slight correction of the characteristic paranoic indefiniteness of
Schreber's mode of expression to enable us to divine the fact that the
patient was in fear of sexual abuse at the hands of his doctor himself.
The exciting cause of his illness, then, was an outburst of homosexual
libido; the object of this libido was probably from the very first his
doctor, Flechsig; and his struggles against the libidinal impulse produced
the conflict which gave rise to the symptoms.

I will pause here for a moment to meet a storm of remonstrances
and objections. Any one acquainted with the present state of psychiatry
must be prepared to face trouble.

`Is it not an act of irresponsible levity, an indiscretion and a
calumny, to charge a man of such high ethical standing as the former
Senatspräsident Schreber with homosexuality?''--No. The patient has
himself informed the world at large of his phantasy of being transformed
into a woman, and he has allowed all personal considerations to be
outweighed by interests of a higher nature. Thus he has himself given us
the right to occupy ourselves with his phantasy, and in translating it into
the technical terminology of medicine we have not made the slightest
addition to its content.

`Yes, but he was not in his right mind when he did it. His
delusion that he was being transformed into a woman was a pathological
idea.'--We have not forgotten that. Indeed our only concern is with the
meaning and origin of this pathological idea. We will appeal to the
distinction he himself draws between the man Flechsig and the 'Flechsig
soul'. We are not making reproaches of any kind against him--whether
for having had homosexual impulses or for having endeavoured to
suppress them. Psychiatrists should at last take a lesson from this patient,
when they see him trying, in spite of his delusions, not to confuse the
world of the unconscious with the world of reality.

`But it is nowhere expressly stated that the transformation into a
woman which he so much dreaded was to be carried out for the benefit
of Flechsig.'--That is true; and it is not difficult to understand why, in
preparing his memoirs for publication, since he was anxious not to insult
the 'man Flechsig', he should have avoided so gross an accusation. But
the toning-down of his language owing to these considerations did not go
so far as to be able to conceal the true meaning of his accusation. Indeed,
it may be maintained that after all it is expressed openly in such a passage as the following: `In this way a conspiracy against me was brought to a head (in about March or April, 1894). Its object was to contrive that, when once my nervous complaint had been recognized as incurable or assumed to be so, I should be handed over to a certain person in such a manner that my soul should be delivered up to him, but my body ... should be transformed into a female body, and as such surrendered to the person in question with a view to sexual abuse ...' 1 (56).

It is unnecessary to remark that no other individual is ever named who could be put in Flechsig's place. Towards the end of Schreber's stay in the clinic at Leipzig, a fear occurred to his mind that he `was to be thrown to the attendants' for the purpose of sexual abuse (98). Any remaining doubts that we have upon the nature of the part originally attributed to the doctor are dispelled when, in the later stages of his delusion, we find Schreber outspokenly admitting his feminine attitude towards God. The other accusation against Flechsig echoes over-loudly through the book. Flechsig, he says, tried to commit soul-murder upon him. As we already know [p. 38 f.], the patient was himself not clear as to the actual nature of that crime, but it was connected with matters of discretion which precluded their publication (as we see from the suppressed third chapter). From this point a single thread takes us further. Schreber illustrates the nature of soul-murder by referring to the legends embodied in Goethe's Faust, Byron's Manfred, Weber's Freischutz, etc. (22), and one of these instances is further cited in another passage. In discussing the division of God into two persons, Schreber identifies his 'lower God' and 'upper God' with Ahriman and Ormuzd respectively (19); and a little later a casual footnote occurs: 'Moreover, the name of Ahriman also appears in connection with a soul-murder in, for example, Lord Byron's Manfred.' (20.) In the play which is thus referred to there is scarcely anything comparable to the bartering of Faust's soul, and I have searched it in vain for the expression 'soul-murder'. But the essence and the secret of the whole work lies in an incestuous relation between a brother and a sister. And here our thread breaks off short.2

1 The italics in this passage are mine.
2 By way of substantiating the above assertion I will quote a passage
At a later stage in this paper I intend to return to a discussion of some further objections; but in the meantime I shall consider myself justified in maintaining the view that the basis of Schreber's illness was the outburst of a homosexual impulse. This hypothesis harmonizes with a noteworthy detail of the case history, which remains otherwise inexplicable. The patient had a fresh 'nervous collapse', which exercised a decisive effect upon the course of his illness, at a time when his wife was taking a short holiday on account of her own health. Up till then she had spent several hours with him every day and had taken her mid-day meal with him. But when she returned after an absence of four days, she found him most sadly altered: so much so, indeed, that he himself no longer wished to see her. 'What especially determined my mental breakdown was a particular night, during which I had a quite extraordinary number of emissions—quite half a dozen, all in that one night.' (44.) It is easy to understand that the mere presence of his wife must have acted as a protection against the attractive power of the men about him; and if we are prepared to admit that an emission cannot occur in an adult without some mental concomitant, we shall be able to supplement the patient's emissions that night by assuming that they were accompanied by homosexual phantasies which remained unconscious.

The question of why this outburst of homosexual libido

from the last scene of the play, in which Manfred says to the demon who has come to fetch him away:

... my past power
Was purchased by no compact with thy crew.

There is thus a direct contradiction of a soul having been bartered. This mistake on Schreber's part was probably not without its significance.—It is plausible, by the way, to connect the plot of Manfred with the incestuous relations which have repeatedly been asserted to exist between the poet and his half-sister. And it is not a little striking that the action of Byron's other play, his celebrated Cain, should be laid in the primal family, where no objections could exist to incest between brother and sister.—Finally, we cannot leave the subject of soul murder without quoting one more passage from the Denkwürdigkeiten: 'in this connection Flechsig used formerly to be named as the first author of soul-murder, whereas for some time past the facts have been deliberately inverted and an attempt has been made to "represent" myself as being the one who practises soul-murder ...' (23.) [Cf. below, p. 53.]
overtook the patient precisely at this period (that is, between the dates of
his appointment and of his move to Dresden) cannot be answered in the
absence of more precise knowledge of the story of his life. Generally
speaking, every human being oscillates all through his life between
heterosexual and homosexual feelings, and any frustration or
disappointment in the one direction is apt to drive him over into the
other. We know nothing of these factors in Schreber's case, but we must
not omit to draw attention to a somatic factor which may very well have
been relevant. At the time of this illness Dr. Schreber was fifty-one years
old, and he had therefore reached an age which is of critical importance
in sexual life. It is a period at which in women the sexual function, after
a phase of intensified activity, enters upon a process of far-reaching
involution; nor do men appear to be exempt from its influence, for men
as well as women are subject to a 'climacteric' and to the susceptibilities
to disease which go along with it.¹

I can well imagine what a dubious hypothesis it must appear to be
to suppose that a man's friendly feeling towards his doctor can suddenly
break out in an intensified form after a lapse of eight years² and become
the occasion of such a severe mental disorder. But I do not think we
should be justified in dismissing such a hypothesis merely on account of
its inherent improbability, if it recommends itself to us on other grounds;
we ought rather to inquire how far we shall get if we follow it up. For the
improbability may be of a passing kind and may be due to the fact that
the doubtful hypothesis has not as yet been brought into relation with any
other pieces of knowledge and that it is the first hypothesis with which
the problem has been approached. But for the benefit of those who are
unable to hold their judge

¹ I owe my knowledge of Schreber's age at the time of his illness to some information
which was kindly given me by one of his relatives, through the agency of Dr. Stegmann
of Dresden. Apart from this one fact, however, I have made use of no material in this
paper that is not derived from the actual text of the Denkwurdigkeiten. [Freud, as we
now know, obtained certain other facts from Dr. Stegmann of which he made no use in
the published paper. See p. 6, n. 1, and p. 50, n. 3.-The significance of the age of 51 is
no doubt a survival of Fliess's numerical theories. Cf. the same figure in a dream of
Freud's reported in The Interpretation of Dreams (1900a), Standard Ed., 5, 438-9.]
² This was the length of the interval between Schreber's first and second illnesses.
ment in suspense and who regard our hypothesis as altogether untenable, it is easy to suggest a possibility which would rob it of its bewildering character. The patient's friendly feeling towards his doctor may very well have been due to a process of 'transference', by means of which an emotional cathexis became transposed from some person who was important to him on to the doctor who was in reality indifferent to him; so that the doctor will have been chosen as a deputy or surrogate for some one much closer to him. To put the matter in a more concrete form: the patient was reminded of his brother or father by the figure of the doctor, he rediscovered them in him; there will then be nothing to wonder at if, in certain circumstances, a longing for the surrogate figure reappeared in him and operated with a violence that is only to be explained in the light of its origin and primary significance.

With a view to following up this attempt at an explanation, I naturally thought it worth while discovering whether the patient's father was still alive at the time at which he fell ill, whether he had had a brother, and if so whether he was then living or among the 'blest'. I was pleased, therefore, when, after a prolonged search through the pages of the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, I came at last upon a passage in which the patient sets these doubts at rest: 'The memory of my father and my brother ... is as sacred to me as ...' etc. (442.) So that both of them were dead at the time of the onset of his second illness (and, it may be, of his first illness as well).1

We shall therefore, I think, raise no further objections to the hypothesis that the exciting cause of the illness was the appearance in him of a feminine (that is, a passive homosexual) wishful phantasy, which took as its object the figure of his doctor. An intense resistance to this phantasy arose on the part of Schreber's personality, and the ensuing defensive struggle, which might perhaps just as well have assumed some other shape, took on, for reasons unknown to us, that of a delusion of persecution. The person he longed for now became his persecutor, and the content of his wishful phantasy became the content of his persecution. It may be presumed that the same schematic outline will turn out to be applicable to other cases of delusions of persecution. What distinguishes Schreber's

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1 [His father had died in 1861 and his only brother in 1877 (Baumeyer, 1956, 74 and 69).]
case from others, however, is its further development and the transformation it underwent in the course of it.

One such change was the replacement of Flechsig by the superior figure of God. This seems at first as though it were a sign of aggravation of the conflict, an intensification of the unbearable persecution, but it soon becomes evident that it was preparing the way for the second change and, with it, the solution of the conflict. It was impossible for Schreber to become reconciled to playing the part of a female wanton towards his doctor; but the task of providing God Himself with the voluptuous sensations that He required called up no such resistance on the part of his ego. Emasculation was now no longer a disgrace; it became 'consonant with the Order of Things', it took its place in a great cosmic chain of events, and was instrumental in the re-creation of humanity after its extinction. 'A new race of men, born from the spirit of Schreber' would, so he thought, revere as their ancestor this man who believed himself the victim of persecution. By this means an outlet was provided which would satisfy both of the contending forces. His ego found compensation in his megalomania, while his feminine wishful phantasy made its way through and became acceptable. The struggle and the illness could cease. The patient's sense of reality, however, which had in the meantime become stronger, compelled him to postpone the solution from the present to the remote future, and to content himself with what might be described as an asymptotic wish-fulfilment.1 Some time or other, he anticipated, his transformation into a woman would come about; until then the personality of Dr. Schreber would remain indestructible.

In textbooks of psychiatry we frequently come across statements to the effect that megalomania can develop out of delusions of persecution. The process is supposed to be as follows. The patient is primarily the victim of a delusion that he is being persecuted by powers of the greatest might. He then feels a need to account to himself for this, and in that way hits on the idea that he himself is a very exalted personage and worthy of such persecution. The development of megalomania

1 'It is only', he writes towards the end of the book, 'as possibilities which must be taken into account, that I mention that my emasculation may even yet be accomplished and may result in a new generation issuing from my womb by divine impregnation.' (293.)
is thus attributed by the textbooks to a process which (borrowing a useful word from Ernest Jones [1908]) we may describe as `rationalization'. But to ascribe such important affective consequences to a rationalization is, as it seems to us, an entirely unpsychological proceeding; and we would consequently draw a sharp distinction between our opinion and the one which we have quoted from the textbooks. We are making no claim, for the moment, to knowing the origin of the megalomania.1

Turning once more to the case of Schreber, we are bound to admit that any attempt at throwing light upon the transformation in his delusion brings us up against extraordinary difficulties. In what manner and by what means was the ascent from Flechsig to God brought about? From what source did he derive the megalomania which so fortunately enabled him to become reconciled to his persecution, or, in analytical phraseology, to accept the wishful phantasy which had had to be repressed? The Denkwürdigkeiten give us a first clue; for they show us that in the patient's mind 'Flechsig' and 'God' belonged to the same class. In one of his phantasies he overheard a conversation between Flechsig and his wife, in which the former asserted that he was `God Flechsig', so that his wife thought he had gone mad (82). But there is another feature in the development of Schreber's delusions which claims our attention. If we take a survey of the delusions as a whole we see that the persecutor is divided into Flechsig and God; in just the same way Flechsig himself subsequently splits up into two personalities, the `upper' and the `middle' Flechsig [p. 40], and God into the `lower' and the `upper' God. In the later stages of the illness the decomposition of Flechsig goes further still (193). A process of decomposition of this kind is very characteristic of paranoia. Paranoia decomposes just as hysteria condenses. Or rather, paranoia resolves once more into their elements the products of the condensations and identifications which are effected in the unconscious.2 The frequent repetition of the decomposing process in Schreber's case would, according to Jung, be an

1 [The question is taken up again below, in connection with the concept of narcissism. See pp. 65 and 72-3.]
2 [There may possibly be some hint at this notion in the passage from the letter to Fliess of December 9, 1899, which is quoted in the Editor's Note to the paper on `The Disposition to Obsessional Neurosis', p. 315 below.]
expression of the importance which the person in question possessed for him.1 All of this dividing up of Flechsig and God into a number of persons thus had the same meaning as the splitting of the persecutor into Flechsig and God. They were all duplications of one and the same important relationship.2 But in order to interpret all these details, we must further draw attention to our view of this decomposition of the persecutor into Flechsig and God as a paranoid reaction to a previously established identification of the two figures or their belonging to the same class. If the persecutor Flechsig was originally a person whom Schreber loved, then God must also simply be the reappearance of some one else whom he loved, and probably some one of greater importance.

If we pursue this train of thought, which seems to be a legitimate one, we shall be driven to the conclusion that this other person must have been his father; this makes it all the clearer that Flechsig must have stood for his brother--who, let us hope, may have been older than himself.3 The feminine phantasy, which aroused such violent opposition in the patient, thus had its root in a longing, intensified to an erotic pitch, for his father and brother. This feeling, so far as it referred to his brother, passed, by a process of transference, on to his doctor, Flechsig; and when it was carried back on to his father a settlement of the conflict was reached.

We shall not feel that we have been justified in thus introducing Schreber's father into his delusions, unless the new hypothesis shows itself of some use to us in understanding the case and in elucidating details of the delusions which are as yet

1 Jung (1910a). Jung is probably right when he goes on to say that this decomposition follows the general lines taken by schizophrenia in that it uses a process of analysis in order to produce a watering-down effect, and is thus designed to prevent the occurrence of unduly powerful impressions. When, however, one of his patients said to him: 'Oh, are you Dr. J. too? There was some one here this morning who said he was Dr. J.', we must interpret it as being an admission to this effect: 'You remind me now of a different member of the class of my transferences from the one you reminded me of when you visited me last.'
2 Otto Rank (1909) has found the same process at work in the formation of myths.
3 No information on this point is to be found in the Denkwurdigkeiten. [His only brother was, in fact, three years his senior (Baumeyer, 1956, 69). Freud had learnt that his 'guess was correct' through Dr. Stegmann. (See p. 6, n. 1, and p. 46, n. 1.)]
unintelligible. It will be recalled that Schreber's God and his relations to Him exhibited the most curious features: how they showed the strangest mixture of blasphemous criticism and mutinous insubordination on the one hand and of reverent devotion on the other. God, according to him, had succumbed to the misleading influence of Flechsig: He was incapable of learning anything by experience, and did not understand living men because He only knew how to deal with corpses; and He manifested His power in a succession of miracles which, striking though they might be, were none the less futile and silly.

Now the father of Senatspräsident Dr. Schreber was no insignificant person. He was the Dr. Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber whose memory is kept green to this day by the numerous Schreber Associations which flourish especially in Saxony; and, moreover, he was a physician. His activities in favour of promoting the harmonious upbringing of the young, of securing co-ordination between education in the home and in the school, of introducing physical culture and manual work with a view to raising the standards of health—all this exerted a lasting influence upon his contemporaries. 2 His great reputation as the founder of therapeutic gymnastics in Germany is still shown by the wide circulation of his Arztliche Zimmergymnastik in medical circles and the numerous editions through which it has passed.3

Such a father as this was by no means unsuitable for transfiguration into a God in the affectionate memory of the son from whom he had been so early separated by death. It is true that we cannot help feeling that there is an impassable gulf between the personality of God and that of any human being,

1 [In all the German editions this name is given incorrectly as 'Gottlieb'.]
2 I have to thank my colleague Dr. Stegmann of Dresden for his kindness in letting me see a copy of a journal entitled Der Freund der Schreber-Vereine [The Friend of the Schreber Associations]. This number (Vol. II. No. 10) celebrates the centenary of Dr. Schreber's birth, and some biographical data are contained in it. Dr. Schreber senior was born in 1808 and died in 1861, at the age of only fifty-three. From the source which I have already mentioned I know that our patient was at that time nineteen years old. [Some biographical information about Schreber's father will also be found in Baumeyer (1956, 74).]
3 [Nearly forty in all. An English translation of the book appeared under the title Medical Indoor Gymnastics in 1856 and again in 1899 and 1912.]
however eminent he may be. But we must remember that this has not always been so. The gods of the peoples of antiquity stood in a closer human relationship to them. The Romans used to deify their dead emperors as a matter of routine; and the Emperor Vespasian, a sensible and competent man, exclaimed when he was first taken ill: 'Alas! Methinks I am becoming a God!'

We are perfectly familiar with the infantile attitude of boys towards their father; it is composed of the same mixture of reverent submission and mutinous insubordination that we have found in Schreber's relation to his God, and is the unmistakable prototype of that relation, which is faithfully copied from it. But the circumstance that Schreber's father was a physician, and a most eminent physician, and one who was no doubt highly respected by his patients, is what explains the most striking characteristics of his God and those upon which he dwells in such a critical fashion. Could more bitter scorn be shown for such a physician than by declaring that he understands nothing about living men and only knows how to deal with corpses? No doubt it is an essential attribute of God to perform miracles; but a physician performs miracles too; he effects miraculous cures, as his enthusiastic clients proclaim. So that when we see that these very miracles (the material for which was provided by the patient's hypochondria) turn out to be incredible, absurd, and to some extent positively silly, we are reminded of the assertion in my *Interpretation of Dreams* that absurdity in dreams expresses ridicule and derision.2 Evidently, therefore, it is used for the same purposes in paranoia. As regards some of the other reproaches which he levelled against God, such, for instance, as that He learned nothing by experience, it is natural to suppose that they are examples of the *to quoque* mechanism used by children,3 which, when they receive a reproof, flings it back unchanged upon the person who originated it. Similarly, the voices give us grounds

2 Standard Ed., 5, 444-5.
3 It looks remarkably like a *revanche* of this sort when we find the patient writing out the following memorandum one day: 'Any attempt at exercising an educative influence must be abandoned as hopeless.' (188.) The uneducable one was God.
for suspecting that the accusation of soul-murder brought against Flechsig was in the first instance a self-accusation.1

Emboldened by the discovery that his father's profession helps to explain the peculiarities of Schreber's God, we shall now venture upon an interpretation which may throw some light upon the remarkable structure of that Being. The heavenly world consisted, as we know, of the 'anterior realms of God', which were also called the 'fore-courts of Heaven' and which contained the souls of the dead, and of the 'lower' and the 'upper' God, who together constituted the 'posterior realms of God' (19) [pp. 23-4]. Although we must be prepared to find that there is a condensation here which we shall not be able to resolve, it is nevertheless worth while referring to a clue that is already in our hands. If the 'miracled' birds, which have been shown to be girls, were originally fore-courts of Heaven [p. 35], may it not be that the anterior realms of God and the fore-courts of Heaven are to be regarded as a symbol of what is female, and the posterior realms of God as a symbol of what is male? If we knew for certain that Schreber's dead brother was older than himself, we might suppose that the decomposition of God into the lower and the upper God gave expression to the patient's recollection that after his father's early death his elder brother had stepped into his place.3

In this connection, finally, I should like to draw attention to the subject of the sun, which, through its 'rays', came to have so much importance in the expression of his delusions. Schreber has a quite peculiar relation to the sun. It speaks to him in human language, and thus reveals itself to him as a living being, or as the organ of a yet higher being lying behind it (9). We learn from a medical report that at one time he 'used to shout threats and abuse at it and positively bellow at it' (382)4 and used to call out to it that it must crawl away from him

1 'Whereas for some time past the facts have been deliberately inverted and an attempt has been made to "represent" myself as being the one who practises soul-murder ...' etc. (23). [See above p. 45, n.]
2 [The German word 'Vorhof' besides having the literal meaning of 'fore-court', is used in anatomy as a synonym for the 'vestibulum', a region of the female genitals. The word appears in Freud's analysis of 'Dora' (1905e), Standard Ed., 7, 99.]
3 [Cf. footnote 3, p. 50.]
4 'The sun is a whore', he used to exclaim (384).
and hide. He himself tells us that the sun turns pale before him. The manner in which it is bound up with his fate is shown by the important alterations it undergoes as soon as changes begin to occur in him, as, for instance, during his first weeks at Sonnenstein (135). Schreber makes it easy for us to interpret this solar myth of his. He identifies the sun directly with God, sometimes with the lower God (Ahriman), and sometimes with the upper. `On the following day ... I saw the upper God (Ormuzd), and this time not with my spiritual eyes but with my bodily ones. It was the sun, but not the sun in its ordinary aspect, as it is known to all men; it was ... .' etc. (137-8.) It is therefore no more than consistent of him to treat it in the same way as he treats God Himself.

The sun, therefore, is nothing but another sublimated symbol for the father; and in pointing this out I must disclaim all responsibility for the monotony of the solutions provided by psycho-analysis. In this instance symbolism overrides grammatical gender--at least so far as German goes, for in most other languages the sun is masculine. Its counterpart in this picture of the two parents is 'Mother Earth' as she is generally called. We frequently come upon confirmations of this assertion in resolving the pathogenic phantasies of neurotics by psycho-analysis. I can make no more than the barest allusion to the relation of all this to cosmic myths. One of my patients, who had lost his father at a very early age, was always seeking to rediscover him in what was grand and sublime in Nature. Since I have known this, it has seemed to me probable that Nietzsche's hymn 'Vor Sonnenaufgang' ['Before Sunrise'] is an expression of the same longing. Another patient, who became neurotic after his father's death, was seized with his first attack

1 `To some extent, moreover, even to this day the sun presents a different picture to my eyes from what it did before my illness. When I stand facing it and speak aloud, its rays turn pale before me. I can gaze at it without any difficulty and without being more than slightly dazzled by it; whereas in my healthy days it would have been as impossible for me as for anyone else to gaze at it for a minute at a time.' (139, footnote.) [The point is referred to again in Freud's Postscript to the paper, below, p. 80 ff.]
2 `Since July, 1894, the voices that talk to me have identified him [Ahriman] directly with the sun.' (88.)
3 [The German word for 'sun' is feminine: 'die Sonne'.]
4 Also Sprach Zarathustra, Part III. It was only as a child that Nietzsche too knew his father.
of anxiety and giddiness while the sun shone upon him as he was working in the garden with a spade. He spontaneously put forward as an interpretation that he had become frightened because his father had looked at him while he was at work upon his mother with a sharp instrument. When I ventured upon a mild remonstrance, he gave an air of greater plausibility to his view by telling me that even in his father's lifetime he had compared him with the sun, though then it had been in a satirical sense. Whenever he had been asked where his father was going to spend the summer he had replied in these sonorous words from the 'Prologue in Heaven':

Und seine vorgeschrieb'ne Reise Volendet er mit Donnergang.

His father, acting on medical advice, had been in the habit of paying an annual visit to Marienbad. This patient's infantile attitude towards his father took effect in two successive phases. As long as his father was alive it showed itself in unmitigated rebelliousness and open discord, but immediately after his death it took the form of a neurosis based upon abject submission and deferred obedience to him.

Thus in the case of Schreber we find ourselves once again on the familiar ground of the father-complex. The patient's struggle with Flechsig became revealed to him as a conflict with God, and we must therefore construe it as an infantile conflict with the father whom he loved; the details of that conflict (of which we know nothing) are what determined the content of his delusions. None of the material which in other cases of the sort is brought to light by analysis is absent in the present one: every element is hinted at in one way or another. In infantile experiences such as this the father appears as an interferer with the satisfaction which the child is trying to obtain; this is usually of an auto-erotic character, though at a later date it is often replaced in phantasy by some other satisfaction of a less inglorious kind. In the final stage of Schreber's

1 ['And with a tread of thunder he accomplishes his prescribed journey.' Goethe, Faust, Part I.]
2 [Cf. some comments on 'deferred obedience' in the analysis of 'Little Hans' (1909b), Standard Ed., 10, 35.]
3 In the same way, Schreber's 'feminine wishful phantasy' is simply one of the typical forms taken by the infantile nuclear complex.
4 See some remarks on this subject in my analysis of the 'Rat Man' (1909d), Standard Ed., 10, 206-8 n.
delusion a magnificent victory was scored by the infantile sexual urge; for voluptuousness became God-fearing, and God Himself (his father) never tired of demanding it from him. His father's most dreaded threat, castration, actually provided the material for his wishful phantasy (at first resisted but later accepted) of being transformed into a woman. His allusion to an offence covered by the surrogate idea 'soul-murder' could not be more transparent. The chief attendant was discovered to be identical with his neighbour von W. [p. 39 f.], who, according to the voices, had falsely accused him of masturbation (108). The voices said, as though giving grounds for the threat of castration: 'For you are to be represented as being given over to voluptuous excesses.'1 (127-8.)

Finally, we come to the enforced thinking (47) to which the patient submitted himself because he supposed that God would believe he had become an idiot and would withdraw from him if he ceased thinking for a moment. [See p. 25.] This is a reaction (with which we are also familiar in other connections) to the threat or fear of losing one's reason² as a result of indulging in sexual practices and especially in masturbation. Considering the enormous number of delusional ideas of a hypochondriacal nature³ which the patient developed, no great importance should perhaps be attached to the fact that some of them

1 The systems of 'representing' [128 n.] and of 'noting down' (126), taken in conjunction with the 'proved souls', point back to experiences in the patient's school days. [The process of purification of souls after death (p. 23) was known in the 'basic language' as 'Prüfung'. This is the ordinary German word for a 'school examination', but is also used for 'testing' or 'proving' in general. Souls that had not yet been purified were called, not, as might have been expected, 'unproved', but, in accordance with the tendency of the 'basic language' to make use of euphemisms (p. 23), 'proved'. 'Representing' was similarly a term meaning 'misrepresenting'. Another instance of its use will be found on p. 53, n. 1. By the system of 'noting down', all Schreber's thoughts, actions, and everything connected with him, were recorded year after year in notebooks by half-witted beings, probably situated in remote heavenly bodies.]

2 'This was the end in view, as was frankly admitted at an earlier date in the phrase "We want to destroy your reason", which I have heard proceeding from the upper God upon countless occasions.' (206 n.)

3 I must not omit to remark at this point that I shall not consider any theory of paranoia trustworthy unless it also covers the hypochondriacal symptoms by which that disorder is almost invariably accom-
ATTEMPTS AT INTERPRETATION

coincide word for word with the hypochondriacal fears of masturbators.1

Any one who was more daring than I am in making interpretations, or who was in touch with Schreber's family and consequently better acquainted with the society in which he moved and the small events of his life, would find it an easy matter to trace back innumerable details of his delusions to their sources and so discover their meaning, and this in spite of the censorship to which the *Denkwürdigkeiten* have been subjected. But as it is, we must necessarily content ourselves with this shadowy sketch of the infantile material which was used by the paranoic disorder in portraying the current conflict. Perhaps I may be allowed to add a few words with a view to establishing the causes of this conflict that broke out in relation to the feminine wishful phantasy. As we know, when a wishful phantasy makes its appearance, our business is to bring it into connection with some frustration,2 some privation in real life. Now Schreber admits having suffered a privation of this kind. His marriage, which he describes as being in other respects a happy one, brought him no children; and in particular it brought him no son who might have consoled him or the loss of his father and brother and upon whom he might have drained off his unsatisfied homosexual affections.3 His

panied. It seems to me that hypochondria stands in the same relation to paranoia as anxiety neurosis does to hysteria. [The position of hypochondria was discussed by Freud at some length at the beginning of Section II of his paper on narcissism (1914c), Standard Ed., 14, 83 if.]

1 `For this reason attempts were made to pump out my spinal cord. This was done by means of so-called "little men" who were placed in my feet. I shall have more to say presently on the subject of these "little men", who showed some resemblance to the phenomena of the same name which I have already discussed in Chapter VI. There used as a rule to be two of them--a "little Flechsig" and a "little von W."--and I used to hear their voices, too, in my feet.' (154.) [The word 'gleichnamigen' (of the same name') has been accidentally omitted from the quotation in all the German editions.] Von W. was the man who was supposed to have accused Schreber of masturbation. The 'little men' are described by Schreber himself as being among the most remarkable and, in some respects, the most puzzling phenomena of his illness (157). It looks as though they were the product of a condensation of children and--spermatozoa.

2 [See footnote 2 below, p. 62.]

3 `After my recovery from my first illness I spent eight years with my wife-years, upon the whole, of great happiness, rich in outward

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family line threatened to die out, and it seems that he felt no little pride in his birth and lineage. `Both the Flechsigs and the Schreibers were members of "the highest nobility of Heaven", as the phrase went. The Schreibers in particular bore the title of "Margraves of Tuscany and Tasmania"; for souls, urged by some sort of personal vanity, have a custom of adorning themselves with somewhat high-sounding titles borrowed from this world.' 1 (24.) The great Napoleon obtained a divorce from Josephine (though only after severe internal struggles) because she could not propagate the dynasty. 2 Dr. Schreber may have formed a phantasy that if he were a woman he would manage the business of having children more successfully; and he may thus have found his way back into the feminine attitude towards his father which he had exhibited in the earliest years of his childhood. If that were so, then his delusion that as a result of his emasculation the world was to be peopled with 'a new race of men, born from the spirit of Schreber' (288)--a delusion the realization of which he was continually postponing to a more and more remote future--would also be designed to offer him an escape from his childlessness. If the 'little men' whom Schreber himself finds so puzzling were children, then we should have no difficulty in understanding why they were collected in such great numbers on his head (158): they were in truth the 'children of his spirit'.

honours, and only clouded from time to time by the oft-repeated disappointment of our hope that we might be blessed with children.' (36).

1 He goes on from this remark, which preserves in his delusions the good-natured irony of his saner days, to trace back through former centuries the relations between the Flechsig and Schreber families. In just the same way a young man who is newly engaged, and cannot understand how he can have lived so many years without knowing the girl he is now in love with, will insist that he really made her acquaintance at some earlier time.

2 In this connection it is worth mentioning a protest entered by the patient against some statements made in the medical report: 'I have never trifled with the idea of obtaining a divorce, nor have I displayed any indifference to the maintenance of our marriage tie, such as might be inferred from the expression used in the report to the effect that "I am always ready with the rejoinder that my wife can get a divorce if she likes".' (436.)

3 Cf. what I have said about the method of representing patrilineal descent and about the birth of Athena in my analysis of the 'Rat Man' (1909d), Standard Ed., 10, 233 n.
III
ON THE MECHANISM OF PARANOIA

WE have hitherto been dealing with the father-complex, which was the dominant element in Schreber's case and with the wishful phantasy round which the illness centred. But in all of this there is nothing characteristic of the form of disease known as paranoia, nothing that might not be found (and that has not in fact been found) in other kinds of neuroses. The distinctive character of paranoia (or of dementia paranoides) must be sought for elsewhere—namely, in the particular form assumed by the symptoms; and we shall expect to find that this is determined, not by the nature of the complexes themselves, but by the mechanism by which the symptoms are formed or by which repression is brought about. We should be inclined to say that what was characteristically paranoic about the illness was the fact that the patient, as a means of warding off a homosexual wishful phantasy, reacted precisely with delusions of persecution of this kind.

These considerations therefore lend an added weight to the circumstance that we are in point of fact driven by experience to attribute to homosexual wishful phantasies an intimate (perhaps an invariable) relation to this particular form of disease. Distrusting my own experience on the subject, I have during the last few years joined with my friends C. G. Jung of Zurich and Sandor Ferenczi of Budapest in investigating upon this single point a number of cases of paranoid disorder which have come under observation. The patients whose histories provided the material for this enquiry included both men and women, and varied in race, occupation, and social standing. Yet we were astonished to find that in all of these cases a defence against a homosexual wish was clearly recognizable at the very centre of the conflict which underlay the disease, and that it was in an attempt to master an unconsciously reinforced current of homosexuality that they had all of them come to grief.1 This was certainly not what we had expected.

1 Further confirmation is afforded by Maeder's analysis of a paranoid patient J. B. (1910). The present paper, I regret to say, was completed before I had an opportunity of reading Maeder's work.
Paranoia is precisely a disorder in which a sexual aetiology is by no means obvious; far from this, the strikingly prominent features in the causation of paranoia, especially among males, are social humiliations and slights. But if we go into the matter only a little more deeply, we shall be able to see that the really operative factor in these social injuries lies in the part played in them by the homosexual components of emotional life. So long as the individual is functioning normally and it is consequently impossible to see into the depths of his mental life, we may doubt whether his emotional relations to his neighbours in society have anything to do with sexuality, either actually or in their genesis. But delusions never fail to uncover these relations and to trace back the social feelings to their roots in a directly sensual erotic wish. So long as he was healthy, Dr. Schreber, too, whose delusions culminated in a wishful phantasy of an unmistakably homosexual nature, had, by all accounts, shown no signs of homosexuality in the ordinary sense of the word.

I shall now endeavour (and I think the attempt is neither unnecessary nor unjustifiable) to show that the knowledge of psychological processes, which, thanks to psycho-analysis, we now possess, already enables us to understand the part played by a homosexual wish in the development of paranoia. Recent investigations have directed our attention to a stage in the development of the libido which it passes through on the way from auto-erotism to object-love. This stage has been given the name of narcissism. What happens is this. There comes a time in the development of the individual at which he unifies his sexual instincts (which have hitherto been engaged in auto-erotic activities) in order to obtain a love-object; and he begins by taking himself, his own body, as his love-object, and only subsequently proceeds from this to the choice of some person.

1 Sadger (1910) and Freud (1910c).
3 [In the original this sentence reads: 'This stage has been described as "Narzissnus"; I prefer to give it the name of "Narzissmus", which may not be so correct, but is shorter and less cacophonous.'—The passage in the second edition of the Three Essays referred to in the last footnote was probably Freud's first mention of the subject in print. See the Editor's Note to his paper on narcissism (1914c), Standard Ed., 14, 69.]
other than himself as his object. This half-way phase between auto-
erotism and object-love may perhaps be indispensable normally; but it
appears that many people linger unusually long in this condition, and that
many of its features are carried over by them into the later stages of their
development. What is of chief importance in the subject's self thus
chosen as a love-object may already be the genitals. The line of
development then leads on to the choice of an external object with
similar genitals—that is, to homosexual object-choice—and thence to
heterosexuality. People who are manifest homosexuals in later life have,
it may be presumed, never emancipated themselves from the binding
condition that the object of their choice must possess genitals like their
own; and in this connection the infantile sexual theories which attribute
the same kind of genitals to both sexes exert much influence. [Cf. Freud,
1908c.]

After the stage of heterosexual object-choice has been reached, the
homosexual tendencies are not, as might be supposed, done away with or
brought to a stop; they are merely deflected from their sexual aim and
applied to fresh uses. They now combine with portions of the ego-
instincts and, as 'attached' components, help to constitute the social
instincts, thus contributing an erotic factor to friendship and
comradeship, to esprit de corps and to the love of mankind in general.
How large a contribution is in fact derived from erotic sources (with the
sexual aim inhibited) could scarcely be guessed from the normal social
relations of mankind. But it is not irrelevant to note that it is precisely
manifest homosexuals, and among them again precisely those that set
themselves against an indulgence in sensual acts, who are distinguished
by taking a particularly active share in the general interests of humanity-
interests which have themselves sprung from a sublimation of erotic
instincts.

In my Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality [Standard Ed., 7, 235] I
have expressed the opinion that each stage in the development of
psychosexuality affords a possibility of 'fixation'

1 ['Angelehnte' (in quotation marks in the original). In his paper on narcissism (1914c),
written some three years after the present paper, Freud explained his view that 'the
sexual instincts are at the outset attached to ("lehnen sick an") the satisfaction of the
ego-instincts'. From this he derived his 'Anlehnungstypus' ('attachment' or 'anaclitic
type') of object-choice. See Standard Ed., 14, 87, footnote 2, for a discussion
of the 'anaclitic type'.-Cf. also ibid., 126.]
and thus of a dispositional point.1 People who have not freed themselves completely from the stage of narcissism—who, that is to say, have at that point a fixation which may operate as a disposition to a later illness—are exposed to the danger that some unusually intense wave of libido, finding no other outlet, may lead to a sexualization of their social instincts and so undo the sublimation which they had achieved in the course of their development. This result may be produced by anything that causes the libido to flow backwards (i.e. that causes a 'regression'): whether, on the one hand, the libido becomes collaterally reinforced owing to some disappointment over a woman, or is directly dammed up owing to a mishap in social relations with other men—both of these being instances of 'frustration'; or whether, on the other hand, there is a general intensification of the libido, so that it becomes too powerful to find an outlet along the channels which are already open to it, and consequently bursts through its banks at the weakest spot.2 Since our analyses show that paranoics endeavour to protect themselves against any such sexualization of their social instinctual cathexes, we are driven to suppose that the weak spot in their development is to be looked for somewhere between the stages of auto-erotism, narcissism and homosexuality, and that their disposition to illness (which may perhaps be susceptible of more precise definition) must be located in that region. A similar disposition would have to be assigned to patients suffering from Kraepelin's dementia praecox or (as Bleuler has named it) schizophrenia; and we shall hope later on to find clues which will enable us to trace back the differences between the two disorders (as regards both the form they take and the course they run) to corresponding differences in the patients' dispositional fixations.

In taking the view, then, that what lies at the core of the conflict in cases of paranoia among males is a homosexual wishful phantasy of loving a man, we shall certainly not forget that the confirmation of such an important hypothesis can only

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1 [This is further explained below at the beginning of the paper on 'The Disposition to Obsessional Neurosis' (1913i), p. 317. The whole subject raised in this paragraph is dealt with more fully in that work.]

2 [This question is discussed much more fully in Freud's slightly later paper on 'Types of Onset of Neurosis' (1912c), p. 231 below. Freud's use of the term 'frustration', which has appeared already on p. 57, is considered in the Editor's Note to that paper.]