

Crossing Borders

Œdipus in Asia and the Resistance to Psychoanalysis

穿越边界

俄狄浦斯在亚洲及对精神分析的抵制

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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 Œdipus Complex."⁽¹⁾

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 Œdipus complex, should study "every type of civilisation, to establish the special complex that pertains to it."⁽²⁾

1. "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology," in Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex, Culture and Myth*, New York, 1962, pp. 115-6. This quotation and others in the paragraph are cited in George W. Stocking, "Malinowski's encounter with Freudian Psychoanalysis" in George W. Stocking ed., *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others: Essays in Culture and Personality*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
2. "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology," *Psyche*, 4, 1924, pp. 293-332.

1923年，布鲁尼斯劳·马里诺斯基给《自然》杂志写了一封题为“精神分析与人类学”的信，报告了他曾经在特罗布里恩群岛的“现今野蛮人中”观察到的家庭结构的“原初组成”，希望通过他的人种学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》中没有凶猛残暴的父亲形象。“压制性权威”和“阉割禁忌”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，“压抑愿望的形成就应该接受一种不同于俄狄浦斯情结的外观。”⁽¹⁾

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，如果没有一个禁制性的父亲，一个孩子的性随着他的社会发展而成长，“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通常从未“消除”。后来来自舅舅的干预，即强化这个男孩与姐妹进行身体接触的禁忌，约束了他对姐妹的杀气性和乱伦性

的欲望——对马里诺斯基来说，这是一种不同的核心情结的证据。通过进一步对比不同种类家庭结构中生理发展与社会发展之间的关系，他指出：正统精神分析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，从而建立适合各个文明的特殊情结”。⁽²⁾

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。⁽³⁾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否认态度，其结果就是将“某种可能带来不快后果的关系中的情感”转移及“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，羸病而客居伦敦的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喜，因为他一直更留意马里诺斯基“对[他的]观点的反对与否定”。⁽⁴⁾

1. 见"Psychoanalysis and Anthropology", 第115-116页; 载于Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex, Culture and Myth*, New York, 1962年。本段中的引用均转引自George W. Stocking, "Malinowski's encounter with Freudian Psychoanalysis", 载于George W. Stocking编, *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others: Essays in Culture and Personality*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1986年。
2. 见"Psychoanalysis and Anthropology", *Psyche*, 第4卷, 1924年, 第293-332页。
3. 见Ernest Jones, "Mother Right and the sexual ignorance of savages", 载于*Psycho-myth, Psychohistory—Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*, 第2卷, 1957年, 第145-173页。
4. 见前面引用George W. Stocking, 第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.⁽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 Œdipus 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 Œdipal 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 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.⁽⁷⁾

Bengal beckons

But disagreements with Freud over the centrality of the Œdipus 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 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*

3. Ernest Jones, "Mother Right and the Sexual Ignorance of Savages" in *Psycho-myth, Psychohistory—Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 2, 1957, pp. 145-73.

4. Editor's note: Anna Freud, the youngest daughter of Sigmund Freud, and herself a psychoanalyst.

5. Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

6. Ernest Jones, *The Life of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 3, p. 58.

7. See, Paul Roazen, *Freud and his Followers*, p. 398 ff for an account.

8. The correspondence between Bose and Freud first appeared in *Samiksa, The Journal of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society*, Vol. 10, Nos. 5 and 6, 1956. Compiled by C.V. Ramana.



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 criticise) 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 harnessed 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 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 Bose, "to be more easily unearthed in Indian male patients than in European... The Oedipus mother 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 explication 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 Mahisasura whom she destroyed along with most of his army. She effected this feat through the

9. Letter of Freud to Bose dated October 27th 1922.

10. Girindra Sekhar Bose, "Opposite fantasies in the Release of Repression," *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1935, Vol. 10, pp. 29-41 (quote pp. 34-5).

11. Bose to Freud, April 11th 1929, Ramana, p. 126.

12. Sudhir Kakar, "The maternal feminine in Indian Psychoanalysis," *The essential writings of Sudhir Kakar*, Oxford University Press, 2001, Chapter 9, "The Cloistered Passion of Radha and Krishna".

13. *Ibid.*

然而，琼斯重新担负起俄狄浦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，尤其是马里诺斯基曾经引用过其观点的奥托·兰克。作为《意象》的编辑，他已经发表了马里诺斯基和琼斯两人的文章。在他的《出生创伤》一文中，兰克提出了一种激进的观点：所有那些与父亲的冲突（包括俄狄浦斯式的冲突）都仅仅是更为“关键的有关出生的冲突”的虚构幻想。⁽⁵⁾他将母亲的角色置于孩子最初接触世界的核心，此举突出了母亲在养育孩子过程中的重要角色，而且认为母亲这种角色比父亲的潜在阉割角色更重要。最初，弗洛伊德接受了兰克的工作，但感觉没有太大发展前途，因而没有意识到他对兰克工作的模棱态度，如何被其秘密委员会，成员用来在两个人之间制造分歧。⁽⁶⁾

孟加拉的召唤

关于俄狄浦斯情结的核心地位，人们与弗洛伊德的分歧并非仅仅限于欧洲。1920年，弗洛伊德收到了来自吉林德拉赛卡尔·伯西的数封信。伯西是一位印度医生，后来转向研究实验心理学，围绕压抑问题撰写了他的博士论文，并将一份论文寄给了弗洛伊德。⁽⁷⁾弗洛

伊德感到欣慰，精神分析法已经在“遥远的国度”得到认可，于是当伯西的博士论文即将出版时，他为该书写了一个小序。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，弗洛伊德还问伯西是否同意添加他的名字到《精神分析报》和英语的《国际精神分析杂志》的刊头里面。⁽⁸⁾只有到后来伯西将自己的一些论文复印件寄给弗洛伊德的时候，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。

伯西的理论有两个地方明显偏离了弗洛伊德的观点。首先是他的“对立愿望”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愿望。这种两极性包括了积极和消极两种因素，其中一个有意识的，另一个是下意识的。正如伯西所说的：“打击某人的愿望伴随着另一个人下意识受到打击的愿望。”⁽⁹⁾在讲述症状的自由联想阶段，伯西声称在他的病人身上观察到一种“拉锯”运动机制，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反类型的下意识因素。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，而那被压抑的相

5. 见 Ernest Jones, *The Life of Sigmund Freud*, 第3卷, 第58页。

6. 参考 Paul Roazen, *Freud and his Followers*, 第398ff页, 关于此问题的描述。

7. 伯西和弗洛伊德的通信首次出现在 *Samiksha, The Journal of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society*, 第10卷 5-6v期, 1956年。

8. 弗洛伊德致伯西的信的日期为1922年10月27日。

9. 见 Girindra Sekhar Bose, "Opposite fantasies in the Release of Repression", 载于 *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1935年, 第10卷, 第29-41页(引用第34-5页)。

medium of riding naked to battle and dancing, cutting off the heads of thousands and thousands as she wielded her sword. When Mahisasura 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. Ganesha 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*,⁽¹⁴⁾ 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.⁽¹⁵⁾ 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 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 Heisaku, 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 Oedipus complex as it might pertain to Japanese culture.⁽¹⁷⁾ Hoping for a considered assessment, Freud gave him only

14. Christiane Hartnack, *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.

16. See Geoffrey H. Blowers and Serena H. C. Yang, "Freud's Deshi: The Coming of Psychoanalysis to Japan," *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 1997, pp. 115-26, and Blowers and Yang, "Ohtsuki Kenji and the Beginnings of Lay Analysis in Japan," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 82, No. 1, 2001, pp. 27-42.

17. Letter of Kosawa to Freud, February 13th 1932.

反趋势也变得有所意识。这些交替变化仍以一种拉锯的方式继续，但后来随着时间的推移，那些对立愿望的力量会随着摆动频率的增加而减弱。伯西得出一种理论，这种拉锯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置，于是强制形成一套新的联想。

正是以此理论为部分基础，伯西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，用伯西自己的话就是“这种希望成为女性的愿望在印度比在欧洲的男性病人中更容易发现。俄狄浦斯的母亲常常是一个综合的父性形象，而且这种事实具有十分重要的意义。我有理由相信，‘母性神明’的很大一部分动机来源于此。”⁽¹⁰⁾ 这个人物的重要意义在于它能消解阉割的威胁，这正如从俄狄浦斯父亲身上所体现出来的，因为那种希望成为女性的相对愿望（暗中接受阉割）减缓了这种恐惧。按照苏笛尔·卡卡尔的说法，伯西信中提到这样一位母性神明的做法需要从印度教文化中的伟大女神黛维那里予以理解。⁽¹¹⁾ 在卡卡尔对此神话的一个解释中，他提出了俄狄浦斯的印度变体，即迦乃沙情结。⁽¹²⁾

迦乃沙是女神黛维的两个儿子之一，另一个儿子叫斯堪达。黛维具有许多化身，其中之一是邪魔马西撒苏拉的征服者，她消灭了马西撒苏拉及其大部分军队。她成就此举的主要方法是裸身骑马走向战场，并一路跳舞走来，挥着她的宝剑砍下了成千上万的头颅。当马西撒苏拉变身一只大象想要逃跑时，她砍下了他的象牙；当他变成一只水牛时，他的厚皮使她的宝剑失去了作用，于是她骑上水牛并拼命驱赶，使其劳累不堪，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个半男半女的性器崇拜的母亲。通过她儿子对她的依恋，使那种想要成为男人而同时又不与其分离的愿望融入己身。然而，她的丈夫成为妻子情感的对手，传说中他杀死了守在妻子沐浴房间门口的儿子。迦乃沙的形象代表了半个男孩：拒绝那种与母亲分离的个性化和自由化过程。

弗洛伊德在接到伯西寄来的理论性及普通论文之后，给伯西回了一封语调中性平淡的信。克里斯汀内·哈特奈克在其《精神分析法在殖民地印度》⁽¹³⁾一书中详细记述了几段轶闻，这些轶闻表明，弗洛伊德对伯西的这种修正十分不满，尽管他曾在给伯西的倒数第二封信中

10. 见 Bose to Freud 11th April 1929年, Ramana, 第 126 页。

11. 见 Sudhir Kakar, "The maternal feminine in Indian Psychoanalysis", *The essential writings of Sudhir Kakar*, Oxford University Press, 第 9 章, The Cloistered Passion of Radha and Krishna.

12. 同上。

13. 见 Christiane Hartnack (2110) *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, 尤见第五章, "The Uses of psychoanalysis in the treatment of Indian patients".

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."⁽¹⁸⁾

In Kosawa's version, Oedipus becomes the Ajase complex in his paper entitled "Two Kinds of Guilt".⁽¹⁹⁾ 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 *Kyogyoshinsho* [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 Ajatasatru (Ajase) and his mother, Idaike, 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 it 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 Daibadatta, an enemy of Buddha.⁽²⁰⁾ Engulfed in feelings of rage he attempts to kill his mother, Idaike, but is overcome by such feelings of guilt that he falls seriously ill, and is only nursed back to health by her intervention. Idaike'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 himself,⁽²¹⁾ the originality of Kosawa's Ajase complex lies in its themes of matricide and "prenatal rancour" (from the Buddhist concept of *mishoon*, or resentment towards one's origins), in contrast to the Oedipus Complex, which emphasises 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

18. Freud to Kosawa, July 30th 1932. In German in the original.

19. Subsequently published as "Zaiakuishikino nishu" [Two types of Guilt Consciousness—Oedipus and Ajase (Ajase)] in *Seishin bunseki* [Tokyo Journal of Psychoanalysis], (March-April 1935). Later revised in *Seishinbunseki kenkyu* twice, in 1950 and 1954.

20. One of the Chinese characters for Ajase's name means "broken finger".

21. Okonogi Keigo, "The Ajase complex," paper read at the International Psychoanalytic Conference, San Francisco, August 1995.



承认，极性愿望在三种相对被人忽视的两性领域表现出来，即阳刚与阴柔、爱与恨及主动与被动。⁽¹⁴⁾弗洛伊德对伯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伯西的轻视：伯西的理论缺少经验证据。然而，在同一封信中，他邀请伯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。

日本序曲

1920年代至1930年代初期的这段时间里，除了与伯西保持书信来往之外，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。别处有人曾经讲述过这个故事，⁽¹⁵⁾但它对本文的重要意义在于，弗洛伊德的崇拜者之一古泽平作于1931年造访维也纳，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·斯德尔巴)，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，也许俄狄浦斯适合日本的文化。⁽¹⁶⁾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。您似乎无意将其用于其它用途，我将保存它。”⁽¹⁷⁾

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。⁽¹⁸⁾他的修正考虑到了日本社会中的发生于母亲和儿女之间的相互依赖。阿阁世的神话可以追溯到两个佛教经典，其一是于公元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)名僧亲鸾大师(1173-1262年)所著的《教行信证》。

该神话的中心是阿阁世对他母亲的终生依赖，开始时他对母亲怀有敌意，后来他的敌意转化成永恒的钟爱。神话讲述的是印度王子阿阁世和母亲韦提希的故事。韦提希担心她逝去的美貌容颜使她失去丈夫频婆娑罗王(佛陀的保护者)的宠幸。这使她产生了生孩子的愿望，在一个占卜者的建议下，她希望一

14. 见 Freud 给 Bose 的信，时间为 1933 年 1 月 1 日。

15. 见 Geoffrey H. Blowers and Serena H. C. Yang, "Freud's Deshi: the Coming of Psychoanalysis to Japan", 载于 *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1997 年, pp. 115-126; and Blowers G.H. and Yang SHC, "Ohtsuki Kenji and the Beginnings of Lay Analysis in Japan", *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 第 82 卷第 1 期, 2001 年, 第 27-42 页。

16. 见 Kosawa 写给 Freud 的信，日期为 1932 年 2 月 13 日。

17. 见 Freud 写给 Kosawa 的信，日期为 1932 年 7 月 30 日。原文用德文写成。

18. 后来以“两种罪恶感——俄狄浦斯和阿阁世”为题发表于《东京精神分析杂志》(1935年3-4月)，后来在《日本精神分析杂志》上分别于1950年和1954年修订过两次。



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 realising 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, Ajase'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 Ajase's mother pardons and nurses him, he feels remorse towards her, what Kleinians call "reparative 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 psychic 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 paving the way for the development of psychoanalysis in your homeland - China - or by contributions to our journal *Imago* 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"⁽²⁶⁾

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 (breast/mother), the baby shifts to fears for the safety and return of the good. Its feelings of persecution give way to depression, which becomes the motive for reparation. See, for example, Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation, and other works*, London, Hogarth Press, 1975.

24. Although Freud initially offered to analyse Kosawa at a reduced rate, his analysis was eventually taken over by Richard Sterba. See Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Freud's China Connection," *Journal of Multicultural and Multilingual Development*, Vol.14, No. 4, 1993, pp. 263-73.

26. Freud's letter first appeared as a photographic reprint of the original appearing in a preface to Zhang Shizhao's translation of *Selbstdarstellung* (1930). The letter was not translated into Chinese until many years later and appears in Yu Feng Gao's, *Psychoanalysis and Modern Chinese Novels* (1987). The translation here is from the German photoprint.



个隐者死后转世投她的胎。因为没有耐心等这件事自然发生，于是她就杀死了那个隐者，而那个隐者在临死之前诅咒她，预言他要以她儿子的形式回来，杀死她的丈夫。因为害怕未出生儿子的报复(隐者的诅咒)，她曾企图在其出生后将其从高处掷下，欲置其于死地。他虽然逃过此劫，但摔断了手指，后来佛陀的敌人提婆达多向他提起了这件事的起因。⁽¹⁹⁾被怒火吞噬的他企图杀死他的母亲韦提希，但他因为深重的罪恶感而病倒，后来在母亲的照料下才恢复了健康。韦提希的爱心行为解决了她自己与儿子的冲突，而她儿子恢复健康之后，成为一位英明的君王。

古泽平作利用这个故事说明了出生这个根本问题。他较晚的学生小此木敬吾(后来发展了这种结构的心理后果)指出，⁽²⁰⁾阿阁世情结的新颖性在于弑母和“出生前怨毒”(来源于佛教的 *mishoon* 概念)等主题，而俄狄浦斯情结则强调乱伦欲望和弑父现象。母亲既希望生子，又希望杀死他。她的这种矛盾感情源自她希望对儿子生死行使控制权力的愿望以及害怕儿子报复的偏执与恐惧(在儿子清醒时由她这种愿望在

她儿子身上的投射所导致)。另一方面，儿子的矛盾情感源自母亲是恋爱对象这种理念以及她能杀死他这种意识。⁽²¹⁾另外还存在原论文题目的两种罪恶的问题。

在原版的故事里，在意识到自己行为的恐怖性之后，俄狄浦斯将自己的眼睛挖出作为对自己的惩罚，这个行为是由他罪行的负担所激起的。根据古泽平作的说法，阿阁世的罪恶感随着故事的发展而有所改变。在他盘算杀死自己母亲之后，他被因此可能带来的惩罚所惊骇，从而病倒。这和克莱因学派所坚持的“迫害性罪恶”很相似。当阿阁世的母亲宽恕他并照料他时，他开始自责，这就是克莱因学派的“弥补性罪恶”。⁽²²⁾因为古泽平作的论文发表时间是1932年，所以关于他的思想是否受到克莱因观念的影响或形成于它们之前这个问题还无从可知。

和伯西的版本一样，古泽平作的版本也可被视为对当时精神分析发展过程中的正统观点的一种精心修正，也是对弗洛伊德笔下那个普遍机制提出的一种亚洲文化变异体的尝试。弗洛伊德对此的模糊评论显示出他对其内容的不满。⁽²³⁾

19. 阿阁世 (Ajase) 的中文名字中有一个字的意义是“断指”。

20. Okonogi Keigo, "The Ajase complex", 这是在旧金山精神分析国际研讨会(1995年8月)上宣读的一篇论文。

21. 这利用了一种很强烈的文化因素，因为在江户时代(1603-1868年)，日本有时有一种风俗，即母亲在饥饿时期杀死孩子。

22. 克莱因写到，在婴儿成长过程中，他需要分辨同一对象的好坏两个层面，而对这个对象，婴儿拥有各种幻想，同时能够产生模糊的爱恨情感。当婴儿开始担心被一个坏的对象(乳房/母亲)所攻击时，他转而期望安全与好的回归。他的这种被迫害的感觉会引发压抑，而压抑又成为弥补的动机。请参见 Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation, and other works*, London, Hogarth Press.

23. 虽然弗洛伊德最初同意以较低的价格分析古泽平作，但他的分析最终由理 Richard Sterba 接手。



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⁾

Intellectuals 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 Oedipal 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

27. It was in Zhang's preface to his translation that a photographic reprint of Freud's letter first appeared. The letter was dated May 27th 1929.
28. See, for example, Wolfgang Bauer and Hwang Shen-chang eds., *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History: A Bibliography of Chinese publications*, Wiesbaden, GMBH Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982; and Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Gao Juefu: China's Interpreter of Western Psychology," *World Psychology*, 1996, pp. 107-21.
29. Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Freud in China: The Variable Reception of Psychoanalysis," *China Perspectives*, Vol. 10, March-April 1997, pp. 33-9.
30. Zhang Jingyuan, *Psychoanalysis in China: Literary transformations (1919-1949)*, Cornell, Cornell East Asia series, 1992.
31. Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Freud in China: The variable Reception of Psychoanalysis," *op. cit.* Also, Zhang Jingyuan, *op. cit.*
32. See "Confucianism and the Life Cycle" in Richard Solomon, *Mao's Revolution and Chinese Political Culture*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971. Also, Zhang Jingyuan, *op. cit.*, p. 68 ff.

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，但在1929年时，他却收到了持不同意见的中国知识分子章士钊的一封信。尽管该信已经消失，但弗洛伊德的简短回函则可以约略显示它的内容。⁽²⁴⁾

章教授钧鉴：

无论您采用什么方式完成您的设想，无论是在您的祖国——中国，开辟精神分析这门学问，还是为我们的《意象》杂志撰文，以贵国语言的材料来衡量我们关于古代表达方式的推测，我都非常满意。我的讲义里引用的中国材料，出自大英百科全书(第十一版)的辞条。

顺请 教安！

弗洛伊德谨启

1929年5月27日⁽²⁵⁾

在此之前，章士钊数年来一直致力于翻译《弗洛伊德叙传》。当时他很可能主动建议通过自己的翻译在中国传播弗洛伊德的著作，但是弗洛伊德的回函的核心显示，他对弗洛伊德关于中国的理解感到好奇，并计划为《意象》杂志写一篇文章来检查他的假设。然而，章士钊为《意象》的文章从未实现。在此同时，他在一年后发表了弗洛伊德的自传翻译本。⁽²⁶⁾

十九世纪二十年代的时候，中国知识分子对精神分析表现出相当多的兴趣，这一点从弗洛伊德及其早期追随者的著作翻译成中文的数量、⁽²⁷⁾关于精神分析的二手文章⁽²⁸⁾及中国著述中弗洛伊德观点的使用等方面都能看出来。⁽²⁹⁾虽然这种兴趣并没有发展形成一种精神分析治疗文化(那时候焦点在于弗洛伊德的升华理论，该理论认为，升华可以作为不适当愿望的健康出口，以服务别人)，⁽³⁰⁾但是在此时期的讨论严重挑战了这样一种观点：俄狄浦斯神话是中国家庭架构的典型。恰恰相反，正如同时代学者所证明

24. 见 Blowers Freud's China Connection, *Journal of Multicultural and Multilingual Development*, 第14卷第4期, 1993年, 第263-273页。
25. 弗洛伊德的这封信最早以手迹照片的形式出现在章士钊所翻译的《弗洛伊德叙传》(*Selbstdarstellung*, 1930年)的前言中。这封信直到很多年之后才被翻译成中文, 出现在余凤高著《心理分析与中国现代小说》(1987年)一书中。此处英文是按照影印德文翻译而来。中文译者注——本中文翻译录余凤高原文。
26. 在章士钊的翻译前言中, 弗洛伊德的回函首次以影印的形式出现。回函日期为1927年5月27日。
27. 例子见 Wolfgang Bauer 与 Hwang Shen-chang 编, *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History: a bibliography of Chinese publications*, Wiesbaden, GMBH, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982年; Blowers, Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Gao Juefu: China's interpreter of western psychology", *World Psychology*, 1996年, 第107-121页。
28. 见 Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Freud in China: the variable reception of psychoanalysis", *China Perspectives*, 第10卷, 3月/4月, 1997年, 第33-39页。
29. 见 Zhang Jingyuan, *Psychoanalysis in China: Literary transformations (1919-1949)*, Cornell, Cornell East Asia series, 1992年。
30. 见 Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Freud in China: The variable Reception of Psychoanalysis", 同上。以及 Zhang Jingyuan, 同上。

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 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 Bingyeung] 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 by Leon Saul and supervision by Karen Horney 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

的，儒家那种强调儿子对父亲的终生孝德的模式要求一种与此不同的神话。⁽³¹⁾一个可能性是被改编成京剧的《汾河湾》的经典故事，又称《薛礼还家》。

故事讲述的是薛礼(又名薛仁贵)，唐朝的一名军人，后来位居军队高官。他的射箭技艺引起了皇帝的注意，皇帝把他派到边关。故事主要围绕薛礼回乡探望分别十八年的妻子这段经过展开。他离家投军时，妻子已身怀有孕。当薛礼快到家的时候，他在汾河岸边看到一个年轻人正在娴熟地射雁，于是向年轻人提出比试射箭。年轻人同意比试，但薛礼没有射雁，却射倒了这个年轻人。薛礼声称，他可以射死这个年轻人，但不能容忍一个比他更优秀的人活着。当他最后到家的时候，他怀疑妻子不忠，因为他在妻子床下看到了一双男人的鞋子。妻子斥责他的猜忌，说那是出外打雁的儿子的鞋子。故事以骇人的发现结局：薛礼杀死了自己的儿子。

故事的架构几乎正好是俄狄浦斯神话的反面。故事中是父亲薛礼，而非儿子离家远行(俄狄浦斯是被遗弃的)，而且是父亲杀死了儿子。但正如俄狄浦斯神话一样，杀人者并不清楚他与被杀者之间的家庭关系，因而这两个故事都是悲剧性的。父亲对于妻子忠诚的怀疑

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子纽带。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架构的更好例子：强调儿女对父母的终生投入，不鼓励脱离纽带而建立典型的西欧家庭中的个性。

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，那么显然当首位精神分析学家开始在中国行医的时候，他的新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分道扬镳的文化框架。戴秉衡是上海圣约翰大学的毕业生，后来在美国芝加哥攻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·斯答克·苏利文找到他并推荐他接受此项训练。1935年时，戴返回中国，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。

他向医生们讲授了一些心理治疗的形式，而这些治疗形式基于一个脱离弗洛伊德参照框架的思想体系。与他的老师们一样，他没有单纯地从心理内部张力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

31. 见“Confucianism and the Life cycle”，载于Richard Solomon, *Mao's Revolution and Chinese Political Culture*, Zhang Jingyuan, 如上所引书籍，1971年，第68页。

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 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 Œdipus 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

33. Guy Alitto, "The conservative as sage: Liang Shu-ming," in Charlotte Furth ed., *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1976.

34. Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Bingham Dai, Adolf Storfer, and the tentative beginnings of psychoanalytic culture in China: 1935-1941," *Psychoanalysis and History*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004, pp. 93-105.

文的影响，另一方面还要归因于戴的一些早期知性相遇——这些相遇使他摒弃了他在那所传教士大学所获得的基督宗教教导，转而拥抱儒家思想。在此过程中，他受到了梁漱溟的很有影响力的作品《东西文化及其哲学》(1922年)的启迪。梁漱溟先是一个佛教徒学者，后转信儒家，是那个重要文化改革时期的一个十足的保守派文化评论者。他在书里鼓吹有必要认同、培养和保护中国文化的精髓，使其不受新近引进的西方科学观念的冲击。这本身并非一个新的关注点。早在民国建立之前的清末最后十年里，许多人呼吁现代化，同时人们达成一种共识：只有在不损害中国文化精髓的前提下，西学才能够引进。虽然当时许多关于国粹的提法很模糊，而且关于如何最好地保存它的各种意见之间也存在分歧，但在学者、诗人和教育者之间形成了一种广泛共识，即这代表一种向儒家伦理价值的回归，最重要的是向这种原则的回归：在变换的生活中，所有因素都和谐地融合在一起，而且最好的表达在于“仁”这个概念。面对这种“现代情形”，梁漱溟提出了自己的看法：仅以西方科学为基础的学习会培养一种极端理性的心态，但这会通过极端贬损而进一步威胁到所有的价值。那么，解决方案就是，学习应该在那些不仅能够

实现理性提升而且能够促成伦理改善的环境背景中展开。⁽³²⁾

至于戴秉衡在这种背景下能够将精神分析发展到何种程度，我们无从可知，因为当时中日战争的加剧，他于1939年前往美国，从而终止了他的尝试与计划。⁽³³⁾精神分析在中国的复兴要等到四十年以后。

结论

在我们对亚洲与弗洛伊德及其正统精神分析的相遇进行简短描述后，我们能够得出什么结论呢？在所有这些与弗洛伊德直接接触的情形中，他的通信者不仅阅读和钦佩他的著作，而且事先都已经开始了对他的观点的改革与修正。这种情形与弗洛伊德理论在西方的发展形成了鲜明对比，在欧洲等地，在修正开始之前，人们最初普遍接受和欢迎他的正统思想。这使弗洛伊德不高兴，但我们知道，从亚洲相遇开始这段时间以来，弗洛伊德的健康已经开始下滑，而精神分析运动已经变得太大而无法控制。更重要的是弗洛伊德那种将他的俄狄浦斯情结视为一种普遍现象的愿望使他无法接受他的通信者所竭力向他说明的文化变体，而这些文化变体一定没有引起他太多的注意，因为他所精心提出的普遍原则可能普遍

32. 见 Guy Alitto, "The conservative as sage: Liang Shu-ming", 载于 Charlotte Furth 编, *The limits of change: essays on conservative alternatives in Republican China*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1976年。

33. 见 Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Bingham Dai, Adolf Storfer, and the tentative beginnings of psychoanalytic culture in China: 1935-1941", *Psychoanalysis and History*, 第6卷6第1期, 2004年, 第93-105页。

therapy different too. Where in the past the means of arriving at this goal have been seriously drawn into question,⁽³⁵⁾ 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,⁽³⁶⁾ 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 psychopharmacologic practice, which currently dominate all cultures in which psychoanalytic ideas can be said to exist. ■

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35. See James Clark Maloney, "Understanding the paradox of Japanese psychoanalysis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 34, 1953, pp. 291-303; Geoffrey H. Blowers, "Ohtsuki Kenji and the Beginnings of Lay Analysis in Japan," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 82, No. 1, 2001, pp. 27-42.

36. Alan Roland, *In search of Self in India and Japan*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988; Sudhir Kakar, *The Essential Writings of Sudhir Kakar*, op. cit.; Ashis Nandy, *The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995.

适用，简而言之就是，异性父母的投射对于心理架构(超我和心理防御机制)的形成起着最重要的作用。

如果我们能够找到那些支持能够产生不同心理动力排列的家庭架构的文化神话，那么亚洲文化重视关系胜过个人自我发展的特点使心理治疗也会出现不同的目标。一方面这在过去一直成问题，⁽³⁴⁾另一方面在过去二十年里也一直有足够的工作(尤其是阿兰·罗兰多、苏笛尔·卡卡尔和阿西斯·南迪等人对印度和日本的研究工作)显示，在亚洲背景下的精神分析是可能的，是可以实践的，⁽³⁵⁾但是正如在其它地方一样，我们没有必要与那些在上面所提文化中目前占据主导地位的各种对正统的修正甚至各种对立的心理治疗和药理等方面的实践展开争论和竞争。■

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34. 见 James Clark Maloney, Understanding the paradox of Japanese psychoanalysis. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 第34卷, 1953年, 第291-303页; Geoffrey H. Blowers, Ohtsuki Kenji and the beginnings of Lay Analysis in Japan, *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 第82卷第1期, 2001年, 第27-42页。

35. 见 Alan Roland, *In search of Self in India and Japan*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988年; Sudhir Kakar, *The essential writings of Sudhir Kakar*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001年; Ashis Nandy, *The savage Freud and Other essays on Possible and Retrievable selves*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995年。