<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title</strong></th>
<th>Crossing borders: Edipus in Asia and the resistance to psychoanalysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author(s)</strong></td>
<td>Blowers, GH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citation</strong></td>
<td>Crossing borders: Edipus in Asia and the resistance to psychoanalysis, Chinese Cross Currents, 2006, p. 8-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issued Date</strong></td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>URL</strong></td>
<td><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10722/42326">http://hdl.handle.net/10722/42326</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rights</strong></td>
<td>Macau Ricci Institute.; This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Crossing Borders
Edipus in Asia and the Resistance
to Psychoanalysis

Geoffrey Blowers

WHEN, in a letter to Nature in 1923 headed “Psychoanalysis and Anthropology”, Bronislaw Malinowski reported on the “original constitution” of the family structure as he had observed it “amongst present day savages” of the Trobriand Islands, he sought to revise rather than to refute psychoanalytic concepts in the light of his ethnographic evidence. He argued that in the matrilineal kinship system of the Trobrianders, the fierce and “tyrannical” father of Totem and Taboo was missing. The central tenets of a “repressive authority” and a “severing taboo” worked elsewhere “in a manner different from that of the patriarchal family” so that, if the general theory of Freud were correct, “the repressed wish formation ought to receive a shape different from the Edipus Complex.”

In several subsequent papers published a year later, Malinowski developed these ideas by drawing upon his observations of the development of male Trobriander children. Without a prohibiting father, according to him, a child’s sexuality proceeded along with its social development, with the “craVings for its mother” expiring in “a natural spontaneous manner” but its genital sexuality generally was never “dislodged.” The later intervention of the mother’s brother to enforce the taboo of physical contact with the boy’s sister holds in check his homicidal and incestuous wishes for her, this being, for Malinowski, evidence of a different nuclear complex. By drawing into sharper relief the relationship between biological and social development in different kinds of family structure, this led him to assert that adherents of orthodox psychoanalysis, rather than assuming the universality of the Edipus complex, should study “every type of civilisation, to establish the special complex that pertains to it.”


1923年，布鲁尼斯劳·马里诺斯基在《自然》杂志写了一篇《精神分析学与人类学》的文章，报告了他曾经在特罗布里恩群岛的“现代野蛮人中”观察到的家庭结构的“原始组成”，希望通过他的研究证据来修正一些精神分析学的概念，而非驳斥它们。他指出，在特罗布里恩群岛的母系氏族体系中，《图腾与禁忌》中没有凶残残暴的父亲形象。“压制性权威”和“截断禁忌”的一些核心原则以“一种不同于父系家庭的方式”在别的地方起作用；因而，如果弗洛伊德的总体理论是正确的，压抑性质的形成就应该接受一种不同于俄狄浦斯情结的外化。

在一年后发表的文章里，马里诺斯基声称通过他对特罗布里恩群岛的男孩子的成长过程的观察，发展了这些观点。按照他的说法，如果没有一个压制性父亲，一个孩子的性随着他的社会发育而成长，“对母亲的欲望”以“一种自然自发的形式”而终止，但是他的生殖器上的性从未“消除”。后来来自母亲的干预，即强化这个男孩同姐妹进行身体接触的禁忌，约束了他对姐妹的性冲动和粗鲁性的欲望——对马里诺斯基来说，这是一种不同的心态的证据。通过进一步对比不同种类家庭结构中生活发展与社会发展的关系，他指出：精神分析学的拥护者不应该假设俄狄浦斯情结的普遍性，而应该“研究每种文明，从而建立适合各种文明的特殊情结”。

弗洛伊德学派的权威代表弗里德·琼斯很快就对这种修正观点的声明作出了回应。1924年，英国皇家人类学会对马里诺斯基的做法展开了激烈的讨论，于是该学会在那一年邀请琼斯做了一次讲座。琼斯提出，马里诺斯基所观察到的野蛮人对其父亲的忽视显示出他们的自信态度，其结果就是将“某种可能带来不友好后果的关系中”的情结转移至“放置到某个更安全的距离”。十四年之后，弗洛伊德再次想起了这件事——当时，弗洛伊德和居众的同他收到了由马里诺斯基写给安娜的一封信，马里诺斯基在信中将自己称为“[弗洛伊德]及其工作的忠实仰慕者”，对此弗洛伊德表现出一种惊奇，因为他一直留意马里诺斯基对[他的观点的反对与否定]。“

4. 其他引用见George W. Stocking, 13页。
Ernest Jones, representing the Freudian establishment, was quick to respond to this attempted revision of orthodoxy. Malinowski's work was hotly debated in the Royal Anthropological Society in 1924, and Jones had been invited to deliver a lecture before it that year.  

Jones assumed that Malinowski's observations of savages' ignorance of their paternity indicated denial on their part, the effect of which was to shift the "affect in a relationship where it might have unpleasant consequences and depositing it at a safer distance." Freud was reminded of this fourteen years later when, frail and ill in exile in London, he received a letter from Malinowski addressed to Anna (describing himself as a "devoted admirer of [Freud] and his work" to which Freud expressed pleasant surprise as he had been more aware of his "opposition and contradiction to [his] views." 

Jones's reinstatement of the foundational role of the Gdipus complex, however, was already at odds with others in the movement, notably Otto Rank, whom Malinowski had cited. As editor of Image, he had republished both Malinowski's and Jones's articles. Rank, in The Trauma of Birth, raised the radical idea that all paternal conflicts with the father, including Gdipal ones, were but a chimera to more "essential ones concerning birth." His placing the mother at the centre of the child's first dealings with the world brought to the fore the important role she plays in nurturing, and prioritised it over the potentially castrating role of the father. Freud initially accepted Rank's work as a contribution, but did not feel it had much of a future, little realising how his ambivalence toward the work would be used by members of his secret committee to drive a wedge between the two.

Bengal beckons

But disagreements with Freud over the centrality of the Gdipus complex were not confined to Europeans. In 1920, Freud received the first of several letters from Girindra Sekhar Bose, an Indian medical doctor who had turned to experimental psychology and completed a doctoral thesis on the subject of repression, a copy of which he sent to Freud. Suitedly impressed that psychoanalysis had been recognised in a "far country," Freud wrote a short introduction for Bose when his thesis was published as a book. Following the formation of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society and its affiliation to the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1922, he also asked Bose if he would like his name appended to the masthead of both the Zeitschrift für Psychanalyse and the English language International

4. Editor's note: Anna Freud, the youngest daughter of Sigmund Freud, and herself a psychoanalyst.
5. Stocking, op. cit., p. 11.
7. See, Paul Roazen, Freud and His Followers, p. 306 ff for an account.
Journal of Psychoanalysis. 9 It was only later when Bose sent him copies of a number of his own papers that Freud had an opportunity to scrutinise (and criticize) his Indian colleague’s work for its deviating from orthodoxy.

Bose’s theory rested on two radical departures from Freud’s work. First was his theory of “the opposite wish” whereby whatever is consciously wished is herniated to a wish for its opposite. This bipolarity comprises an active and a passive element, one of which is conscious, the other unconscious. As Bose put it, “the wish to strike somebody is accompanied by the unconscious wish to be struck.” (10) During the course of free association to presenting symptoms, Bose claimed to observe a “see-saw” mechanism at work in his patients whereby, instead of disappearing completely even after wishes had been made conscious, symptoms persisted and further associations revealed an unconscious element of the opposite type. As analysis proceeded, conscious tendencies abated or slipped back into the unconscious and the opposite repressed tendency was made conscious. These alterations continued in a see-saw fashion but, over time, the force of the opposite wishes weakened as the frequency of oscillation increased. Bose theorised that the see-sawing was proceeding at its own pace but time consuming, so he also induced it by asking his analysis to put themselves in the place of the object and thus force a new set of associations.

It was partly on the basis of this theory that Bose also re-conceptualised the Oedipus complex. Arousing out of his theory of the opposite tendency, the desire to be male is accompanied by a desire to be female, according to Bose, “to be more easily unearthed in Indian male patients than in European…” The Oedipus complex is very often a combined parental image and this is a fact of great importance. I have reasons to believe that much of the motivation of the ‘maternal deity’ is traceable to this source.” (11) The bringing to the fore of this figure has the effect of muting the threat of castration as exhibited in the Oedipal father since the fear is diminished by an opposing desire to be female, which implicitly accepts castration. According to Sudhir Kakar, the mention in Bose’s letter of a maternal deity would have to be understood within Hindu culture as a possible reference to Devi, the great goddess. (12) In one exposition of this myth, Kakar elaborates an Indian variant of Oedipus, termed by him the Ganesha complex. (13)

Ganesha was one of the two sons of the goddess Devi (the other being Skanda) who, amongst her many incarnations, is known as the conqueror of the demon Mahishasura whom she destroyed along with most of his army. She effected this feat through the

Chinese Cross Currents  October – December 2006

然而，琼迪思重新把对埃德普斯情结的创立者的做法已经与运动中的其他人产生了争执，尤其是马拉里思斯基和琼吉斯两人。在他的《出生创伤》(Oedipus)一书中，提出了一种激进的观点：所有那些与父亲的冲突(包括埃德普斯式的冲突)都仅仅只是更“关键的有关出生冲突的”虚构幻想。 (14) 他将母亲的血统置于孩子最初接触世界的中心，此举突出了母亲在养育孩子过程中的重要角色，而认为母亲这种角色比父亲的潜在角色更重要。最初，弗洛伊德接受了这种理论。但感觉没有太大的发展前景，他认为这些内容与对克里亚克理想的模糊概念，如何由其秘密委员会，成员用来在他们对两个人之间制定政策。 (15)

孟加拉的召唤

关于琼迪斯情结的核心地位，人们与弗洛伊德的分歧并非仅仅限于欧洲。1920年代，弗洛伊德收到了来自吉林德拉赛卡尔，伯氏的数封信。伯氏是一位印度医生，后来转向研究实验心理学，围绕压抑发展他的博士论文，并将一份论文寄给了弗洛伊德。 (16) 弗洛伊德感到欣慰，精神分析法已经在一个人的“遥远的国度”得到认可，于是当伯氏博士论文即将出版时，为该书写了一个序。另外，当1922年印度精神分析学会成立并附属于国际精神分析学会时，弗洛伊德还问伯氏是否愿意添加他的名字到《精神分析》和《心理》的《国际精神分析杂志》的刊头上。只有到后来伯氏将自己的一些论文复刻送给弗洛伊德的时候，弗洛伊德才有机会审查(及批判)印度同僚的作品中偏离正统的地方。

伯氏的理论有两个地方明显脱离了弗洛伊德的观点。首先是他的“对立欲望”理论，即任何有意识希望得到的东西一定连着另一个对立的意愿。这种两极性包括了消极和积极两种因素，其中一个有意识的，另一个是下意识的，正如伯氏所说的：“打击某个人的意愿伴随着另一个人下意识受到打击的愿望。” (17) 在讲述症状的自由联想阶段，伯氏声称在他的病人身上观察到一种“拉锯”运动，即使在愿望变得有所意识之后，症状也没有完全消失，而是继续存在，而进一步的联想也揭示出某种相互关联的不意识因素。随着分析的进一步展开，有意识的趋势减少或者回到下意识状态，而那些压抑的相
medium of riding naked to battle and dancing, cutting off the heads of thousands and thousands as she wielded her sword. When Mahasasara tried to escape by transforming himself into an elephant, she cut off his trunk; when he transmuted to a buffalo whose thick hide made her swordplay impotent, she rode the buffalo to the point of exhaustion and then killed it by driving a spear through its neck. Kaurak suggests she is the phallic mother, the half-male, half female who incorporates through her son's attachment to her wish to be a man without having to separate from her. However, her husband Shiva becomes a rival for his wife's affection and in the mythical narrative kills his son who stands guard at her bedroom while she bathes. Ganeshas represents that half of the boy who refuses individuation and liberation through maternal separation.

Freud's written reply to Bose on receiving his theoretical and popular papers was neutral in tone. Christiane Hartnack, in her book Psychoanalysis in Colonial India, details several anecdotes that suggest, however, that Freud was far from happy about this revision, even though in his penultimate letter to Bose he acknowledges that the bipolar nature of wishes shows up in three relatively neglected areas of bisexuality: masculinity/femininity, love/hate and activity/passivity. Freud's major criticism of Bose's ideas was that they were too "morphological," a euphemism Freud seems to have employed to cover his disdain for what he took to be Bose's lack of empirical support for his own theory. Nonetheless, in this same letter he advises Bose to write a paper detailing these central tenets for publication in the two international psychoanalytic journals, but this seems not to have occurred.

An overture from Japan

During the period of his exchanges with Bose in the 1920s and early 1930s Freud also entered into correspondence with a psychologist, two psychiatrists and a litterateur from Japan. Each of them had read and been impressed by Freud's work and some had travelled to see him on separate visits with a view to being analysed by him. That story has been told elsewhere but its significance for the current paper is that one of these early admirers of Freud, Kosawa Hesuko, travelled to Vienna in 1931, and although he could not afford an analysis with Freud who passed him on to Richard Sterba, he did present him with a paper he had written about his ideas on the Edipus complex as it might pertain to Japanese culture. Hoping for a considered reply, Freud gave him only a polite and perfunctory response. 14


反趋势也变得有所意识。这些交替变化仍以一种相互拉扯的方式继续，但后来随着时间的推移，这些对立愿望的力量会随着摆动频率的增加而减弱。伯未也得出一种理论，这种拉扯虽然有其自身的节奏，但需要消磨时间，于是他引导他的精神分析接受者，让其将自己置于对象的位

正是以此理论为部分基础，伯未也重新定义俄狄浦斯情结。

出于他的相对趋势理论，那种希望成为男性的愿望伴随成为女性的愿望，用伯未自己话来说就是“这种希望成为男性的愿望在印度人中更容易实现。俄狄浦斯的男性常表现一个综合的父义形象，而且这种事实具有重要的重要性。我有理由相信‘母性神明’的很大一部分动机来源于此。”这个人物的重要意义在于它能消解阉割的威胁，这正如俄狄浦斯父亲身上所体现出来的，因为那种希望成为母性的愿望（暗中接受阉割）减缓了这种恐惧。按照苏哲尔，卡卡尔的说法，伯未在其中提到这种母性神明的想象需要从印度教文化中的伟大女神安维那德里中予以理解。11在卡卡尔对此神话的一个解释中，他提出了俄狄浦斯的故事，即俄狄浦斯情结。12

迦乃血是女神库维的两个儿子之一，另一个儿子叫斯堪达。迦维具有许多化身，其中之一是斯堪达，他将居住在马西撒杜拉的征服者，他消灭了马西撒杜拉及其大部分军队。他成就

迦乃血使维拉变身一只大象想要逃跑时，她砍下了他的象牙；当它变成一只水牛时，他的厚皮使他的宝剑失去了作用，于是她骑上水牛并拼命追赶，使其劳驾不堪，然后用一只长矛刺入它的脖子而杀死了它。卡卡尔认为她是一位一男半女的性器崇拜的母亲。通过她儿子对她的依恋，使那种想像成为男人的同时又不与其母的欲望融入自己。然而，她的丈夫成为妻子情感的对手，传说中她杀死了妻在浴池房间门口的儿子。迦乃血的形象表现了半男半女，拒绝那种与母亲分离的个性化和自由化过程。

弗洛伊德在接到伯未寄来理论的信及普通论文之后，伯未回了一封信调和解剖的信。克劳斯特内・哈特施在《精神分析法在殖民地印度》13一书中详细记述了这几封信，这些信件表明，弗洛伊德对伯未的这种修正十分不满，尽管他曾在伯未的倒数第二封信中

2006年10月-12月 神州变法
the briefest of replies: "Dear Doctor, I have received and read your essay. I'll keep it with me since it seems as if you have no intention to use it otherwise." [24]

In Kosawa's version, Edipus becomes the Ajase complex in his paper entitled "Two Kinds of Guilt." [25] His modification takes account, in Japanese society, of the mutual dependency that develops between mothers and their children. The myth of Ajase can be traced to two Buddhist texts. These are the Nirvana Sutra [The Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life], introduced to Japan between 700 and 1000 AD, and the Kangyo-kan's [The Collection of Passages expounding the True Teaching, Living Faith, and Realizing of the Pure Land], written by Shinnan Shinon (1173-1262), a celebrated Japanese priest of the Kamakura period (1185-1333).

The myth centres on Ajase's lifelong dependency upon his mother toward whom he initially targets his hostility, and then becomes resolved to her undying affection. It tells of an Indian prince Ajatasatru (Ajase) and his mother, Idake, a woman who fears that her fading beauty makes her no longer attractive to her husband, King Bimbashara, the protector of Buddha. This leads her to desire a child, and on the advice of a soothsayer, to become pregnant with the reincarnated soul of a hermit after his death. Impatient for this natural event to occur, she hastens by mortifying the hermit, who curses her on his deathbed with the prophecy that he will return in the form of her son, the Prince, to murder her husband. Fearful of her unborn son's revenge (the hermit's curse) she attempts to kill him at birth by dropping him from her womb at a great height. He survives the fall but breaks his finger, and is later reminded of the origin of this event by Daibaddha, an enemy of Buddha. Enraged by feelings of rage he attempts to kill his mother, Idake, but is overpowered by such feelings of guilt that he falls seriously ill, and is only nursed back to health by her intervention. Idake's charitable act resolves her own conflicts over her son who recovers to become a wise king.

Kosawa's use of the story exemplifies, for him, the fundamental issue of birth. According to his own later student, Okonogi, who would go on to develop the psychological consequences of this structure himself, [25] the originality of Kosawa's Ajase complex lies in its themes of matricide and "premortal nascence" (from the Buddhist concept of mishoin, or resentment towards one's origins), in contrast to the Edipus complex, which emphasizes incestuous desire and patricide. The mother wishes to have both her child and to kill it, her ambivalent feelings arising out of her desire to exercise power over its life and death, and the paranoid fear of retaliation that a projection of this desire onto the child brings in its wake. On the other hand, the ambivalent feelings of the child arise out of an idealisation of the mother as a love

14. Fraud to Kosawa, July 30th 1932. In German in the original.
16. Of the Chinese characters for Ajase's name means "broken finger".

1920年代至1930年代初期的这段时间里，除了与伯恩保持信件往来之外，弗洛伊德还与另外来自日本的一位精神分析学家、两个心理学家和一个文学家保持着通信联系。这些人曾经阅读过弗洛伊德的著作并且留下了很深的印象，其三位还分别去拜访他，希望得到他的分析。有人曾经讲述过这个故事，[33] 但它对本文的重要性在于，弗洛伊德的崇拜者之一古泽平作于1931年访问维也纳，尽管他没有能够从弗洛伊德那里接受精神分析（弗洛伊德将他委托给了理查德·施德尔巴），但他将自己的一篇关于俄狄浦斯情结的看法的文章交给了弗洛伊德，也写信敦促弗洛伊德送日本文化。[34] 尽管他希望得到弗洛伊德的仔细评价，但弗洛伊德却仅仅给了他一封简短的回复：“尊敬的博士先生，我已经收到并阅读了您的文章，我似乎无意将其用于其它用途，我将保存它。”[35]

按照古泽平作的版本，俄狄浦斯在他的论文“两种罪恶”中变成了阿阁世情结。[36] 他的修正考虑到了日本社会中的关于母子、母女与兄弟之情的相互依赖。阿阁世的神话可以追溯到两个佛教经典，其一是公元700年至1000年传入日本的《涅槃经》，其二是日本镰仓时代（1185-1333年）宗祇大师（1173-1262年）所著的《神教信仰证》。

该神话的中心是阿阁世对他母亲的无尽依恋。开始时他对母亲有过敌意，后来他将这个敌意转化成永恒的母爱。神话讲述的是印度王子阿阁世和母亲弗洛伊德的故事，弗洛伊德担心她逃出的美貌倾颜使她失去丈夫而嫁给王婆（弗洛伊德的保护者）。这一神话产生于生孩子的之念，在一个占卜者的建议下，她希望——
object and the knowledge that she is capable of killing it. (22) As to the question of the two kinds of guilt in the original paper's title, in the Greek story, Oedipus, upon realizing the horror of his act(s) inflicts self-punishment by tearing out his eyes, an act motivated by the burden of his crime. According to Kosawa, Ajae's feelings of guilt change over the course of the story's development. After attempting to kill his mother he is frightened by punishment and falls ill. This resembles the "persecutory guilt" of which members of the Kleinian school speak. After Ajae's mother pardons him, he feels remorse toward her, what Kleinians call "repatriative guilt". (23) As Kosawa's paper dates from 1932, the question of whether his thinking was influenced by Melanie Klein's ideas, or anticipated them, remains an open one.

Like Bose's version, Kosawa's can be seen as a considered modification of the orthodox view of psychodynamic development at that time, and another attempt at an Asian cultural variant on what, for Freud, was a universal mechanism. Freud's evasive comment on it suggests his possible displeasure at its contents. (24)

The Chinese case
Although Freud faced no similar problem of being presented with a reworked version of Oedipus from China, in 1929, nonetheless, he received a letter from the dissenting Chinese intellectual Zhang Shizhao. Although the letter has disappeared, Freud's extant brief reply suggested its contents. (25)

Most esteemed Professor,
In whatever way you wish to carry out your intention, whether it is by plying the way for the development of psychoanalysis in your homeland China or by contributions to our journal Image in which you would judge against your own language our conjectures about the nature of archaic modes of expression, I will be extremely pleased. What I quoted in my lectures from the Chinese, was taken from an article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition).

Very respectfully,
Yours Freud (26)

22. This plays on a strong cultural element for it was sometimes a custom in Japan up to the Edo period (1603-1688) for mothers to kill their children in times of famine.
23. Klein wrote of the need for the baby, in the course of its development, to separate good and bad objects of the same object about which it has fantasies, and about which it can harbour ambivalent feelings of love and hate. Beginning with anxieties over being attacked by a bad object (mother/whore), the baby shifts to fears for the safety and return of the good. Its feelings of separation give way to depression, which becomes the motive for separation. See, for example, Melanie Klein, Love, Guilt and Reparation, and other works, London, Hogarth Press, 1975.
24. Although Freud initially offered to analyze some of the more frequent, his analysis was eventually taken over by Richard Strauss.
26. Freud's letter first appeared as a photographic reprint of the original appearing in a preface to Zhang Shizhao's translation of Sigmund Freud's "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (1920). The letter was not translated into Chinese until many years later and appears in Yu Feng Guo's, Psychoanalysis and Modern Chinese Novels (1987). The translation here is from the German photoprint.
Zhang had worked a couple of years earlier on a translation of Freud's Selbstdarstellung. He was likely making overtures to Freud about the possibility of disseminating his works in China through translations, but the focus of the reply suggested he was curious about Freud's understanding of Chinese, and was intending to write an article for Imago testing his assumptions. As it happened, Zhang's article(s) for Imago never materialised. Meanwhile, he published his translation of Freud's autobiography a year later. (27)

Intellecuals in China in the 1920s had shown considerable interest in psychoanalysis as judged by the number of translations of Freud's works and those of his early followers into Chinese. (28) secondary articles on psychoanalysis, (29) and the use of Freudian ideas in Chinese literature. (30) Although this interest did not develop a therapeutic culture of depth in psychology—much of the focus at the time was on Freud's theory of sublimation as a healthy outlet for unsuitable desires which could then be put into the service of others (31) —the debates that unfolded in this period seriously challenged the idea that the Edipal myth stood as a psychodynamic exemplar of Chinese family structure. To the contrary, as contemporary scholarship has shown, the Confucian model, stressing a lifelong filial devotion by sons in respect of their fathers, required a different myth. (32) One likely candidate is to be found in the classical story of the Bend in Fen River [Fenhe Wan], also known as Xue Li's Return Home [Xue Li Huan jia], which became incorporated into Peking Opera.

The story concerns Xue Li, or Xue Rengui, a soldier a fortune of the Tang period who became a high ranking military officer and whose skills at archery brought him to the attention of the Emperor who assigned him duty in a distant land. The crux of the tale hinges on his return home to his wife whom he has not seen since he left her pregnant 18 years earlier. As Xue approaches his home, he sees a young man standing on the bank of the River Fen skilfully shooting geese and challenges him to a test of his marksmanship. The young man accepts the challenge but Xue, instead of shooting geese, shoots the youth instead, claiming that he could have spared the boy but could not let another live who was superior in marksmanship. When he finally arrives home the exchange with his wife turns to doubts of her fidelity, exacerbated by seeing an unfamiliar pair of shoes under their marital bed. His wife chides him for his doubts saying the shoes belong to his son

Chinese Cross Currents October – December 2006


2006年10月-12月 中文简体
whose is out hunting. The dénouement comes with their horrifying discovery that Xue has killed their son.

The tale's structure is almost the opposite of the Oedipal myth. It is Xue, the father rather than the son who leaves home to make his fortune (Oedipus was abandoned), and it is the father who kills the son. But like the Oedipal myth, the killing is of one to whom the perpetrator is unaware of his familial relationship, making them equally tragic. The doubts the father has about his wife's fidelity reveal a tension in the father-son relationship that can be traced to the particularly intense mother-son tie exemplified in the 24 examples of a son's devotion to his parents, as described in the classic Confucian text of filial piety. This myth better serves as an exemplar of the Chinese family structure, which stresses a lifelong devotion to parents and discourages a breaking away to a newfound individuality that typifies Western European families.

Even without the myth's being "discovered" by commentators of the early Chinese psychoanalytic scene, it is clear that, when the first psychoanalyst Bingham Dai [Dai Bingyue] began practising in China, his neo-Confucian training, coupled with his sensitivity to and pedagogical experience of the culture, predisposed him to a cultural framework that had departed from Freudian orthodoxy. Dai, a graduate of St. Johns University in Shanghai, had undergone training by Leon Saul and supervision by Harry Stack Sullivan who, during Dai's tenure, had approached him at a Rockefeller seminar in 1932. He returned to China in 1935 to take up a position at Peking Union Medical College, teaching medical psychology to Chinese doctors, setting up a small analytic training group, and seeing patients.

He worked at sensitising the doctors to the forms of therapy based on a system of thought that departed from the Freudian frame of reference. Like his mentors, instead of seeing personality problems solely in terms of intra-psychic tensions, he sought to understand them in their social-cultural contexts. While this orientation owed much to Sullivan's influence, it had its origins for Dai in an earlier series of intellectual encounters that led him to reject the Christian teaching of the missionary college in which he had been educated and to embrace Confucianism. He was inspired in this move by his reading of a hugely influential text by Liang Shuming, *Eastern and Western Cultures and their Philosophies*, published in 1922. Liang, a former Buddhist scholar who had turned to Confucianism, was a staunch conservative cultural critic in a period of significant cultural reform. His book spoke of the need to identify, cultivate and protect the essence of Chinese culture from the onslaught of newly imported Western scientific ideas. This was not in itself a new concern. While in the final decade of the Qing dynasty, prior to the formation of the Republic, there had been many calls for modernisation, a compromise had been

sought in which Western learning could be imported only to the extent it did not devalue the essence of Chinese culture. Although many references to national essence were vague, and there were differences about how best to preserve it, there was general agreement amongst scholars, poets and educators that it signified a return to Confucian ethical values, most notably the principle that, in the flux of life, all elements are bound together harmoniously and are best expressed in the concept of jen (benevolence). Recking against the "modern condition," it was Liang's view that learning based solely on Western science would foster the critically rational mind, but this in turn would threaten, by critical devaluation, all values. The solution to this was that learning should proceed in contexts in which, not only intellectually, but moral improvement might be achieved. 33

How far Dai would have developed his psychoanalysis within this context remains unclear because he left in 1939 for America owing to the intensification of the Sino-Japanese war, bringing his program to a close. 34 Psychoanalysis in China was not to be revived for another forty years.

A summing up

What are we to conclude from this very brief account of Asian encounters with Freud and orthodox psychoanalysis? In all cases of direct contact with Freud himself, his correspondents not only had read and admired his work but, a priori, had begun working on their own transformations of his ideas. This is in sharp contrast to developments in the West where in Europe and elsewhere there had been an initial reception and acceptance of orthodoxy before revisions began to set in. This did not please Freud, but we know from the period of his life in which these Asian encounters began that he was already in some physical decline and that the psychoanalytic movement had, in any case, grown too big to be contained. More significantly Freud's tendency to see his discovery of the Oedipus complex as a universal phenomenon might have blinded him to the cultural variants his correspondents were keen to impress upon him, variants, it must be said, which need not have caused him too much concern since the general principles arising from his elaborations would universally apply—his formulation that parental projections contribute to the formation of psychic structures (superego and the mechanism of defence) most notably.

If cultural myths have been found to support family structures out of which different psychodynamic constellations arise, the strong emphasis in Asian cultures generally on relationships taking priority over development of the individual self make the goal of

Chinese Cross Currents  October – December 2006

therapy different too. Where in the past the means of arriving at this goal have been seriously drawn into question, there has been sufficient work in the past two decades, notably in the writings of Alan Roland, Sudhir Kakar and Ashis Nandy, dealing with India and Japan, to suggest that psychoanalysis in an Asian context is possible, and is practised, albeit in culturally adapted modes, but, as elsewhere, it must contend not so much with revisions to orthodox as with rival forms of psychotherapeutic and psychopharmacological practice, which currently dominate all cultures in which psychoanalytic ideas can be said to exist.

The article draws on a conference paper prepared for the International Symposium for the History of Psychoanalysis, "History and Function of Myth in Psychoanalysis: Relations between Mythology, Tragedy and Clinical Practice", Athens, October 4-8th 2006, under the auspices of the International Association for the History of Psychoanalysis (Paris) and the Hellenic Society of Psychoanalytical Psychotherapy.


Geoffrey Bloewer is Professor in the Department of Psychology and Associate Dean in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Hong Kong. He is co-editor with Alison Turtell of Psychology Moving East: the status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania (Westview, 1987), co-author with Kieron O'Connor of Psychotherapy in the Cross-Cultural Context (Ottawa/Montreal U.P. 1996) and has published papers on the reception of psychology and psychoanalysis in China and Japan.

本文受诊为精神病学历史国际研讨会所筹备的一篇论文：“精神病学中的神话的历史和作用：神话学、悲剧和治疗实践之间的关系”——推文，2006年10月4-8日，主办方为社内精神病学历史学会(巴黎)和国际精神病学研究会。

2006年10月-12月 神州交流
