

which stands in such need of attention on the part of educators and reformers. In those countries which leave the education of children either wholly or in part in the hands of the priesthood, the method urged would of course not be practicable. No priest will ever admit the identity in nature of man and beast, since to him the immortality of the soul is a foundation for moral training which he cannot forgo. Here again we clearly see the unwisdom of putting new wine into old bottles, and perceive the impossibility of carrying through a reform in one particular without altering the foundations of the whole system.

IV

CHARACTER AND ANAL EROTISM¹

(1908)

AMONG those whom one tries to help by means of psycho-analytic treatment, one very often meets with a type of character in which certain traits are strongly marked, while at the same time one's attention is arrested by the behaviour of these persons in regard to a certain bodily function and of the organ connected with it during their childhood. I can no longer say on what precise occasions I first received the impression that a systematic relationship exists between this type of character and the activities of this organ, but I can assure the reader that no theoretical anticipations of mine played any part in its production.

My belief in such a relationship has been so much strengthened by accumulated experience that I venture to make it the subject of a communication.

The persons whom I am about to describe are remarkable for a regular combination of the three following peculiarities: they are exceptionally *orderly*, *parsimonious*, and *obstinate*. Each of these words really covers a small group or series of traits which are related to one another. 'Orderly' comprises both bodily cleanliness and reliability and conscientiousness in the performance of petty duties: the opposite of it would be 'untidy' and 'negligent'. 'Parsimony' may be exaggerated up to the point of avarice; and obstinacy may amount to defiance, with which irascibility and vindictiveness may easily be associated. The two latter qualities—parsimony and obstinacy—hang to-

¹ First published in the *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift*, Bd. IX., 1908; reprinted in *Sammlung*, Zweite Folge. [Translated by R. C. McWatters.]

gether more closely than the third, orderliness; they are, too, the more constant element in the whole complex. It seems to me, however, incontestable that all three in some way belong together.

From the history of the early childhood of these persons one easily learns that they took a long time to overcome the infantile *incontinentia alvi*, and that even in later childhood they had to complain of isolated accidents relating to this function. As infants they seem to have been among those who refuse to empty the bowel when placed on the chamber, because they derive an incidental pleasure from the act of defecation¹; for they assert that even in somewhat later years they have found a pleasure in holding back their stools, and they remember, though more readily of their brothers and sisters than of themselves, all sorts of unseemly performances with the stools when passed. From these indications we infer that the erotogenic significance of the anal zone is intensified in the innate sexual constitution of these persons; but since none of these weaknesses and peculiarities are to be found in them once childhood has been passed, we must conclude that the anal zone has lost its erotogenic significance in the course of their development, and that the constant appearance of this triad of peculiarities in their character may be brought into relation with the disappearance of their anal erotism.

I know that no one feels inclined to accept a position which appears unintelligible, and for which no explanation can be offered, but we can find the basis of such an explanation in the postulates I have formulated in my *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. I there attempt to show that the sexual instinct of man is very complex and is made up of contributions from numerous components and partial impulses. The peripheral stimulation of certain specialized parts (genitals, mouth, anus, urethra), which may be called erotogenic zones, furnishes

¹ Cf. Freud, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905.

important contributions to the production of sexual excitation, but the fate of the stimuli arising in these areas varies according to their source and according to the age of the person concerned. Generally speaking, only a part of them finds a place in the sexual life; another part is deflected from a sexual aim and is directed to other purposes, a process which may be called sublimation. During the period of life which may be distinguished as the 'sexual latency period', i.e. from the end of the fourth year to the first manifestations of puberty at about eleven, reaction-formations, such as shame, disgust, and morality, are formed in the mental economy at the expense of the excitations proceeding from the erotogenic zones, and these reaction-formations erect themselves as barriers against the later activity of the sexual instinct. Now anal erotism is one of those components of the instinct which in the course of evolution and in accordance with our present civilizing education has become useless for sexual aims; it would therefore be no very surprising result if these traits of orderliness, parsimony, and obstinacy, which are so prominent in persons who were formerly anal erotics, turned out to be the first and most constant results of the sublimation of anal erotism.¹

¹ Since it is just these remarks about the anal erotism of infants in my three contributions to the sexual theory that have most scandalized incomprehending readers, I venture to insert here an observation which I owe to a very intelligent patient. 'An acquaintance of mine who has read the *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* was talking about the book and said he fully accepted it, but one passage—though naturally he also accepts and understands it—appeared to him so grotesque and comic that he sat down and laughed over it for a quarter of an hour. This passage runs: "It is one of the best signs of later eccentricity or nervousness if an infant obstinately refuses to empty its bowel when placed on the chamber, that is, when the nurse wishes, but withholds this function at his own pleasure. Naturally it does not matter to the child if he soils his bed; his only concern is not to lose the pleasure incidental to the act of defecation." The picture of this infant sitting on the chamber and deliberating whether he should allow such a limitation of his personal independence, and of his anxiety not to lose the pleasure of defecation, caused my friend the greatest merriment. Some twenty minutes later, as we were sitting at tea, my acquaintance suddenly remarked without any preliminary, "Do you know, there just occurs to me, as I see the cocoa in front of me, an idea that I always had as

The inherent necessity of this relationship is naturally not clear even to myself, but I can make some suggestions which help towards an understanding of it. The cleanliness, orderliness, and reliability give exactly the impression of a reaction-formation against an interest in things that are unclean and intrusive and ought not to be on the body ('Dirt is matter in the wrong place'). To bring obstinacy into relation with interest in defaecation seems no easy task, but it should be remembered that infants can very early behave with great self-will about parting with their stools (see above), and that painful stimuli to the skin of the buttocks (which is connected with the anal erotogenic zone) are an instrument in the education of the child designed to break his self-will and make him submissive. As an expression of defiance or of defiant mockery, a challenge referring to a caress on this part of the body is used even at the present day, as in former times—that is, it represents a tender feeling which has undergone repression. An exposure of the buttocks corresponds

a child. I then always pretended to myself that I was the cocoa manufacturer Van Houten," (he pronounced it "Van Hauten"), "that I possessed a great secret for the preparation of this cocoa, and that all the world was trying to get this valuable secret from me, but that I carefully kept it to myself. Why it was Van Houten that I hit upon I do not know. Probably it was that his advertisements made the greatest impression on me." Laughing and without thinking much about the meaning of my words, I replied, "*Wann hauf'n* (Van Houten) *die Mutter?*" [When do mothers smack?]. It was only later that I realized that my pun really contained the key to the whole of his sudden recollection from childhood, which I now recognized as a striking example of a screen-phantasy, setting at rest the sense of guilt by means of a complete reversal of the value of its memory content, while it retained its reference to actual experience (the nutritional process) and was supported by a phonetic association: "cocoa"—"*Wann hauf'n*" (Van Houten). (Displacement from behind forwards; excrement becomes aliment; the shameful substance which has to be concealed turns into a secret which enriches the world.) It was interesting to me how in this case, after a defence-reaction, which to be sure took the comparatively mild form of a merely formal objection, the most striking evidence was supplied from the subject's own unconscious after a quarter of an hour without any effort on his part.

[Besides the pun on the word Van Houten, there is probably a further association between the German for cocoa (*Kakao*) and for the nursery term for faces in that language, *Kahis*. Compare also the English *caca* for faces.—Trans.]

to the reduction of this speech to a gesture; in Goethe's *Goitz von Berlichingen* we find both speech and gesture introduced most appropriately as expression of defiance.

The connections which exist between the two complexes of interest in money and of defaecation, which seem so dissimilar, appear to be the most far-reaching. It is well known to every physician who has used psycho-analysis that the most refractory and obdurate cases of so-called chronic constipation in neurotics can be cured by this means. This is less surprising if we remember that this function has shown itself equally amenable to hypnotic suggestion. But in psycho-analysis one only attains this result when one deals with the money complex of the persons concerned, and induces them to bring it into consciousness with all its connections. One might suppose that the neurosis is here only following a hint from common speech which calls a person who keeps too careful a hold on his money 'dirty' or 'filthy', but this would be far too superficial an explanation. In reality, wherever archaic modes of thought predominate or have persisted—in ancient civilizations, in myth, fairy-tale and superstition, in unconscious thoughts and dreams, and in the neuroses—money comes into the closest relation with excrement. We know how the money which the devil gives his paramours turns to excrement after his departure, and the devil is most certainly nothing more than a personification of the unconscious instinctual forces.¹ The superstition, too, which associates the finding of treasure with defaecation is well known, and everyone is familiar with the figure of the 'excretor of ducats' (*Dukatenschisser*).² Even in the early Babylon cult gold is 'the excrement of Hell', Mammou = ilu manman.³ Thus in following

¹ Compare hysterical possession and demoniac epidemics.

² [Unfamiliar to English readers, but compare 'the goose which lays golden eggs'.—Trans.]

³ Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 1906, p. 216, and *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, 1906, p. 96. 'Mammou is Babylonian 'Manman', another name of Nergal, the god of the VOL. II

common speech, the neurosis, here as elsewhere, takes the words in their original most significant sense, and wherever it appears to express a word figuratively it usually only reproduces its original meaning.

It is possible that the contrast between the most precious substance known to man and the most worthless, which he rejects as 'something thrown out', has contributed to this identification of gold with faces.

Yet another circumstance facilitates this equivalence in the mental processes involved in neurosis. The original erotic interest in defaecation is, as we know, destined to be extinguished in later years; it is in these years that the interest in money is making its appearance as something new which was unknown in childhood. This makes it easier for the earlier impulse, which is in process of relinquishing its aim, to be carried over to the new one.

If there is any reality in the relation described here between anal erotism and this triad of character-traits, one may expect to find but little of the 'anal character' in persons who have retained the erotogenic quality of the anal zone into adult life, as for example certain homosexuals. Unless I am greatly mistaken experience on the whole is fully in accord with this anticipation.

One ought to consider whether other types of character do not also show a connection with the excitability of particular erotogenic zones. As yet I am aware only of the intense, 'burning' ambition of those who formerly suffered from enuresis. At any rate, one can give a formula for the formation of the ultimate character from the constituent character-traits: the permanent character-traits are either unchanged perpetuations of the original impulses, sublimations of them, or reaction-formations against them.

underworld. According to an Oriental myth which has passed over into sagas and folk-tales, gold is the excrement of hell; see *Monoththeistische Strömungen innerhalb der babylonischen Religion*, S. 16, Anm. k. 1.

V

HYSTERICAL PHANTASIES AND THEIR
RELATION TO BISEXUALITY¹

(1908)

WE are all familiar with the delusional phantasies of paranoiacs which portray the person's greatness or his sufferings, and occur in stereotyped forms with almost monotonous regularity. We also come across numerous accounts of the strange conditions under which certain perverts carry out their sexual gratification—either in imagination or in reality. Nevertheless, it may be new to some readers to hear that quite analogous mental productions are regularly present in all the psychoneuroses, particularly in hysteria, and that these so-called hysterical phantasies have important connections with the causes of the neurotic symptoms.

The common origin and normal prototype of all these phantastic creations are the so-called day-dreams of adolescence, to which some, though perhaps inadequate, attention has been given in the literature on the subject.² They occur with perhaps equal frequency in both sexes; in girls and women they are invariably of an erotic nature, in men they may be either erotic or ambitious. The importance of the erotic factor in those of men should not, however, be underestimated; a more precise investigation of the day-dreams of a

¹ First published in the *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Bd. I., 1908; reprinted in *Sammlung*, Zweite Folge. [Translated by Douglas Bryan.]

² Cf. Breuer und Freud, *Studien über Hysterie*, 1895; Pierre Janet, *Névroses et idées fixes*, I., 'Les réveries subconscientes', 1898; Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. I., 'The Evolution of Modesty', 1904; Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 1900; A. Pick, *Über pathologische Träumerei und ihre Beziehungen zur Hysterie*, 1896.