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Crossing Borders
Edipus in Asia and the Resistance to Psychoanalysis

Geoffrey Blowars

1923年，布鲁妮斯·马里诺斯基在《自然》杂志上写了一篇名为“精神分析与人类学”的讨论，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”，希望通过这项研究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。“‘压抑性权威’和‘压制欲望’的一些核心概念——‘一种不同于父子家庭的形式’在别的地方起作用；因而，如果弗洛伊德的总理论是正确的，压抑性欲的形成就应该接受一种不同于俄狄浦斯情节的外显。”(1)

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，于是该学会在那一学年邀请琼斯做了一次讲座。(2)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对其所有态度，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“放任到某个更安全的距离”。十四年之后，弗洛伊德再次想起来了这件事——当时，患病而居的琼斯收到了由马里诺斯基写给安娜的一封信，马里诺斯基在信中写道“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，因为他一直留念马里诺斯基对[他的]观点的反对与否定”。(3)

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 and 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 Oedipus 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 Oedipal 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 Oedipus 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. Suity 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 Psychoanalyse 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. 132 ff for an account.
Journal of Psychoanalysis. It was only later when Bose sent him copies of a number of his own papers that Freud had an opportunity to scrutinize (and criticize) his Indian colleague's work for its deviating 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 matched by 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." During the course of free association to present symptoms, Bose claimed to observe a 'see-saw' mechanism at work in his patients whereby, after 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 included it by asking his analysts 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 for female, as it was observed in Indian male patients than in European. The Oedipus complex is very often a combined parental image and this is of great importance. Bose 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 Oedipai 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. In one expliation 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 Muhisamura whom she destroyed along with most of his army. She effected this feat through the

然而，琼斯重新担负起俄狄浦斯情结的创新者的工作已经与运动中的其他人产生了竞争，尤其是马里诺斯克曾经引用过其观点的奥托·兰克。作为一种隐喻的编排，他已经发表了马里诺斯克和琼斯两人的文章。在他的《出生创伤》一文中，兰克提出了一个有趣的观点，所有那些与父亲的冲突（包括俄狄浦斯式的冲突）仅仅就是更为“关键的有关系的冲突”的虚幻假想。

他将母亲的角色置于孩子最初接触世界的中心，此观点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，弗洛伊德接受了兰克的工作，但感觉自己没有太大的发展前途，因而没有意识到他对兰克工作的模仿态度，如何被其秘密委员会，成员用来在他们两个人之间制造分歧。

盖斯伯特的召唤

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达·拉赛尔·伯西特的件信。伯西特是一位印度医生，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。弗洛伊德感到欣慰，精神分析法已经在一个人“遥远的国度”得到认可，于是当西的博士论文即将出版时，他为该书写了一个序言。相反，当2022年弗洛伊德精神分析学会成立并附属于国际精神分析学会时，弗洛伊德还向伯西特同意添加他的名字到《精神分析》和《国际精神分析杂志》的头衔里面。只有到后来伯西特将自己的工作和纽约崇拜的作品中偏离正常的地方。

伯西的理论有两个地方明显偏离了弗洛伊德的观点。首先他是“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，正如伯西特所说的：“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。”在讲述症状的自相联想阶段，伯西特在他的论文身上观察到一种“拉伸”运动，从他在症状中所看到的意识之后，症状也没有完全消失，而是继续存在，这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，有兴趣的趋势减少或者回到下意识状态，而被压抑的相
medium of riding naked to battle and dancing, cutting off the heads of thousands and thousands as she wielded her sword. When 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. Karak 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.

Fried's written reply to Bose on receiving his theoretical and popular papers was neutral in tone. Christiane Hartmann, in her book Psychoanalysis in Colonial India, details several anecdotes that suggest, however, that Fried was far from happy about his revision, even though in his penultimate letter to Bose he acknowledges that the biblical nature of wishes shows up in three relatively neglected areas of bisexuality: masculinity/femininity, love/hate and activity/pasivity. 

Fried's major criticism of Bose's ideas was that they were too "morphological," an emphasis Fried 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 his same letter he invites 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 response, Freud gave him only

反趋势也变得有所意识。这些交替变化仍然是一种拉锯的方式继续，但后来随着时间的推移，这些对立愿望的力量会随著摇摆频率的增加而减弱。伯利得出一种理论，这种拉锯虽然有其自身的节奏，但需要消磨时间，于是他指导他的精神分析接受者，让其将自己置于对象的位置，于是形成一种新的联想。

正是以此理论为基础，伯利也重新定义俄狄浦斯情节。出于他的相对趋势理论，那种希望成为男性的人的愿望将随成为女性的意愿。用伯利自己的话就是“这种希望成为男性的人的愿望在印度和欧洲的男性社会中更容易实现。俄狄浦斯的男性常常是社会的一种父权形象，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) 这个角色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)减轻了这种恐惧。按照苏笛卡尔之说，伯利认为到这种母性神明的做作需要从印度教文化中的伟大女神维摩那里予以理解。(11) 在卡尔对此神话的一个解释中，他提出了俄狄浦斯的印度版本，即乃沙乃情结。(12)

迦乃沙是女神雅维的两个儿子之一，另一个儿子叫斯堪达。雅维具有许多化身，其中之一是邪恶马西撒拉的征服者，她消灭了马西撒拉及其大部分军队。她成就此举的主要方法是乘坐骑马走向战场，并一路追赶走来，推着她的宝剑砍下了成千上万的头颅。当马西撒拉变成一只大象想要逃跑时，她砍下了他的象牙；当他变成一条牛，她的厚皮使她的宝剑失去了作用，于是她骑上牛并拼命追赶，使其劳顿不堪，然后用一长矛刺入它的脖子而杀死了它。卡尔认为她是一位半男性半女性的女权崇拜者，她通过她的儿子对她的依恋，使那种成为男人同时又不为其分化的愿望融入己身。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。迦乃沙的形象表现了半男半女，拒绝那种与母亲分化的独立性和自我化过程。

弗洛伊德在接到伯利寄来的理论及普通论文之后，给伯利回了一封信中译本中译信的信。克斯里汀内，哈特内克在其《精神分析法在殖民地印度》(13) 一书中详细地论述了几段趣闻，这些趣闻表明，弗洛伊德对伯利的这种修正十分不满，尽管他曾在给伯利的第二封信中

15. Freud to Bose, January 1st 1933.
18. E. S. Bose to Freud 11th April 1929, Ramnami, No. 126, pp. 40-45.
20. Id., pp. 131.
承认同，极性愿望在三种相对被忽视的亚群体表现出来，即阳刚与阴柔，爱与恨及主动与被动。w(21) 弗洛伊德对于两个主要批评，它们太过“形式学化”，这是一种委婉的说法，弗洛伊德曾经用它来掩饰他对试想屈的轻视： disciplines 的理论缺乏经验证据。然而，在同一封信中，他邀请试想写一篇论文来详细阐述他的这两个核心原则，然后发表在两本国际精神分析学杂志中，但这似乎没有实现。

日本梦面

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，w(22) 但它对本文的重要意义在于，在弗洛伊德的崇拜者之一古泽平作于1931年受访维也纳，尽管他没有能够从弗洛伊德那里接受精神分析（弗洛伊德指他托付给了理查德·施德尔巴），但他将自己的一篇关于弗洛伊德情绪变化的看法的文章交给了弗洛伊德。也许弗洛伊德适合日本的文化。w(23) 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答复：“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。”(24)

按照古泽平作的版本，依洛浦斯在他的论文“两种罪恶”中变成了阿阁世情结。w(25) 他的修正考虑到了日本社会中的出生于父母和儿女之间的相互依赖。阿阁世的神话可以追溯到两佛教经典，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)名僧善教大师(1173-1262年)所著的《觉行信证》。

该神话的中心是阿阁世对他母亲的终生依恋，开始时他对母亲有敌意，后来他的敌意转化成了永恒的钟爱。神话讲述的是印度王子阿阁世和母亲韦提希的故事，韦提希担心她出世的美貌使她失去丈夫须劳罗王(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，她希望自己

14. Freud to Kusama, July 30th 1932. In German in the original.
18. 依洛浦斯的著作——依洛浦斯和阿阁世”为题发表于《精神分析杂志》(1935年4月)，后来

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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, Ajaye'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 Ajaye's mother parades and him, he feels remorse towards her, what Kleinians call "repontive 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 Bose's version, Kosawa's can be seen as a considered modification of the orthodox view of psychological 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 suggested 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 Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition).

Very respectfully,

Yours Freud"[20]

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 family

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/father), 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 repression. See, for example, Melanie Klein, "Love, Guilt and Reparation," and other works, London, Hogarth Press, 1975.

24. Although Freud initially offered to analyze themoes at a reduced rate, his analysis was eventually taken over by Richard Striebel.


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 (1930). The letter was not translated into Chinese until many years later and appears in Yu Fengguo, Psychoanalysis and Modern Chinese Novel (1967). The translation here is from the German photoprint.

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个隐者死后转世投胎，他觉得没有信心考这件事自然发生，于是他

9. 而且他去向母亲寻求对母亲的爱恋，或许男人有这种同

10. 可能在不同时期，母亲不给或不给，比如他不给，或许母亲在后

11. 他可能在讲述一个故事，所以不给无足轻重，因为后

12. 母亲在讲述这样的故事，所以不给无足轻重，因为后

13. 他可能在讲述一个故事，所以不给无足轻重，因为后
### 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，他却收到了一封不同寻常的中国知识分子章士钊的信封。尽管章信已经消逝，但弗洛伊德的简短回函则可以约略显示它的内容。

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### 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，开辟精神分析学的学问，还是为我们的《智慧》杂志撰稿，以语言的材料来衡量关于性爱能达到的理论，我都非常满意。我已译出中国材料，出自大英百科全书（第十一版）的条目。

顺请教安！

弗洛伊德谨启

1929年5月27日

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25. 弗洛伊德的这封信也是他访问中国时的简短回函。在章士钊的《弗洛伊德传》（Selbstherstellung, 1930年）的前言中，曾提过信中提到的不被译成中文。在后来的信中（《心理分析与中国现代小说》1987年）一书中，讨论了鲁迅和张之有对文化翻译的探讨，以及文化翻译的技巧和方法。
26. 在弗洛伊德的回信中，他将弗洛伊德的作品首次以形式的理由否决。信的日期为1927年5月27日。
27. 同上。
28. 德国柏林大学出版社、Freud in China: The Variable Reception of Psychoanalysis，第100-105页。
29. 德国柏林大学出版社、Freud in China: The Variable Reception of Psychoanalysis，第100-105页。
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whose is out hunting. The denouement 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 Bingyung) 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

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 intellectually, but moral improvement might be achieved.  

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. 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 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 blind 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 realizing themselves and their achievements more essential than the development of personal autonomy. The Oedipus complex, which has been seen as the root of all neurosis, is only one aspect of the developmental process. The importance of this concept in understanding the development of the individual has been underscored by the work of many psychoanalysts.

In conclusion, we can see that the encounter of Freud’s ideas with Asian cultures has had a profound impact on both sides. The Chinese version of the Oedipus complex, for example, has been significantly different from the Western version. This difference is partly due to the cultural context in which the complex was developed. The Chinese version, which emphasizes the relationship between the child and the mother, is more focused on the development of the individual self. The Western version, on the other hand, emphasizes the development of personal autonomy and the ability to form successful relationships.

The encounter between Freud’s ideas and Asian cultures has also had a profound impact on the development of psychoanalysis itself. The Chinese version of the Oedipus complex, for example, has been significantly different from the Western version. This difference is partly due to the cultural context in which the complex was developed. The Chinese version, which emphasizes the relationship between the child and the mother, is more focused on the development of the individual self. The Western version, on the other hand, emphasizes the development of personal autonomy and the ability to form successful relationships.

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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 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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Geoffrey Blowers 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 Turtel of Psychology Moving East: the status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania (Westview, 1987), co-author with Kieron O’Connor of Personal Construct Psychology in the Clinical Context (Ottawa/Montreal U.P., 1996) and has published papers on the reception of psychology and psychoanalysis in China and Japan.

包金华，现任香港大学社会学系副主任及心理学系教授。他的著作包括《心理学东进：西方心理学在亚洲和大洋洲的地位》(Westview, 1987年；与阿里森·吐尔特合编)；《临床背景下的个体构建心理学》(Ottawa/Montreal U.P., 1996年；与齐龙·奥康纳合著)以及其它关于心理学和精神分析学在中国和日本的接受情况的论文。