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G. Bose
EDITOR



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THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEAL

GE'ZA RO'HEIM

A patient, married but still with strong homosexual tendencies dreams :-

Mother- goes to visit my father-in-law. *There is a man who lives with him.* Father-in-law (or father) and mother have slept together. My wife and I slept on the street at the corner of our house. I see my mother in black with a young man who excites me. I want him to come home with me. I awake and masturbate.

ASSOCIATIONS.

The man who lives with his father-in-law is the *son who is an appendage of his father.* Mother is mourning (black) means that father is dead. Mother is dragging the young man into a little round building=vagina. The young man is his juvenile alter-ego. He would like to be like the young man (or like his father), i.e., completely heterosexual. The son who is the appendage of the father means of course the penis. His whole homosexuality which consists mostly in "fellatio means that after having been weakened by heterosexual intercourse he has to refill with strength i.e., semen.

Dream 2.

Young married man incapable of having intercourse *with his wife whom he equates with his mother* dreams:

My wife goes into the other room, goes to sleep. A young naked man who is with me goes in after her. I am indignant and follow the young man. I arrive on time to prevent them from having intercourse.

In this case the "I" figure in the dream is the Super-ego, the "naked young man" the phallos or the Id.

3. Patient with depression.:

I am doing my work and the analyst sits beside me. I chase him out, he is not to supervise me. He comes back in the form of a dwarf who dances and jumps all around the place.

(The Super-ego is transformed into a phallic being).

4. Young girl, also depressive:

- I am with M; and one of us is using lipstick. (Sexual meaning of lipstick is implied.) I say I want a swimming pool. Of course, she says, every one has one in Hollywood.

M. is her sexualized alter-ego. The red lipstick and the pool are both the vagina.

5. Young man, impotent:

I am laid out on aboard, Tike meat that is to be made kosher. A gladiator is creeping up from below to kill me. Red beard, very tall, white flesh.

White=dead. Red beard=Father. Tall=penis in erection. This dream is mentioned to show the synthesis of the phallic image and the father image.

An idealized representation of the dreamer is frequent in dreams. Thus a young woman dreams that she is living with her father while a dazzling blonde who turns out also to be herself is married to her brother. This second representation of the dreamer may appear as a dwarf, or a stronger brother, a leader. It protects the dreamer, solves problems that the dreamer himself cannot solve. It is always phallic in men, sometimes also in women which does not preclude the possibility that it may not also represent earlier pregenital libido.

We know that children frequently spin out long day dreams in which a fictive person who turns out to be identical with themselves performs heroic deeds, becomes a giant, conquers their father etc.

An Aranda is only seemingly one person, in reality he is a duality, a *relict ndurpa* (real person) and a *rella ngantja* (hidden person). According to Aldinga the *ngantja* is always in the sacred totemic cave. Sometimes it is represented as being under the *tjurunga* in the cave and it is from these *tjurunga* that the spirits of the children emanate. His

appearance corresponds exactly to the living man when he has decorated Himself for a ceremony, (i.e. when he is at his best). In Ms dreams the man gets songs, totemic ceremonies or dances from his double. The *ngantja* and the real man come out of the *tjurunga* or the *ngantja* comes out of the sacred *tjurunga* and splits into two halves. One of these spirit babies goes into a woman and is born as a human being, the other lives in the sacred cave eternally performing ceremonies, playing, or chasing women. The *ngantja* OT hidden double is sometimes distinguished from the *kuruna* or soul. Old Wapiti who was lame and grey-haired saw his double in his dream and when asked what it looked like he says, naively *mara* (i.e. youthful, strong) just like I am. The Eastern Aranda call these spiritual beings who are all the doubles of men now living or deceased *arambaranga* i. e., "mouth clean" that is *mara*—good, beautiful, beardless, like the young people. They spend most of their time in the sacred cave but often they will accompany their human representative or keep watch over the woman into whom he is born.

Ikitanpa, a Matuntara native at Tempe Downs said that when a man walks about the double walks with him and warns him of approaching enemies. He looks just like the real man.

According to the Pitjentara and Mulatara if a little baby dies the double sits on the father's shoulder just as the real child did and then it passes on through the father into the mother and is again incarnated. In this case another double will split off from the *tjurunga*. If a man dies the double joins the double of the brother so that the latter now has two doubles to take care of it. The double always follows the real person. When a man goes to sleep the soul leaves the body in the dream. But the double stays near the body to protect it. The double has many souls to dispose of so that when a man loses his he gets another one from the double.¹ Pukutiwara is refilled by his guardian spirit with magical stones and these stones are really testicles.²

1. G. Roheim, "Primitive High Gods." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. Vol. III. 1934, 101-114.

2. G. Roheim, *The Riddle of the Sphinx* 1934, 38.

The outstanding feature in this concept of a double I would now emphasize is that it represents the *pure pleasure principle* and that it has a protective function as far as its human equivalent is concerned. The Central Australian Native in general carries his *tjurunga* with him and expects this sacred stone or wood to protect him in a vague sort of way. It is significant that the *tjurunga* represents himself and also has a phallic meaning. Another situation in which a sort of double appears upon the scene is the *ilpindja* or love magic.

In the great *ilpindja* of the phallic wild cat totem the man and his assistants set up a ceremonial pole or *matandja* and they proceed to sing it. When sung the pole becomes a man who looks like the singer himself bedecked in all his finery. The women both the "right" ones and those who are taboo are drawn irresistibly toward the man developed from the spear who appears encircled by lightning. The women follow the lightning from one place to another and as they get nearer to the spear they see lightning everywhere.

The men also sing the moon who is also transformed into a man. The lightning draws the women and the moon-man drives them. The point here is that the double is of phallic origin, and can do what the original cannot do.

The Bardi have a kind of gurdian spirit and double concept. The *rai* is associated with the placenta. The *raɔ* grows up just as the child does. It is always the age of the individual, gets sick when he does and dies when he dies.³ It usually remains in the individual's own local country even when he goes away. They live in the sand and their sole food is their own arm blood. People have seen them in dreams using their own arm blood. The arm blood itself is like the double *rai*, i. e., invisible and secret.⁴ The totem associated with the finding of the child is also *rai*. Nangor said his son would be a medicineman for he had three *rai*, a turkey, a fish and the spirit double.⁵ The ressing of the *rai* as spirit child is clearly

phallic. The man sees the spirit child about ten inches high, on the ground, in a tree, or on a stone. If the mother does not want the child the latter who realizes the fact, drops a little spear which the father still *dreaming* picks and throws into some wood <or tree from which the spirit child cannot withdraw it. The child then *stops with the spear*. Nangor says that after his father had dreamt of him several times, he threw a spear under his mother's leg and then entered his mother's womb as a *rai*.⁶ This confirms the interpretation of the phallic meaning of the *rai*.

The hypothesis that we put forward here is that the soul, especially the soul that leaves the dying man is really as the primitives themselves say "Life" or the "Life Principle" and that the phallic representation is a *denominatio a potiori*, as a representation of something in us that culminates in coitus. The Batak express what I mean very clearly.

"It is the *tondi* (translated Seele, Seelenstoff, Stoffseele, Lebensmaterie) which makes a man live and grow and leaves him at death."

The *tondi* has the shape and size of a human being. A wise-man has a wise *tondi*, a foolish one a foolish *tondi*. The *tondi* lives in the body but leaves it and wanders when the man dreams. If the *tondi* gets frightened in his wanderings the man gets frightened." Valuable objects also have a *tondi*.

"The *tondi*'s function in this world is to rule the body and protect both body and property. As long as the *tondi* resides in a human being he is alive. The son also represents the *tondi* and sometimes it is said that those who have no progeny have no body.⁷ Death occurs when a ghost fetches the *tondi*. If a man dies in his prime a female ghost must have fetched him because she wanted him as her husband and vice versa.⁸

The Kiwai *urio* or soul is obviously connected with the idea of strength or well being. The soul of a man in dangerous illness some-

3. In these features it differs completely from its Central Australian equivalents.

4. The meaning therefore really corresponds to *tjurunga* (my own hidden one.)

5. A. P. Ekin "Totemism in North Western Australia", Oceania HI. 449, 450.

6. Elkin, op. cit. 445.

7. Joh. Warneck, Die Religion der Batak. 1909. p. 46-

8. Warneck. I. c., 67.

times, passes: out of the body and may even go away forever. The soul watches over the body, for instance it may draw it aside from a snake with a jerk. In dreams, the soul roams about. Sometimes on awakening a man will feel very sleepy and tired because his soul is still away somewhere. In this case he should lie down for a while awaiting the return of his soul. The talk of a man comes from the soul and the soul of a dying person leaves the body by the mouth.*

The Egyptian "Ka" is sometimes translated as "vital force", sometimes as "sprit" or "double". At death the Ka leaves the body. But the dead are called "the masters of their Ka" which is equivalent to saying that they are those who really 'live'.¹⁰ The Sun-God Atim imparts his Ka, that is life to his creatures." Again we have the Ka as the power of generation. In the teachings of Ptahhotep the old sage adjures the listener to treat his son well and says. "He is thy son whom thy Ka has begotten for thee".¹² In the Roman genius we see quite clearly this vital force—soul—phallos equation. The name means procreator. A man has a genius, a woman Jnno.¹³ Genius is a protective spirit, means really the ability to procreate and the marriage bed is lectus genialis. the birthday is dedicated to the genius natalis. Strictly speaking the genius incarnated in a serpent is the phallos. But it means also "the total strength, energy,—feeling of pleasure, in a word the whole personality of a man". "Genialis lectus" is the bed of the married couple where procreation is carried out by the genius of the family.¹⁴ The Kayans have the idea of a vital principle which leaves the body at death.¹⁵

9. G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, 1927. Macmillan & Co. pp. 270,269.

10. H. Frankfort. *Kingship and the Gods*. Chicago University Press, Chicago 1948, pp. 62, 63.

11. H. Frankfort, I. c. 66.

12. H. Frankfort, I- c. 67.

13. The identity of this name with that of the goddess is significant.

14. Cf. G. Roheim "Das Selbst", *Imago*, VII. 33? (with reference) and Walter Otto. *Die Mysterien*. Berlin. 1923: 59.

15. Ch. Hos2 and W. Vicdugall, *Pagun Tribes of Borneo*, II. 1912, 34.

The soul is life, that is what all primitives (or non primitives) say. This really means that man exists in two copies and the second copy contains, his life. The Kai calls his reflection and his shadow "soul". But the soul also lives in his heart. "Don't push me, you might drive the soul out of my body and then I might die," one man might say to the other. But the soul is also in the eye as long as the eye shines. It contains the soul. The soul permeates the body just like heart."

In the moment when the soul leaves the body it is frequently symbolized by a serpent or bird. I have discussed this subject before and interpreted in the sense that death is hidden under the symbolism of genitalization or coitus¹⁷ This looking upon the problem from the point of view of the survivors who are trying to hide the existence of death. But there is also another aspect of the question. Maybe the beliefs about what happens when one human being dies are founded on the dreams or phantasies of those who nearly died or lived so tell the story.

Since I recently survived a severe attack of pneumonia in which, as the doctors told me when things have cleared up, I was really very near to dying. I feel that I have graduated as a shaman and can talk about this subject with authority that only experience can give.

One night I felt very weak. In a reverie I said to myself: Well, there is nothing to be done about it. Now I am going to die. Following a hypnagogic hallucination.

I see myself (deedly) crossing a river. On the other side a woman, pink, dim, is waiting for me.

I shook the reverie off and told myself: Now look, this is nonsense, nobody can die as prescribed by his own papers. The river, that is Charon and the Oblos,¹⁸ The woman on the other side is the Song of Sirens."

16. Ch. Keysser, *Aus dem Lebender Kaileute*, Neuhaus, Deutsch Neu Guinea, III. 1911 pp. 111, 112.

17. Cf. Roheim, *Animism, Magic and the Divine King*. 1930.p. 15. The Moment of Death and the Soul.

18. *Psychiatric Quarterly*. Supplement. Vol. 20. 160—196.

19. In press: *Psychiatric Quarterly*,

Next day I noticed that my wife put a pink housecoat on when the doctors came. The phantasy must have meant in symbolic language, You can still cross the water to your wife. It is very improbable that I should have desired coitus in that extreme state of weakness. The reassurance in the dream is that the life impulse (Lebenstrieb) is still at work but the Unconscious symbolizes this by a *denominatio a potiori* as coitus. Dreaming of death in terms of my own papers means "Non omnis moriar."

The dream of another night is still clearer. There is a door ajar. I have to push-it quite open with my shoulder so that a little child can go in. I sink back to my cushion in despair; the door is too heavy, I can't open it. It is quite clear that the coitus symbolism of door and child is a similar attempt as the previous one but it fails even in the dream, I feel I am very weak. It is quite possible that the typical narrative of the shaman's death and resurrection may partly be based on similar experience in dreams-especially the North American Indian type where a human being acquires power through a visit to the house of the supernaturals.²⁰ These shamans may well have told and re-told their story for the same reason that I am writing this paper (*viz.* to abreact and sublimate the experience) till it became the accepted belief.

One thing is quite certain. The infant experiences alternating phases of weakness (hunger) and strength (satiation). Probably before even the nipple is perceived the infant must feel these two states. The euphoric state is quasi the protector of the weak state, the body lives as long as it is united with the more powerful soul or double. As soon as the genital impulse makes itself felt (early erections, sensation in vulva, clitoris) the impulse is symbolized by the phallus²¹ — and we can not deny that this symbolization is correct. I have previously interpreted duality and animism in connection with the duality of mother and child. I am not revoking that interpretation but I think before even the faintest inkling of an intro-

20. I am not sure about women, they may have also a female form of symbolizing life, but certainly sometimes they have the male form.

21. Cf. also the beliefs on disease as due to the abstraction of the victim's Soul. W. H. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic and Religion*. L. Kegan Paul. 1924. 15. 66, 74, 79.

ject exists we must assume the *duality of pain (need) and pleasure, well-being.*" Perhaps the myths of the Keri and Kame type in which a weak brother is always rescued by a strong one « reflect this stage. Castor and Pollux the mortal and the immortal twin (Cf. in Roosher's Lexikon) are body and soul or rather the body in the stage of "Unlust" and the body in the state of pleasure, well-being. To Kabinana and to Karvirvu the strong and the weak brother, are wish fulfilment versus reality, the immortal soul and the mortal body.²⁴

If we consider this theory from the point of view of our own civilization or of Christianity the assumption that *Idlization* starts with *animism* the soul being so much more than the body seems plausible enough. Our tradition of idealism goes back to Plato. "As concerning the sovereign part of the soul in us that which we say truly dwells at the top of the body and raises us toward our heavenly kindred, forasmuch as we are a heavenly and not an earthly plant we ought to believe that God hath given it to each of us as a daemon, i. e.; directing and guardian spirit."²⁵

In tracing the further development of this duality we arrive at the stage I have discussed in previous publications, namely, that of subject-introject" or child and mother. At the stage of the maternal introject the ideal is what we see the *idea*, the image of the mother's breast.¹⁷

Another source that flows in the same channel is that of *magic*, or as I define it in a book I have been writing for some time now *Eros*

22. Cf. On Organ Pleasure and the Object, G. Bosc. The Nature and Genesis of Love. Samiksa Vol. p. 120.

23. K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvoelkern Central-Srasilins*. 1897. p. 322.

24. Cf. T. P. Meier, *Mythen. und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gesellhalbinsel Anthropos Bibliothek, Münster i. W.* 1909. 16. S9,

25. *Timaeus* qo A.

26. Cf. 77K *Eternal Ones of the Dream—War, Grim: and the Covenant.*

27. A. E. Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*. London, A. and Ch. Black. 1909. pp. 67. 68.

mobilized against the Super-Ego.²⁸ which is really the same thing again at another level of development.

Expressed in one sentence the *ideal* is simply "I can do it" as opposed to the super-ego or "inner saboteur" (Fairbairn) "You can not." Our definition of the ideal is therefore different from Freud's ego-ideal which is the same thing as the super ego or Alexander's definition of the ego-ideal as the conscious part of the super-ego. It is closer to Jekels and Bergler's definition in which the ego ideal is narcissism used by the super-ego in order to torture the ego.^{29*}

This may be valid for certain neurotics but primarily I would equate the ideal with euphoria. The struggle of super ego and ego-ideal is clearly mirrored in the alternating phases of mania (ideal) and melancholia (super-ego). The hypothesis of "Unlust" and pleasure as prototypes of body and soul might also have been formulated somewhat differently. We might have called these ego-states, except for the fact that we wished to reserve the term Ego for a stage of development in which we can already differentiate an Ego and Id and a Super-Ego. In this sense we might say that the ideal becomes an Ego-Ideal when it is welded with reality—directed activity.. Wittels describes cases with several phantoms, i. e., ego-ideals.³⁰

In the case of a patient who has analysed for his claustrophobia, the conscious ego-ideal was that of a scientist, this being actually his profession. The pre-conscious ego-ideal, however, was his father, a great businessman. Finally the unconscious ego-ideal was phallic the *denominatio a potioñ of the life process and of the formula "I can do it".

28. Cf. also G. Roheim, "Sublimation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*- Vol. XII. 1943. 348.

29. W. Ronald D. Fairbairn, Object-relationship and dynamic structure. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* XXVII. 30. S. Freud *Das Ich und das Es*. *Gesammelte Schriften* VI: 3FS. F. Alexander, *Psychoanalyse der Gesamtpersonlichkeit*, 192F. 41. L. Tekels and F. Bergler. - *Instinct Dualism in Dreams*, *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. IX. 43.

30. F. Wittels. *Unconscious Phantoms in Neurotics*. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. VIII. 141.

A fusion of the ideal and the ego (ego ideal) means pleasure (Lust) or success in work, libido and aggression in synthesis. The formula "I can do it" applies to all situations.

Some cultures use also pregenital mechanisms in the formation of this ego-ideal. The businessman and money in general are obviously anal in origin. Some primitive cultures like Normanby Island and other areas with strong emphasis on food distribution might be called oral and Central Australia is certainly phallic. What I now believe, however, is that even where we find the oral or the anal element strongly emphasized the real meaning is phallic, and that the phallic itself represents the life impulse. The meaning of this kind of "diagnosis" has been questioned, yet it is quite obvious that it symbolizes the favoured form of resistance against the "inner saboteur". The group ideal is sometimes purely a projection of unconscious phantasies, sometimes however it is influenced by reality. The divine King in Africa and the ancient Orient belongs to the former category. "Forbenius" calls the king in Africa a symbol, a fiction, a phantasy, carried over into reality. In direct contradiction to the customs of his subjects the King marries his own sister or daughter. The Lumaa-Humbe declared that this characteristic was decisive for genuine ancient kings between the Tanganjika and Bihe. The Hausa regarded this as a matter of course but they were very much shocked by the idea of doing the same thing themselves.' And similarly wherever the old customs are still practiced the other daughters of the king are free to fornicate wherever they may in the country as real priestesses of sexual desire. Besides the king another member of the royal family called the "King's Mother" is prominent. She may be either his mother, aunt, or elder sister, but at any rate she is regarded as the "mother of kings" and occupies a high position.³¹ The Ka of the king is especially emphasized. The king is "born with his Ka", it acts as his twin and his protector in death. It is personified in a manner never observed with common

31. G. Roheim, *Animism, Magic, and the Divine King*. 1930, p. 225. (L. Erobienus, *Atlas Africanus*. 2, P. 7.)

people. In the following text the Ka appears with the typical features which the twin assumes in folklore; it repeats the action of the King. The association between food and vital force is once more stressed.³² The notion of the twin is stressed in the birth scenes of Hatshepsut[^] and Amenhotep. The god Khnum is shown making two identical *homunculi* on his potters-wheel while the goddess Hathor gives them "life". Ka also means life, luck, health, excellence, moral, good fortune," very much like genius of the reliefs a small figure appears behind the king. This is the Ka. After Tutmosis the king regularly bears the title of "Strong Bull" clearly a personification of the vital force.¹⁴ In one of the pyramid texts the Sun God Re is the king's Ka. The vital force has left the king's body, and is summoning him.³³ The phallic symbolism of African and Egyptian Royalty is quite clear. The king, of course, is not simply, the ego-ideal. As we have seen above he is also the Oedipal wish fulfilled. Hence regicide and the scapegoat character of the royalty.³⁴

I anticipate the objection that will be made: since the ideal is supposed to be universal why do we not find the divine king in all societies?

The answer of course is that the content is universal, but that does not mean that the form is. The divine king in Frazer's sense certainly originated in the civilization of the ancient Orient and then spread through cultural channels.

See also the most septic ideal of primitive societies is the medicine man. This is a group ideal without fusion with the ego. But when Erikson talks about limited space conditioning the ideal of the Yurok³⁷ or when I assume hunting as having something to do with the masculine phallic projective ideal of the Central Australians³⁸ we can see how the same fusion of libidinal and ego activities takes place in the life of a group, as in our patients.

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37. E. Homburger Erikson, *Observations of the Yurok*. Ur. Cal. Publ. Am. Arch. and Ethn. 1943.
38. In Press.

32. Frankfort, *Kingship*. 1948. p. 69.

33. Frankfort, 1. c, p. 71.

34. Frankfort/ 1. c, p. 72.

35. Frankfort, 1. c, p. 77-

36. Cf. J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* and my book quoted above.

G. Roheim, *Animism*, p. 224.

PARANOID JEALOUSY

BY

Dr. N. N. CHATTERJI

*29/8/52
To read
the book*

Jealousy against one's partner in life is very common among paranoiacs of both sexes. In some of the cases I have studied the first manifestation of illness was jealousy, though other symptoms appeared in quick succession. Why a person should be so much obsessed with suspicion against one's partner's fidelity where there is no valid ground for it, is a question which cannot be answered offhand.

Freud in his Schreber case has tried to explain this fact with the help of his theory of homo-sexuality. He believes that a person with unadjusted unconscious homosexuality would project his love for a man to his wife and would accuse her of being unfaithful towards him. One of my female paranoiac patients just at the onset of her illness suddenly developed a strong attraction for a girl and introduced her to her husband and then surprisingly enough, started accusing him of making love to that girl. I know a male paranoiac also who once made his brother to sleep in the same room in which he and his wife slept and then in the morning accused his wife of having committed adultery with his brother.

From the above two cases it would be evident that the introduction of a person of a same sex in the love life of these patients is a necessity which can not be avoided. But actually what purpose is served by this necessity is not clearly understood, as this situation would create in the patient's mind unbearable pain and displeasure. If we were to accept Freud's theory of homosexuality then we can find a purpose in such erratic behaviours, but I am inclined to believe that other mechanisms more primitive and deeper could be held responsible for this phenomenon.

From my study of various delusions of paranoiacs I have come to the conclusion that they at times consider their love objects to be dangerous and consequently find the task of maintaining sexual relations with them rather difficult. They therefore feel the need of correcting their love objects and find that the only way open to them for doing so is to bring a person of the same sex who would establish sexual relation with love objects and thereby remove their dangerousness.

A female patient who often complained that her husband was living with a prostitute expressed the above idea in diverse ways through her delusions. She once said that her mother had given up sexual intercourse with her father as his penis appeared to her to be dangerous. She therefore decided to set the penis against the patient with the expectation that it would be transformed into a good one by going inside the patient's body. And when it would come out she would be safe to accept it. That a woman's dangerousness could be cured by making her to undergo sexual intercourse with a male, finds corroboration in the delusion of another female patient. She said that her body was full of poison but the snake of Siva entered her body through her anus and took away the whole of it.

The idea of removing the dangerousness of the love object by making her undergo sexual intercourse with another person is found in some normal male also. Among some primitive races there is a belief that the first intercourse with the wife should be performed by the priest only, if the husband perform the act, the wrath of the wife would do him a great injury. In taboo of virginity Freud has expressed the same idea. He mentioned the case of a peasant youth who refused to marry his intended bride as she was a girl who would kill her first husband. But he agreed to marry her to another man and when she was a widow and no longer dangerous he would have her. The title of the story from which this case has been referred is known as Virgin's Poison and it, says Freud "reminds one of the practice of snake charmers who first make the snake bite a rag, so that they can afterwards handle it safely."

If we accept the view that a person of the same sex is required by the patients for correcting the love object who appears to be dangerous, then another question crops up automatically. When the presence of a person of the same sex is beneficial to the patient why

should tKete exist a sense of jealousy in his mind? It is because the paranoiacs apprehend that the third person in question could not be separated from the love object as he would be required off and on for the purpose of correction.

From the delusion of the female patient already mentioned it would be noticed that the third person who excites the jealousy is the parent of the same sex. This jealousy is a normal phenomenon in the oedipus phase of sexual development. Ordinarily the rivalry with the parent of the same sex is eliminated by having an identification with the rival. That this process of identification goes on in paranoiac also would be evident in the following delusion of a female " paranoiac. She said that her husband and mother came to her with some sweets. The sweets contained excretas, such as urine, faeces etc., so the patient refused to eat them. Then her mother said that she would eat the patient up and became transformed into her daughter. The mother would then put on the patient's clothes and have the patient's husband as her own.

The same patient on another occasion said that she was her father's beloved daughter and for that reason her younger sister was; jealous of her and in order to punish the patient, she entered into her father's penis and became a penis herself. Now that penis moved about in the room giving out urinous smell which suffocated the patient and it tried to enter the patient's body through her bodily apertures for the purpose of sucking in good materials from her inside. On another occasion she expressed just the opposite idea. She was found to shout "I don't exit, I don't exit" She explained that as a woman she was living happily with her husband and another woman out of jealousy- made her a penis by forcing her to enter her husband's penis. She as a human being did not exist any mote. And the other woman was -now free to enjoy intercourse with her husband.

On being asked how she or her sister could enter into a penis, she replied that the penis has got a greedy mouth like that of a wild animal and devours anything that comes across it. It would be noticed that both the patient and her sister alternately became a penis but when the sister in question entered into the penis it became dangerous as her dangerousness was now transferred to the

but when the patient entered into it, no change in the penis took place. It is evident that due to projection mechanism the patient was not conscious of her own hatred towards her sister. In another article I have already mentioned about the paranoiac's belief that the ingested persons and things impart their own qualities to the ingesting person. This particular patient through her delusions was expressing the same idea.

It will be noticed that the patient narrated in her delusions two instances in which one of the rivals were eliminated by becoming one with the person of the opposite sex. But this mechanism could not solve the patient's problem of removing the jealousy of oedipus origin. When the sister became one with the father apparently the problem was solved, but this union brought about a great change in the love object itself which due to the original evil nature of the rival was now no longer desirable. When on the other hand the patient became one with the father; the cause of jealousy persisted as the rival was not eliminated in this process,

Paranoiacs believe that one of the person of the oedipus triangle can be eliminated by being incorporated by the love object which acquires the virtues of the incorporated object, be it good or bad. The patient referred to before thought she could incorporate her rival also but she usually refrained from it as she considered her to be a dangerous person. A woman she said had been continually following her and seeking opportunity to enter her body but she did not allow her to go inside as she feared the woman would rob her of valuable bodily contents or add silver and copper to her, body which was made of gold for the purpose of reducing her worth.

When due to strong ambivalence a paranoiac cannot, maintain his love for the object he usually thinks that the love object has become dangerous due to incorporation of the dangerous rival. He consequently feels the need of separating the rival from the love object. In bringing back the rival, the old situation of jealousy is once again revived.

That a paranoiac's love for the object is unstable due to his ambivalent attitude would be evident from the following statement* of a female paranoiac. She said that she found herself in a dilemma. Thdugh she felt hunger for human flesh she could not eat it as she did not know whether she was eating a loving or a hated person. She further said

that if she ate a loving person her health would improve but in eating a hated person she *felt* she might *die*. She also said that when her father got angry his body became hot and if she ate anything from him at the moment her body too would be heated and she would get burning sensation all over her body.

According to her, all human beings could be divided into two groups, one full of nectar and the other full of poison. Originally her body was full of nectar and other people would come to her and made their penis feed on her nectar by having sexual intercourse with her or they would eat her valuable faeces and as a return give her their poisons. Her husband was in the beginning all nectar but now he had got poisons also and he was transferring that poison to the patient's body during the sexual intercourse. She also complained that her husband was giving sector to a prostitute whereas she received from him poisons only.

One day the same patient was found to behave in a queer manner. She would move one or two paces in the room and then say that she could not walk as her way was being obstructed. On being asked to explain what she meant by it, she replied that her husband's penis was good but her sister's father's penis was bad and for that reason her sister had taken her husband's penis whereas she had been offered the bad penis of her sister's father which, she could not accept. She expressed her difficulty in accepting the penis symbolically by showing this walking difficulty. Though the patient mentioned about two penes here she really expressed her ambivalent attitude towards her father's penis only. In order to overcome one's ambivalence a paranoiac often projects his love to one person and hate to another and considers them bad and good accordingly.

The same idea was expressed by the patient on another occasion, with slight modification. She was found to spit continuously. She explained her behaviour in the following way. She said that her father was sending her good food to eat but her mother out of jealousy ate up all of them and gave her urine to drink which was originally given to the mother by her father. She was spitting to get rid of the father's urine which was being dropped into her mouth. On another occasion when she was reluctant to eat and she was being coaxed for eating, she said that her father really loved her and wanted to give her good food but at

the time of giving, the good food got mixed up with bad ones such as penis, urine, faeces etc, as he did not know how to keep his good and bad things separate.

Another day, the same patient said that she was being fed by a prostitute and was getting good food. But the father of the prostitute suddenly appeared in the scene and squeezed out all the good food out of the prostitute's body and now the patient had to depend entirely on that man for her nourishment. That man's penis was dangerous but the prostitute could extract good food out of it but she could not. For that reason she had become entirely dependent on the prostitute. But the prostitute too became dangerous at times. Because if in her attempt to get good food from her father she failed and got bad food instead, then the prostitute would want to transfer that bad food to the patient's body and try to rob her of good bodily contents.

In the above delusion we find another reason for maintaining the paranoid jealousy. Here the patient did not expect that the man's dangerous penis would be corrected by another woman but she required the presence of another woman only because she was capable of extracting good food from a dangerous object and therefore could act as an intermediary between the patient and the man. It would not be wrong if we infer that the other woman's capacity to get food from a dangerous person lay in the fact that she was loved by the person in question, whereas the patient was denied that love. In such a situation the patient has ample reason for being jealous towards the other woman but actually we find her to be dependent on her. The patient's dependence on the other woman could be interpreted as homosexuality but this homosexuality is the product of jealousy and not the other way round. Behind this tendency towards homosexuality there is a desire to become one with the other woman who could give good food to the patient. The other woman's capacity to get good food from the man depended on her being loved by the man and the patient expected that if she could love her rival and could become one with her by ingesting her she too would be loved by the man and get good food from him without any difficulty. * . .

But it would be noticed that *it* was not possible for her to maintain this kind of homosexual love for that woman due to her inherent ambivalence. For she started thinking that the other woman by ingesting the dangerous food from the man would be dangerous herself and anything that might be taken by the patient from such a person would be harmful to her. Moreover she due to her evil nature might go so far as to rob her of good bodily contents.

Exactly similar idea were expressed by a male patient who used to believe that his father and wife secretly maintained a love affair among themselves. He at the height of his jealousy declared on many occasions his intention, to kill his father and wife with revolver shots. * But surprisingly enough he would express on other occasions his desire to remain dependent on the same father. Let me quote here some of his thoughts "I don't like to exert myself, I should like to remain dependent on father, he will work for me and I shall possess mother. I am inferior to any strong man and like to remain inactive so long I remain with him, though I might not like him. My father is a strong person and all women love him." His mind was always full of agonies as he feared that his wife would leave him. He also found it difficult to maintain sexual relations with his wife as he felt that his penis would be detached from his body during the sexual intercourse and get fixed in his wife's body but he could overcome this fear if he could suck his wife's breast during the act. At the time of defaecation also he would be very much frightened due to the loss of faeces and felt the desire to eat his own faeces to compensate that loss but he actually never did so.

Due to this fear of loss he did not like to have any sexual relation with woman and often said that his father was a strong male. He at times felt the desire of eating his father's penis. Once during day-dreaming he imagined that he was sucking his father's penis and found that his father gradually disappeared and he became a mighty man as if he was the only sun in the eastern sky. But this mechanism of becoming father by incorporating him orally did not always work well. On another occasion while he was thinking that he was eating his father's penis he suddenly felt that there were too many of them, inside his abdomen and he was extremely miser-

able. His desire for eating disappeared altogether and he felt as if he was all alone in this universe. In this depressed state he would, feel like opening his abdomen with a sharp instrument.

Though the desire to incorporate the father's penis orally and some time anally would come to his mind but its intensity became gradually weaker. His attitude also gradually changed. He would remain in bed most of the time and did not like to go out of the house, and complained that he had lost all his strength. In this state he would have a peculiar phantasy which I am giving here in his own words* "I feel strong love for my wife then comes the fear of aggression from her and other obstacles. The aggression from my father is also an obstacle. I like to get so much attached to my wife that I would like to enter her womb and remain there as a child of my father. But father is aggressive, I don't like him. I cannot remain separated from my mother. Either I shall remain within her womb or keep her inside me-the faeces that I don't like to pass out is like my mother to me". In this state he developed a strong hatred towards his mother as he suspected her of keeping another child inside her womb and he also complained that his wife had kept his father's penis inside her genitals and he could not have any sexual relation with her. It will be interesting to know that according to the patient his wife did not incorporate his father's penis through her genitals but through her mouth.

His depression became stronger in intensity. He now started saying that so long as he remained in bed all his agonies would disappear and his mind would be in equilibrium but the moment he would set his feet to the ground his troubles would come back like a storm. He said that he felt that his relation with his bed was very close and he could not be separated from it.

Somewhat similar ideas had been expressed by the female patient already described. She said that she found brick walls on her every side and she was a prisoner. On another occasion she said that in order to save herself from other's aggression she had to go to the latrine and sit there for hours together as latrine was after all like her father's inside. It will be noticed that the desire to maintain some form of relation with the love object was very strong in both the patients; if the maintenances of genital relation was not possible they hankered for more primitive ones.

* I have been describing so long two paranoid patients, one male and the other female and I have tried to show that they through their delusions expressed more or less the same ideas. Both of them just at the onset of their illness, manifested an intense jealousy towards their partners though in neither case there was any valid ground for doing so. Moreover both of them put emphasis on penis in the sense that a possessor of penis had all the eatable things with him and could bestow them to others. The female patient expressed that she could have her nourishment from a male penis only but she was terribly afraid of it as it was dangerous to her. In the male patient also the fear of the female partner was noticed. Both of them expressed that during the sexual act some valuable bodily parts or contents would be lost. The female patient once said that her head had been placed inside a woman's womb or a man's penis and she knew that it was a kind of business in which transactions of things took place but such a business was always a losing concern for her. The male patient also expressed castration fear at the time of sexual intercourse. Being in such a difficult position they both manifested jealousy as they thought that their partners were favouring other persons. The male patient compared himself with his father and found him to be a much superior person and thought that he had no fear of loss of his penis like him and consequently his wife would lean on him.

I am inclined to believe that this fear of loss appears in those persons only who have not been able to overcome their oral frustration connected with the weaning. They think that they have not been given enough milk by their mothers and therefore do not like to part anything from their body through excretory channels as they believe their store of food inside is not enough. In "autoerotism in paranoia" I narrated a case where the truth of this statement was amply proved. This patient manifested a strong fear at the time of defaecation but if he could drink milk or barley water etc. during the act his fear would not appear at all or if it was already present it would disappear with the first sip. He also used to get a peculiar sensation inside his abdomen which he described as emptiness of stomach and it would disappear only after eating something. He often said that for preserving his equilibrium

of mind- he must have always something inside his abdomen. This fear of loss was strongly present in both the patients I have narrated. The male patient showed the fear of defaecation but the female one expressed it through her delusions. She once said that she had a wise child who repeatedly told her that she did not know what sort of a thing the latrine was as she lost all her good bodily contents there. On another occasion she said that her real trouble lay in the fact that she had to lose her good things at the time of defaecation and micturation.

If with this imperfect adjustment of the oral and anal phase a person has to hurry over to the phallic phase he invariably comes to grief as the adjustment becomes equally difficult here. In arriving to this phase of the sexual development a male child starts acting out; by acting out I mean the mechanism by which a child assures himself that he too had got milk-giving capacity like his mother and thus overcomes his oral frustration by developing the idea of giving milk to the mother through his penis. But if maladjustment is severe in the previous phases the child cannot maintain this attitude and would compare his penis with that of his father and develop small penis complex. He would then lean towards father's penis for overcoming his oral frustration. A female child too comes to the phallic phase but cannot adopt the mechanism of acting out for not having a penis. She believes that her mother has deprived her of her milk-giving capacity-by castrating her and consequently leans to her father, the only possessor of penis for her oral satisfaction. The corroboration of this fact could be found in the delusion of the female paranoiac. She would often complain that her hands and legs had been cut off by her mother and she had become inactive; she further complained that hands and legs that were now fixed on her body were really penes of other men and they torture her.

If the female child can maintain her positive feeling towards her father's penis then her development would be normal but unfortunately those who become paranoiac in later life cannot do so due to their inherent ambivalency. They come to grief once more as the penis also appears to them to be dangerous. Confronting this new difficulty a female child thinks that her father has been favouring her mother and consequently develops jealousy. Similarly a male child when he finds that he cannot satisfy a woman's oral need which his father can, naturally feels that the woman would go over to the father. This is how a male person develops jealousy.

It would be noticed that this jealousy is not one of genital oedipal level but is of purely oral origin and the methods that are adopted by the patients to overcome it are also of an oral in nature. The male patient's phantasy of taking the place of father by sucking his penis and the similar desire in the female patient of incorporating the penis which contained the hated rival within it signifies nothing but the capacity of a person to eat up a foreign thing and make it a part and parcel of the self. A paranoid D. P. patient said that his father* had entered into his body but he was successful enough to make him a part and parcel of his body and he as a separate entity did not exist within him any more. And these patients throughout their delusions expressed their difficulties in performing this primary oral act. They complained that the ingested things refused to become part of the self and remained within their body as parasite and ultimately came out robbing valuable bodily contents. These patients could not account for such a strange behaviour in the part of the object which was so long giving them good food. They did not know that this change in the character of the object took place due to *the* projection of their hatred towards it and thought that their love objects were favouring some other person.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTS OF GOD
AND GHOST IN CHILDREN.

UMA BOSE, M.SC.

The origin of religious ideas has been sought either in the contents of beliefs and practices found among human races¹ or in the analysis of the religious consciousness itself—the unconscious motivations that lie at the root of the mechanism of wish-fulfillments expressed in 'Spirit-beliefs'.² But whichever has been the standpoint it was the adult mind or its behaviour that was considered. The reactions of children concerning the ideas of God and the Spirit though of vital import to the question, received but little attention. An attempt was made to carry out systematic investigations among the school-going children of Calcutta between February, 1941, and February, 1942, during which 365 children (225 girls and 140 boys) of ages 3—13 were examined. The figures of the children according to religion and sex are as follows:—

Hindu	...	Boys 73 and Girls 200 (Total—273).—:
Brahmo	6	10 (Total—16).
Christian	12	4 (Total—16).
Moslem	47	11 (Total—58).
Jain	2	1 (Total—3).

The number of Hindus was 273 or 74% of the total. The percentages of Hindu boys and girls in the total sample are respectively 20 and 73. The total number of Moslem children is 58 or 16%. The numbers of Christian and Jain children are small and form an insignificant part of the children examined. The number of Bengali children is 310 against 55 non-Bengalis, consisting of 5 Marwaris and 50 upcountry Moslems.

1. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. 1, 424; J. G. Fraser, *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, p. 63 et.; E. Crawley, *The Tree of Life*, p. 209.

2. William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 485-86; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, pp. 101-21.

The figures for the different age-groups according to religion are shown in table 1.

Children were also grouped according to sex to find out if sex, aside from breeding, influenced the child's mental reactions. (See Table 2.)

TABLE 1.

Age	Hindu	Brahmo	Moslem	Christian	Jain
3 years	4	2	1	...	...
4 "	18	...	1	...	...
5 "	26	3	1	4	...
6 "	45	1	2	6	...
7 "	49	7	5	3	1 3
8 "	39	2	5	1	...
9 "	39	...	ii	2	...
10 "	27	1	12	...	...
11 "	9	...	4	...	...
12 "	13	...	12	...	...
13 "	3	...	5	...	...
Total ...	272	16	58	16	3

TABLE 2.

Age.	Male	Female	Total
3 years	4	2	6
4 "	10	9	19
5 "	15	19	33
6 "	26	28	54
7 "	27	40	67
8 "	16	31	47
9 "	11	41	52
10 "	10	29	39
11 "	4	9	13
12 "	12	13	25
13 "	5	3	8
Total ...	140	225	365

In collecting the materials regarding the children's reactions towards God and Ghost, the questionnaire method, i.e. the method of direct questions put to the children, was adopted. (See *Appendix*). The questions were framed firstly to obtain information on the hereditary traits of the children and the atmosphere in which they were brought up. The second part of the questions, was concerned with the Subject-matter and the children's direct reactions to them. No attempt was made to obtain home records of the children on these questions for comparison as the chances of infusion of subjective interpretation by parents, specially about religious ideas in denominational groups in this country were very great. The overcoming of the natural resistance of the children to respond to questions touching their feelings and phantasies was attempted by trying to get their confidence by preliminary visits and by engaging them in friendly conversations and by presentations of toys, etc. No reaction-time was kept but full allowance was given to the children to respond to the questions in their own way and time, and all records were made as far as possible in the language used by the testees.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA.

The subjects tested came largely from four different schools. The Hindu children were distributed over three schools and include 39 non-school-going children. They all belong to the middle class section of the Bengali community, barring the few Marwari and up-country children, and may be said roughly to have come from the same socio-economic status. The Hindu children may therefore be taken as a random sample of the children of the middle class Bengali Hindu community. The Moslem children as belonging to a single school may be of a selective group and their representative character as children of the Moslem community in general is not quite so certain. Judging, however, from the occupations of the parents, viz.—'different trades and services'—the probability is that they are also random samples of the children of the middle class up-country Moslems living in Calcutta.

In enquiries on children's reactions in European countries records of the behaviour of the children kept at schools and home are usually tested by normalcy tests such as the revised Binet Intelligence Tests. Shortness of time and lack of facilities made it impossible to

apply this Test and the assessment of the child's normalcy is based entirely on his general behaviour and reactions when the questions were directly put by me.

The children who were found before and during the time of testing to be shy and nervous or rude and obstinate were taken as showing atypical characteristics in their behaviour. To what extent these might have been due to some form of neurosis is difficult to judge, for it might have been caused by ordinary nervousness of children before strangers or my failure to completely overcome their natural resistance to respond to questions in spite of attempts to be friendly and nice to them. In the table given below the figures for the normal and atypical children of the different communities are shown:—

TABLE 3.

Numbers of Normal and Atypical Children among the different communities.

	Hindus (272)	Brahmos (17)	Jains (3)	Christians (16)	Moslem (58)
Normal	212	14	3	11	34
Atypical	60	3	...	5	24

If these figures for the atypical are analyzed further they can be subdivided into the following groups:—

TABLE 4.

	Hindus	Brahmos	Christians	Moslems
Shy and Nervous	41	2	3	22
Rude and Obstinate	2	1	2	1
Very Nervous and very Rude ...	6	...	...	1
Showing traces of Neurosis ...	11	...	...	...

If the records of the behaviour of these atypical children in schools from the teachers could have been available it would perhaps have been possible to judge how far their reactions during testing disclose abnormal or neurotic traits. In the absence of these it is difficult to assert with certainty how much stress is to be placed on them.

Comparatively speaking the Moslem sample shows a high incidence of atypical behaviour, 24 out of 34 or 80% of the total against 22% among the Hindu children. Of the 24, 22 were shy and nervous in answering questions and 2 showed these characteristics in a rather marked manner. Such high percentage of atypical cases is unusual and seems to be due rather to failure in overcoming their natural resistance than to any innate obsessions or neurosis. Cases of nervousness and rudeness in a very marked degree are, however, unnatural and must be traceable to hidden neuroses. Children showing unmistakable neurotic traits were those engaged in biting nails or sucking thumb during testing, showing verbal inhibition, stammering, etc. Three children among the Hindus (Nos. 93, 155 and 143) were found to be sucking their fingers and two also among the Hindus (Nos. 4 and 19) showed verbal inhibition. Verbal inhibition is the mechanism of defence of the hysterical, so also is the symptom of finger sucking.³ Testee No. 6 also showed hysterical traits by verbal inhibition, extreme shyness and nervous behaviour. She is the only child of her parents, of 6½ years, and did not seem to be of good health and had disturbed sleep. No information was available regarding morbid traits in the family. No. 153 was difficult in class. She is the only child of her parents, of 5½ years, and enjoyed good health and sleep. Considerable difficulty, however, was experienced in making her respond, though she was not shy or nervous. She took unusually long time to answer each question, but her answers when given were full and intelligent. No. 161 (aged 6 years and second out of four, sisters and brothers) showed morbid traits such as uttering irrelevant words between answering questions. His records showed that his health was not good and his sleep was disturbed. Moreover, he suffered from delayed dentition and learning to walk and speak. The answers given to the questions, however, were intelligent and relevant.

3. S. Anthony, *The Child's Discovery of Death*, pp. 12, 13.

Unfortunately, the inability to rate the intellectual development of the children on a recognized standard like the Binet Intelligence Test not only made it impossible to correlate the mental age with the chronological age of the children by finding out the Intelligent Quotient, obtained by dividing the child's total score from the Intelligence Test, by the chronological age. The values of the I. Q. provide us with additional means of determining the mental deficiency of children, as it has been found that I. Qs. below 70 give good reasons for suspecting mental deficiency and very good results have been found by computing the correlation coefficient of the mental age and the responses of the children⁴

As, however, the mental age of the children could not be calculated how many of the 91 testees showing atypical behaviour were really mentally deficient and in how many it was due to the natural resistance of the children, it was not possible to ascertain with certainty. If we leave out the 71 ordinary shy and nervous cases as probably not showing mental deficiency, the remaining 17 children may be taken to be mentally deficient or definitely disclose morbid traits. This would give a percentage of 4.7 abnormal children in the total sample. How for this result agrees with the percentage of defectives in the children population of this country, I have no means of judging in the absence of relevant materials in my possession.

In addition to this, there are three congenitally defectives—deaf-mutes, among the Hindu children examined, making altogether a total of 20 or 5.4%, atypical cases in the entire sample.

In analyzing the reactions of the children it has been necessary to divide them into several categories. As the mental age of the children could not be calculated, the grouping was based on chronological age only. In doing so I have kept in mind the known ideas regarding the general development of child's mentality. Professor Jean Piaget of the Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau of Geneva, has been the most outstanding contributor in this line and to him and to his collaborators, specially Mile Thomas, science is indebted for a great part of our positive knowledge of the manner of the growth of the children's mind.

4- S. Anthony, *ibid.*, p. 84.

According to Prof. Piaget, children below the age of six are unable to distinguish between the subjective and objective spheres of experience. There appears to be a sort of confusion between him and the outer world, what in other words, has been termed 'a-dualism'. It is only after the age of 7, that purely physical explanation of natural phenomena, occurs to him and after that the process of separation between the self and the universe with objectified casual sequences proceeds rapidly.⁵ Psychoanalytical study of children also proves that the first five or six years is a definite period in the child's life after which there is a break, and his interest is switched on to intellectual curiosity from infantile sexuality, and for the first time attention is turned to other creatures and inanimate objects.⁶ It would therefore be in keeping with the mental development of children if the first group is formed of those up to and inclusive of the age of five, the second between the ages of six and seven, when the idea of the separation of the inner and outer objects begins to dawn on his mind for the first time. The third group would contain children between the ages 8-9 when the process of objectification is well advanced and the last between 10—13 when this evolution is completed.

THE IDEA OF GHOST.

The responses of the children on Ghost have been divided into three categories, namely: (i) appearance, (ii) character of Ghost, (iii) child's reaction towards it.

(i) Appearance of Ghost.

The image of Ghost formed in the mind of the testees as judged by their answers have been classified in the tables given below according to their age groups and religion:—

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5. Jean Piaget, 'The Child's Conception of Causality', page 53 "'Children's Philosophies' by the same author in Murchison's *Handbook of Child Psychology*, pp. 377-81
 6. Anna Freud, 'Psychoanalysis of the Child' in Murchison's *Handbook of Child Psychology*, pp. 562-63.

TABLE 5.
THE IDEA OF GHOST.

(i) Appearance
HINDU MALES.

Age-group.	Large Black male.	Black female.	Black male and female.	White male.	White female.	White male and female.	Red male and female.	Oni Sex.	Zoo Mor-phic.	Skeleton male.	Skelton female.	Skele-ton male and female.	Only colour.	Wind.	Shadow.	Re
3-5 (n27)	19	..	2	2	...	...	...	2 males.	2	...	...	...	...	..	..	..
6-7 (n35)	20	1	3	1 with red eyes	...	...	...	4 males.	1	1	...	...	...	1 b-t male and female	..	3 d; re
8 (nil)	5	..	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	2	...	..	..	..

HINDU FEMALES..

3-5 (23)	16	2	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 did rep
6-7 (n56)	34	3	8	...	...	...	1	2 males.	...	i j ::	1	3	...	...	...	3 did rep:
8-9 (67)	16	7	18	5	2	2	11	...	..	i without sex 3	1	6	2 black.	1	2	..
10-13 (51)	5	3	19	1	2	2	1 male and 1 female.	1 male.	*	1	...	6	1 black.	...	1 male, 1 female 3F.M.	3 did repl

TABLE 6.
THE IDEA OF GHOST.

(i) Appearance.
MOSLEM MALES.

Age-group.	Black male.	Black female.	Black male and female.	White male.	White female.	White male and female.	Male only.	Female only.	Black.	Shadow	Wind.	Form-less.	In-formation.	Remarks.
6-7 (2)	1	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	1 did not reply.
8-9 (14L)	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	1	1	1	...	...	2 did not believe and 6 did not reply.
10-13 (31)*	3	...	3	1	...	1 black and 1 white.	...	2	2	2	* 12 did not believe in the existence of Ghost and 4 did not reply*

MOSLEM FEMALES.

3-5 (2)	1	1
6-7 (5)	4	1
8-9 (2)	2
10-13	2

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TABLE 7.
THE IDEA OF GHOST.

(i) Appearance.

BRAHMO MALES.

Age-group.	Black male.	Black female.	Black male and female.	Only male.	Only black.	Remarks.
240(6)	5	..	1

BRAHMO FEMALES.

240(10)	8	..	1	..	1
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CHRISTIAN MALES.

5-9 (11)	6	1	..	2	..	2 did not reply
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CHRISTIAN FEMALES.

5-9 (4)	3	1 did not reply
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It will be seen from these tables that among the Hindu male children between the ages 3—5, Ghost is pictured as a predominantly black figure, tall or large, of the male sex. Nineteen, out of 27 or 70%, regarded Ghost in this manner, two as only males and two as white males; the two children who regarded Ghost as white males are of the ages of 4 and 5 and belong to the same school but unrelated. The possibility of their deriving the idea from the same source, i. e. school, cannot be thrown out altogether.

There is no differentiation of sex before the age of five and two children of this age considered Ghost as of either male or female sex.

The testee No. 65 pictured Ghost as an animal and the testee No. 46 as a monster. The animal was likened to an umbrella engaged

in eating grass at the zoo! The precise identification of the animaj is impossible. It might have been a rhinoceros with its loosely hanging skin grazing in the zoo, which gave the impression. The picture of Ghost (No. 46's) with 4 heads and 9 hands—a powerful monster—was probably derived from Ravana's picture in some Ramayana story book.

In the next age group (6-7 years) the prevailing image of Ghost as a black male figure remains, 20 out of 35 or slightly over 60% boys responding to that picture. Additional touches not found among the younger group, ate, however, given to the picture, in the form of long arms, long nails, large eyes, wide mouth, with large teeth and long matted hair. In one instance (No. 161) Ghost was considered to have red eyes and face and in another he was supposed to live in holes. There is a decrease in the zoomorphic image of Ghost—only one child likening it to a monkey fond of eating plantains! This particular child was supposed to have formed his picture from dreams and when questioned was found to have visited Puri shortly before—where probably he got his idea from monkeys seen at large. It is interesting to note that in neurotics, monkeys very often stand for the father-image.

Compared to the earlier group, sex differentiation appears to be stronger. Correspondingly, there is an increase in the number of images without sex. One child (No. 185) regarded to be of composite colour—the figure of Ghost conceived as white but having a black face. There is, however, a confusion of sex in this picture for though the sex of Ghost was given as male, it was pictured as wearing a red Sari and sitting on the roof when he saw it! What distinguishes, however, the 6-7 age-group is the occurrence for the first time of the image of Ghost as inanimate or non-living dead object. One child considered it as something floating in the air and another (No. 10) equated it with a black skeleton. A third regarded Ghost as equivalent to wind but thought it black and tall and of both male and female sexes. Evidently this child had dominant in his mind the picture of Ghost as a black tall figure of either sex but at the same time received the notion of its association with wind but was not able to harmonize the two.

In the next age-group 8-9, Ghost is still regarded as of predominantly black colour but the proportion of the pictures of Ghost as of purely male sex has diminished, and 4 against 5 considered it

to be of either sex. The proportion of those thinking it equivalent to skeleton has also risen though the number of subjects in this group being small no positive conclusion can be drawn.

When we come to Hindu girls in the age-group 3—5, the* picture of Ghost as a black male figure is as strong as among the boys of that age-group, the proportion 69% as against 70 among the boys. There is also the image of Ghost as a female figure which is lacking among boys. Similarly, the picture of Ghost in white colour is not found among boys. In contrast to the boys, sex differentiation seems to start earlier among girls, at the age of four, but unlike the former there is no tendency to form zoomorphic images of Ghost. In the next age-group (6-7) while there is a general correspondence with the responses of the boys, the tendency to picture Ghost as a purely female figure increases, as also the frequency to conceive it of either sex, e. g. 9 cases against 3 among the boys. This leaning for thinking Ghost as female is further supported by the instance of a girl of six who ascribed to it red colour with wide open mouth and large teeth but even this sinister figure was regarded as female. There were also two who considered Ghost to be a skeleton which nevertheless was either male or both. There is another difference between the ideas of the boys and girls—namely, that progress towards abstract conception is greater among the latter. In three cases, against none among boys, Ghost was pictured merely in term of colour, black or white, without being either a male or female.

When the responses of the age-group 8-9 are considered the image of Ghost as a purely black male figure still further diminishes, it being only 24% among the total responses. The percentage of Ghost pictured as male, whether black or white is 31, against 15 as purely female. Ghost was regarded as both male and female by 27 girls, the percentage of bi-sexuality being over 40. The* tendency towards regarding Ghost as white is found to be stronger among girls—there being nine such instances, against none among boys of their age-group. Similarly, the association of Ghost with skeleton is more prevalent among girls—10 against 2—though allowance must be made for the smaller number of boys tested.

In one case (No. 194) the picture of Ghost as skeleton was painted so large as to have one leg in Calcutta and another in Germany !

Why of all countries Germany was chosen, it is difficult to conjecture unless, of course, the War had brought the name of Germany very close to everybody's mind.

Aside from the increased tendency to regard Ghost as a female, the most important characteristic which distinguishes the reactions of the girls from those of the boys, is apparently "the greater power of abstraction already noticed among them. Among the boys the image of Ghost remained essentially concrete even when considered as non-living and equated with the skeleton, though a movement towards abstraction was unquestionably discernible. In the girls of the same age-group, not only the skeleton-image of Ghost was found to be much more frequent but in equating it with either wind or shadow—without having any shape or sex—the process of abstraction maybe said to have greatly advanced. There was only one boy who regarded Ghost as wind but even he regarded it as a black figure of both sexes!

No Hindu boy beyond the age of 8 was available for examination but 52 girls between the ages of 10-13 were tested.* The tendencies noticed in the responses of the earlier age-groups among girls were found to be further developed with age. There were only five who returned their image of Ghost as purely black male figure against 19 bi-sexual. The total number of the images of Ghost as male in all categories, was 9 against 6 purely females, or a little over 17% of the total responses. Similarly, the percentage of the picture of Ghost as skeleton, colour, wind or shadow increased from 22, in the 8-9 age-group, to 25.

If we now compare the reactions of the other religious bodies, the dominant picture among both the Brahmos and the Christians is of a large black male figure, only two among the former considered it to be bi-sexual and one of black colour only. The colour in every case was considered to be black. With regard to the Christian boys and girls it is the same with the exception of two instances in which no colour but only male sex was ascribed to Ghost. It has to be noted, however, that both these two samples are very small and children beyond the age of ten were not available, and the process towards abstraction therefore could not be tested among them.

Among the Moslem boys, there is, like other groups, the picture of Ghost conceived as a black male figure, but in no instance is he regarded as female though the ascription of bi-sexual character to Ghost is common. The tendency towards abstraction is, however, much greater. If the total reactions are taken, in 11 cases out of 24, Ghost is regarded as either formless, shadow, wind or merely a product of imagination. The girls, on the other hand, in every instance pictured Ghost as a concrete living entity, chiefly as a black male but also very largely as a white male. The tendency to regard Ghost as white is proportionately greater among Moslems than among any other group. Giving due allowance to the smallness of the Moslem samples which forbid definite conclusion to be drawn, it seems, that as against the Hindu children, the power of abstraction is less noticeable among Moslem girls than among Moslem boys.

The characteristic which distinguishes the reactions of the Moslem boys and not girls, from those of the Hindu, and children of other denominations, however, is the percentage of people who returned their non-belief in the existence of Ghost or who did not reply to the questionnaire regarding Ghost. Out of a total of 47 Moslem boys tested, 15 or 32% did not believe in Ghost and 10 or 21% did not give any reply, in short, 53% in all returned negative reactions on Ghost.

(ii) *The Character of Ghost.*

In the lowest age-group among the Hindu boys, namely, between 5-5, 18 out of 27 or 69% consider Ghost to be malevolent, 3 merely as thief and 1 as harmless, grazing in the zoo like other animals. In the next age-group the percentage of those who regard it as malevolent increases to 74%, two, regard it though not quite so sinister, as a kidnapper only, two others considered it to be quite harmless. Among the boys of 8-9, Ghost is almost without exception regarded as malevolent, though one child has softened down this malevolence by considering it as one who only frightens children.

Among the girls the malevolent nature of Ghost is also the dominant notion, though the tendency to regard it as merely a nuisance and thief and frightener, is somewhat greater. Only a very small percentage consider it, as among the boys, to be harmless. Among both the boys and the girls a large number either do not have precise notion of

TABLE 8.

(H) and (iii) *The Character of Ghost and children's reaction towards it.*

HINDU BOYS.

Age group.	(i) Character of Ghost.			(ii) Children's reactions. *				Source.
	Malevolent.	Immoral	Neutral	Faith in existence of Ghost but not fear.	Fear in Ghost but not belief.	Faith and fear in Ghost	Neither faith nor fear	
3-5 (n27)*	18	3 thieves.	1 eats grass.	3	1	21	2	10P and 7D (10 did not reply).
6-7 (n35)t	26	2 Kidnappers.	2	3x	5	20	6	19P and 10D (6 did not reply).
8-9 (nil)	10	1 frightens	...	1	3	6	1	5P and 4D (2 did not reply).

*6 did not reply.

f5 did not reply.

X1 did not reply.

HINDU GIRLS.

3-5 (n23)	15	2 thieves.	11 comes near the pond.	3	1	17	1*	13P and 5D (5 did not reply).
6-7 (n56)	42†	...	1	3	4	41	5x	12P and 21D (23 did not reply).
8-9 (n67)	50xx	4 trouble-some. 7 frightens	2	1	14	42||	8	9P and 52D (6 did not reply).
10-13 (n51)	34††	7 frightens 1 thief.	1	6	10	27*#	7	3P and 42D (6 did not reply).

*1 did not reply.

f13 did not reply.

x3 did not reply.

xx4 did not reply.

|| 2 did not reply.

†tS did not reply.

**1 did not reply.

TABLE 9.

(ii) and (iii) *The Character of Ghost and children's reaction towards it.*
MOSLEM BOYS.

(i) Character of Ghost.				(ii) Children's reaction.				Source.
Age-group.	Malevolent.	Immoral.	Neutral.	Faith in his existence	Fear for him but not faith.	Faith and fear both.	Neither fear nor faith.	
6-7 (2)	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	No reply.
8-9 (14)	9	...	...	4	3	4	3	4P (10 did not reply).
10-13 (31)	10*	1 drives people from prayer.	...	5	10	3	9**	IP and 3D (rest did not reply).

* Rest did not reply.

** 4 did not reply.

MOSLEM GIRLS.

3-5 (2)	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	IP and ID.
6-7 (5)	5	...	...	...	1	3	1	IP and 2D—2 did not reply.
8-9 (2)	2	2	...	ID (1 did not reply).
10-13 (2)	1	...	U: 1 (i • 1 : 1	2D.

BRAHMO BOYS.

3-7 (6)	6	2	2	1	1	4D (2 did not reply).
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BRAHMO GIRLS.

2-10	9*	1	5	3	
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* 8 did not reply.

CHRISTIAN BOYS.

5-9 (11)	9	1	3	7	1	8D and IP 5(2 did not reply).
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CHRISTIAN GIRLS.

5-9 (4)	3	2	2	...	2P and 2D.
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the character of Ghost or they did not like to give direct answers for fear of offending Ghost and thereby bringing harm on themselves.

In the children of the other communities—Moslems, Christians and Brahmos, Ghost, with only one single exception, is regarded as malevolent. The exception is a Moslem girl of 10 who regarded it as of white colour instead of the prevailing black. In this connection it is interesting to observe scfo^r assochtin of white colour with milder nature of Ghost. Of the 14 boys and girls among the Hindus who regarded Ghost as white, only 4 considered it to be malevolent and 10 ascribed to it a less sinister character such as troublesomeness, kidnapping and one who merely frightens.

(iii) *The Child's reaction towards Qhost.*

Among the Hindu boys and girls there is the general tendency to believe both in the existence of Ghost and fear him. Out of a total of 72 boys who replied, only 9 or a little over 12% neither believed nor feared Ghost. Similarly, out of a total of 190 girls who answered, only 21 or 11% did not believe in the existence of Ghost nor feared him. There were 6 boys and 13 girls who believed in Ghost but did not fear him. In contrast to this, there were 9 boys and 29 girls, who appeared not to believe in the existence of Ghost but all the same feared him. This irrational attitude increased with age and among little children it is almost wholly lacking.

Among the Brahma and Christian children the reactions were similar. By far the larger number both believed and feared Ghost, but among Moslems, whereas the reaction of girls are similar to those of the children of other communities, among boys a very large proportion replied as neither believing him nor fearing him. Among 43 replies, 14 or over 32% did neither believe nor feared Ghost, as against 12, and 119 of the Hindu boys and girls respectively. This is characteristic of the older Moslem boys as against the younger. Similarly, the percentage of those who denied Ghost but feared him at the same time, is much larger among them than among other communities. There were 13 boys or 30% of those who answered, who belonged to this class.