, caused people to reflect on themselves and others in the light of this new knowledge. Steakley (1989) contends that the interest generated by the trials contributed to a significant rise in public knowledge concerning the nature of homosexuality as well as the embryonic discipline in sexology. The supposedly epidemic proportion of homosexuals in Germany, especially in the military, raised fears of degeneration and decay, with some commentators going so far as to suggest that homosexuality threatened the whole German race with extinction. As is usual in such cases, blame was often directed towards progressive movements such as The League of German Women's Organisations, and Jewish sexologists like Hirschfeld were condemned for besmirching the German ideal of friendship.[234]

"Phallic rule"

Another discourse related to "Greek love", but far more radical, developed out of Hellenism and the Greek retrieval, but it was often repressed in the reception of Greece. This discourse centred on the important position granted the phallus in Graeco-Roman culture. Renaissance thinkers were aware of this tradition and classicists such as Scaliger[235] (1540-1609) compiled material and commentary in this domain. In the seventeenth century this corpus of writings was increasingly less well received, and by the eighteenth century it was commonly rejected as lewd and obscene. The publication of Knight's book on the worship of Priapus (1751-1824) was particularly important in reviving this interest (Rousseau 1987:105-106). The fertility rites of Greece, as seen in the

[233] The number of convictions under the same-sex provisions of paragraph 175 rose nearly fifty percent in the wake of the Eulenburg scandal (Steakley 1989).
[234] The major role played by Jewish journalists in the Eulenburg case also fuelled the underlying flames of racism (Steakley 1989).
[235] Jakob Bernays (1824-1881), the German philologist and uncle to Martha Bernays, wrote the first biography of Scaliger.

symbolism of the phallus, and the worship in India of the lingam, seemed to suggest that fertility rituals existed as a common denominator of all ancient religions. The nineteenth century saw an unprecedented interest in ancient languages, mythology and religion and many researchers turned their attention to this area in the hope of discovering the origins of civilisation. Some of Germany's greatest scholars (Friedrich von Schlegel, Max-Müller, Salomon Reinach) embarked upon tracing the roots of European language and myth to Indo-European sources. The erotic art of classical Greece was compared, contrasted and often traced to the Egyptian, Asian and ancient near Eastern traditions.

Freud was interested in these debates and used the multiple discourses around the ancient world to navigate the "un-charted waters" of sexuality. Not only did the ancient world provide Freud with a different cultural construction of sexuality, it also provided his research with the respectability that attached to the study of ancient civilisations. And indeed, one of the easiest ways in which writers could explore areas lying outside the boundaries of convention was by placing themselves under the protection and authority of the ancients. From the time of the Renaissance, European images of erotic subjects were cloaked in a mythological framework that sanctioned them.[236] Lucie-Smith writes:

> For educated people, during the half-millennium, the pagan world, and the texts connected with it, offered a kind of parallel universe to the everyday one which was, of course, throughout the period dominated by Christianity...the pagan writers said things, and tackled subjects, which were otherwise considered to be forbidden territory (Lucie-Smith 2004:62).

Goethe once remarked to Eckermann, that "time is a whimsical tyrant" (Vaget in Von Goethe 1988) and what was permitted to the ancient Greeks could not be said with propriety in the 1820's. Nor indeed was it permitted in Freud's era. Many of the difficulties Freud experienced in trying to gain acceptance for his theory were, according to him, a direct result of conventional sexual mores that rejected any mention of sexuality. Both laymen and professionals were offended by the explicit

[236] Lucie-Smith (2004) points out that by using mythological themes European artists were permitted to portray both male and female bodies together in a way that was not possible in religious art.

sexuality underlying Freud's aetiology of neurosis and dismissed his claims as sensationalist, voyeuristic and "smutty".

Yet, despite the polite veil of silence thrown over sexuality, the sexual radicals of the eighteenth and nineteenth century found in the ancients a forgotten voice to address a modern age and the veneration that German society expressed towards Greek culture acted as an important counterweight to Victorian moralism. In her exploration of the role of art in relation to sexuality Kampen (1996) writes:

> Any consideration of the development of thought about ancient art in its relation to sexuality would have to begin with the fascination and ambivalence of the eighteenth century when confronted with the new engravings of Greek vase paintings and with the newly excavated art of Pompeii and Herculaneum (Kampen 1996:3).

From the time of these discoveries, the erotic dimension of the classical world played a complex role in interpreting the past and projecting the future. This fascination with the *ars erotica* of the Greek and Roman world has, until fairly recently, been neglected in scholarly literature (Kampen 1996; Rousseau 1987),[237,238] and Rousseau (1987) argues that few have noted the importance of the neo-classical retrieval as a vehicle that allowed the expression of anticlericalism and enlightened paganism as well as permitting homosocial and homosexual desire to flourish. One of the results of this revival was that the art of the ancient world burst in upon the public places and living rooms of the bourgeoisie. However desperately society wished to drape the ideals of purity and beauty over these forms, it was difficult to occlude the erotic in ancient art.

At the centre of Greek art was the glorified male nude. Eva Keuls argues that the recognition of "the phallic rule at the root of Western Civilisation" (Rousseau 1987) has been suppressed; first by the monopoly of men in the field of classics, secondly by prudery and censorship which neglected

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[237] Kampen writes that a few scholarly papers on individual monuments appeared, but in the main the field was left wide open for people like Dover and Brendel (Kampen 1996).

[238] Lucie-Smith in *Ars Erotica* (2004) makes a similar point when discussing the framework of classical mythology in erotic art. He writes: "Since this framework is now unfamiliar to most of us, it is useful to know how the mechanism worked and what advantages it offered students of erotica" (Lucie-Smith 2004:62).

the rich pictorial evidence of antiquity and finally by a misguided desire to protect an idealised image of Athens (Rousseau 1987).[239]

What is meant by the term phallic? Laplanche and Pontalis (1988) claim that there has been a gradual tendency, in contemporary psychoanalytical literature, to use "penis" and "phallus" in distinct senses: the former denotes the male organ in its bodily reality, while the latter lays stress on the symbolic value of the penis. The erect phallus is generally viewed as a symbol of sovereign power, and contains within it the hope of resurrection. The word "phallus" is used in antiquity to refer to the figurative representation (painted or sculptured) of the male member as an object of veneration with a pivotal role in Dionysian initiation ceremonies.[240] Freud claimed that the phallus was one of the universal objects of symbolisation and in *Dreams in Folklore* (1911) he records the following quatrain to demonstrate its role as a dominant signifier of power, authority and sovereignty:

> Last night I dreamt
> I was the King of the land,
> And how jolly I was
> With a prick in my hand

Well aware of the "phallic rule at the centre of Western civilisation", Freud boldly placed the penis at the centre of his sexual theory. In so doing he made explicit that which had so often been suppressed. Foucault states:

> Until Freud at least, the discourse on sex – the discourse of scholars and theoreticians – never ceased to hide the thing it was speaking about. We could take all these things that were said, the painstaking procedures meant to evade the unbearable, too hazardous truth of sex (Foucault 1998:53).

Freud's phallocentric theory is premised upon an unexpressed but taken for granted bond that so often united sophisticated and cultured males, who because of their education, were granted access

[239] Keul's thesis is that the predominance of the phallus in Athenian art of the 5th century reflects the dominant position of males over the female in this society. This she terms "phallocracy". According to this phallocratic view, the human race is essentially male, the female being a mere adjunct, required for the purpose of reproduction (Snyder, 1986).
[240] An excellent discussion is to be found *in Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/Construction* (Csapa 1997).

to the uncensored texts as well as the erotic art made available by Greek classicism. This bond is expressed by Freud when he quotes Goethe: "Das Beste was Du weisst, Darfst Du den Buben doch nicht sagen" ("the best you know you may not tell to boys"). These men were often collectors like Freud of ancient art and had access to both the museums and antiquarians across Europe. Artefacts in these collections raised awareness of the important role played by the phallus in antiquity, further enabling this discourse. Like many of his nineteenth century counterparts, Freud was deeply interested in Priapus and in priapic matters.

Richard Payne Knight's *Discourse on the Worship of Priapus, and its Connexion with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients (1786-7)* became easily available in the nineteenth century. Knight's aim was to provide a comparison of ancient (pagan) and modern (Christian) religious ritual in order to demonstrate that both religions embody the same meanings. Focussing on ancient phallic fertility rituals, his work also had the more polemical purpose of criticising the Church and exploring the androgynous and bisexual origins of ancient religion (Rousseau, 1987). Until the publication of this book, Hellenism, for the most part, tended to be discussed apart from its explicitly phallic base. This, often hidden, discourse continued into the nineteenth century and Rousseau argues that a number of early nineteenth century anthropologists could not have performed their work without Knight's pioneering study. Unaware that Freud and Jung had both acquired and read Knight, Rousseau at one point in his paper speculates:

> it may not be going to far to suggest a link between the burgeoning mind and late nineteenth-century hypotheses about phallic worship and Freud's celebrated theory of penis envy (Rousseau 1987:137).

This link can be made. Freud ordered Knight in July 1909 and used it in his work on Leonardo in 1910. The interest shown by both Freud and Jung in Knight's work is clearly revealed in their correspondence. Writing to Freud in November 1909, Jung states that he has been reading Herodotus and Creuzer on the cult of Papremis and has also discovered Knight:

> I have discovered a capital book in Knight's *Two Essays on the Worship of Priapus*, much better than Inman, who is rather unreliable. If I come to Vienna in the spring, I hope to bring you various ancient novelties (McGuire 1991: 169).

Three days later Freud responded:

> I can't wait to hear of your discoveries. I ordered Knight in July but haven't received it yet (McGuire 1991:164).

The congruence between Freud's phallocentric theory of sexuality and these "ancient novelties" is strengthened in the light of Jung's reply:

> The dying and resurging god (Orphic mysteries, Thammuz, Osiris [Dionysus], Adonis etc) is everywhere phallic. At the Dionysus festival in Egypt the women pulled the phallus up and down on a string: 'the dying and resurgent god'. I am painfully aware of my utter dilettantism and continually fear I am dishing you out banalities. Otherwise I might be able to say more of these things. It was a great comfort to me to learn that the Greeks themselves have long since ceased to understand their own myths and interpreted the life out of them just as our philologists do (McGuire 1991:165).

Freud used Knight as a source reference in his discussion of genital sexuality in children and the role of the phallus in society. Despite claims of being a wretched dilettante,[241] the following passage illustrates his debt to this "student of civilisation:

> In the primaeval days of the human race it was a different story. The laborious compilations of the student of civilization provide convincing evidence that originally the genitals were the pride and hope of living beings; they were worshipped as gods and transmitted the divine nature of their functions to all newly learned human activities. As a result of the sublimation of their basic nature there arose innumerable divinities; and at the time when the connection between official religions and sexual activity was already hidden from general consciousness, secret cults devoted themselves to keeping it alive among a number of initiates. In the course of cultural developments so much of the divine and sacred was ultimately extracted from sexuality that the exhausted remnant fell into contempt. But in view of the indelibility that is characteristic of all mental traces, it is surely not surprising that even the most primitive forms of genital-worship can be shown to have existed in very recent times and that the language, customs and superstitions of mankind to-day contain survivals from every phase of this process of development (S.E. 11:97).

[241] Is this a play on words by Freud? A reference perhaps, to the Society of Dilettanti who first sponsored Knight's book?

Freud's theory that asserts the primacy of sexuality in human development and the importance of repressed desire in the aetiology of hysteria was amply confirmed by the ancient Greek's privileging of "the genitals as the pride and hope of living beings". The fertility rites surrounding vegetation gods such as Dionysus, Attis and Adonis were familiar to Freud through his reading of Frazer,[242] Crawley, Max-Muller, Inman, Creuzer, Reinach and Rohde and during his travels in Italy he took a lively interest in the phallic artefacts of antiquity. In a letter to Fliess, (April 1898), he writes:

> On Sunday morning we had to get up early to take the local Friulian railroad to the vicinity of Aquileia. The former metropolis is a dump; the museum, though, exhibits an inexhaustible wealth of Roman finds: tombstones, amphorae, medallions of the gods from the amphitheatre, statues, bronzes, and jewellery. Several priapic statues: a Venus indignantly turning away from her newborn child after having been shown his penis; Priapus as an old man, whose genitals are being covered by a Silenus and who henceforth can give himself over to drink; a priapic stone ornament of the penis as a winged animal, which has a small penis in the natural place, while the wings themselves end in a penis. Priapus stood for permanent erection, a wish fulfilment representing the opposite of psychological impotence (Masson 1995:308).

To see, and in some cases to possess artefacts, of interest from the past, allowed Freud to anchor his theories, to ground them in a concrete manner. The winged penis so common in Greek art allowed him to see an association between dreams of flying and sexual desire. "Why", he asks, "do so many people dream of being able to fly?" The answer according to him is that to be able to fly should be understood as nothing else than a longing to be capable of sexual performance.[243] The winged penis is a visual representative of this desire for sexual potency. He writes:

> When we consider that inquisitive children are told that babies are brought by a large bird, such as a stork; when we find that the ancients represented the phallus as having wings; that the commonest expression in German for male sexual activity is 'vogeln' ('to bird': 'Vogel' is the German for 'bird'); that the male organ is actually called 'l'uccello' ('the bird') in Italian – all of these small

[242] Frazer read Knight's *Priapus* before drafting the relevant section of the Golden Bough in the 1880's - a book that was to play such an important part in Freud's own theories in *Totem and Taboo*.

[243]. The zoomorphic concept of the phallus is pervasive in Greek thought – one has only to think of the many representations of phallus birds in Greek art. One of the more common themes is that of the winged penis, often found on Greek vases (Slane et al.1993; Csapo 1997). Knight's *Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* included a number of drawings representing winged phalli.

> fragments from a whole mass of connected ideas, from which we learn that in dreams the wish to be able to fly is nothing else than a longing to be capable of sexual performance (S.E.11:125).

The correspondence between Jung and Freud clearly indicates how easily they participated in the erotic currents circulating around ancient art at that time and their joking familiarity with this subject. "Why is the phallus usually represented as winged? The mere thought lifts it" Jung jokes in one of his letters to Freud (McGuire 1991). In examining the history of Knight's *Priapus,* Rousseau concludes that all the evidence points to the existence of a highly influential circle of men who, from the eighteenth century onward, explored alternative sexual agendas. Although conventional in terms of politics, religion, and social status, they pursued a radical programme that was nothing less than a deliberate crusade against Christianity and prudery through the convenient vehicle of neo-Hellenic retrieval. Luke suggests that one such man was Goethe (1988). Outside his poetry and other cultural gifts, Goethe made an important contribution to Freud's thinking in the realm of sexuality (Von Goethe 1988; Frankland 2000). Vaget (in Von Goethe 1988) comments that Freud found in Goethe a "mythical precursor". In the *Erotica Romana* [244] Goethe quite consciously revived the canonical erotica of the famous "triumvirate of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius"[245] and gave the phallic god Pan a central role in his poem cycle (Von Goethe 1988). Luke (in Von Goethe 1988) claims that Goethe, through his exposure to Greek and Roman art and literature was more aware of the nature and force of desire than any other poet in German literature and showed a surprising knowledge about androgyny, incest, narcissism and homoeroticism. He was aware of the early Greek monuments documenting the cult of Priapus and of the Roman Priapea of the first century A.D., and while writing the *Roman Elegies* Goethe was also reading the *Carmina Priapea*, a

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[244] *Römische Elegien* was completed by Goethe in 1790 and intended for publication soon after their completion. One of them (Elegy XV) appeared in a periodical in 1791. Goethe was advised against publication by Karl August and Herder. *The Elegies* were suppressed for several years and finally appeared in 1795 in Schiller's journal *Die Horen.* According to Vaget (in Von Goethe 1988) the Roman Elegies, though written in Weimar, belong essentially to Goethe's Italian period (September 1786-April 1788).

[245] " Amor Schüret die Lamp indes und denket der Zeiten,
Da er den nämlichen Dienst seinen Triumvirn getan (Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius) (Goethe in Forster 1962).

collection of about eighty poems in honour of Priapus[246]. In discussing the *Erotica Romana,* Vaget argues that the *Elegies* reveal, when correctly assembled, Goethe's "secret mission"- the recovery and vindication of Priapus. Rousseau makes a similar comment when he writes:

> Did he believe that the creation of truly liberated poetry was predicated on recovering the phallic deity? Or was he guided by an intuitive understanding of the central role of the phallus in human sexuality – thereby anticipating a central aspect of Freud? We can't be sure. What we can say with certainty is that the resurrection of Priapus epitomizes the decidedly anti-Christian emphasis of the Roman Elegies (Vaget in Von Goethe 1988:16).

From his letters to Fliess it is clear that Freud preferred his "grubby little gods" to Winckelmann's "lofty" Apollo. This preference continued to exist despite Fliess' effort to educate him into an aesthetic appreciation of the classical sublime. Just before leaving for Italy in August 1897, Freud wrote to Fliess:

> This time, it is my hope to penetrate somewhat more deeply into the art of Italy. I have some notion of your point of view, which seeks not that which is of cultural-historical interest, but absolute beauty in the harmony between ideas and the form in which they are presented, and in the elementary pleasing sensations of space and colour (Masson 1995:262).

But in Italy, Freud was again attracted to the "enormous creative urge" of the "perverse-psychological" in art. A week after expressing a desire to appreciate "the harmony between ideas and the form", Freud wrote to Fliess from Siena:

> One savours the strange kind of beauty and the enormous creative urge; at the same time my inclination toward the grotesque, perverse-psychological gets its due (Masson 1995:263).

Such remarks make it clear that Freud (like Nietzsche and to some extent Goethe) was more deeply drawn to the perverse and the erotic than to the rational and sexless beauty that Winckelmann tried so hard to construct. Fliess, on the other hand, took Winckelmann's aesthetic formulations to heart. Freud's inclination to "the perverse-psychological" is further expressed in the following letter to Fliess:

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[246] Goethe apparently wrote comments on nine of the poems in Latin.

> I am working on the completion of the dream book in a large, quiet, ground-floor room with a view of the mountains. My old and grubby gods, of whom you think so little, take part in the work as paperweights for my manuscripts (Masson 1995:363)

These old and grubby (or in some translations filthy) gods - ithyphallic statues of Pan and satyrs - were to remain on Freud's desk throughout his life. Gay (1998) suggests that they took part in Freud's work at a far deeper level - a Priapic weighting of his work. Winckelmann's Greece may have nurtured the offspring of the *Gymnasium*, but it is evident that there were some "new hatched" fledglings, Freud among them, who felt equally comfortable in the "other" Greece, the Greece of phallic rituals and Dionysian sexuality.

Greek Sex

Foucault also placed the phallus at the centre of Greek society, and claims that there is an isomorphism between sexual relations and social relations:

> What this means is that sexual relations - always conceived in terms of the model act of penetration, assuming a polarity that opposed activity and passivity – were seen as being of the same type as the relationship between a superior and a subordinate, an individual who dominates and one who is dominated, one who commands and one who complies, one who vanquishes an one who is vanquished (Foucault 1986:215).

In many respects the Greeks effaced the concept of gender. It is not so much masculinity and femininity that dominate the discourse around sexuality in Greece but rather the constructs of activity and passivity in sexual penetration (Dover 1978; Foucault 1986; Halperin 1989;1998). The new edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (published in 1996) contains the following entry written by David Halperin (quoted in Davidson 2001:5):

> Greek and Roman men generally understood sex to be defined in terms of sexual penetration and phallic pleasure, whether the sexual partners were two males, two females, or one male and one female. The physical act of sex itself required, in their eyes, a polarization of the sexual partners into the categories of penetrator and penetrated as well as a corresponding polarization of sexual roles into 'active' and 'passive'. Those roles in turn were correlated with superordinate and subordinate social status, with masculine and feminine gender styles, and with adulthood and adolescence. Phallic insertion functioned as a marker of male precedence; it also expressed social domination and seniority.

As can be seen from the above, the Foucaultian approach, with some notable exceptions (Davidson 2001, Green 2008), is now considered orthodox. This approach (based on Dover) highlights strict rules of conduct, premised upon power relations and age sanctioned behaviour between adult males.[247] This orthodox view holds that sexual relationships were categorised in terms of an active/passive dichotomy and ancient Greeks (and Romans) believed that adult citizens should not assume a passive role (Dover 1978; Foucault 1986; Percy 2003; Hubbard, 2003). Davidson (2001) claims that Dover's study of Greek homosexuality overturned the more androphillic version of Greek sexuality prevailing in the nineteenth century. His work, with its emphasis on phallic penetration, in turn influenced Foucault, ultimately leading to a radical re-evaluation of Greek homosexuality. Davidson (2001:5) writes:

> There have been no dramatic new finds, no coded diaries deciphered, yet the modern view of Greek love is almost the exact opposite of the view that prevailed in the nineteenth century and which lingered on until the 1960s: from essentially 'pure', to pure sex.

It is significant that Freud endorsed this very modern view of Greek love. Although he preceded both Dover and Foucault, he assigned an important part to the opposition of activity and passivity, which precedes two other oppositions – those between phallic and castrated and between masculinity and femininity (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988:9). The Greeks did not see the love for a man or for a woman as two exclusive choices. It was not the object of desire that was the focus of interest. Women as well as boys could both be seen as desirable objects without moral sanction as long as the male remained active and sexually dominant.

Greek comedy and sexuality

Although it is a bit of a digression, a discussion of the importance of the phallus in ancient Greece would not be complete without an appraisal of Greek comedy. One tends to associate Freud's name with Greek tragedy. Few have considered the role played by the other great invention

[247] Foucault claims that for the Greeks it was the opposition between activity and passivity that was essential, providing the domains of sexual behaviours. No one would suspect a man of being effeminate, provided he was active in the sexual relation and in the moral mastering of himself (Foucault 1986:85).

of the Greek stage. Like tragedy, ancient Greek *Komoidos* eventually found a home at the *Dionysia,* although it achieved official status significantly later than tragedy.[248] Freud never directly referred to Greek comedy in his work and when he does mention Aristophanes, it is in relation to the *Symposium,* not comedy. This is a significant lacuna given that he devoted a whole study to the relationship between jokes and the unconscious. This failure would tend to suggest that Freud was unfamiliar with this genre, particularly as many of the comments made by him concerning the comic effect of sexuality and obscenity seem so clearly applicable to Greek comedy. For instance, in his chapter on jokes and the comic Freud argues that:

> The spheres of sexuality and obscenity offer the amplest occasions for obtaining comic pleasure alongside pleasurable sexual excitement; for they can show human beings in their dependence on bodily needs (degradation) or they can reveal the physical demands lying behind the claim of mental love (unmasking) (S.E. 8:222).

This is precisely the form of comedy found in Aristophanes' plays. In an area so fraught with impropriety, Greek comedy would have been of great support to Freud in his exploration of the obscene and the coprophilic in sexuality. If Freud had been unaware of Greek Comedy, then one would understand his failure to explore the subject, but he appears to have been familiar with Aristophanes work from a very early age. Mitchell-Boyask claims that (1994) Freud possessed a copy of Aristophanes' plays *Die Lustspiele des Aristophanes, Deutsch in den Versmaßen der Urschrift (1861)*; which contained the following plays - *The Clouds, Knights*, *The Frogs*, *Birds, Peace* and *Wealth.* This volume is bound in similar fashion to his copy of Sophocles, and according to Mitchell-Boyask, both copies appear to be among the oldest in Freud's library:

> Both volumes appear to be of the same vintage and are bound similarly, and since the Aristophanes has hundreds of small, seemingly meaningless pencil marks, the kind one makes as an eager, rapaciously reading adolescent, my guess would be that Freud acquired these

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248 During the Classical age, satyr plays followed the presentation of tragic trilogies, making them the oldest known form of comic drama. Old Comedy gained attention and acclaim during the fifth century, the first of this genre are the plays of Aristophanes (427-385 BCE).

> volumes as a student during his *Gymnasium* or university days, although I doubt Aristophanes was typical fare in straight-laced Vienna (Mitchell-Boyask 1944:26).

Given these remarks it is safe to assume that Freud was aware of the explicit and phallic nature of Greek comedy which had its beginnings in the phallic processions of pre-classical Greece and the humorous 'satyr plays'[249] (Ley 1991). Certainly the "unmasking"[250] of bodily functions in comedy and Freud's understanding of obscenity and "smut" in jokes all point to a very "Greek" conception of the comic. Unlike Greek tragedy, comedy in fifth century Athens ridiculed the gods, mocked mythological themes and satirised eminent members of the public. Sexuality was explicit in these plays and often treated in a bawdy and obscene manner. Terracotta figurines and vase paintings from about the time of Aristophanes indicate that comic actors dressed in grotesque masks and wore large leather phalloi attached to the padding about their waists and buttocks. In Aristophanes plays a great deal of emphasis was placed on the erect phalloi as a stage device (Murphy 1972).

Freud's primary interest was centred upon the phallus, and his most controversial theories, such as penis envy and the castration complex concern the place of the phallus in sexuality. Freud's lack of explicit reference to Greek comedy allows only conjecture about the impact of such plays upon his later researches into sexuality and speculation about why references to it are absent in his work.

Greek antiquity and Freud's theory of female sexuality

This chapter argues that Freud uses two discourses drawn from Greece as a basis for his theorising on sexuality. The first is the phallic discourse of antiquity; the second is a homosocial discourse. Both these discourses are concerned with male sexuality; both these discourses devalue women. The demeaned status of woman in classical Athens and her exclusion from civil society is

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[249] Freud possessed a number of artefacts of this goat-like creature that is at times portrayed as wise and earthy, but more often than not as drunken, debauched, and ready to dance or copulate with the nymphs of the woodland.

[250] In *Jokes and the unconscious* Freud writes: "Under the heading of 'unmasking' we may also include a procedure for making things comic with which we are already acquainted – the method of degrading the dignity of individuals by directing attention to the frailties which they share with all humanity, but in particular the dependence of their mental functions on bodily needs" (S.E. 8:202).

well documented in classical scholarship (Katz 1992; Blundell 1999). As Blundell (1999) succinctly puts it, at the beginning of the *Theogony* Gaea emerges a powerful goddess who can give birth to her sons alone; at the end, Zeus assumes his position as the dominant god, and produces a daughter from his own body. With few exceptions, for example Sappho, the subjective voice of women is not heard in the ancient world (Doherty 2001). We know very few women as individuals and almost everything that we know about Greek women is derived ultimately from a masculine source. Katz argues that the ideological underpinnings of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century scholarly orthodoxy is founded on a historiographic tautology – with the example of women in ancient Athens providing the basis for eighteenth-century views on women's exclusion from civil society, and with the latter serving as the foundation for the investigation of women in ancient Greece (Katz 1992:71).

Eva Keuls provides a formidable critique of phallic rule at the centre of Greek classical culture:

> In the case of a society dominated by men who sequester their wives and daughter, denigrate the female role in reproduction, erect monuments to male genitalia, have sex with the sons of their peers, sponsor public whorehouses, create a mythology of rape, and engage in rampant sabre-rattling, it is not inappropriate to refer to a reign of the phallus. Classical Athens was such a society (quoted in Katz 1992:80).

Of course Freud does not condone any of these practices. But the emphasis placed by him on the male penis suggests that there are some broad parallels between his theory and the phallocentric discourses of ancient Greece. Freud's theory is generally criticised by feminist theorists (Irigaray, Kofman, Felman, Chodorow). These writers usually conceive Freud's theory as rooted in the patriarchal structure of the "Victorian' family", and it is argued that Freud's assumptions reflect this bias. This argument is now well established and orthodox. There is, however, another element of Freud's discourse that has not been so readily addressed. The homoerotic elements that inform a large part of Freud's work are often neglected. Few have noted that the ambiguities, particularly in Freud's theory of female sexuality, are often the ambiguities associated with a culture steeped in homosocial and homoerotic friendships.

Winckelmann's ideology saturated Germany, and Freud was very much a product of this homosocial ethos. Winckelmann argued against the privileging of the female form in art stating:

> The person who is only attentive to the beauties of the female sex, and is hardly, or not at all moved by the beauties in our sex, will not easily cultivate a feeling for the beauties of art, nor possess it in a lively and universal form. He will have an inadequate grasp of the art of the Greeks, because its greatest beauties come more from our than from the other sex (quoted in Potts, 2000:131).

"The other sex" neatly encapsulates Winckelmann's positioning of the female in art and culture. As Potts (2000) argues, from Winckelmann onwards the supreme beauty is male, not female. The male becomes "the general idea" - the universal form. The masculine is plenitude, the feminine lack. These assumptions, grounded in Winckelmann's discourse, continued almost uninterrupted in Western civilisation and made a significant contribution to Freud's rather vexed view of feminine development and sexuality. Potts comments that Winckelmann's legacy represses and blanks out the feminine. What gives this repression its charge and necessity is not so much Winckelmann's homosexuality:

> but a psychic syndrome, a male disavowal of femininity, or a fear of castration as Freud would have it, operating within male subjectivity in the dominantly heterosexual culture of his period (Potts 2000:131).

This discourse can be traced from Plato through Winckelmann to Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and finally to Freud. Schopenhauer, for example writes that women are designed as the weaker sex:

> One needs only to see the way she is built to realize that woman is not intended for great mental or for great physical labour. She expiates the guilt of life not through activity but through suffering, through the pains of childbirth, caring for the child and subjection to the man, to whom she should be a patient and cheering companion (Schopenhauer 1983:80-81).

The non-recognition of the feminine as an object in its own right, its conceptualisation as a deviation of the masculine norm, is found throughout Freud's writing. It is a "psychic syndrome" with a legacy that started long before Freud and his controversial theories of female sexuality. It begins with the Greek privileging of the male in all spheres of cultural life, including the erotic.

Few would disagree with the statement that in Freud's texts the female is represented as lack -she is the castrated male. In Greek texts where gender is so often effaced by the polarities of active and passive, the female is identified with the disenfranchised, slaves, peasants and boys too young to vote. Women who are active, intellectual or creative are seen as aberrant like Medea, or castrating like Medusa or Clytemnestra. Some of the most controversial aspects of Freudian theory, such as penis envy, or the horror elicited in males when confronted with the female vagina, are more readily understood if one views them as developing out of what Potts (2000) refers to as "the larger cultural afterlife of Winckelmann's writing". Freud's texts do not exist in a vacuum, and a careful reading of the early texts of nineteenth century homosexuality would seem to support an analysis of Freud's view of female sexuality in terms of its implicit homoerotic assumptions.

This effacement of the female, via Greek Hellenism, soaks into every aspect of cultural discourse, from art to literature, from aesthetics to philosophy. As Laqueur (1990) agues, literature (but here one can also add philosophy and aesthetics) is not simply an imperfect mirror, for it not only reflects but also constitutes the problem of sexuality. Not only do attitudes towards sexual difference generate and structure literary texts, texts generate sexual difference (Laqueur 1990). There has always been a conflict in feminism between virulent hostility towards psychoanalysis and admiration for Freud's work.[251] Recent evaluations by feminist theorists have become more complex, especially with the rise of textual psychoanalysis, and increasingly there has been an acknowledgement of indebtedness to Freud's writings. Women in classical Greece have often been called "a muted group" (Katz 1992; Blundell 1999). The same expression applies to women in Vienna, and Freud's female patients in particular. Psychoanalysis emerged as a response to the "hysterical" women whose condition was emblematic of a collective malaise (Appignanesi and Forrester 2005). Perhaps the greatest contribution that Freud made to feminist studies lies in the

[251] Classical scholars, for example, point out that Freud neglected many of the mythological themes that emphasised a more powerful position for women. He was aware of the "great mother-goddesses, who may perhaps in general have preceded the father-gods" (S.E. 13:149) but he paid them little attention. He refers to figures such as Attis, Adonis and Tammus as spirits of vegetation and agriculture, while neglecting Demeter and the Eleusinian mysteries

fact that he gave women a voice. His "talking cure" allowed women to articulate their oppression, as well as their sexuality and their innermost desires. It is impossible to diminish or ignore the contribution that Freud's theories made to the treatment and understanding of hysteria - the recognition of repression in reaction to a patriarchal society constituted the core part of psychoanalysis. Most importantly, Freud never evaded the problem of sex. Instead he made it the cornerstone of his theory.

This chapter has investigated the erotic component of Greek classical culture. Different strands of this discourse were examined, particularly in the nineteenth century. Classical scholars, particularly in the field of feminist studies, claim that the ancient Greeks played an important role in entrenching patriarchal theories of sexuality (Katz 1992). In many regards this is true. What has been neglected however is an appreciation of the homosexual nuances found throughout Freud's theorising. Another important area that has been ignored in modern discourse on sexuality (and this includes Foucault and the post-Foucaultians) is a re-assessment of classical Greece in sexology. The following chapter concerns itself with this topic.

CHAPTER 10
THE LEGACY OF GREECE AND SEXOLOGY

For nineteenth century writers like Nietzsche, Greece marked the last moment in which the Western world had contact with forms of thinking that were not defined by metaphysics or the polarities of good and evil (Schmidt 2001). As such it allowed for a perspective outside the narrow historical definition of morality in the Victorian age. "Greece" therefore came to stand as an example of the relativity of nineteenth century values.[252] As Schmidt remarks, the essential strangeness of classical Greece is not so much a confirmation of the most cherished project of the Enlightenment and Christian-metaphysical values, but rather the greatest challenge to them. Even when Freudian terminology became available, Waters (1998) comments that up until post world war one, homosexual "selfhood" still depended on models of ancient Greek male friendship.

Foucault's *History of Sexuality* is seen as marking the start of our modern concern with the models and formulations of Greek antiquity, especially in regard to sexual behaviour, ethics and the aesthetics of pleasure.[253] In writing the "genealogy of the desiring man" Foucault came to realise the importance of antiquity in the formation of a hermeneutics of the self (Foucault 1985). By foregrounding antiquity in his study, Foucault in many ways ensured the "afterlife of the classical" in the study of sexuality. Today many of our most pressing debates in this domain are still referenced upon ancient Greece.[254] These modern debates have a precedent, however, in early nineteenth century sexology. This chapter will discuss some of the men (for it was a male dominated area) who first began, in a systematic way, to write about one of the most tabooed subjects at that time - human sexuality, gender and desire. It will extend the previous discussion on sexuality, and explore in greater detail how the veneration of Greek classicism in Austria and

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[252] One immediately thinks of Nietzsche in this context, but many other German writers, (e.g. Schelling, Hölderlin and Hegel as well as Heine and Rhode) also countered Winckelmann's idealisation of the early roots of Western culture.
[253] Originally the Greeks had formed no part of Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, but after 1976 and the start of his close association with Veyne, pagan antiquity took up a prominent position in his work. He also owed an important debt to Dover (especially in regard to the phallocentric protocols in male to male relationships).
[254] This is particularly true for debates around homosexuality (Halperin 1998; Winkler 1989; Davidson 1987; Boswell 1991).

Germany assisted many of the early nineteenth century sexologists, including Freud, to develop an alternative discourse to the prevailing model of medical science and biological determinism. It will be argued that "Greek love" provided a model that raised awareness of other sexualities and in so doing made available a platform to debate concepts of "perversion" and "degeneracy".

The rise of a new science

Starting around about 1870 a new psychiatric style of reasoning about diseases emerges, one that allowed the possibility of statements about sexual perversion – about homosexuality, fetishism, sadism and masochism (Davidson 1987). From this time sexuality becomes a legitimate domain of scientific study and investigation. According to Foucault (1978), up to the end of the eighteenth century three major codes governed sexual practices – canonical law, the Christian pastoral, and civil law. In the nineteenth century the areas overseen by these bodies also became the interest of psychiatry and medicine. In many spheres, these new discourses displaced the old religious view of sexual practices as sinful and hence under the jurisdiction of the church. It thus allowed sexuality to become a domain open to debate in scientific circles (Bland 1998). In referring to the emergence of a "new technology of sex", Foucault (1998) drew attention to the progressive secularisation of sex, arguing that from the nineteenth century onwards psychiatry replaced the confessional. Henceforth, sex was couched in a language of deviance and normalcy, rather than in terms of sin and salvation.[255] Foucault (1998) claims that the medical and scientific discourses around the body and desire resulted in an upsurge of interest in perversion and in programmes of eugenics, and with this came new mechanisms designed to regulate and control the individual and social body.

Modern historians of sexology often focus on the repressive aspects of sexology. They point to the categorisation of deviance into taxonomies of abnormality and argue that the labelling of subjects

[255] Although Foucault is credited with drawing attention to the church's role in constituting sexuality one finds a number of earlier writers who also allude to the close relationship between sexuality and the Church. In his preface to *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1930) Ellis remarks upon the church's "active and inquiring interest in sexuality". He states "When the Catholic Church was at the summit of its power and influence it fully realized the magnitude of sexual problems and took an active and inquiring interest in all the details of normal and abnormal sexuality. Even to the present time there are certain phenomena of the sexual life which have scarcely been accurately described except in ancient theological treatises".

(the masturbating child, the hysterical woman, the homosexual, the degenerate individual) is a clear indicator of sexology's oppressive tendencies. Few would argue with these claims, but in the process, the paradoxical nature of sexology's enterprise is often overlooked. Despite the cultural context in which sexology emerged and the many negative aspects surrounding sexual studies, there is little doubt that making sex part of a scientific enterprise also opened up a whole new area of knowledge concerned with sexuality. The explosion of studies into sexuality also encouraged productive avenues of debate (Foucault 1998). Even today, interest around sexuality and gender issues is to a large extent the result of the early (and often flawed) attempts to come to grips with human sexuality, not only in terms of human desire, but also in respect to its broader social, political and cultural implications.

A closer examination of the early contributors to sexology seems to suggest that many of them did not fit easily into a particular box marked "medico-psychiatric discourses on sexuality". Although, following Krafft-Ebing, the classificatory systems, the case histories, the minute detailing of aberration and perversion are everywhere fore-grounded in this early discourse, the early sexologists often stood apart from these practices. Indeed some of these early contributors were themselves struggling to formulate a means of speaking about their own sexuality. The work of many of these pioneers shows evidence of contradiction, reformulation and ambiguity (as would later be the case with Freud himself). Especially in the realm of deviant sexuality, there is an attempt to understand and conceptualise the subject matter that often transcends narrow and one-dimensional categorisation.

Sexology in Germany

Sexology was from the outset a particularly German enterprise (Haeberle 1982; Bland and Doan 1998; Fout 1992). It gained acceptance in the nineteenth century at a time when concerns around reproduction, population and hygiene played a crucial role in political, economic and social life. Often closely allied to eugenics and Social Darwinism, there were many aspects of this new study that sought to address the burgeoning fears that surrounded sexuality. Contemporary writing

strongly linked moral and social "degeneration" to biological "degeneration" (Fout 1992; Gilman 1994). Nordau in *Degeneration* (1895) provides the clearest example of this concern in that he offered an assessment of fin de siècle European culture according to the prevailing medical and social theories of hereditary degeneration. Nordau captured one of the pervading themes in fin de siècle Europe, the idea that European civilisation was decaying and dying.

Sexology's interest in "labelling bodies and desires" (Bland and Doan 1998) thus cannot be separated from a larger project concerned with populations as an object of study. One of the most important aspects of this project was to provide criteria for human and "racial" betterment through the regulation of procreation and biological heredity (Bland and Doan 1998).[256] Coupled to this discourse of decay and degeneration was another central theme, that of the biology of race. Mosse (1982) argues that the concepts of degeneration and the survival of the fittest inevitably became embroiled with European racism, and that the characterisation of inferior races was similar in almost every respect to that applied to so-called sexual degenerates. Krafft-Ebing, for example, argued that Jews exhibit "abnormally intensified sensuality and sexual excitement that leads to sexual errors that are of etiological significance" (Biale 1997). In researching Krafft-Ebing and early sexology Biale claims:

> Both popular anti-Semitic culture and the dominant medical opinion of the fin de siècle considered Jews to be neurologically diseased people whose pathology was inextricably linked to perversion and hypersexuality (Biale1997: 274).

These assumptions of racial science became part of the underpinnings of the medical science of the fin de siècle (Gilman 1994). The prejudice of Jewish difference and disease permeated all aspects of central European culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and these debates around racial characteristics also raised concerns about the declining vitality of the Aryan stock. In late nineteenth century Europe criminology and sexology were both emergent disciples dealing with the classification of pathology and abnormality and a close relationship developed

[256]Fout (1992) provides a good analysis of the sexual politics and the Moral Purity Organisations in Wilhelmine Germany.

between them. Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902), Tardieu (1818-1878) and Morel (1809-1873) made contributions to the legal aspects of pathological sexuality. Angus McLaren (1999) claims that:

> Sexology – the science of sexuality – emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century as magistrates in European courts increasingly called upon medical experts to aid them in understanding a variety of sex crime that were more difficult to fathom than simple rape or sodomy (McLaren, 1999:90).

Sexology provided a vocabulary for discussing sexual activities and a set of norms for determining "normal" and "abnormal" behaviour in these matters. Those demanding increased criminalisation laws, as well as social reformers fighting to decriminalise various sexual acts, made use of the new science of sexology and its terminology to advance their cause. No area was more scrutinised in the early days of sexology than that of homosexuality[257] and more papers were written on this subject than on any other area (Ellis 1930; Mosse 1982; Fout 1992).[258] The terminology coined to deal with this category of sexuality attests to the profound difficulty faced by these researchers when trying to conceptualise and demarcate this terrain. New terms such as "sexual invert", "Urning", "intermediate", "contrary sexuality"; "androgyne", "homosexual" and the "third sex"' took their place in the literature, and a complex series of debates focused on whether homosexuality was acquired or inherited; an example of human degeneration or a natural continuum of normal sexual behaviour. To describe deviations from the normal, it was however, necessary to start with some conception of what constituted normal sexual behaviour. Whether explicit or implicit, all these debates began with the assumption that the function of sexual behaviour was that of propagation and that "normal" sexual behaviour lay in the satisfaction derived from heterosexual, genital intercourse. Any discussion concerning perversion thus had to either argue from this position or radically counter this fundamental assertion.

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[257] Because women were marginalized, sexology was from its onset more concerned with male than with female sexuality.

[258] Magnus Hirschfeld counted over a thousand publications about homosexuality between 1898 and 1908 (Mosse 1982).

Greece in the discourse on sexuality

The prominent position of homosexuality in the arguments around "abnormal" and "degenerate" sexuality made Classical Greece a touchstone in the discourse on sexuality. Even today, following Foucault, writers turn to classical Athens to discover the historical and cultural breaks and fissures in this discourse, in an effort to understand what constitutes the "science of sexuality". Historians of homosexuality; essentialists such as Boswell, and social constructivists like Foucault, Weeks and Halperin look to Greek classicism to substantiate their analysis. Still others find in the enduring prestige of the Greeks an ideological weapon in the fight for equality and social acceptance. Schmidt (1988) argues that the Greek record still confronts us with a radically unfamiliar set of values, behaviours, and social practices, and it is precisely because of this "strangeness" that the cultural articulation of sexual desire in classical Athens is so often used in contemporary discourse on sexuality. Above all else, Greek antiquity calls into question the stability of the concept of "sexuality" (Dover 1988).

Most notable in this regard is the emphasis in classical writing on sexual pleasure. Contrary to the importance placed on heterosexual procreation in eighteenth and nineteenth century, classical Greece always regarded sexual desire as something quite distinct from biological reproduction. While modern writers on sexuality have drawn attention to this facet of Greek writing, it is not well recognised that they were preceded, by more than a century, by many of the early sexologists, including, and most importantly, Freud. From the inception many sexologists used classicism to demonstrate how sexual categories and identities could be both socially constructed and historically specific. Time and again we find that Classical antiquity provided a framework for nineteenth century sexologists to attack the prevailing models of nineteenth century perversion. Even a cursory glance at the writings of Ulrichs, Ellis, Symonds, Hirschfeld, Weininger, Eulenburg, Carpenter, and Freud, indicates how frequently the early sexologists turned towards Greece in order to substantiate their inquiries into sexuality. Because homosexuality was seen as

one of the most common "perversions" of the sexual instinct (either acquired through excess and masturbation, or innate) the battle against medical and psychiatric models of perversion was usually fought in this arena.

Greek homosexuality and the sexologists

Classical authors made explicit references to sexuality and celebrated the body as an object of aesthetic beauty and erotic pleasure. They showed tolerance and even approval of sexual acts that were considered, by nineteenth century standards at any rate, deeply offensive and morally reprehensible. This led to the paradoxical situation in which the Greeks were considered both the exemplars of moral philosophy and the practitioners of sexual indecency (Schmidt 2001). The attitude of the ancient Greeks to sexual practices such as homosexuality made a mockery of the fine distinctions and classification systems of perversion engaged in by the scientists of the nineteenth century. What was presented in the place of these models of degeneracy was a society, neither degenerate nor primitive, which valued homosexual love. Whether this entailed the aesthetic love of young boys (Platonic love), pederasty, or the Dorian model of homosexuality (that extolled the virtues of masculine homosexuality), these same sex relationships called into question the idea of degeneracy and perversion in male sexual love. The portrait of the homosexual as weak, nervous, depraved and feminised (Tardieu, Morel and Nordau) had little in common with the Greek male nude glorified in German Hellenism. These cognitive disjunctions were mobilised by some of the early sexologists and used to counter the taxonomies of degeneration. While interpretations of the sexual instinct may often have differed, for many sexologists Graeco-Roman literature enshrined a discourse on desire, instinct and sexuality, as well as an acceptance of the body, that had little to do with the psychiatric, legal and medical norms of their society.

As we saw previously, modern classical scholarship (Winkler 1989; Hubbard 2003; Percy 2003) produced a plethora of research into the institution of "homosexuality" in classical Greece. A dominant theme in this area is the analysis and evaluation of pedagogic initiation. Few, however,

acknowledge that this feature of Greek sexuality was recognised in the nineteenth century and that there was already a very sophisticated understanding of pedagogic Greek male love. Both Nietzsche and Freud, for example, were cognisant of the essential elements of Greek pederasty. Nietzsche wrote:

> The Greek culture of the classic age is a male culture ...The erotic relation of men to youths was the necessary and sole preparation, to a degree unattainable to our comprehension, of all manly education...All idealism of the strength of the Greek nature threw itself into that relation, and it is probable that never since have young men been treated so attentively, so lovingly, so entirely with a view to their welfare (virtus) as in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. (quoted in Percy 1996).

Before the 1830's the masculinity of the practitioner of *Sodomiterei* was rarely questioned in German legal and medical discourse. Sodomy was considered a criminal act, like any other criminal act. The development of a "homosexual" identity shaped out of the medical and psychiatric writings in the nineteenth century radically altered this conception. In 1834 Heinrich Hössli introduced a theory that clearly saw in same-sex desire the signs of an inner/outer split "a women's soul in a man's body". In response to the "feminising" elements in this theory, sexologists like Adolf Brand, Friedländer and the authors represented in *Der Eigene,* appealed to contemporary discourses of masculinist individualism that allowed them to distance themselves from this discourse. Ivory (2003) claims that Nietzsche provided an ideological underpinning for Männerbund-inspired utopianism. In the face of the feminisation of homosexuality, radical male homosexual groups often appealed to Nietzsche's unfettered individualism to provide an alternative to these pathologising legal and medical discourses.[259]

Freud was also aware of the important role played by Greek pederasty in the initiation of Greek youth. In *The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) he writes:

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[259] Homosexual activists like Adolf Brand emphasised "männliche Kultur" and virile homosexuality. Deeply misogynist, they promoted man-to-man love as the only truly masculine sexual act (Fout 1992).

> account must be taken of the fact that inversion was a frequent phenomenon – one might almost say an institution charged with important functions – among the peoples of antiquity at the height of their civilization" (S.E. 7:139).

Further on in this essay, Freud returned to this phenomenon:

> It is clear that in Greece, where the most masculine men were numbered among the inverts, what excited a man's love was not the masculine character of boy, but his physical resemblance to a woman as well as his feminine mental qualities – his shyness, his modesty and his need for instruction and assistance. As soon as the boy became a man he ceased to be a sexual object for men and himself, perhaps became a lover of boys. In this instance, therefore, as in many others, the sexual object is not someone of the same sex but someone who combines the characters of both sexes; there is, as it were, a compromise between an impulse that seeks for a man and one that seeks for a woman, while it remains a paramount condition that the object's body (i.e. genitals) shall be of a masculine sexual nature (S.E.7:144).

In this passage Freud indicates his knowledge of Greek homosexual relationships, including the fact that they were strongly demarcated by age, and that the educational or initiatory aspect of this relationship was considered paramount. He was also aware, despite much argument to the contrary in nineteenth centaury literature, that homosexuality was not the sole preserve of effeminate men but that "the most masculine men were numbered among the inverts". This knowledge gained from the Greeks assisted him to rise above the stereotypes of the age and debunk many of the myths constituting the discourse on homosexuality. An essential element of the Athenian institution of pederasty was the acceptance of both homosexual and heterosexual expressions of sexuality. For Freud, as for many other early sexologists, this acceptance demonstrated that homosexuality could not be simply dismissed as perversion but was to be understood in the light of both an individual and a societal choice. For Freud it also supported one of his fundamental premises – that of the bisexual nature of each individual.

Freud's theory of sexuality and the Greeks

Very little research has been conducted into the role of classical Greece in Freud's theory on

sexuality, this is despite the fact that in *Three Essays on The Theory of Sexuality,* Freud makes the Greek concept of sexuality one of the cornerstones of his theory of sexuality:

> The most striking distinction between the erotic life of antiquity and our own no doubt lies in the fact that the ancients laid the stress upon the instinct itself, whereas we emphasize its object. The ancients glorified the instinct and were prepared on its account to honour even an inferior object; while we despise the instinctual activity in itself, and find excuses for it only in the merits of the object (S.E. 7:149).

According to Freud, "popular opinion" strongly believed that the sexual instinct is absent in childhood. It only appears at puberty when it is revealed in the manifestations of an irresistible attraction to the opposite sex; whose aim is presumed to be sexual union (S.E.7:135). Freud, of course, completely rejected this view of sexuality.

Davidson (1987) argues that it is impossible to understand the concept of sexual perversion without examining the notion of the sexual instinct. The reason for this is that in the nineteenth century, perversion is conceived as a functional disease of this instinct. Nineteenth century psychiatry did not differ in any way from Freud's description of "popular opinion", and fully endorsed the idea that the function of the sexual instinct lies in the perpetuation of the species. Krafft-Ebing, for example, states that every expression of the sexual instinct that does not correspond with the purpose of nature, which is propagation, must be regarded as perverse. This definition of the sexual instinct, as only concerned with procreation, makes it possible to understand why sadism, masochism, fetishism, and homosexuality could all be treated as a species of the same disease, although they have no essential features in common. In *The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) Freud uses the term "Trieb" (drive or instinct) and makes a distinction between the aim of the instinct and the object of the instinct. The term "Trieb" is in keeping with the medico-psychiatric position that sees deviations with respect to the sexual object as deviations from the natural attraction exercised by one sex upon another. Deviations with respect to the sexual aim are deviations from the natural goal of sexual union. Having laid this groundwork Freud then introduces his radical claim - we should "loosen the bond that exists in our thoughts between instinct and object":

> (W)e have been in the habit of regarding the connection between the sexual instinct and the sexual object as more intimate than it in fact is. Experience of the cases that are considered abnormal has shown us that in them the sexual instinct and the sexual object are merely soldered together –a fact which we have been in danger of overlooking in consequence of the uniformity of the normal picture, where the object appears to form part and parcel of the instinct. We are thus warned to loosen the bond that exists in our thought between instinct and object. It seems probable that the sexual instinct is in the first instance independent of its object; nor is its origin likely to be due to its objects attractions (S.E. 7:148).

In making this distinction between object and aim, Freud, dealt a conceptually devastating blow to the entire structure of nineteenth century theories of sexual psychopathology (Davidson 1987). Since the nature of the instinct has no special bond with any particular kind of object, Freud forces us to conclude that the supposed deviation of inversion is no more than a mere difference. All human beings are bi-sexual and capable of making a homosexual object-choice. Freud was a product of the old medical order that regarded "perversions" as pathological and many of the ambiguities and contradictions in his writing suggest that he was often confused by his revolutionary claims. Nevertheless, even a severe critic like Foucault recognised the importance of his insight:

> It is very well to look back from our vantage point and remark upon the normalizing impulse in Freud; one can go on to denounce the role played for many years by the psychoanalytic institution; but the fact remains that in the great family of technologies of sex, that goes so far back into the history of the Christian West, of all those institutions that set out in the nineteenth century to medicalize sex, it was the one that, up to the decade of the forties, rigorously opposed the political and institutional effects of the perversion-heredity-degenerescence system (Foucault 1998:119).

Freud has often been portrayed, and portrayed himself, as a lone genius; someone who single-handedly formulated the theory of psychoanalysis. Contrary to this, Freud was not writing in isolation, but was a participant in an ongoing debate on the nature and function of sexuality. Long before the appearance of the *Three Essays,* sexology had already been constituted as a separate discipline of enquiry, and terms such as libido, component instincts, erotogenic zones, catharsis, autoerotism and narcissism were in circulation (Sulloway 1979). It has become fashionable to castigate Freud for his failure to acknowledge his predecessors (Sulloway 1979; Winter 1999). But Freud (at least by 1910 in

the *Three Essays*) explicitly refers to the contribution of these early "fathers of sexology". Perhaps the implications of Freud's list of early sexologists is often overlooked because, except in fairly restricted domains such as the history of homosexuality, these men have been all but forgotten. It is important, however, to consider some of the names mentioned by Freud as they provide an important key to contextualising the development of psychoanalysis

In the second edition of *Three Essays in Sexuality* published in 1910, five years after the first edition, Freud added the following footnote:

> The information contained in this first essay is derived from the well-known writings of Krafft-Ebing[260], Moll, Moebius, Havelock Ellis, Schrenck-Notzing, Löwenfeld, Eulenburg, Bloch and Hirschfeld, and from the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* published under the direction of the last named author (S.E.7:135).

Freud's late acknowledgement of these writers is difficult to understand. Perhaps, as Sulloway (1979) has suggested, there was some anxiety about how much he owed to these sources, or perhaps he was concerned about the acceptability or scientific credibility of some of these sources. Whatever the reasons, through this acknowledgement Freud positioned his work with regard to them in, what Sulloway later termed, "the historical alliance of psychoanalysis with sexology" (1979:277). In so doing Freud not only acknowledged a debt to these men but also established a roll call of the early pioneers in sexology.

A matrix of interests

It has frequently been argued that sexology was implicated in many of the mechanisms aimed at controlling sexuality. These views link sexology to the support of legal systems, German nationalism, eugenics, and anti-feminist movement. Foucault, for example, characterises sexology as a science:

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[260] Professor of psychiatry at the University of Vienna, Krafft-Ebing did more than anyone else to transform the approach to the study of sexual pathology from one of stringent legal containment and social taboo to one of legitimate medical concern (Sulloway 1979). As one of Freud's colleagues he supported Freud's promotion to Extraordinary Professor at the University of Vienna. Freud made extensive use of the case histories which are, according to Sulloway, heavily marked in Freud's copy of the *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Krafft-Ebing was, towards the end of his life, to separate the doctrine of degeneration from the theory of homosexuality.

> associated with an insistent and indiscreet medical practice, glibly proclaiming its aversions, quick to run to the rescue of law and public opinion, more servile with respect to the powers of order than amenable to the requirements of truth. Involuntarily naïve in the best of cases, more often intentionally mendacious, in complicity with what it denounced, haughty and coquettish, it established an entire pornography of the morbid, which was characteristic of the fin de siècle society…It promised to eliminate defective individuals, degenerate and bastardised populations. In the name of biological and historical urgency, it justified the racisms of the state, which at the time were on the horizon (Foucault 1998:54).

Foucault's work generally focused on sexologists such as Kaan,[261] Campe, Tardieu, Moll and Krafft-Ebing, practitioners well known for their conservative attitudes towards sexuality. Post-Foucaultians tend to continue this, somewhat exclusive, tradition. To counter these claims, the first thing to note is that many of early sexologists (contrary to accepted wisdom) were not members of conventional German bourgeois medical and psychiatric circles, but were drawn from stigmatised groups. A very large proportion of the leading figures in German sexology were Jews.[262] Of the sexologists mentioned by Freud in his 1910 preface to the *Three Essays on Sexuality*, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Magnus Hirschfeld, Albert Eulenberg, Albert Moll, Löwenfeld and Iwan Bloch, were all Jews. Others not named by Freud in his preface, but cited in Freud's work, and influential in his theory, were Lombroso, Breuer, Fliess, Steinarch, Hitschmann, von Ehrenfels, Salomon Krauss, and Weininger. From the above it is not difficult to understand why sexology was often categorised as a "Jewish science". Haeberle asserts:

> it may or may not be a coincidence (and I myself attach no ulterior significance to it), but it so happens that the overwhelming majority of the sexological pioneers were Jews (Haeberle 1982:306).

Haeberle, while attaching "no ulterior significance" to this fact, nevertheless concludes that it

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[261] Kaan, a Russian physician, published a book under the title *Psychopathia Sexualis* in 1843 More than 40 years later, the Austrian psychiatrist Krafft-Ebing used the same title for a new study of unconventional sexual behaviour. Kaan also offered a first list of other, comparatively minor, sexual "aberrations," such as love of boys, homosexual mutual masturbation, violation of corpses, coitus with animals, and sexual contact with statues. Kaan's belief in the possible heredity of sexual deviance retained its appeal and was, in fact, strengthened in subsequent years (Haeberle 1977).

[262] Biale claims that it was not uncommon for Jewish physicians to take up marginal specialities, and it therefore come as not surprise that a new medical discipline such as sexology might be the creation of those already on the professional margins (Biale 1997:274).

is an area that seems well worth investigating.[263] My investigation into sexology suggests that the predominance of Jews in sexology is not a coincidence. Despite the prevailing scientific climate, sexology (especially in its alliance with Greek classicism) allowed many researchers (often Jewish, often homosexual) to resist the authority of biological determinism so prevalent in medical science.[264] The necessity for such resistance is immediately obvious. Biological determinism and associated theories of degeneracy were usually aligned with racism, sexism and homosexual prejudice and as such these theories easily lent support to sexual, political and cultural discrimination. Gilman (1994) in his analysis of medicine and race in the nineteenth century documents the pathologies and diseases attributed to the Jew in the medical literature of the time. In this literature Jews are constructed as morally, physically and sexually degenerate, with an inherited predisposition to homosexuality, neurosis and effeminacy. This biological degeneration is often attributed to "inbreeding", sexual dissipation and incest. In the fin-de-siècle medical literature there was also a clear association of the Jew with sexual crime and criminal perversion (Gilman 1994:172). Many Germans considered sexology not only as an example of a "Jewish" science, it was also seen as an example of their degeneracy. When the Nazi's marched into Berlin on May 6th 1933 they plundered the Hirschfeld Institute for Sexology and publicly burned the library for being "un-German".[265]

Looking at Freud as a Jewish scientist working in medicine in Austria in the nineteenth century (when the relation between medicine and race had such a powerful hold) Gilman (1994) claims that

[263] Haeberle writes, "The reason for the predominance of Jews among the sexological pioneers seems well worth investigating. However, since not even the most elementary studies of the birth and early development of sexology have been made, this more specialised question connote be adequately addressed at this time (Haeberle 1982:306).

[264] In his preface to the third edition of the *Three Essays* Freud asserts the following, "I must, however, emphasize that the present work is characterized not only by being completely based upon psychoanalytic research, but also by being deliberately independent of the findings of biology. I have carefully avoided introducing any preconceptions, whether derived from general sexual biology or from that of particular animal species, into this study – a study which is concerned with the sexual functions of human beings and which is made possible through the technique of psycho-analysis" (S.E. 7:131).

[265] With the Nazis in power the science of sexology was effectively crushed in Germany and Austria. Most sexologists lost their opportunity to work because they were Jewish and fled into exile. Hirschfeld fled to France, where he died in 1935. In 1938 Freud left for England. Max Marcuse, Ernst Klimowsky and Felix Theilhaber escaped to Palestine. Bernhard Schapiro escaped via Switzerland to the USA. Wilhelm Reich first went to Scandinavia, and then on to USA. Salomon Krauss died in Vienna in 1938 before the "Anschluss" but Albert Moll remained in Berlin and died just before transportation to the death camps. (Berlin, H.-U. z. (10/06/2003) *Archiv Für Sexualwissenschaft*).

little or no attention has been given to the strategies through which those scientists labelled by their science as inherently different or pathological came to terms with this label:

> The question of responses to theories of biological or social determinism during this period has been often raised, but as of now there are few detailed studies of the structural response to these images of pathology by those scientists belonging to stigmatised groups (Gilman 1994:7).

In his inquiry into identity and race in the fin de siècle Gilman forcefully argues that the assumptions of racial science formed part of the underpinnings of medical science in this period. He claims that Freud disassociated himself, and all those "othered" by racial science, by linking the concept of degeneracy with that of psychiatry. Having done so he then condemned them both. Instead of biological degeneration he formulated a theory that had no relationship to heredity. It then became possible for conditions such as obsessional neurosis, hysteria and homosexuality to be cured. Gilman states, "character and not biology structures Freud's definition of degeneracy" (1994:160). It is interesting that in this respect Foucault (1998) makes a similar claim. He argues that from its inception, psychoanalysis was suspicious of the power mechanisms aimed at controlling and administering sexuality, and states that psychoanalysis was both theoretically and practically opposed to fascism. This theoretical and political position was considered by Foucault to be a reaction against the surge of racism that was contemporary with it. Other Jewish sexologists were also faced with the problem of racism. They may have differed in their responses from Freud, but nearly all of them formulated theories that contested the link between biology and degeneracy. Gilman's thesis concerning the "racial" implication of Freud's theory is crucial for any understanding of his work. But it is also important to bear in mind that "race" was not the only interest that found expression in the discourse around sexuality. Homosexuality and the discourse around "inversion" was also a major focus.[266] These two areas are often difficult to separate since

[266] Recent research has thrown more light on the role of feminist activists such as Anna Rueling in countering nineteenth century views on the role of women in Germany. Although this is an important area in nineteenth century sexology it falls outside the ambit of this discussion.

homosexuality and "race" were so often related in nineteenth century discourse.

As Gilman argues, in fin de siècle science, the "degenerate Jew" was intimately tied up with models of "degenerate sexuality" (Gilman 1994). The constant association of "contrary sexual feeling" with perversion and criminality encouraged the "invert" to look for an alternative discourse that accepted his desires and viewed them as both noble and respectable. Hellenism was the most important "redemptive strategy" available (Ivory 2003). In surveying the early writings on sexology one cannot overlook the homosexual interest in this subject. Adolf Brand,[267] Friedländer, Hössli, Karl Maria Kertbeny, Ulrichs, Hirschfeld, Weininger, Eulenberg, Iwan Bloch, Krauss, Symonds and Carpenter were all homosexual and Fliess, Ehrenfels and Freud were either bisexual or "homosocial". Although many disagreements existed between these researchers on definitions of homosexuality, their work was nearly always directed at the transformation of general attitudes towards forms of non-reproductive sex. Furthermore, despite dissimilar definitions of homosexuality, they all attempted by their research to repeal anti-homosexual legislation and as such they all represent a form of scientific activism. It is no coincidence that the Western world's most vigorous sex reform movement emerged in Germany in response to the imperial government's imposing on the entire country (following the unification of the nation in 1871), article 175 of the Prussian Criminal code (McLaren 1999).[268] "Race" and "homosexuality" therefore represent two distinct but interconnected strands in the discourse around sexuality. To be a Jew in Vienna or Germany meant to occupy a position outside conventional middle-class society and outside of the medical establishment (Rozenblit 1983). To be considered an "invert" was even more detrimental as it immediately exposed anyone labelled as such to criminal charges.

To reject the theory of degeneration was to reject conventional nineteenth century science, a science that had already labelled Jews, women and homosexuals as inferior. Excluded by this science, those who labelled and working in this domain, could neither appeal to it nor challenge it

[267] Brand is considered to have published the first "gay" journal, *Der Eigene* (Bland 1998; Ivory 2003).
[268] Paragraph 175 was a provision of the German Criminal Code from 15 May 1871 to 10 March 1994. It made homosexual acts between males a crime, and in early revisions the provision also criminalised bestiality.

(Gilman 1994). Unable to debate the theory of degeneration in scientific terms, many of the early sexologists removed themselves from this domain.

In discussing the matrix of interests surrounding Freud and the early circle of sexologists it has been noted how many of these men were either Jews and homosexual or "homosocial". They also had something else in common. They were, with few exceptions, all excellent classicists. This explains why appeals to ancient Greece so frequently displaced scientific argument. That sexology should have flourished in Germany is more than coincidental. Austria and Germany were seen as the guiding light of classical studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Anyone who laid a claim to education and culture was conversant with the literature and art of the classical tradition. Classical Greece provided an alternative model to the perversion theory and presented an example of a culture that had reached its apogee in Western civilization, while at the same time condoning and indeed actively proclaiming the ideals of homosexuality. This disjunction between classical ideas of sexuality and the Victorian ideal of procreative sex opened up a window that allowed those interested in this subject to explore and write about alternative models of sexuality. This could explain why the broadening of the debate around sexuality did not so much come from inside medicine and biology but was more often drawn from the disciplines of history, classical scholarship and anthropology.

Of the early sexologists Ulrichs,[269] Hössli,[270] Friedländer,[271] Roeher, Von Römer,[272] Brandt, Eulenburg, Bloch and Hirschfeld[273] were all excellent classical scholars. Major contributions to

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[269] Ulrichs (1825-1895) often wrote under the pseudonym of "Numa Numantius". His first five essays, collected as *Forschungen über das Rätsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* (Researches on the Riddle of Male-Male Love), explained such love as natural and biological, summed up with the Latin phrase *anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa* (a female psyche confined in a male body). In these essays, Ulrichs coined various terms to describe different sexual orientation and gender identity,. including "Urning" for a male who desires men and "Dioning" for a male who is attracted to women. These terms are in reference to a section of Plato's *Symposium* in which two kinds of love are discussed, symbolised by an Aphrodite who is born from a male (Uranos), and an Aphrodite who is born from a female (Dione).

[270] Hössli (1784-1864) wrote the book *Eros. Die Männerliebe der Griechen*, which was one of the first books that defended love between men in the nineteenth century, and used as its philosophical foundation the Greek writings on pederasty.

[271] Benedict Friedländer (1866-1908), wrote *Renaissance des Eros Uranios* (Renaissance of the Uranian Eros, 1904), a scholarly treatise arguing that same-sex friendship is a normal, fundamental drive of mankind, which had a large impact on members of the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (Ivory 2003).

sexology also came from Symonds[274] and Carpenter,[275] both classicists with published work in this area. Ellis (who relied heavily upon Symond's classical knowledge[276]) comments upon the close relationship between the study of classical Greece and homosexuality when he writes:

> It is noteworthy that sexual inversion should so often been found associated with the study of antiquity. It must not, however, be too hastily concluded that this is due to suggestion and that to abolish the study of Greek literature and art would be largely to abolish sexual inversion. What has really occurred in those recent cases that may be studied, and therefore without doubt in the older cases, is that the subject of congenital sexual inversion is attracted to the study of Greek antiquity because he finds there the explanation and apotheosis of his own obscure impulses (Ellis 1930:35).

Foucault (1998) once asked whether the practice of *scientia sexualis* was not simply an extraordinary form of *ars erotica* - a Western, sublimated version of the lost art of love. In looking at the work of some of the early sexologists and their engagement with Greece, it is easy to conclude that many of these men were not simply conducting scientific investigations into sexuality but were often writing a "poetics of desire" and that these interests were most clearly revealed in their writings on bisexuality and homosexuality. One can also argue that in the nineteenth century *scientia sexualis* did not simply displace the *ars erotica.* Rather, one finds that a great deal of early sexology used the old forms of erotic knowledge to explore and write about their own sexual interests and that these two branches of sexual knowledge were from the outset inextricably intertwined.

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[272] Von Römer offered a fully illustrated study of the ancient conception of hermaphroditism in sculpture.

[273] The *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* gives a clear indication of the relationship between classical scholarship and sexology. Ellis (1930) cites numerous examples in his discussion of *paiderastia* drawn from the journal and notes that it "contains many studies bearing on the ideal and aesthetic aspects of homosexuality" most of them being based on and around early Greek civilisation.

[274] John Addington Symonds (1840-1893) was remarkably well read in Greek, Latin, German and Italian. A close friend of Jowett, the renowned English classicist, Symonds wrote that he was able to reconcile himself to his homosexuality upon reading Plato's *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium.* He corresponded with Ulrichs, Hirschfeld, Ellis and Henry James. His manuscript *A problem in Modern Ethics* written in 1873 was very much concerned with the subject of Pederasty. Not printed until 1883 it was published in the German edition of Havelock Ellis's first book *The Psychology of Sex* (Bristow 1998).

[275] Carpenter rejected any theory of degeneracy and explored the theme of gender in different cultures. In order to situate homosexuality within a broader historical and cultural framework, he drew heavily upon Müller's *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* and Bethe's treatise *Die Dorische Knabenliefe* (1907) on Dorian military comradeship.

[276] Symonds' history, Ellis's Heredity: Sexual inversion (Bristow1998)

The images of homoerotic love, allowable because they represented the fountainhead of Western philosophy, resonated with many of the concerns regarding sexual identity in fin de siècle Europe.[277] In referencing the classics these early sex researchers were confident of being understood by their peers. Medicine and classical learning were always closely intertwined in the universities and a command of Latin, for example, was required for medical students in the nineteenth century.[278] Not only were they confident that they would be understood by their medical peers, they could also expect to be understood by a large and influential public, a public educated in the ideals of *Bildung* and thus thoroughly conversant with their arguments and sources. The following example illustrates this. On the 15th January 1909 Karl Kraus, editor of *Die Fackel,* a polemicist of note and incidentally one of psychoanalysis's most scathing opponents, published the following article:

> Even at the risk of being branded as suffering from 'acquired homosexuality', every thoughtful person ought to protest against the disgrace of an officially prescribed norm of sexual conduct, and for the unqualified right of a person to be a homosexual. Pious idiocy has ostracized, as a depravity, all variation from prescribed norms of sexual pleasure, and has condemned an expansion of the human capacity for enjoyment which in all cultures – not solely in that of Greek antiquity – was regarded as the intimate right of the artist and of every other well-developed personality"(Szasz 1977:149).

This article is intriguing as it was not published in some obscure academic journal but in a newspaper aimed at the general Viennese readership. Kraus not only defends sexual pleasure as the intimate right of every individual, but more importantly for the purposes of this thesis, aligns both sexual pleasure and homosexuality with the prestige of Greek antiquity. This article indicates how frequently the debates around homosexuality were couched in terms outside the medical model of pathology.

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[277] From the nineteenth century, and even later, Plato's *Phaedrus* or *Symposium* provided the 'general reader' with an alternative model of sexuality. Dover (1988) has caustically observed that until quite recently it was profitable to advertise the ancient world as an 'Abbey of Thelema': "I have seen Plato's *Phaedrus* in Charing Cross Road displayed between the *Kama Sutra* and the *Perfumed Garden* – but the virtual disappearance of sexual inhibition in contemporary literature has deprived that exercise of point" (Dover 1988).

[278] David Blain notes in the foreword to *Psychopathia Sexualis* that *The British Medical Journal* in 1893 expressed the opinion that Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* should not have been translated into English but in Latin "Better if it had been written entirely in Latin, and thus veiled in the decent obscurity of a dead language" Krafft-Ebing (1965:ix).

Because Greece became a major referent in the different positions taken towards sexuality labelled pathological, those who adopted positions that viewed homosexuality as perverse and diseased were forced to reject ancient Greece as the apogee of Western civilisation. In the early days of sexology Krafft-Ebing was one of the most conservative nineteenth century sexologists, as well as being one of the most important. In *Psychopathia Sexualis* he distanced himself from those who called upon ancient Greece to support their sexual theories. To counter his opponents, who found in Greece the highest vision of humanity, Krafft-Ebing used the stages theory of civilization – a teleological vision to counter the Platonic version – to argue against the idealisation of ancient Greece. Greece, according to him, belonged to a more primitive stage of civilisation characterised by the worship of the phallus and Priapus. Sexual excess, encouraged by these practices, undermined the nervous system of the individual and the fabric of society. In this evolutionary (and teleological) version of society, the advance of Christian morality is seen to counter the excesses of earlier society. He writes:

> In comparing the various stages of civilization it becomes evident that, despite periodical relapses, public morality has made steady progress, and that Christianity is the chief factor in this advance.
>
> We are certainly far beyond sodomitic idolatry, the public life, legislation and religious exercises of ancient Greece, not to speak of the worship of Phallus and Priapus, in vogue among the Athenians and Babylonians, or the Bacchanalian feasts of the Romans and the privileged position held by the courtesans of those days.
>
> There are stagnant and fluctuating periods in this slow progress, but they are only like the ebb and flood-tide of sexual life in the individual. The episodes of moral decay always coincide with the progression of effeminacy, lewdness and luxuriance of the nations. These phenomena can only be ascribed to the higher and more stringent demands which circumstances make upon the nervous system. Exaggerated tension of the nervous system stimulates sensuality, leads the individual as well as the masses to excesses, and undermines the very foundations of society, and the morality and purity of family life. The material and moral ruin of the community is readily brought about by debauchery, adultery and luxury. Greece, the Roman Empire, and France under Louis XIV and XV, are striking examples of this assertion. In such periods of civic and moral decline the most monstrous excesses of sexual life may be observed, which, however, can always

> be traced to psycho-pathological or neuro-pathological conditions of the nations involved (Krafft-Ebing 1965:4).

Krafft-Ebing's response to the thorny problem of Greece is interesting. More interesting, however, is that he found it necessary to immediately challenge Greece as a trope in the debates around sexuality. In doing so he indicated the major contribution it made to early sexology.

Freud supported what one could loosely call "the homosexual lobby". In a footnote added to *The Three Essays* in 1915 he argues:

> Psycho-analytic research is most decidedly opposed to any attempt at separating off homosexuals from the rest of mankind as a group of special character. By studying sexual excitations other than those that are manifestly displayed, it has found that all human beings are capable of making a homosexual object-choice and have in fact made one in their unconscious. Indeed, libidinal attachments to persons of the same sex play no less a part as factors in normal mental life, and a greater part as a motive force for illness, than do similar attachments to the opposite sex (S.E. 7:145).

Foucault described sexology as:

> a science made up of evasions since, given its inability or refusal to speak of sex itself, it concerned itself primarily with aberrations, perversions, exceptional oddities, pathological abatements, and morbid aggravations. It was by the same token a science subordinated in the main to the imperatives of a morality whose divisions it reiterated under the guise of the medical norm Strange pleasures, it warned, would eventually result in nothing short of death: that of individuals, generations, the species itself (Foucault 1998, 53:54).

There is little doubt that sexual aberration constituted the largest area of investigation in early sexology. Lombroso, Casper-Liman, Tardieu, Carlier, Taxil, Moreau, Tarnowsky, and to a lesser extend Krafft-Ebing and Ellis, made it the central part of their discourse on sexuality. However, it is also clearly evident that not all the early sexologists should be lumped together and then criticised *en masse*. To do so is, at best, a simplification of the historical evidence. Many of the early sexologists were indeed sympathetic to "strange pleasures", and writers such as Hössli, Ulrichs, Hirschfeld, Brandt, Krauss and Symonds definitely did not subordinate their science to the imperatives of morality - a morality characterised by Freud as follows:

> Present-day civilization makes it plain that it will only permit sexual relationships on the basis of a solitary, indissoluble bond between one man and one woman, that it does not like sexuality as a source of pleasure in its own right and is only prepared to tolerate it because there is so far no substitute for it as a means of propagating the human race (S.E.21:105).

It is these restrictions on the sexual instinct that often lead, according to Freud, to neurosis, obsession and hysteria. In his theory Freud, like so many of the early sexologists, displaces the biological drives and the reproductive urges of the libido with desire and polymorphous pleasures. Sexuality becomes protean and flexible and bi-sexuality becomes one of the keys to understanding the development of human sexuality.

Many of the early homosexual sexologists were not as radical as Freud, and accepted a biological aetiology for homosexuality. Sexologists such as Karl Maria Kertbeny, Hössli and Ulrichs argued against the criminalisation of the same sex act on the grounds that homosexuality was congenital and therefore it was unjust to prosecute individuals who practiced homosexuality. Ulrichs is perhaps the best know of these men. As early as 1862, he expounded and defended homosexual love, at first under the name of "*Numa Numantius*" and subsequently under his own name. He advocated the freedom of sexual choice and founded the cult of Uranism that was modelled on Pausanias's praise of Uranian, or heavenly pederasty, in Plato's Symposium.[279] The term "the third sex" used so much in early literature is a result of Ulrichs's writing. He regarded *Uranism,* or homosexual love, as a congenital condition by which a female soul had become united with a male body. To support his biological theory of homosexual love he cited as evidence man's embryonic bisexuality up to the twelfth foetal week, and observations by Charles Darwin and Robert Chambers on hermaphroditism in lower animals and plants (Sulloway 1979). While accepting a biological underpinning for homosexuality, he like so many others who were influenced by him, rejected the label of pathology applied to homosexuality. The concept of homosexual perversion was countered by citing examples

[279]Ulrich's distinction between Celestial Aphrodite and Common Aphrodite is drawn from the *Symposium* where Pausanias states that those who follow common love are attracted to both women and boys. Furthermore when they fall in love they are attracted to the body more than to the mind. But love that follows the Celestial Aphrodite is wholly male with no trace of femininity. Those who are inspired by this love turn to the boys. This love is of a purer form.

from classical Greece.[280]

Freud alludes to Uranism a number of times in his work. He supported, for example, some of the strategies used by Ulrichs to reform conceptions around homosexuality and states:

> (i)t must be allowed that the spokesmen of 'Uranism" are justified in asserting that some of the most prominent men in all recoded history were inverts and perhaps even absolute inverts (S.E. 7:139).

Freud, however, found Ulrich's theorising crude, especially his acceptance of a biological aetiology of homosexuality. He writes:

> The theory of bisexuality has been expressed in its crudest form by a spokesman of the male inverts: "a feminine brain in a masculine body". But we are ignorant of what characterizes a feminine brain. There is neither need nor justification for replacing the psychological problem by the anatomical one (S.E. 7:142).

Westphal's work published in 1870[281] was later to give Ulrichs writing and thinking a more scientific status, particularly in England among proponents such as Symonds and Carpenter. Krafft-Ebing was deeply indebted to Ulrichs and at one time attributed his ambition of erecting a whole science of sexual pathology to his influence (Havelock Ellis 1930) and his concept of congenital homosexuality did not essentially differ from that of Ulrichs.

Magnus Hirschfeld, is perhaps the most vocal and prolific of the early sexologists. He published well over forty books on homosexuality and as editor of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (established in 1899) he did more than anyone else to open up investigations into "deviant" sexuality. Conceptually he came closest to Ulrichs' idea of a third sex. Today he is regarded as a forerunner for gay rights, especially given the active role that he played as President of the *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee* in defending the interests of homosexuals in Germany. Although accepting a congenital aetiology for homosexuality, Hirschfeld, like his counterparts,

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[280]Ulrichs left Germany in 1880 for voluntary exile in Italy, where he devoted the last years of his life to promoting Latin as an international language through the publication of a Latin journal (*Alaudae*) written entirely by himself. He died in 1895 in Aquila, Italy.

[281] Westphal lent his support to the congenital view of homosexuality coining the expression "conträre Sexualempfindung" (Sulloway 1979)

rejected the pathological conception of inversion, [282] a position that he encouraged in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. In this journal Hirschfeld published numerous articles on the relationship between "Greek love" and homosexuality, encouraging people such as Brand and Bloch to contribute to this debate.

Freud operates with a concept of the sexual instinct that differs from many of these contemporaries, and his conclusions are far more radical in that he does not endorse a congenital aetiology for homosexuality. The most influential sexologist, and the one to whom Freud acknowledges an outstanding debt, is Iwan Bloch (1872-1922), another outspoken champion of homosexuality. Often writing under the pseudonym of Eugen Dübren, Bloch was the first to introduce the concept of *Sexualwissenschaft,* or sexology, as a new theoretical orientation to the study of sexuality, and as such is often regarded as the "father of sexology". Although a dermatologist by training, Bloch was more renowned for his classical and anthropological erudition. He was proficient in various languages including Greek and Latin and was an avid reader of historical literature. He used his extensive knowledge to argue for the cultural and historical relativity of sexual behaviour, pointing out that supposedly pathological and degenerate sexual behaviour has existed throughout the world and among both civilised and primitive people. In *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit* (*The Sexual Life of our Time*, 1907), Iwan Bloch presents a conceptual framework that calls into question many of Foucault's formulations concerning sexology:

> The author of the present work...is convinced that the purely medical consideration of the sexual life, although it must always constitute the nucleus of sexual science, is yet incapable of doing full justice to the many-sided relationships between the sexual and all the other provinces of human life. To do justice to the whole importance of love in the life of the individual and in that of society, and in relation to the evolution of human civilization, this particular branch of inquiry must be treated in its proper subordination as a part of the general "science of mankind" which is constituted by a union of all other sciences -- of general biology, anthropology and ethnology, philosophy and psychology, the history of literature, and the entire history of civilization (cited in Haeberle 1983:5).

[282] See *Die Homosexualität*.

Freud acknowledged his debt to Bloch in *The Three Essays* when he remarked that:

> The pathological approach to the study of inversion has been displaced by the anthropological. The merit for bringing about this change is due to Bloch (1902-3) who has also laid stress on the occurrence of inversion among the civilisations of antiquity (S.E. 7:139).

Bloch's anthropological investigations led him to oppose the "clinico-pathological theory" of the sexual aberrations with his own "anthropologic-ethnologic" conception and argued that only a thin line separates the normal and the pathological. The fact that sexual aberrations are a universal human phenomenon was primary evidence for Bloch that nervous degeneracy was not an accurate diagnosis. In Bloch's writing, homosexuality is neither pathological, nor a result of biological factors. Sulloway (1979) and Davidson (1987) single out Bloch's contribution to Freud, attributing to him Freud's shift to the anthropological and historical in his writing. The abandonment of concepts of perversion is evidenced in Freud's theory of "inversion", and the importance of *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis* (1902-1903) for Freud is indicated by the heavy underlining and marginalia that mark Bloch's book in Freud's library. Freud found in Iwan Bloch a welcome ally and he used Bloch's material in his writings, and also accessed many of the anthropological and scientific sources that had originally inspired Bloch. It is interesting that while medical researchers such as Krafft-Ebing, Lombroso, Tardieu, and Tarnowsky were looking for the signs of degeneration and decay, others such as Bloch, Krauss and Freud,[283] were investigating the rich stores of anthropological data made available by imperialism and colonialism. Sulloway (1979) claims that it was through Bloch that Freud was able to make contract with Krauss. Krauss' work focused on historical research into the ethnology of sexual morality and in 1904 he founded the highly influential journal *Anthropophyteia*.[284]

In the intellectual movement surrounding Hirschfeld, Paul Brandt (1875-1929) was another

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[283] The literature used by Freud in *Totem and Taboo* is a clear example of the influence of anthropology on his theory of culture. His discussion includes the following names – Morgan, Spencer, Junod, Tylor, Reinach, Bloch, Rivers, Frazer, McLennan, Max-Müller, Durkheim, and Robertson Smith.

[284] His research into olfactory simulation and sexuality was of great interest to both Fliess and Freud and he later became a frequent guest at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society

distinguished classicist. He used the pseudonym of Hans Licht, and wrote on subjects relating to Greek literature and homosexuality for nearly two decades. He also collaborated with Magnus Hirschfeld in preparing the chapters on homosexuality and Greece that appeared in *Homosexualität.* Beginning in 1906 Brandt published a series of studies on sexuality found in the various genres of Greek literature – lyric and bucolic (1906); epigram (1908); comedy (1910) Homer, tragedy and Artemidoros (1911); and a study on Philostratos' erotic letters (1912). These writing appeared in books and journal such as *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, Anthropophyteia* (1910) and *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft.* Brandt's later 3-volume work, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (1925-28), translated into English in 1932 as *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece* is an in depth discussion on homosexuality and Greek classical antiquity that many consider unequalled even today.

An alternative discourse to science –the Symposium

Boswell (1991) claims that there is still no essential agreement in the scientific community about the nature of sexuality. It is an open question whether humans are "homosexual" or "heterosexual" or "bisexual" by birth, by training or by choice. This lack of scientific agreement is perhaps one of the reasons why today, as in the past, the ancient tract on love, Plato's *Symposium*, still remains the *locus classicus* for discussions on sexuality. In the nineteenth century, Ulrichs used Aristophanes' speech in the *Symposium* to argue for an innate homosexual predisposition. Recently two of the most respected modern historians in the field of sexuality, John Boswell and David Halperin, have used this same text to argue their respective positions on sexuality. John Boswell is often characterised as an essentialist, while David Halperin is a social constructivist. The crux of their dispute concerns "the problem of universals". Whether categories exist because humans recognise real distinctions in the world around them (realists or essentialists) or whether categories are arbitrary conventions that have categorical force because humans agree to use them in certain ways. Those who claim that categories are only the names (Latin *nomina*) of things agreed upon by humans and that language structures and orders knowledge are called nominalists or social

constructivists. Realists or essentialists maintain that humans are differentiated sexually and that the heterosexual / homosexual dichotomy exists in speech and thought because it exists in reality. It is not invented by sexual taxonomists, but observed by them. Nominalists claim that humans and the societies in which they live create categories of sexual preference and behaviour. Words like "homosexuality" and "heterosexually" do not describe patterns of behaviour inherent in human beings but create and establish it. Left to their own devices people would simply be sexual (Halperin 1998, Boswell 1991).

Boswell argues that throughout history something approaching a modern gay identity is evidenced in the classical texts of Greece and Rome. According to him, the purpose of Aristophanes' myth in Plato's *Symposium* is to explain why humans are divided into groups of homosexual and heterosexual and bisexual interest. This text then vouches for the existence of homosexuality as an ancient category of human experience.[285] Moreover, Boswell claims that the myth strongly implies that these interests can be both exclusive and innate. David Halperin, on the other hand, states that the myth demonstrates exactly the opposite. Halperin's reading of the myth makes the sexual desire of every human being formally identical to that of every other. He writes:

> We are all looking for the same thing in a sexual partner, according to Plato's Aristophanes – namely, a symbolic substituted for an originary object once loved and subsequently lost in an archaic trauma. In that respect we all share the same "sexuality" – which is to say that despite the differences in our personal preferences or tastes, we are not individuated at the level of our sexual being (Halperin, 1991:44).

Given the important role of the *Symposium* in both nineteenth century and modern debates on divergent sexuality, it comes as little surprise that Freud also made use of this text in his theory of sexuality. Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* stand beside his *Interpretation of*

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[285] Recent scholarship (Percy 1996; Hubbard 2003) appears to support Boswell's claim. Hubbard (2003) states that not only was there a widespread perception that individuals were characterised by their sexual preference, but there is also considerable evidence that like-minded individuals congregated in social venues conducive to pursuing their mutual interests. Winkler, a classical scholar, draws attention to the ancient Greek and Roman figure of the Kinaidos. He claims that the conception of the Kinaidos was of a man socially deviant in his entire being, and to this extent, Kinaidos was a category of person, not just of acts (Halperin 1998; Winkler 1989).

Dreams as his most important and original contribution to human knowledge. He never revised the 1905 first edition of *The Three Essays* but continued to add notes to these essays throughout his life. As a result they resemble a palimpsest document of Freud's developing theory of sexuality and are, in themselves, an excellent illustration of his own archaeological theory of the mind. He mentions the *Symposium* in the first edition of *Three Essays,* where he uses it to situate his discussion on homosexuality, and later in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* to discuss the origin of sexuality and the desire to return to an earlier state of being. In *The Three Essays* Freud writes:

> The popular view of the sexual instinct is beautifully reflected in the poetic fable which tells how the original human beings were cut up into two halves – man and woman – and how these are always striving to unite again in love. It comes as a great surprise therefore to learn that there are men whose sexual object is a man and not a woman, and women whose sexual object is a woman and not a man (S.E. 7:137).

If one accepts that Freud is using the myth found in *The Symposium* (and there is little reason to suspect otherwise, as he explicitly uses the same myth, albeit in its original form, in later discussions) one is left in a state of some confusion. For in retelling Plato's myth, Freud excludes one of the most fundamental parts of the discussion on the nature of Eros. He expunges the very reason for the importance of this speech in nineteenth century discussions on sexuality. Freud changes Plato's myth into a heterosexual fable (Santas 1988). Yet Aristophanes' fable on Eros is anything but a heterosexual fable. It was precisely in the name of "popular opinion" that *The Symposium* suffered such harsh censorship throughout the centuries.

Given this confusion, one can only suppose that Freud is playing an intellectual game, and that he uses the "popular" version of the myth as a foil against which to argue his extended view of sexuality contained in Plato's *Symposium*. "Popular opinion" is often evoked by Freud to contrast his own theory on sexuality with common, but unscientific, truisms. This "popular view" of the origin of sexuality is, according to Freud, found in the *Brihadaranyaka-upanishad (*S.E. 18 58). In this text, man felt lonely and wished for a companion. He divided his Self in two and there arose husband and wife. The myth told by Aristophanes was, Freud believed, derived from this ancient source, but was

extended by Plato to allow for both heterosexual and homosexual erotic relationships. It is important to remember that Freud used this myth to introduce his discussion on sexual deviation in terms of the sexual object - homosexuality. It thus indicates his awareness of the seminal position of this myth in the early discussions on sexology. Plato's reworking of the myth proposes three genders – male, female and an androgynous gender that is a combination of male and female. It is necessary to present Plato's version of the myth in order to understand how Freud uses it to subvert common beliefs about sexuality. According to Plato, human beings were originally whole, and undivided:

> a person's shape was complete: they were round, with their backs and sides forming a circle. They had four hands and the same number of legs, and two absolutely identical faces on a cylindrical neck (Plato 1994:25).

Because they were "complete" they knew neither lack nor desire. Their strength terrified the Gods and Zeus decided to weaken them by spitting them into two halves. Unable to live apart "it was their very essence that had been split in two" (Plato, 1994:25) the human race started to die. Zeus, however, took pity on their plight and by changing the position of their genitals round to their fronts he introduced intercourse as a means of assuaging their loss. From that time onwards human beings were constantly searching for their lost counterparts. Males who were separated from the combined, or androgynous gender, were attracted to women. Women who were off-cuts from the female gender inclined towards women, and men who were sundered from the male gender searched for their male counterpart. "Love" writes Plato in this dialogue "is just the name we give to the desire for and pursuit of wholeness".

Freud's express aim in the *Three Essays* was to present work based upon psychoanalytic research and thus deliberately independent of the finding of biology (S.E. 7:131). Plato's *Symposium* and Aristophanes' speech in particular, seem to Freud to contain the seeds of his own theory of sexuality. Freud posits a bi-sexual predisposition in human sexuality and makes reproduction of the species just one of a number of the aims to be found in erotic behaviour. This theory accords well with Aristophanes' belief in a range of sexual behaviours. According to Aristophanes, sexual satisfaction in

male/ female relationships often leads to procreation. Male/male sexuality, on the other hand, defuses sexual tension "so that people could relax, get on with their work and take care of other aspects of life". Women who are "offcuts from the female gender aren't particularly interested in men; they incline towards women, and therefore female homosexuals come from this group" (Plato 1994:28).

More than two millennia separate Plato from Freud, and yet particularly in Freud's later work, Plato seems to hover over his texts. In the preface of the fourth edition of the *Three Essays* (added by Freud in 1920) he writes:

> And as for the 'stretching' of the concept of sexuality which has been necessitated by the analysis of children and what are called perverts, anyone who looks down with contempt upon psycho-analysis from a superior vantage-point should remember how closely the enlarged sexuality of psycho-analysis coincides with the Eros of the divine Plato (S.E. 7:134).

It is the "enlarged sexuality" of the ancients that Freud endorses. The instincts are, in Freud's theory, fluid and cannot be reduced to only one activity or aim. The object of desire can differ, and so can the instinctual aim, non-genital sexuality, kissing, looking, touching are expressions of the libido that are not focused on reproductive sex. Freud was theoretically convinced that each person's sexuality developed out of an original bi-sexual disposition. The prohibitions on extra-genital sexuality and the cultural requirement that there should only be a single kind of sexual life for everyone, disregarded the dissimilarities, whether innate or acquired, in the sexual constitution of human beings. These limitations on sexuality deny sexual enjoyment to a large number of people, who were either ostracised or driven mad by these prohibitions (S.E. 21:104).

In the *Three Essays* Freud states that "facts of anatomy" lead to the supposition that an originally bisexual physical disposition has, in the course of evolution, become modified into a unisexual one, leaving behind only a few traces of the sex that has become atrophied. (S.E. 7:141). Based upon what he terms "scientific understanding" Freud suggests that the proportion in which masculine and feminine are mixed in an individual is subject to considerable fluctuations (S.E. 22:114). Freud writes:

> Man is an animal organism with (like others) an unmistakably bisexual disposition. The individual corresponds to a fusion of two symmetrical halves, of which, according to some investigators, one is purely male and the other female. It is equally possible that each half was originally hermaphrodite (SE. 21 105).

Freud's claim seems to correspond to passages in Aristophanes:

> The starting-point is for you to understand human nature and what happened to it. You see, our nature wasn't originally the same as it is now: it has changed. Firstly, there used to be three human genders, not just two- male and female – as there are nowadays. There was also a third, which was a combination of both the other two (Plato 1994:25).

Aristophanes' myth and archaic trauma

Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920) presents Freud's controversial theory of the duality of instincts in which he posits two instincts, one life preserving – the sexual instinct, which he terms Eros, and one that opposes it, the death instinct, or Thanatos. Freud writes:

> These speculations seek to solve the riddle of life by supposing that these two instincts were struggling with each other from the first (S.E. 18:61).

This paper resembles something approaching a cosmogony - a new myth that tries to explain what happens "in the beginning" or "from the first". Despite the references made to biology (Darwin, Woodruff, Maupas, Loeb, Hering), Freud when faced with "the ultimate things, the great problems of science and life" (S.E. 18:59) is forced to conclude that science has little to say about the origin of the instincts or why they seek sexual union. He writes:

> Science has so little to tell us about the origin of sexuality that we can liken the problem to a darkness into which not so much as a ray of a hypothesis has penetrated" (S.E. 18:57).

When science fails, Freud returns to antiquity. Freud's new insight into the nature of the instincts places him in something of a dilemma. How can the death instinct that aims towards the cessation of life be possible when at the same time the life instincts are directed towards conjugation and life preservation? He claims to discover a way out of this impasse in Plato:

> In quite a different region, it is true, we *do* meet with such a hypothesis; but it is of so fantastic a kind – a myth rather than a scientific explanation – that I should not venture to produce it here,

> were it not that it fulfils precisely the one condition whose fulfilment we desire. For it traces the origin of an instinct to *a need to restore an earlier state of things* (S.E. 18:57).

The myth that he produces is again Aristophanes' myth. This time Freud uses it to explore the origin of the sexual instinct and to support his theory that the instincts represent an urge inherent in all organic life to restore an earlier state of being (S.E. 18:36). Freud claims that the instincts are always conservative, they exhibit a compulsion to repeat an earlier state of being, and furthermore that the dominant tendency of mental life is to reduce, or to remove, internal tension due to stimuli. Aristophanes' myth, according to Freud, provides a coherent account of his own ideas. This time Freud accurately narrates the myth:

As Santas (1988) comments, Freud surveys the findings of biology for evidence of a death instinct or for the instincts being conservative but finds none. What he does find, however, in Aristophanes' myth is a longing for an earlier state of being. The desire to return to an earlier period when human beings were complete and had not been sundered "like a sorb apple which is halved for the pickling" (S.E. 18:57). We are always searching, according to Plato's Aristophanes, for an object once loved and subsequently lost. It is obvious why Freud relies so heavily upon Plato for, archaic trauma is one of the lynch pins of his theory. The most significant of all sexual relations is, according to Freud, the search for an object that will restore the happiness that has been lost. This symbolic other represents for the infant a feeling of plenitude and wholeness and in early infancy it is associated with the mother.[286] This first relationship is unique and established unalterably for a whole lifetime as the first and strongest love object. This theory of attachment forms one of the basic tenets of psychoanalysis - the primary bond becomes the prototype of all later love-relations. In *Group Psychology* (1921) Freud writes, "In its origin, function, and relation to sexual love, the 'Eros' of the philosopher Plato coincide exactly with the love-force, the libido of psychoanalysis". [287]

[286] Freud calls this attachment to the mother 'anaclitic attachment'.

[287] In analysing and contrasting these different theories of love, Santas (1988) provides a useful overview of the subject. He points to a number of similarities between the two theories including, an expanded concept of sexuality, the function of Eros, and the origin of Eros.

In closing, it is important to return to another area in which Freud's theory of sexuality closely resembles that of classical Greece. Halperin (1991) writes:

> In classical Athens, then, sexual partners came in two different kinds, not male and female but active and passive, dominant and submissive. The relevant features of a sexual object were not so much determined by a physical typology of genders as by the social articulation of power. That is why the currently fashionable distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality had no meaning for the classical Athenians (Halperin 1990:50).

This approach is considered a cutting-edge view of modern homosexuality. Freud, however, almost a century before, expresses almost an identical view. He writes:

> It is essential to understand clearly that the concepts of 'masculine' and 'feminine', whose meaning seems so unambiguous to ordinary people, are among the most confused that occur in science. It is possible to distinguish at least three uses. 'Masculine' and 'feminine' are used sometimes in the sense of activity and passivity, sometimes in a biological, and sometimes, again, in a sociological sense. The first of these three meanings is the essential one, and the one most serviceable in psychoanalysis' (S.E. 7:219).

Freud's familiarity with classical Greece and his reading of the early sexologists makes it possible for him to see rigid categories such as masculine and feminine as part of a continuity. The sexual act always remained for Freud one of dominance and submission. But this was not necessarily a gendered position. Like the ancient Greeks, the sexual act is conceptualised by Freud as an act of aggression and domination, of power and control.

The above discussion highlights Freud's frequent privileging of antiquity over the science and medicine of his day. It may seem difficult to understand why Freud, who so often portrayed himself as a man of science, should call upon the Greeks and not upon scientific criteria to validate the findings of psychoanalysis. The most obvious answer to this problem is Winter's thesis. She would claim that in referring to Plato and the Greeks, Freud was attempting to legitimate his theory of sexuality – he is simply appropriating their credibility in order to position his theory more favourably in the public eye. However, too accept Winter's claim would be a gross over-simplification of Freud's relationship to the Greeks. For one thing it would demand that we dismiss

the important role played by classical antiquity in early sexology. This does not seem tenable. As this chapter demonstrates a large number of sexologists formulated their arguments in the language and concepts of classical Greece. Freud was fully aware of the importance of Greek antiquity in early sexology, not only as an instrument of legitimation, but also as a means to express ideas without recourse to the prevailing models of degeneracy. It is significant that in his discussion of sexual aberration he makes a greater use of antiquity to counter the prevailing theories on sexuality than he does of his own empirical research.

Looking at Freud and the early sexologists it becomes apparent that, however flawed their endeavours, they created a space in which to explore the 'strange pleasures', the anxieties and the frustrations of sexual life. In this new area of inquiry, the dispassionate voice of science is often fractured and submerged. What emerges is a new voice, often discordant, often confused, often personal, but always complex. It is the voice of desire, loss and regret. And in framing this discourse, the early sexologists turned to ancient Greece to articulate some of their longings, their hopes and their understanding

CONCLUSION

Like so many of the great thinkers of the nineteenth century, including Marx and Darwin, Freud was interested in generating grand theory. Psychoanalysis was designed as an overarching theory of the mind that included as its subject matter both conscious and unconscious processes. Freud's interest never lay in discrete psychological phenomena, easily accessible to scientific measurement, but in the enigmas of human life - dreams, sexuality, and hysteria. When science failed him, as it still so often fails us in these areas, Freud turned to the ancient Greeks. The Greek classical tradition is intrinsic to psychoanalysis. It is not a quaint literary device, nor is it some old-fashioned adornment, and one cannot simply gloss over Freud's numerous, and often arcane, classical references without in some way destroying the integrity of his work.

Freud's theory developed out of a particular *Weltanschauung* where Hellenism was the common referent of the intellectual elite. The importance of this legacy in Freud's life is often explicit, as in the case of Freud's antique collection, but often less visible, more subtle, as for example, the "homosocial" discourse that informs his work. Freud's texts are multi-faceted and require a multi-disciplinary approach to investigate them. This thesis is therefore an exercise in the history of ideas. The literature used in the development of this thesis is found dispersed across different disciplines – aesthetics, history, philology, gender studies, sexology, classical studies, literature as well as psychoanalysis. Often the literature does not include any mention of Freud, and it is only by synthesising different elements from these sources that it becomes possible to construct the more complex premises in this thesis. Very few texts exist that deal exclusively with this area, and those that do, notably Winter (1999) and, to some extent, Armstrong (2005) are addressed in the body of thesis.

The primary aim of this study is to provide an integrated picture of Freud's debt to the Greek legacy. Freud's work arose out of the intellectual currents of the nineteenth century – biology, neurology and medicine - but also out of his self-analysis and personal experience. Freud's oeuvre

has been analysed using many different interpretive "keys". One interpretive key, Freud's debt to the classical legacy, has up till now, been neglected. This thesis addresses a number of questions, including the importance of the Greek legacy for Freud as a person; different formulations of this legacy, the impact of this legacy on fin de siècle Vienna, and role of the *Gymnasium* in perpetuating this legacy. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it investigates how this legacy helped to shape Freud's work.

In referring to Freud's library, his collection of antiquities, his travels to Italy and Greece, as well as his relationships with his closer friends and colleagues, it is argued that Freud's interest in this area represents more than just a hobby, an elite pastime. He enthusiastically immersed himself in this legacy. Although not a classical scholar by training, he is demonstrably erudite in this field, and his theory developed out of this engagement.

Chapter two, "Freud, Hellenism and fin de siècle Vienna" traced the historical antecedents of Greece's ascendancy in German culture and assesses the ideological underpinning of Winckelmann's legacy. Winckelmann played a pivotal role in the recreation of Hellas as a cultural imperative. His emphasis on the "noble simplicity and sedate grandeur" of Greek art and his dictum that only by imitating the Greeks could one aspire to greatness, became the foundation upon which the *Gymnasium* system of education was built. Platonic in essence, Winckelmann's ideology stressed the Apollonian ideal of reason, harmony, and beauty, and had a profound effect on Germany's greatest thinkers. It is argued that Winckelmann's major aesthetic rule - that passion must to be repressed in order to serve beauty and perfection - contorted German society in pursuit of this ideal. The thesis claims that Freud's theories concerning the human body, sexuality and repression are linked to Winkelmann's aesthetics and that these discourses should not be separated. It is also claimed that the "homosocial" discourse in Winckelmann's ideology, founded on the ancient Greek model of homosexuality, plays a defining role in Freud's conception of the relationship between the sexes. This homosocial ideal becomes a crucial point of reference in

emerging sexuality. In Winckelmann's theorising, the male is plenitude, the female lack. This construct supports, informs and justifies many eighteenth and nineteenth century formulations concerned with sexuality and gender, and it is argued that Freud's theory of sexuality owes a debt to this legacy.

The Apollonian vision of Greece constructed by Winckelmann was later rejected by Nietzsche. He emphasised the irrational aspects of Greek art; instead of a disembodied ideal of rationality, Nietzsche pointed to the passion and pain at the heart of Greek tragedy. His "psychology of the Dionysian condition", a psychology that acknowledged both irrational passion and sexuality, challenged many of Winckelmann's precepts. Freud was heir to both Winckelmann's and Nietzsche's Greece, and it is argued that the dialectical tension between the rational and irrational, the mind and the body, that is evident in the reception of classical Greece in the nineteenth century is often paralleled in Freud's work and influences many of the principles contained in psychoanalysis.

With the advent of modernism in Germany and in the wake of Nietzsche's Hellenism, the cultural values of reason, restraint and order enshrined in Winckelmann's ideal, were seriously challenged by artists and thinkers. Degeneracy, and the death of the old order, became a major intellectual trope. Psychiatric medicine was called in to chart, label and categorise these developments. Psychoanalysis also had its genesis in this climate of uncertainty, and change, but its response, informed in part by the competing claims of Hellenism, was more complex, and more sympathetic to these anxieties. Despite the later challenges to Winckelmann, it must be remember that it is his ideology of Greece as the locus of cultural achievement that formed the basis of a comprehensive educational programme – *Bildung* - a concept that carries with it the idea of forming, shaping and fashioning the individual to the ideals of classical Greece. Chapter three examines Freud's exposure to these ideals and it is argued that his *Gymnasium* education with its "philhellenic" pedagogy attached him both intellectually and emotionally to the classical world.

It is argued that for many Jews, Hellenism becomes a shelter from of anti-Semitism. Winter's claim that Freud manipulated the prestige of *Bildung* in order to gain acceptance for psychoanalysis has some validity, but it fails to do justice to the role of *Bildung* in Freud's life. Classical learning was a result of the particular *Zeitgeist* in which Freud lived – it was internalised not appropriated, as indeed was the case with all the great German thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Both Schorske's investigation of the fin de siècle in Vienna, and Winter's analysis of *Bildung* in Freud's life, fail to address a core area - the importance of Greek Hellenism in Jewish assimilation and its role in the shaping of a new German identity.

The fourth chapter "Freud, identity and the legacy of Greece' showed that Freud's education in the *Gymnasium* enabled him to forge an identity that allowed him to transcend the categories of Aryan and Semite that turned out to be one of the central cognitive categories of nineteenth-century European thought. These categories played an influential role in the human sciences through much of the nineteenth century, often by attempting to ground religious and linguistic differences in biology. Freud circumvented these damaging and unscientific structures by identifying himself with German Hellenism, a value neutral ideal that had little to do with "race," nationality or religion. In a society with endemic anti-Semitism, classical Greece provided an intellectual shelter for those concerned with the growth of German nationalism. Freud was aware of the undercurrents of racism in the revival of German mythology, and he never used Teutonic myths in his work. Winckelmann's legacy provided a counter to "German antiquity". Freud used the language of the Greeks, its myths, its literature, and its terminology to ground psychoanalysis. This language not only enriched his imagination, it also allowed him to transcend the contamination with racism evident in philology as well as in other scientific and intellectual domains.

In the nineteenth century, pessimism enjoyed wide respectability in popular intellectual discussions. Freud's *weltanschuung* has been identified as one of philosophical pessimism, a view

he shares not only with Nietzsche but also with Schopenhauer. Significantly, these men were all grounded in Greek classicism, and it is asserted that this philosophic disposition (Nietzsche argued that the true nature of the Greeks was pessimism, not optimism) is, to a large degree, predicated upon the pessimism found in Greek classical literature. Freud's pessimistic response to the world he inhabited is most evident in his later writings on civilisation, and with the rise of intolerance and anti-Semitism. Again he turned to the Greeks in forging his new concept of the dual instincts of Eros and Thanatos.

Chapter five, "The Greek legacy and the emerging 'science' of psychoanalysis" posited that Greek legacy not only provided Freud with much of the content of psychoanalysis, but also with a structural and institutional model for his new science. Psychoanalysis developed outside of the normal structures of the university, psychiatry and medicine. To professionalise its status it developed its own institutions of training and certification, as well as a new set of diagnostic and therapeutic procedures. Aspects of psychoanalysis were more closely structured upon classical and Hellenistic models than upon the scientific structures available within the university. Although these Greek models were disparate in character, certain elements were combined by Freud to create a discipline and institutional structure that made it markedly distinct from that of psychiatry and neurology. It is claimed that Freud's school of psychoanalysis incorporates aspects of the early initiation schools of Greece, the Greek Symposia, as well as from certain healing centres like Epidaurus. There are also structural similarities between the nineteenth century philological schools in Germany and the institution of psychoanalysis. The new language of psychotherapy, with its emphasis on Greek terminology and myth, is viewed as an alternative to the language of clinical psychiatry, and Gilman's (1994) claim that Freud employed different strategic devices to detach himself from the stigma of being Jewish, is substantively accepted.

Psychology as a scientific discipline was still not ready for ideas outside its own field and even in the 1920s interest in psychoanalysis remained limited. Freud's work gained its greatest

acceptance among the educated public and intellectuals, especially in Berlin. It is to the "impartial person", a paradigmatic member of this group, and the cultured product of *Bildung*, that Freud addresses his theory. A failure to understand the roots of *Bildung,* and the centrality of Greece in its conceptualisation, results in a failure to understand the discourse of psychoanalysis.

Chapter six, on the archaeological metaphor in Freud, claimed that his psychoanalytic project sheltered under the umbrella of *Altertumswissenschaft* and used the "ancient world to illuminate the modern". Greece provided the initial impetus for the great burst of archaeological activity in Germany, spurred on by the major archaeological event of the nineteenth century, Schliemann's excavation of Homer's Troy in 1873. Freud's greatest enthusiasm is reserved for this discovery, and he uses the archeological metaphor throughout psychoanalysis. The most discussed and controversial aspect of Freud's debt to classical antiquity, it functioned as a model to articulate and justify Freud's methods of analysis and provided the underpinning for a number of Freud's basic psychoanalytical assumptions, the most important being the continuing presence of the past in the future, and the comparison of clinical analysis with archaeological excavation and restoration.

In chapter seven, "Philology, mythology and dreams" Freud's use of Greek mythology was placed within the broader context of eighteenth and nineteenth century culture. From the eighteenth century, Greek mythology seduced the minds of Germany's greatest poets and thinkers, and Freud was no exception. Historically, Freud's life spanned the great age of German philology. A close contemporary of classicists such as Nietzsche, Wilamowitz, Gomperz and Burckhardt, their influence is apparent in his writing on mythology. Greek myth was an essential ingredient of psychoanalysis. Freud claimed that myths stretched back into the early infancy of human psychic life, and thus provided a portal to early consciousness. The recognition by philologists that the structure and the contents of mythological products were often similar across different cultures and times led to two hypotheses: The Indo-European hypothesis (which claimed that these myths could be traced to a common root) or the discipline of comparative philology which encouraged a search

for a mythopoetic mentality in primitive cultures, and eventually advanced outside classicism to be incorporated into the fields of anthropology and biology. Freud's theory incorporates both these positions into *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Although Freud's position is fraught with tension he argued that symbolism afforded invaluable assistance to dream interpretation, and that mythology could provide a key to the content of dreams. Freud's claim that myth is part of our lost childhood results in many parallels between his work and that of mythology. Like many of his nineteenth century contemporaries, Freud was always in search of "the origin" of a phenomenon. His interest in myth is therefore understandable, as one of the great concerns of myth is to trace the origin of the nature, man, and the gods. The close relationship that Freud suggested between myth and dreams, makes Greek mythology essential to his project. This belief in the transmission of mythic structure and content is encapsulated in the Oedipus myth. It is these universal "mythopoetic forces of mankind" that Freud writes into his work and it is these forces that he most clearly finds articulated in Greek mythology. In calling his book *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud pays tribute to Artemidorus and the ancient interpreters of the past. The parallels between myth and the unconscious, and between ancient systems of dream interpretation and Freud's modern theory, demonstrate the crucial role played by the Greek legacy in Freud work.

Chapter eight extended the inquiry into Greek mythology. Freud relied upon the Greek imagination to signpost the terrain lying on the borders between sanity and unreason. The ancient myths of castration grounded his theory of Oedipal rivalry, and Freud argued that the human desire is projected onto the gods and heroes of antiquity. The myth of Medusa in many ways encapsulates Freud's attitude to female sexuality and it is argued that this mythological interpretation by Freud must be placed within the broader context of Winckelmann's homosocial legacy. Alongside the Apollonian Greece of Winckelmann, there exists another Greece, one dominated by dark chthonic forces. Freud's theory is primarily concerned with the repressed, that which has been forced down into the unconscious. The subterranean world of the Greeks supports and informs Freud's investigation in this

domain. The Dionysiac elements of ancient Greece, formidably articulated by Nietzsche, formed part of the topos of German classical thought. The idea of chthonic gods in Greek mythology starts with the epic division of the world into two realms. One realm belongs to the higher gods and mortal man, the dark counterpart, to the kingdom of Hades. These divisions provide Freud with a parallel between the conscious and unconscious mind.

Psychoanalytic theory claims to provide a conceptual framework within which to describe and understand irrationality. The vast literature on the "Dionysian" made available by classical scholarship and premised upon the Greeks, deeply influenced and supported Freud theory. Nietzsche's privileging of Dionysiac ritual made female ecstasy and possession a dominant trope in nineteenth century discussions in classical studies and it is argued that the affinities between sexuality and madness contained within this discourse would have influenced Freud's theorising on hysteria.

Chapter nine, "Greece and the discourse on the erotic" showed how the classical world played a prominent role in the formulations around sexuality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of the debates concerning sexuality circulated outside the psychiatric and medical domain. Largely aesthetic in nature, they were predicated upon the discovery of ancient cultures in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The complexities contained within this discourse made it possible for Freud, and others, to explore different erotic alternatives. Freud uses three different strands drawn from this erotic discourse in his sexual theorising. The first concerns formulations around the hermaphrodite and bi-sexuality. The second is the central place of homosexuality in ancient Greece and the positive value ascribed to this practice. The third strand is the privileging of the phallus in ancient fertility rites. The phallic discourse and the homosocial discourse are both concerned with male sexuality, and both these discourses devalue women. The traditional approach to Freud is to see his theories as derived from the patriarchal structure of the "Victorian" family, and argue that his assumptions reflect this bias. The homoerotic elements that inform a large part of Freud's work are therefore neglected. Freud's engagement with Winckelmann's Greece is, however, a dominant force in his work, and is as important, if not more important, than many of the appeals

made to the patriarchal family of the "Victorian" milieu. The "other sex" encapsulates Winckelmann's positioning of women in art and culture. It is argued that this discourse contributes to Freud's vexed view of female sexuality.

Greece both substantiates and legitimates Freud phallocentric theories on sexuality. Like the Greeks, Freud effaced gender and replaced it with a construct of passivity and activity. Dover's (1978) classical study of Greek homosexuality is presaged by many of Freud's theories on sexuality. It was Dover's study, and not Freud, however, that influenced later writers like Foucault. By using Greek homosexuality as a basis for his arguments, I claim that Freud finds a way to counter the taxonomies of abnormality and degeneracy inherent in psychiatry. Although Winckelmann's homosocial sentiments pervade Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and impact upon both Freud's personal life (his "androphillic" friendships) and upon his theory of sexuality, it is argued that in the nineteenth century the cult of male friendship came under increasing suspicion as psychiatry developed definitions of normalcy and degeneracy. It is argued that many sexologists, including Freud, used Greece to counter this discourse.

The final chapter, "the legacy of Greece and sexology" argued that from about the 1870's a new psychiatric style of reasoning about sexuality emerges that results in an upsurge of interest in perversion, as well as in programmes of eugenics designed to the control the individual and the social body. Modern historians of sexology (following Foucault) often focus on the repressive aspects of this new science and fail to recognise that the work of many of these pioneers show evidence of contradiction, reformulation and ambiguity. The prominent position of homosexuality in the arguments around "abnormal" and "degenerate" sexuality made it possible to attack medical orthodoxy using Greek antiquity as a model. The Greeks called the stability of the concept of sexuality into question. Contrary to the importance placed on heterosexual procreation, classical Greece always conceived sexual desire to be distinct from biological reproduction. Many of the early sexologists, including Brand, Friedländer, Hössli, Kertbeny, Ulrich, Hirschfeld, Symonds, Carpenter, Bloch, and of course Freud, used classicism to demonstrated how sexual categories and identities could be both socially constructed and historically specific.

The thesis claims that one must distinguish between different sexological interests. Not all sexologists shared the characteristics ascribed to them by Foucault (who generally focused on sexologists like Kaan, Campe, Tardieu and Krafft-Ebing). Many of the early sexologists were Jewish, many were homosexual, and nearly all were excellent classicists. This matrix of interests coalesced to challenge the dominant theory of biological determinism and theories of degeneracy. This is not surprising as biological determines and theories of degeneracy were usually aligned with racism, sexism and homosexual prejudice. Removing themselves from a science that labelled them inferior and degenerate, the early sexologists used the language of Greece to argue against their opponents. Freud's express aim in the *Three essays* is to present work based on psychoanalytic research and thus deliberately independent of the findings of biology. Very little research has been conducted into the role of classical Greece in Freud's theory of sexuality and yet Freud makes the Greek concept of sexuality one of the cornerstones of his theory – the argument that we are to "loosen the bond that exists in our thought between instinct and object" dealt a blow to the entire structure of nineteenth century theories of sexual pathology.

In conclusion I argue that the role played by Greece in Freud's oeuvre is both powerful and intrinsic to the psychoanalytic enterprise. It is an essential element in his theory of dreams and the unconscious. Greek mythology grounds the Oedipus complex, and informs his theorising on human sexuality. It plays a pivotal role in early sexology and many of the challenges to psychiatry and neurology have their origin Greek classicism. Not only does psychoanalysis rely on content drawn from this legacy, but its methodology as well as its structure are deeply influenced by Freud's knowledge of ancient Greece and his involvement in classical scholarship.

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