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<th>Crossing borders: Edipus in Asia and the resistance to psychoanalysis</th>
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<td>Blowers, GH</td>
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Crossing Borders
Edipus in Asia and the Resistance to Psychoanalysis

穿越边界
俄狄浦斯在亚洲及对精神分析学的抵制

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” existing 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，布鲁因斯劳·马里诺斯基在《自然》杂志上撰写了一篇题为“精神分析学与人类学”的论文，报告了他曾在特罗布里恩群岛的“现代野蛮人”中观察到的家庭结构的“原始构成”，希望通过他的研究来修正一些精神分析学的概念。他指出，正统精神分析学所倡导的压抑和切割在氏族家庭中依然是有效的，也就是说，在氏族家庭中，压抑和切割的概念是不同的。这是一个重要的观点，因为精神分析学的理论并不适用于其他家庭结构。

弗洛伊德学派的权威代表欧内斯特·琼斯很快就对这种修正正统观点的做法作出了回应。1924年，英国皇家人类学学会对马里诺斯基的做法展开了激烈的讨论，于是该学会在一个会议上邀请琼斯做了一次演讲。

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了他们的生活态度，其结果就是将“某种可能带来不快后果的关系中”的情感转移并“放置到某个更安全的距离”。十四年之后，弗洛伊德再次提起了这件事——当时，疾病和感染在伦敦的传播使得由马里诺斯基写给温莎的一封信，马里诺斯基在信中将自己称为“[弗洛伊德]及其工作的忠实捍卫者”，对弗洛伊德表现出一种惊奇，因为他一直留意到马里诺斯基对[他的观点的反对与否定]。
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. (3) 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 and in exile in London, he received a letter from Malinowski addressed to Anna (4) 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.” (5)

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 Imago, 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” (6). 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 prioritized 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 realizing how his ambivalence toward the work would be used by members of his secret committee to drive a wedge between the two. (7)

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. (8) Suitably impressed that psychoanalysis had been recognized 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 Psychanlyse and the English language International

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4. Editor’s note: Anna Freud, the youngest daughter of Sigmund Freud, and herself a psychoanalyst.
7. See, Paul Roazen, Freud and His Followers, p. 308 ff for an account.
It was only later when Bose sent him copies of a number of his own papers that Freud had an opportunity to scrutinise (and criticise) his Indian colleague’s work for its deviation from orthodoxy.

Boze’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 harassed to a wish for its opposite. This bipolarity comprises an active and a passive element, one of which is conscious, the other unconscious. As Boze put it, “the wish to strike somebody is accompanied by the unconscious wish to be struck.” During the course of free association to presenting symptoms, Boze 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. Boze theorised that the see-sawing was proceeding at its own pace but was time consuming, so he also induced it by asking his analysands 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. Arising out of his theory of the opposite tendency, the desire to be male is accompanied by a desire to be female, seen according to Boze, “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 of great importance. I have reasons to believe that much of the motivation of the ‘maternal deity’ is traceable to this source.” 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 his letter of a maternally deified mother would have to be understood within Hindu culture as a possible reference to Devi, the great goddess. In one explanation of this myth, Kakar elaborates an Indian variant of Oedipus, termed by him the Ganesha complex.

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
medium of riding naked to battle and dancing, cutting off the heads of thousands and thousands as she wielded her sword. When Mahasura 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. Kakar suggests she is the phallic mother, the half-male, half female who incorporates through her son's attachment to her his 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. Ganesh represents that half of the boy who refuses individuation and liberation through maternal separation.

Freyd's written reply to Bose on receiving his theoretical and popular papers was neutral in tone. Christiane Hartsock, in her book Psychoanalysis in Colonial India, (14) details several anecdotes that suggest, however, that Freyd 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/pasivity. (15) Freud's major criticism of Bose's ideas was that they were too "morphological," a euphemism for what he 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 invited 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 literatus from Japan. Each of them had read and been impressed by Freud's work and three had travelled to see him on separate visits with a view to being analysed by him. That story has been told elsewhere (16) but its significance for the current paper is that one of these early admirers of Freud, Kosawa Hisakun, travelled to Vienna in 1931, and although he could not afford an analysis with Freud who passed him on to Richard Stein, he did present him with a paper he had written about his ideas on the Oedipus complex as it might pertain to Japanese culture. (17) Hoping for a considered reply, Freud gave him only

14. Christiane Hartsock, Psychoanalysis in Colonial India, Oxford University Press. In particular, Chapter 5, "The uses of psychoanalysis in the treatment of Indian patients".
15. Freud to Bose, January 1st 1933.

Chinese Cross Currents October - December 2006

迦乃沙是女神斐维的两个儿子之一，另一个儿子叫斯堪达。斐维具有许多称号，其中之一是那光

迦乃沙是女神斐维的两个儿子之一，另一个儿子叫斯堪达。斐维具有许多称号，其中之一是那光照

弗洛伊德在接到伯西寄来的理论性及普通论文之后，给伯西回了一封信调和中产阶层的信。弗洛伊德在接到伯西寄来的理论性及普通论文之后，给伯西回了一封信调和中产阶层的信。弗洛伊德在接到伯西寄来的理论性及普通论文之后，给伯西回了一封信调和中产阶层的信。
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.”

In Kosawa’s version, Oedipus becomes the Ajase complex in his paper entitled “Two Kinds of Guilt”. His modification takes account, in Japanese society, of the mutual dependency that develops between mothers and their children. The myth of Oedipus 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 Kyovshinsho [The Collection of Passages expounding the True Teaching, Living, Faith and Realizing of the Pure Land], written by Shinran Shonin (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 Ajatusatra (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 murdering 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 origins of this event by Dabudatta, an enemy of Buddha. Engulfed in feelings of rage he attempts to kill his mother, Idake, but is overthrown 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 psychical consequences of this structure itself, the originality of Kosawa’s Ajase complex lies in its themes of matricide and “prenatal nancour” (from the Buddhist concept of misnohon, or resentment towards one’s origins), in contrast to the Oedipus Complex, which emphasizes incestuous desire and patricide. The mother wishes both to have 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

承认，极性原在三种相对的人性观的理性领域表现出来，即阳刚与阴柔，爱与恨、主动与被动。[[5]](18) 弗洛伊德对爱西观点的主要批评是，它们太过“形态学化”，这是一种委婉的说法，弗洛伊德似乎用它来掩饰他对爱西的轻视：爱西的理论缺乏经验证据。然而，在同一封信中，他邀请爱西写一篇论文来详细阐述他的这些核心原则，然后发表在两本国际精神分析学杂志上，但这似乎没有实现。

### 日本乐庭

1920年代至1930年代初期的这段时间里，除了与伯西维持书信来往之外，弗洛伊德还与另外来自日本的一位精神分析学家、两个心理医师和一个文学家保持着通信联系。这些人后来都曾经阅读过弗洛伊德的著作并且留下了很深的印象，其中三位还分别去拜访他，希望得到他的分析。[[17]](18) 按照古泽平之著作，弗洛伊德在当时的“两种罪恶”中变成了阿阁世情结。[[17]](18) 他的修正思考到了日本社会中的发生于母女之间的情感联系。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《源氏物语》，其二是日本镰仓时代（1185-1333年）末代幕府将军（1173-1262年）所著的《大航海术》。

该神话的中心是阿阁世对他人母的终生依赖，开始时他对母亲怀有爱意，后来他的意念转化成了永恒的爱恋。神话讲的是印度王子阿阁世和母亲弗洛伊德的故事。弗洛伊德担心他的美貌而使他失去丈夫。他弗洛伊德与他的儿子理查德·斯德·贝尔巴尔。但他将自己的一篇关于弗洛伊德斯情结的看法的文章交给了弗洛伊德，也许弗洛伊德适合日本文化。[[18]](19) 虽然他希望得到弗洛伊德的仔细评价，但弗洛伊德却只给了他一份简短的回答：“尊敬的博士先生，我已经收到并阅读了您的文章，您似乎无意使其用于其它用途，我将保存它。”[[17]](18)

14. E. Freud to Breuer’s wife, February 18, 1935
16. E. Kosawa to Breuer’s wife, 17 February 1835
17. E. Kosawa to Breuer’s wife, 03 March 1835
18. E. Kosawa to Breuer’s wife, 10 February 1835
object and the knowledge that she is capable of killing it. 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, Ajaie'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 Ajaie's mother pardons him, he seeks remone toward her, what Kleinians call "reparative guilt." 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 Rös's version, Kosawa's can be seen as a considered modification of the orthodox view of psychopath 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.

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 suggests its contents.

Most esteemed Professor,

In whatever way you wish to carry out your intention, whether it is by paving 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 Encyclopedia Britannica (11th edition).

Very respectfully,

Yours Freud."}

22. This plays on a strong cultural element for it was sometimes a custom in Japan up to the Edo period (1603-1868) 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 aspects 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/abuse), the baby shifts to fear for the safety and return of the good. Its feelings of separation give way to depression, which becomes the motive for repair. See, for example, Melanie Klein, Love, guilt and Reparation, and other works, London, Hogarth Press, 1975.

24. Although Freud initially offered an interpretation of the death of the wife of Tchang, his analysis was eventually taken over by Richard Strauss.


Chinese Cross Currents October – December 2006

2006 10 – 12月

包系早 8 朝朝：佛教派传在亚洲……

神州交流
中国个案

虽然弗洛伊德没有遇到来自中国的类似问题，即提出一种不同的俄狄浦斯版本，但是在1927年时，他却收获了他不同意见的中国知识分子的章士钊的一封信。尽管该信在消失，但弗洛伊德的简短回应则可以约略显示它的内容。

章教授的信函:

无论您采用什么方式完成您的设想，无论是您的祖国中国的开辟精神分析这门学问，还是为我们所选的‘盛象’杂志撰文，或以英语语言的材料来考量我们关于代表这方法的推测，我都非常满意，我对译介中引用的中国材料，出自大百科全书（第十一版）的引语。

顺请教安！

弗洛伊德谨启

1929年5月27日

在此之前，章士钊数年来一直致力于翻译《弗洛伊德心理学》，并努力通过自己的翻译传播弗洛伊德的著作。弗洛伊德的这封回信表明，他对章士钊的支持表示了感谢，并计划将《盛象》杂志中的一篇文章翻译成中文。

作为一位中国学者，章士钊对弗洛伊德的著作进行了大量的研究和翻译工作，他的努力对中国心理学的发展起到了重要的推动作用。
whose is out hunting. The dénouement comes with their horrifying discovery that Xue has killed their son.

The tale's structure is almost the obverse of the Edipal myth. It is Xue, the father rather than the son who leaves home to make his fortune (in Edipal was abandoned), and it is the father who kills the son. But like the Edipal 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 Bingyuan] began practising in China, his neo-Freudian 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 under Leon Saul and supervision by Horace Kornely while studying for a doctorate in sociology in Chicago. He had been recommended for this 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 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

为了避免亲缘关系中的一种张力，而此种张力源自特别强烈的母女纽带。这种纽带正是儒家经典中所描述的二十四孝的范例之一。这个故事是中国家庭结构的更好例子；强调儿女对其父母的终生投入，不鼓励脱离纽带而建立典型的西方家庭中的个

故事讲述的是薛礼（又名薛仁贵），唐朝的一名军人，后来位居军

显示了父子关系中的一种张力，而此种张力源自特别强烈的母女纽带。这种纽带正是儒家经典中所描述的二十四孝的范例之一。这个故事是中国家庭结构的更好例子；强调儿女对其父母的终生投入，不鼓励脱离纽带而建立典型的西

即使当时早期精神分析领域的知识分子没有“发现”这个故事，那么显然当首任精神分析师开始在中国行医的时候，他在弗洛伊德式训练以及他对本土文化的敏感和教学经验都会给他建立一种容易与弗洛伊德正统派道理概括的文化框架。戴森文是上海圣约翰大学的毕业生，后来在美国芝加哥读社会学博士学位时曾接受里昂·索尔的训练以及凯伦·霍妮的指导。在1932年的一次洛克菲勒研讨会上，哈里·斯蒂芬森也找到他并推荐他接受此项训练。1935年时，他返回中国，并在北京协和医学院向中国医生讲授医学心理学。在那里建立了一个分析小组并接待病人。

他向医生们传授了一些心理治疗的方法，而这些治疗方法基于一个脱离弗洛伊德式框架的思想体系。与他的老师们一样，他没有单纯地从心理与病理的角度去看待性格问题，而是从社会文化背景中去理解它们。一方面这是来自苏利

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). Reacting 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 intellectual, 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 been 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 elaboration 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

22

包亚华  ●  违越边界：俄狄浦斯在亚洲……


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 Asish 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 orthodoxy as with rival forms of psychotherapeutic and psychopharmacological practice, which currently dominate all cultures in which psychoanalytic ideas can be said to exist.

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