

SAMIKSĀ

JOURNAL OF
THE INDIAN PSYCHOANALYTICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR
SARADINDU BANERJI

Volume 43



Number 2

1989

SAMIKSA
JOURNAL OF
THE INDIAN PSYCHOANALYTICAL SOCIETY

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REVISTA DE PSICOANALISIS

Official organ of the
Argentine Psychoanalytic Association
is issued every three months.

It publishes articles of interest in the field of psychoanalysis. It
also contains abstracts and reviews.

Annual subscription.....\$. 10...u. s.
Back volumes.....\$. 12...u. s.

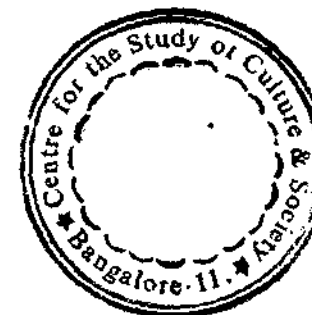
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14, PARSIBAGAN LANE
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THE STORY OF THE LIGHT THAT DISAPPEARED

GEZA ROHEIM

[This article by Geza Roheim is the third in a series of important articles which appeared in 1947, the first year of Samiksha's publication. These articles are being reprinted for the benefit of present and future psychoanalysts as there is just one issue of Samiksha of 1947 in existence.]

I intend to discuss an Eastern European folktale, the gist of which is the capture of Sun, Moon and Stars by three dragons and the restoration of the lost light by the hero.¹ Whereas mythological elements are hardly ever found in folktales ("Marchen") we have here what looks like an exception to the rule.

In a country, far away, there lived a king and a queen. The queen, however, was barren and therefore the Czar sent a message to all the people of his realm: Who can make the queen conceive! A peasant's son undertakes the difficult task but has no idea how he will achieve his aim. He meets an old woman; she tells him that in the sea under the castle there is a golden pike. They must catch the pike and if the queen eats of its flesh she will be pregnant. A cow licks up a drop of the broth and a maid tastes a bit of the fish and on the same day queen, maid and cow are delivered of three boys. Ivan, the Czar's son; Ivan, the son of the maid; and Ivan, the storm-hero, son of the cow. All three look exactly alike. The cow's son is the superior hero, although his brothers are very unequal to admit

1. Cf. G. Roheim, *The Dragon and the Hero*. The American Imago. 1. (1940). No. 2, 40-69, & No. 3 61-94

it. They wander into the country inhabited by the dragon with six, nine and with twelve heads. They arrive at the Black Sea at a bridge and before the bridge there is a hut. The hut is pivoted on a fowl's leg, on a cock's head with its back turned to the heroes, its front to the forest. The hero compels the hut to turn towards them, they enter and find food, drink and beds. They eat, drink and go to bed and one of them is to keep awake to fight the six-headed dragon. They draw lots and the son of the Maid is to be on guard. A jug will come dancing out of the sea, he must not look at it, but must spit at it and knock it into bits. But the hero knows that he can not trust his brothers and so he keeps awake and walks up and down the bridge, watching for the jug, when he smashes the jug, the sea swells, the earth trembles and the six-headed dragon rides up the bridge. His horse stumbles on the bridge, this is the omen of the presence of the dreaded hero Ivan, Son of a Cow. The dragon asks, "Do you want to marry my sister or my daughter?" The hero kills the dragon, binds the monster's horse and puts its sword to the feet of Ivan, son of the maid and goes to sleep as if nothing had happened. When his brother awakes he boasts of having killed the dragon and of having looked at the jug, although the hero had forbidden him to do so. The same thing happens with the other brother and the nine-headed dragon. The third night the hero has to fight his great antagonist, the twelve-headed dragon. He stands in great need of help and hurls one object after another at the hut till it finally collapses. But his brothers sleep on, nobody comes to his rescue. Finally the two stallions rush up the bridge and hurl the dragon out of his saddle. He kills the dragon and goes to sleep under the bridge. Next morning he tells the hut, "Be as you were before" and there it is again with food and drink, all ready for them to refresh themselves.

They ride on, but the hero returns under pretence of having forgotten his whip in the hut. He transforms himself into a fly and sits on the oven in the hut. He hears what the wives of the dragons are talking with their mother, the Baba Yaga, the owner of the hut on the cock's leg. One of them will be metamorphosed into a well with a silver cup and a bed on a hot day, the second will be a beautiful garden with all sorts of fruit, the third a hut where they can sleep, but if they try to avail themselves of any of these, they will be chopped into pieces as small as poppy seed.

Each time he stops them from doing what looks too tempting. He slashes at the well, at the fruit and at the hut, blood flows from all three.

They come into a kingdom and demand the king's daughter for Ivan, Son of the Czar. The Son of the Cow conquers the king's army and they are compelled to consent to the marriage. But in the bridal night she changes into a dove and flies away to her grandfather who is a sort of sea-spirit, and takes hairs of his beard. Her husband will not be able to solve the riddle; what kind of grass is this. The Son of the Cow follows her and cuts the sea-spirit's head off. He hands it to Ivan, the Czar's son, and the latter answers: "This is the root the grass grew from". Again she would have killed her husband in the bridal night, had not Ivan, the Son of the Cow, taken his place and half killed her with an iron, a brass and a tin rod.²

We shall now attempt to reproduce this narrative as a series of episodes. 1. The queen (and two duplicates) conceive by eating the golden pike. 2. The tryst with the dragon at the bridge. 3. Revolving hut in other version owned by Baba Yaga, containing food and drink. 4. Night watch, dancing jug. 5. Brothers asleep, hero in mortal struggle with dragon. 6. Hero and the wives of the dragons. 7. The Baba Yaga as sow and the smithy. 8. The three hairs of the sea-monster. 9. Dangerous bride conquered by henchman.

In most stories of this type the plot revolves around the disappearance of the sun, moon and stars. This is a Hungarian version from Transylvania.

Once upon a time there was a country where neither sun, moon nor stars gave any light. A widow had three sons, who undertook to recapture the sun, moon and stars. The youngest was called "Wing of the Beautiful meadow". He wanted a ton of gold and a cart to accomplish this task. When they came to the gate, they met a person called "Smith of the Country." *He was an elderly man, but very strong*. He advises the hero against undertaking the task. But the latter will not be persuaded and tells him to cook the gold till he returns. They meet the seven-headed dragon at a bridge and while his brothers are asleep the hero conquers him (wrestling). He

2. *Lewis of Menar: Russische Volksmärchen*, (1914) No. 22. Translated from Afanassjev. No. 76. Orenburg. Cf. The head of the grandfather from the sea Afanassjev-Meyer.

brings the dragon's horse back, it shines like the stars, and the stars shine again in the sky. The same happens with the nine-headed dragon and the moon. The third time fighting the twelve-headed dragon, it is a draw. Finally both become wheels, then flames and both ask a raven to decide the struggle in their favour, by pouring water on the flame that represents the other one. The raven pours the water on the dragon-flame and thereby extinguishes the flame. As soon as this is done the sun rises on the sky.

Here the story ought to end, the task is solved. But there is a sequel to it. On their way home they come to a big castle. The hero can only enter by transforming himself into a wasp. There he overhears what the three dragons' widows and the mother-in-law of the dragons are talking. They plan to destroy the hero. One will become a tree. The men will be hungry and when they bite into the pear, they will die. The next a source of water; thirst, death. A bridge the third, anyone who passes will be burnt to death. He prevents his brother from doing all these things and thrusts his sabre into all three women in their metamorphosed form. Now all the dragons, wives are dead, but they are being pursued by the mother of the dragons whose mouth spews fire. After the episode of the Magical Flight they are back at Smith of the Country who is still cooking the gold. The dragons' mother opens her mouth wide, they pour the hot gold into it and that kills her.³ The story belongs to a type of folktales called "Serpent and the Daughters" by Panzer or the "Dragon-Family" by Solymossy. It is part and parcel of the Eastern European stock of folk-tales with Russia as its Central area with Hungarian and Finnish variants on the Western Fringe and Tchuvash etc. variants on its Eastern frontier.⁴ 8 and 9 are not typical motives of the story but a closer investigation would probably show that they are characteristic of a certain sub-area.⁵ The

3. A. Horger, *Hetfalusi csango mesek* (Csango Folktales of Hetfalu). Magyar Népkeletési Gyűjtemény. X. (1908). 407-416. As the Roumanian versions show the name of the hero probably signifies a weed. Cf. L. Saenu, *Basmale Romane*. (Roumanian Folktales), Bukarest. (1895) 540-556.

4. Cf. Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*. (1910), S. Solymossy *A sarkanycsalad* (The Dragon family), *Ethnographia*, (1928).

5. Meszaros, *Csuvas népköltési gyűjtemény*. (Collection of J. huvash Folklore), (1912). 11. 340.

"Dragon-Family" story itself shows a certain affinity and a tendency to mix with the Beowulf type which is a characteristic of Western Europe as the "Dragon Family" is of the Eastern area.

We shall now, using a seemingly unmethodological procedure, attempt the analysis of this story from a single motive viz., the episode of the Revolving Hut.

According to Solymossy⁶ this motive is also limited to the Slavic-Ural-Altaic folk-tale area with one exception; it may have been incorporated into the Grail romances. However, this is open to doubt and if we are not bound to the idea of the monophyletic and eastern origin of the Revolving Castle and the Hut rotating on a cook's leg, it might be supposed that the Revolving Castle of Grail literature has its original home in Wales and is rooted in the Celtic concept of Avalon. It occurs in the Taliessin poem which describes Arthur harrying Hades. The principal treasure which he and his men carried away thence was the Cauldron of the Head of Hades, that is to say, of Pwyll. The Cauldron is found at a place called Four-horned Castle or Castle of Revelry or *Caer Sidi* Revolving Castle. In a latter poem the bard sings:

Perfect is my chair in *Caer Sidi* :
Plague and age hurt him not who is in it
They know, *Manawydan*, and *Pryderi*
Three organs round a fire sing before it
And about its points are oceans streams
And the abundant well about it
Sweeter than white wine the drink in it.

It is rather interesting that we find a threefold connection between east and west, between the revolving hut of the *Baba Yaga* and the revolving castle of the Welsh bard. Not only that they both revolve but they also both contain nourishment and finally they are both connected with the sea. Rhys goes on to discuss the revolving castle entered by *Peredur* in the Welsh *Seint Greal* and comes to the very plausible conclusion that the Revolving Castle is *Avalon* the Other World (cf. the second line of the poem) and stresses the fact that the hero who enters unmolested by the lions at the gate is led by

6. Solymossy, "Magyar osvállasi elemek népmeseinkben" (Hungarian Pagan Elements in our Folktales). *Ethnographia*, (1929), 133.

a lady, is under the protection of a woman.⁷

The revolving castle of the folk-tale is also owned by a woman and Baba Yaga if we look at her somewhat more closely is not far removed from the concept of death. She is Baba Yaga of the wooden leg and rides to the witches sabbath in an iron mortar and making her track invisible by the aid of a broom. She lies in the revolving hut with a head like a club on her back on the floor with her legs reaching right up to the top of the hut. The White Russians believe that Yaga steals children and eats them. She rides together with Death, and Death hands human beings over to her. She is the Queen of Witches and she and her subjects devour the soul of human beings. Women figure between Christmas and New Year as Baba Yagas looking as awful as possible.⁸ "Her appearance is that of a tall gaunt hag with dishevelled hair. Sometimes she is seen lying stretched out from one corner to the other of a miserable hut, through the ceiling of which passes her long iron nose, the hut is supported by fowls legs and stands at the edge of a forest towards which its entrance looks. Sometimes the Baba Yaga appears as the mistress of a mansion which stands in a countryard enclosed by a fence made of dead men's bones."⁹ She has either an iron nose or an hook instead of a leg and is regarded as the "Queen of the Witches."¹⁰ The Baba Yaga generally kills people in order to eat them. Her house is fenced with the bones of the men whose flesh she has devoured; in one story she offers a human arm by way of a meal to a girl who visits her."¹¹ She seems to be identical with her own dwelling as she stretches from one corner of the hut to the other with her nose going right through the ceiling. Or she inhabits a building with gates that are human legs, bolts that are human arms, and "instead of lock there is a mouth with sharp teeth."¹² "In some places when the wind bows down the ears of corn the peasants say that the Baba

7. John Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*. (1911), 302, 300. Cf. Mac. Culloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*. (1911), 368., and Arthur C. L. Brown, *The Origin of the Grail Legend*. Cambridge, (1943). 16, 98, 275, 356, 358, 432.

8. Afanasjew Meyer, *Russische Volkamarchen*. (1906), 67, 68.

9. W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales*, (1873), 138

10. M. Federowski, *Luh bialoruskij na Rusi Litewskiej*. (1837), 1. 80

11. Ralston, l. c. 147.

12. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*. (1872), 1. 1.

Yaga is running after children, with the intention of blinding them or pounding them in an iron churn. Cornfields are especially haunted by the Baba Yaga." "The 'wild' 'iron' and long-nosed" Bertha (Frau Precht mit der langen Nase) seems indeed to have many points in common with the Baba Yaga, especially as the latter is frequently represented as spinning. The Serb Baba Yaga known as the "Iron Tooth" carries about live coals in a pitcher and burns the distaffs of lazy spinners.¹³ In Roumanian folklore this figure has several representatives. The Mamapadurei or mother of the forest, resides in a hut that revolves on fowl's legs, with a fence stuck full of skulls. Baba Cloanta is a tall old hag with a crooked back, long teeth like a rake. She, like the Baba Yaga of our folktale, is also the mother of dragons and the owner of a tub full of souls. Baba Coaja is Queen of Witches with a long glass nose, one iron foot and brass nails. She kills unbaptized children and hides them in bushes where they rot. Baba Harca dwells in a cave and steals the stars from the sky.¹⁴

All this serves to establish the fact that (a) the connection between the revolving castle and a female being of the Baba Yaga type should be regarded as one of the fundamental elements of the whole complex; (b) that this female being has something peculiar about her nose, teeth or foot and is closely connected with anxiety and the fear of annihilation. In the paper quoted above Solymossy gives a convenient synopsis of revolving castle in Hungarian folktales with some references to non-Hungarian parallels. The Hungarian variants are as follows.¹⁵

1. Bear's Son, Descent to the other world type. Castles revolve on goose's leg, duck's leg and turkey's leg, dragon and rescued princess—motive.

2. King wishes to marry his daughter. Cinderella, persecuting mother-in-law. Her prison turns into a golden palace, revolving on a starling's leg.

13. Ralston, *Songs*, 163, 164.

14. Moldovan, *A magyarországi románok*. (Roumanians in Hungary) (1913), 324, 325.

Sainenu, *Basméle Romane* (1895) 994 and index.

15. For the references cf. Solymossy, *Magyar osváltasi elemek népmeséinben*, Ethnographia. (192) 134.

3. Bear's son; like (1) underworld iron castle of dragon revolves on its own corner.
4. Same cycle as above. First castle revolves on the leg of a brass stork, the second on the leg of a silver stork and the last on the leg of a golden stork.
5. Visit to the other world and dragons as above, but the other world is in the sky instead of under the earth. Castles revolving on various birds' legs.
6. Agrees with 5, with motive of "prince in search of immortality."
7. Revolving castle on duck's foot, owned by Fairy Queen, supernatural spouse of hero.
8. The three brothers are called Dawn, Evening and Midnight, the castles revolve on a cock's, a duck's and a goose's foot. The plot is a combination of 1 and 5.
9. Princess stolen by dragon. Ascent sky-ward on a tree. Castle revolves on a cock's tail.
10. Puss in Boot's type. Poor lad having won the king's daughter, cheats dragon out of the castle, revolving on a goose-foot.
11. Ducks, hens, and goose-foot. Princess stolen by dragon, rescued by hero, magically conceived.
12. Castles revolving on pigeon's feet. Tournaments with greatest heroes of the world.
13. Non-typical form. Princesses disappear at night and in the revolving castle after having danced their shoes to pieces.
14. Mixture of 'Starker Hans' and 'Beowulf.' Underworld type; various bird's feet.
15. Hoile-type. The old woman's castle on a meadow of silk.
16. "Ass, table and cudgel" type. The castle of the king of crows revolves perpetually on a golden turkey's foot.
17. Water of Youth. Castle of fairy who owns water of Youth rotates on golden turkey's foot.
18. Amor and Psyche. Enchanted prince has a castle, turning on a cock's foot.
19. Ascent to sky riding up a hill (Aarne Thompson 530). dragon's castle of brass, silver and gold revolve on goose's foot, duck's foot, eagle's foot.
20. Dragon Family Type. Turkey, duck and dove's foot.

21. Bear's son. Turkey, goose and duck's foot.

22. Bear's son. Razors rotate at the gate of one dragon castle, the other revolves on goose's foot. Solymossy calls our attention to the fact that in 9 variants out of 22 (Nos. 2, 7, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19) the revolving castle occurs only in the Hungarian variants which means that they were not originally part and parcel of these cycles. Eight of the remaining 13 belong to the Bears-son cycle and it seems therefore plausible to infer that the motive was originally an element of this cycle. The association with a dragon is found in thirteen out of twenty-two stories.¹⁶

In trying to understand the Revolving Castle we should therefore regard it as an element of the Bear's son story. At the same time, however, we should keep in mind that in the central distribution area of the motive, it is associated with the Dragon Family and owned by the Baba Yaga. Perhaps the clinical picture of a Hungarian patient, a young man suffering from impotency, can help us to understand the meaning of this curious phantasy.

He has masturbated in the presence of his pupil. The best thing would be to cut his penis off, why does it give him so much trouble. Before going to bed his mother showed him her naked legs, full of varicose veins. He felt ashamed. Suddenly he recalls a very terrifying memory. He heard about the castle turning on a duck's leg when he was a baby. What is it: (Repeatedly and with great anxiety). Something to do with a razor and with blood. The Grail Castle! Perceval looking at the drops of his blood on the snow. His mother's blood and her white body on the white bed. His girl's white body; then the phantasy that the analyst cohabits with him and he bleeds. Then he comes back to the castle on the duck's foot, talks about putting his finger through paper into the anus or vagina. Then he remembers the noise made by the bed when his parents had intercourse. The castle revolving on a duck's leg is therefore an abbreviated representation of the primal scene with the foot symbolizing the father's penis and the castle the mother's body. He has the phantasy of his father cohabiting innumerable times with mother, of his penis as a *perpetuum mobile*. This corresponds to the perpetual motion in the "Merchen" scene.

16. S. Solymossy, op cit, 137.

Now we may get a sort of bird's-eye view of the Bear's son theme.¹⁷ The hero of miraculous descent undergoes strange adventures, fights monsters, dragons, returns from the nether world and overcomes treason till he can finally wed his lady love. We suspect that Bear's son, Siegfried, or Strong John is struggling with the same difficulties as our patient, otherwise why should he have to perform wonders in order to achieve the happy end?¹⁸

The story has two typical openings. In one of these the hero and his two brothers are on guard, each of them for one night in the garden of their father, the king. A giant or dragon or bird steals the wonderful apples as soon as they are ripe and the first and the second brother fall asleep. Only the third brother, the hero, manages to keep awake and when his turn comes he shoots a feather out of the bird with his bow or wounds the giant and follows the trail of blood into the nether world. In the other formula the scene is a mysterious house in the forest.¹⁹ One of the three stays at home to cook food and keep watch. While he is peeling the potatoes or cooking the meat or porridge somebody enters. Somebody from the Underworld, an ugly little man, with a long black beard, reaching to the ground. He spits into the food, and when this is resented he jumps on his host's neck, and throws him down. The human being faints, the dwarf eats the food and disappears. When his companions come home, he awakes and complains of having been sick. The same thing happens the next day. But the hero catches the dwarf when he spits into the food, splits a big block of wood and jams the dwarf's beard into the opening. Then he repeats the same punishment in a modified form. There is a hole in the ceiling, he ties the beard into a knot and the dwarf hangs suspended in the room, in mid-air like a fish on a hook-line. "With every step that John took in the room, the dwarf got a strong jolt, so that he flew from one end of the room

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17. Cf. Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu der Kinder-und Hausmarchen der Bruder Grimm*, II. (1915), 285-316. F. Fanzler, *Untersuchungen zur deutschen Heldensage*. (1910). L. Katona, *Nagyar Nepmese Typusok*, (Jypology of Hungarian Folk Tales), *Ethnographia*, 190, 126. S. Solymosy, *Ethnographia*, (1931), 124.
18. Ferenczi once remarked in discussing mythology with me that the big club of Herakles made him suspect that the Greek hero represented a case of impotence.
19. In Russian variants this is the Revolving Hut of the Baba Yaga and she herself appears in the role of the long-bearded dwarf

to the other." Finally the beard gives way under the weight of the flying dwarf and, leaving his beard behind, the dwarf runs away to the other world. The brothers follow him and find the entrance of the underworld.²⁰

If we had only the "Marchen" to go by we should also strongly suspect a dream element in the introduction formula. The two brothers, doubles of the hero, fall asleep and have no idea of what has happened, but the hero keeps awake, *i.e.*, remembers his dream and all sorts of things happen in the dream story. In the second formula the brothers are companions and instead of going to sleep they faint. These modifications are insignificant, they scarcely obscure the dream character or the whole episode. Moreover, in his brilliant book on the Origin of Myths, Laistner has collected the mythological parallels to this "Marchen" episode. In these stories the dwarf is called an Alp (Nightmare) and the episode therefore revealed in its original character of a nightmare. It is also very significant that in some of the "saga" versions of our motive we have a bear instead of a dwarf, and the nightmare-bear is expelled by the aid of another bear. Now the hero of our folk-tale is originally a bear's son who has inherited his colossal strength from his bestial father.²¹ According to the Lapps, twins are sons of a bear and most potent in hunting bears.²² We are beginning to see behind the curtain. Clinical and mythological materials point very clearly to the phallic significance of the dwarf and also to be more exact to the dwarf as representing the father's penis.²³ We have therefore two variants of the nightmare. When dreamt by the companions the 'weak' equivalents or anxiety representatives of our hero, it is a passive homosexual dream, with the father's penis pressing on the dreamer.²⁴ But a hero is a hero, and in the "heroic" variant we find the wish fulfilment not completely distorted by anxiety. The son witnesses parental coitus (the beard or paw jammed into the block, the dwarf flying from one end of the room to the other) and

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20. U. Jahn: *Volksmarchen aus Pommern und Rugen*. (1891). 115.
21. L. Laistner, *Das Ratsel der phinx*, (189). II. 1-34. *Zwerg = twergen*. to press.
22. G. Roheim.
23. G. Roheim, "Zur Deutung der Zwergsagen", *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse* XVI. (1930).
24. E. Jones: *On the Nightmare*, (1931), 97.

castrates the father (loss of beard). The name of the tiny dwarf with a long beard in a Hungarian variant fully bears out this interpretation. In one version he is called "Hetsing szakallu, kapanyel faszu" = "The one with a seven foot beard and a hoe's handle penis."²⁵ In another the name is Hetszunu Kapanyanyimonyok.²⁶ Hetszunu is really bet sing szakallu that is with a seven fathom beard. The second half of the name looks more important. Mony is the old Hungarian word for testicle, monyok the plural. Kapanyanyi looks like a condensation of two words: kappany=castrated cock, capon, anyanyi=belonging to the mother. "The cock castrated because of the mother", i.e., because of the primal scene.

We may assume that the variants of our "Marchen" in which the beings who take the fruit from the king's garden or the dwarf in the mysterious hut are identical with the antagonist in the other world and have retained the original state of things, whereas in the other variants the dwarf is a hypothesis of the dragon just as the brothers or companions represent certain aspects of the hero. In many Slavonic variants the princesses, rescued by the hero from their undesirable husband, the dragon, are really the hero's sisters, and in some Russian and Lettish versions he goes into the underworld to rescue his mother.²⁷ The return from the underworld corresponds exactly to the descent, the hero is brought back by a supernatural bird and has to feed the bird with a piece of his own flesh. He cuts a bit off his leg and the wound heals miraculously when they alight. Thus the descent to the underworld in search of the bride (sister, mother)

25. Gy. Ortutay, *Nyiri es retkozi paraszti mesek* (Peasant Tales of Nyir and Retkoz) N. D. p. 61.

26. Arany Laszlo, *Magyar Népmese Gyujtemeny*, (1911), 133.

27. Holte—Pelivka: *loc. cit.* II, 311, 317. The story of the Bear's son seems to be the bearer of the plot in the Estonian Epic, Kalevipoeg. He set out to rescue his mother from a Finnish sorcerer and during this journey commits incest with his sister. He is also apprentice to a smith like the heroes of the Siegfried or Strong John type, and like the hero of the "Dragon Family" story. It is his descent to the house of the Horned One (Devil) and the rescue of the three maidens which looks like the central element of the Bear's son story. He is regarded as being on guard at the gate of the Underworld to prevent the devil from breaking loose, therefore in a certain sense he is himself identical with the Horned one. Cf. W. F. Kirby, *The Hero of Estonia* (1895), Vol. 1, and Lowe, *Kalevipoeg*. (1900).

commences with the castration complex and ends with it²⁸. Descent, ascent and flight are typical dream symbols of erection.

But this is not all. Something happens in the underworld. Jain, the soldier's son from Albain asks the girl "What set thee weeping?" She replies: "I have put one night till I must be married to the giant."²⁹ Perhaps what happens is actually the marriage of the heroine and the giant or dragon, distorted in a way not usual in dream technique, by transforming the coitus into a struggle and replacing the woman by the dreamer. This conjecture may be supported by two features. In the initial formula of the garden type the bird or giant (= the king, father himself) comes every night to steal the apples as soon as they are ripe. The king stealing apples of his own tree—this is what the hero sees in his dream.³⁰ In the underworld scene the dragon frequently indicated his arrival by turning his mace at the gate and breaking it right through. The castle or hut is the stolen princess herself, and the mace that breaks the gate is just what she is afraid of, she is being 'married' to the giant or dragon.

The story may therefore be regarded in its latent content as an account of the *primal scene*. It represents the same thing as the Revolving Castle but the same scene is here dealt with a different technique. In the Revolving Castle motive the parents as persons are absent, we have part object (leg and castle) and the representation of coitus as lasting for an eternity. In the story itself the same experience is worked out more completely and with the aid of the technique of doublette-formation. The father-giant steal his own fruit, the dragon rapes the hero's mother (sister, bride) and the hero who witnesses this scene gets an erection (descent and ascent, flight), wishes to castrate the father (the dwarf or cut off dragon's heads) and fears the talio punishment of his aggressivity (piece of flesh, cut off leg). The world in which the unheard of thing (parental coitus) can happen is an underworld (the unconscious)—a world totally different from sober reality.

28. The gigantic bird is also a mother symbol, for the hero obtains the friendship of the bird by rescuing the young birds from a serpent.

29. Y. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*. (1892). I. 14.

30. "The brother are asleep", i.e., he is asleep when these things happen.

Our starting point was a folk-tale of the Dragon Family type. On closer investigation we found that the revolving hut which he picked out, in an arbitrary fashion, from the motives that constitute the plot of the story, was really a constituent element of the Bear's son cycle, at least in Hungary. At any rate, however, we know that it is also rather frequently found in the Dragon Family story. In the two folk-tales have at least one common element, the fight with the dragons, with an increasing number of heads. In the Bear's son story we have the descent to the netherworld, in the Dragon Family we might perhaps say instead of the netherworld we have the role played by the female members of the dragon family, especially in the person of the dragon's mothers who nearly swallows the hero. Several minor features should also be taken into consideration. In both cycles the hero is apprenticed to a smith, or the smith plays an ambivalent role as protector or persecutor. There are also curious coincidences in minor details. It is of course possible to regard these as merely incidental or as due to the fusion of the two types but they may also be survivals of an original relationship. Our friend, the dwarf, whose proper place in the Bear's son story occurs in the Dragon Family narrative. In a Russian story the hero came to a river, at the river was a hut; there he was met by a little man, one finger tall, his moustache seven versts in length, who said, "Give me the horse. If thou wilt not give him quietly, I will take him by force".³¹ A typical episode of the Dragon Family type is that in the struggle with the last dragon the hero is assisted by a raven who helps him for a reward. In a Highland variant of the Bear's son cycle the hero is assisted by a raven for a quid of tobacco.³² The dragons hurl their club home to announce their arrival in both types.³³ The dragon is conquered by a hero who is yet to be born, but whose arrival is expected by the dragon or monster. In a Russian version (Dragon Family) the monster says to his horse at the bridge: "Why do you stumble raven flesh, do you smell an enemy? There is

31. Y. Curtin: *Myths and Folk-Tales of the Russians, Western Slavs and Magyars*. (1890). 43. Gov. Saratoff, in a Hungarian variant of the Dragon Family the similarity is still greater, we find even the beard tied into a knot as in the Pommeranian version of the Bear's son published by Jahn and quoted above. cf. L. Kalmany, *Hagyományok* 11. 7.

32. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*. (1892), 1. 16.

33. Cf. Kalmany. *Hagyományok*, (Traditions). 11. 7.

only one enemy for us Storm Hero, Cow's Son".³⁴ In a Hungarian variant of the same cycle the dragon says: "In my whole life I have always heard about little Miklos, were he here now, I would like to fight him", and in the same story the Lead Monk remarks, "Hello my friend little Miklos, I have always heard about you and have been expecting you for a long time, so here you are at last," in a Highland Story (Bear's son) "Who art thou in the leeward, or in the windward or in the four brown boundaries of the deep that could move my battle chain, but young Jain, the soldier's son, from Albainn."³⁵

Collecting all the variants of a folk-tale which usually amount to several hundreds is a task that takes time. This work has been done by competent folk-lorists in the case of the Bear's son, but it yet remains to be done for the Dragon Family. All we know is that the cycle is limited to the Eastern half of Europe, we have Hungarian, Roumanian, Croatian, Slovak, Czech, Ukrainian, Russian, Tshuvash and Vogul variants.³⁶ Solymosy tries to show that the story is originally Ural-Altaiic and has migrated from Ural-Altaiic tribes to the Slavs. A single glance at the Tshuvash or Vogul stories in the collections of Meszaros or Munkacsy ought to be sufficient to convince anybody, that "Marchen" as a form of literature are alien to these people and they cannot have been derived from anywhere but from their Russian neighbours.³⁷ A characteristic feature of the Dragon Family story is that the fight between the hero and his supernatural antagonist is decided by wrestling. The hero hurts the dragon to the ground so that he sinks down right to his ankles. Then the dragon catches the hero and he goes down as far as his hips. And so on alternately. Now this is the typical description of a fight, not only in Russian folk-tales but also in heroic

34. Apanassyew Meyer, *Russische Volksmärchen*, (1906), 1. 143.

35. Louis of Menar, *Russische Volksmärchen*, (1914), 113. L. Merényi, *Sajóvolgyi eredetű népmesék* (Folktales of the Sajó valley), (1862), 7. 16. Campbell, *loc. cit.* 1. 12.

36. Of. The parallels I collected in Meszaros: *Erztes népköltési gyűjtemény*, (1912). II. 521. and Solymosy, "A vasorrú baba" es mitikns robonai." (The Iron Nosed Witch and her mythical relatives). *Ethnographia*, (1927), 223.

37. We never find heroes or heroines with Tshuvash or Vogul names in Russian folk-tales, but the opposite is quite frequent. Cf. Meszaros, *op. cit.* 520, 521. Munkacsy. *Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény* (Collection of Vogul Folk-Lore), (1896), IV, 344—350

epics.³⁸ The initial formula of the Dragon Family story is that sun, moon and stars have been stolen by a dragon and the country has been left in darkness. Instead of the heavenly bodies it may be a princess or a horse and the latter again may be identified with the sun or the moon. In some places and "especially in Little-Russia the witches are supposed to steal and hide away not only the rain and dew but even the moon and stars". It is especially at the Kolyada and Kupalo festivals that is at the winter and summer solstice that they attempt to do this.³⁹

We may now attempt an analysis of the plot. The hero has to fight against two enemies or groups of enemies, one of them male, the other female. When he fights with the dragon his duplicate-brothers are asleep and the introduction to the fight is the nightmare episode with the long-bearded dwarf (or Baba Yaga). The presumption is that the scene is a dream episode, and the 'comic' background, the 'theft' of sun, moon and stars simply means that the lights are out. The lights are out means that nobody can see what is happening, we therefore suspect that the hero has been something forbidden and that this scene is the raw-material or latent content of the dream. This seems all the more probable because in the second half of the story the hero really sees and hears something unobserved. He is eavesdropping in the shape of a fly or cat when the mother and the wives of the dragon are telling each other how they intend to destroy the hero and his brothers. In every case they assume the shape of something tempting, but danger lurks in the temptation. If we consider that the temptation and the danger threatening the hero or his duplicates come from female beings we can scarcely doubt the nature of this temptation. Assurance becomes doubly sure when we know that in two Hungarian variants the mother of the dragons is actually the wife of the hero.⁴⁰ In the Russian story quoted above the dragon asks the hero, "Did you come to marry my daughter or my sister" which seems to indicate that the dragon women are duplicates of the women actually married by the hero, whose small stature

38. A. Leskien und K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Marchen* (1882), 557.

39. W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, (1872), 383.

40. Horger *Hetfalusi Csango népmesék*. Magyar Népköltési Gyűjt-enemy. X. (1908), 393. *Erdélyi Janos*. *Nepdalok es mondak* (Folk-Songs and Tales) (1848) III, 225.

is often stressed in the story. He is hidden under the bridge, when the dragon's horse stumbles. In our first version a parallel episode to this scene is the dancing jug coming from the witch; the heroes are not supposed to look at it. The technique of separation and duplicate formation is the principal device of 'Marchen', we can restore the latest meaning by discovering the one hidden meaning behind many variants, and by uniting what has been separated. Instead of the hero fighting the dragon we should read, the hero is hidden and witnesses a 'fight', i. e., coitus scene between dragons; male and female. The phantasy of fighting an antagonist as a means of settling a love affair often occurs in clinical analysis as a substitute for coitus and is derived from the "primal-scene—fight" concept with the children playing the role either of father or mother. The nucleus of the whole story is therefore the same as that of the "Bear's son" type. A young hero overcomes difficulties and obtains a wife. The antagonists he has to fight with are derived from the primal scene as the trauma of infancy. In some Russian variants we have the Brunnhild—Siegfried—Gunter situation. The hero's brother, the Czar's son, is to wed the princess, but she is too strong for him to attempt deforation. The hero performs this task and when the princess discovers the deceit, his legs are cut off by her orders. Finally he gets his legs back and the usual happy end follows but in order to subdue her he flies after her to her grandfather who is a sea-spirit and kills him.⁴¹ The sea-spirit grandsire is evidently close kin to the dragon and his grandchild, therefore to the females of the dragon family.⁴² But the point of interest really is that here too the "wounded leg" (castration) comes before the happy end as in the Bear's son type. (The ascent to this world on the back of the bird). Both plots are elaborations of the same theme; primal scene, castration anxiety and finally marriage.

Solymossy calls our attention to the fact that in this cycle but also in other Eastern European Marchen have two personages, one female and one male whom he calls 'mysterious'. We should rather

41. Cf. Lewis of Menar, *Russische Volksmarchen*, (1914), 121. Apanassjew-Meyer, *Russische Volksmarchen*, (1906), 158. Meszaros, *loc. cit.* 349, Fr. Panzer, *siegfried*, (1912), 150, 161.

42. Her flight to the grandsire shows why she is a Brunnhild, i.e. why she refuses to have intercourse with her husband. Because she flies to her grandfather, i.e. because of her oedipus fixation.

describe them as individuals, that is, as mythical beings who seem to possess more individualisation, more of the personal element as compared to the typical actors in the Märchen plot.

We have found our way back to the Baba Yaga or as she is called in Hungarian the Iron Nosed Old Woman, the mistress of the rotating castle. In a Gypsy story of the "Strong Brothers and the two Princesses" the Mashurdalo (cannibal giants) always sit down at the fire made by the heroes. They kill the Mashurdalo, and then they get an old woman whose hair was shining like the sun. They ask her, "Why does your hair shine like the rays of the golden sun?" "I bring day and night to the world", the old woman answered. "We want night to remain until we have finished our work", they said and they tied the old woman to a tree.⁴³ This old woman is a distant relation of the Russian Baba Yaga. Wassilissa the Beautiful inherited a doll which embodied the blessing of her mother. The fire goes out in the house and her cruel stepmother makes her go and fetch fire from the Baba Yaga. She walked in the forest, and a horseman passed her. He had white clothes, a white horse and white reins. It was Day. A red rider and a red horse: Sunrise. When she arrived at the hut a black rider came on a black horse. This was Night and all three were the servants of the Baba Yaga. The fence round the hut was made of human bones, the pillars ended in skulls with empty sockets, the hinges of the door were feet; the bolts, hands and the lock a mouth with sharp teeth. The last rider disappears just under the gate and the moment the earth had swallowed him, it became night. But the darkness did not last long, because the eyes in the skulls soon glittered till the meadow was full of light. Wassilissa stood still and trembled with fear. Then a terrible noise came from the forest. The trees cracked and the leaves rustled. It was Baba Yaga flying home in her mortar using a mace as a whip and a broom to sweep her tracks clean. "Who is it? I smell a Russian": she says. "It is me, Little Mother, stepmother's daughters have sent me here to fetch fire". Wassilissa enquires about the three riders and is told it is lucky for her that she did not ask about the things that are in the hut or Baba Yaga would have eaten her.⁴⁴

43. The story contains also the internal soul motive which is especially associated with the Iron Nosed Woman and her husband. H. von Wilslocki. *Volksdichtungen der siebenbürgischen und sündungarischen Zigeuner*. (1890). 307.

44. Afansajew—Meyer, loc. cit. 1. 59.

This is a picturesque account of Dreamland. When night sets in the eye sees new and terrifying visions, light shining from the skulls of the dead. What is the contents of the dream vision? It is the Mother flying through the air, doing something mysterious. The child had better not ask or she might be eaten. This concept of the Mother in her changed aspect seems to be the essential that Day and Night is time itself and are merely her servants.⁴⁵

A feature common to all these beings is that there is something peculiar about their feet, teeth, nose, or head dress. The Rumanian Baba Coaja has a long glass nose, an iron leg and brass nails. Her Hungarian sister the *Vesorru Baba* (iron nosed midwife) has either an iron nose or an iron tooth. The Servian representative of the group has an iron tooth. In German folklore the elf's, personifications of nightmare have long crooked noses, Berchta an iron nose or large feet, and the Baba Yaga herself has a wooden foot or a foot like a hook, iron teeth and "a long iron nose which passes through the ceiling of her hut."⁴⁶ Dishevelled hair, horns or a milk pail on the head are equally characteristic of all these witches and supernatural beings.

In a book published in Hungarian I have tried to show that all these attributes represent the penis and the whole vision is the well known concept of the "mother with the penis"⁴⁷. The village lad who on Christmas eve catches sight of the witch with horns is really witnessing the primal scene eavesdropping on parental intercourse. The "mother with the penis" is the "mother with the nipple"⁴⁸ but

45. Cf. on Time and Mother E. Bergler and G. Roheim "Psychology of Time perception". *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. Vol. XV. 190—206. H. Zimmer, "Some Aspects of Time in Indian Art." *Journ. Indian Society of Oriental Art*. I. (1933), p. 48. H. Simmer. *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* Bollingen Series. VI. (1945), 137.

46. Cf. Waschnitius. *Percht, Holda und verwandte Gestalten* Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien. Bd. 174. 2. Abh. (1913). 150, 151. Ralston, *Russian Folktales*. (1873). 138 and above. Solymosy bases his theory of the Ural Altai origin of the Hungarian *vosorru baba* and of the Dragon Family Märchen partly on the absence of the "iron nose" in the outfit of the Baba Yaga.

47. G. Roheim. *Adalekok a magyarnepiheter* (Contributions to Hungarian Folk-Beliefs), (1920).

48. Cf. G. Roheim, "Aphrodite or the woman with the penis," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XIV. 330-390.

also with the father's penis in the primal scene⁴⁹. A patient of mine thought that *vas orru baba* = old woman with an iron nose must be a corrupted form of *fasz orru baba*, i.e., penis nosed old woman. Although this is certainly incorrect philologically, it is correct enough from the point of view of his own fears and phantasies. Another confirmation of the phallic interpretation of this iron nose comes from another source. Some time ago the Rev. Vargha wrote a letter from the Hungarian county Bihar and asked me whether I had ever heard about the "rez-faszubagoly" (owl with a brass penis). His mother used to tell him: "Don't go to the garret because the owl with a brass penis will eat you". Further enquiries brought corroborating statements from other parts of Hungary, only in one place (County Zala), the name of the bogey was "rez orru bagoly" (owl with an iron nose) instead of owl with an iron penis. I suspect that this is not merely an analogy but the same thing, i.e., that the bird with a brass nose or penis and the old woman with an iron nose are merely the same person in a different shape⁵⁰. There can be no doubt about the fact that brass and iron as adjectives are interchangeable. "The Finnish, Lapp and Vogul words which are philologically, the equivalents of the Hungarian word for iron (*vas*) signify brass in these languages."⁵¹ In the folk-lore of Altaian and other Turko-Tartar tribes of Central Asia and Siberia we find the equivalent of the Russian Baba Yaga, an old woman with a brass nose⁵².

The Kirgiz have a nightmare demon, a beautiful girl who pounces on the sleeper with brass claws⁵³. Owls and witches go together, the witch can appear in the shape of an owl.⁵⁴ The Russian. Tshuma,

49. M. Klein, *The Psycho-Analysis of Children*. International Psycho-Analytical Library XXII. (1937), 49

50. Cf. For iron nosed bird in Russian folk-tales. Leskien Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Marchen*, (1882), 566

51. St. Zichy, *A magyarorszag ostortoussé es muveltsége* (Ancient History and Civilization of the Hungarians), (1923), 19.

52. W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der turkischen Stamme Sud-Sibiriens*, I, (1866), 1. 45. Solymossy, loc. cit. 225.

53. I. Castagne, "Demonologie des Kazak Kirghisis". *L' Ethnographie*, (1930), 19.

54. Soldan Heppé, *Geschichte der Hexengrozesse*, (1911), I. 53. 276.

a female personification of the plague pounces upon its victims in the shape of an owl⁵⁵.

The dreaded theriomorphic or female being with the peculiar nose or foot is the phallic mother and her phallic nature is derived from the primal scene. We may now proceed to investigate the nature of the male being, whose role in the Dragon Family cycle seems to be parallel but sometimes also antagonistic to that of the Dragon's Mother or Baba Yaga.

Verses recited by the bridegroom's best man at the table are an essential element of a real Hungarian wedding. In one of these verses recited at a wedding at Kecskemet in 1805 we find the elements of our Dragon Family story.

Once under the earth in an empty space
There hung a forest of brass in the air.

Solymossy's researches seem to show that the castle hanging in mid-air is a variant of the rotating castle theme.⁵⁶

This forest was owned by tall "tsing" person
He was about the size of sprouting hemp
His wife was the "iron nosed midwife."

They were the owners of the sun and moon horse.

Sun moon and horse are subsequently stolen by the Steel Smith and then recovered by the witch or iron nosed midwife.⁵⁷ These are evidently the actors of the Dragon Family plot with the sole exception of the "Tsing-ember" and he is probably the "hot sing"⁵⁸, dwarf whom we know from the Bear's son story. The figure whom he replaces goes under various names. The usual name is 'olomfeju barat' or 'olom barat' that is lead headed friend or lead friend. The word 'barat' translated here as friend may also mean 'monk' and it is probable that present day story tellers and their audience associates this second significance with the story. Other names are "big nosed

55. Cf. Roheim *Adalokok a magyar népites.* (1913). A halamedar (The Bird of Death) P. 13. with reference to Russian and other Slavic sources.

56. Solymossy, "Magyar osvallati elemi nepmesekben". *Ethnographia*. (1929), 131. This is not the conclusion arrived at by the author.

57. L. Bernath, *Magyar Nemesek a XVIII. Szazadbol.* (Hungarian Folktales of the 18th Century) *Ethnographia* XIII. 297.

58. Sing is a measure like foot or yard. Cf. "Seven feet dwarf."

friend" (or monk) and "kanbarat" (buck *k.e.*, male friend). These two are significant, both because they point from the male to the female mystery being in our story and because of the parallel attributes "maleness = big nose." In another group of names the 'monk' or 'friend' is a wolf and the attributes of metal reappear. We find names like "iron headed wolf" or "brass-wolf"⁵⁹ The parallelism is again very striking, especially if we regard the "brass penis owl" of nursery lore as the equivalent of the brass-headed wolf and the brass or iron-nosed old woman of the folktale. In both cases we have a human and a theriomorphic shape, nose or head as phallic symbols and the reference to metals (iron, brass, lead).

Now we know him by name we should like to know our lead friend by his deeds. The hero of a story of mixed Bear's son and Dragon Family affinities called Millet after having taken all the usual degrees of heroism calls out, "In the whole world there is no greater hero than I am."⁶⁰ But his father replies "You could not even be apprentice to the lead-headed friend." He becomes the servant of the coachman with his magic steed and his task is to fetch world's beautiful woman for his master. When he approaches the Lead Friend's castle he has to go round the place several times which is evidently a displacement of the Revolving Castle motive. He goes to ~~view the Beauty of the World~~ dressed in the finest garment of Lead Headed Friend. She asks him, "For whom are you taking me? For yourself or for somebody else?" He tells her that he would like her for himself, but Lead Headed Friend is too powerful for him. She decides to find out where the strength of Lead Headed Friend lies. In a forest there is a meadow, in the meadow a well. A deer goes to drink at that well, in the deer there is a dove, in the dove an egg, in the egg a wasp and that wasp contains the strength of lead-headed friend. Millet shoots the animals, breaks the egg open and when the wasp flies out it shouts "Friend, friend." It flies into the mouth of Beauty of the World, and she lets it drop into the mouth of Millet. Another folk-tale from the Sajo valley is the typical Dragon Family with the theft and liberation of the Sun plot. After having overcome all dangers the hero is pursued by a huge mouth, one jaw reaching to the sky and the other resting on earth. This was the

mother of the Dragons approaching with the rapidity of a whirlwind, so that the hero ran into the house of the Lead Monk in the nick of time. They pour lead into the mouth gaping like hell itself at the door and kill the old lady. The interesting point in this is that it offers a cue to the name of the revered gentleman, because it is usually another 'mythical' personage, the "smith of the country" (Orszag kovacs) who as the hero's ally pours the lead into the mouth of the "iron-nosed hag." The two are probably originally the same person and the 'olom-barat' obtained his name of "olom onto barat" (lead pouring friend) from this very episode. The next move made by the Lead Friend is that he says, "Well, my good friend little Miklos, I have always heard your fame, now let us fight and see who is stronger". These are exactly the words spoken by the dragon in most variants, therefore another suspicion arises viz., that lead-friend and dragon are also identical. The hero is overcome by the Lead Friend and is bound to be his slave till he fetches the "Green Daughter of the Green King." The motive of the external soul and the death of the Lead is as above.⁶¹ In another variant the Lead Friend is called Male Friend or Monk (Kandarát), the girl is Tunderszep Ilona (Fairy Helen) Queen of Fairy land and Zoldmezejesi (He of the Green Meadow), is a conquered enemy and then ally of the hero. External soul and death of the giant as above. The story is rather deviant, the hero is in search of 'heroism' and it is always his father who tells him that there is more to do yet.⁶² In another variant of the Dragon Family cycle the Lead Monk is absent and it is his female counterpart, the old Dragon mother and in this version also the wife of the hero, who is killed by means of her separable soul.⁶³ In a Dragon Family story from Taszaloszgyorgy, the hero when he meets the Lead Friend greets him, "How do you do, uncle", and the other replies, "You can thank your stars that you called me grandfather, otherwise it would have been your death." They wrestle, and Johnny of the Ashes (the hero's name Hamu Janko) notices that he has not a drop of strength left. Lead Friend has taken it all away. Then he speaks, "Dear father, give me back my strength."

59. Solymossy, A vasorru baba es mitikus rokonal. *Ethnographia* (1927), 228.

60. L. Kalmany, *Hugymanyok*, N.D.I. 9. 11. 2.

61. L. Merenyi *Sajovolgyi eredeti nepmoesck.* L. (1862). 3—62.

62. A *Ip-lyi Mese gyujtemeny* (Collected Folk Tales) M. Ncpk. XIII. 142.

63. *Frdelyi, Nepdalok es mondak.* III. (1848), 234.

Only if he will bring Helen, the Fairy Queen answers the Lead Monk.⁶⁴

The same personage occurs in another story cycle. A poor boy, sent away from home by his father, meets an old man and receives a walnut, and cattle and horses come pouring out of it. The iron headed man drives them back for him on one condition; he must promise that he will never marry. He goes home, becomes rich through his live-stock and breaks his promise. The iron headed man looks in through the window and the hero gallops away on his steed. Various old women protect the hero on his flight, and he acquires three dogs, called Heavy-as-Barth, Strong as Iron and Heavy-as-well. They tear the iron-headed man to pieces and the hero marries the golden haired girl.⁶⁵ In a garbled version from Eger (Tréuer Johannes type) the white Lead Headed Monk is betrothed to the girl,⁶⁶ while in a story of the same type from Transylvania the Lead Monk is the father of the world's beauty.⁶⁷ In many variants as to the one from the County of Csongrad quoted above the assistance of the iron headed wolf is given under the condition that the hero should not marry.⁶⁸ In the Russian variants of the Dragon Family story we usually do not find the same obstacle to the happiness of the hero. All's well after the death of the Dragon's Mother. Another remarkable gentleman, however, does turn up. This is the old man or ruler of the sea, the grand-father of the hero's bride. In a North-Hungarian variant of the Dragon Family story, the man who demands the Queen of Fairies for his wife and is killed through his "External Soul, (usually the Lead Monk in Hungarian tales), is called the "man of the sea."⁶⁹ In another Hungarian variant the "Lead Monk" figure is called Iron Nosed Woman (although a male) and catches the hero when the latter goes to a lake to get a drink of

water, that is, he plays the role of a water spirit.⁷⁰ The usual Slavic representative of this type is "the King without a soul," or Koschei the Deathless. Sometimes as also in some of the Hungarian versions it is a monster in fetters who is liberated by a drop of water or other liquid but in all cases the Male Monster either desires the same woman as the hero or helps the hero only on condition that the latter will not marry.

Koschei is a word derived from 'kost' bone and probably characterizes the bearer of the same as a skeleton. Death is usually represented as a skeleton or a ghost and of the dead it can with assurance be said that they are deathless. As we have seen that Death really appears in White Russian folklore in conjunction with the Baba Yaga it seems plausible enough to assume an original folktale couple Koschei—Baba Yaga or a male and a female dead person.⁷¹

When the hero meets the iron nosed woman or when he meets the iron headed man he knows well how to greet them. It is "good morning mother" or "good morning father" as the case may be.⁷² In a folk-tale from the county of Heves the place of the Iron Man is taken by a father of the dragons whose wife is the mother of the dragons *alias* the iron nosed witch.⁷³ A folktale from the district of Szeged Cycle "Fight of Magic horses"⁷⁴ uses the technique of duplicate formation in a striking and instructive manner. A woman gives birth to twelve twins, all of them boys. Their father is so frightened by the enormous number of children that he runs away into the forest. (The opposite of the usual latent story formula; children are afraid of father (= ogre). They are to find the woman who has been delivered of 12 girls at once and these girls are destined to be their wives. This is the Ordongos van asszony (devilish old

70. L. Katalany, *Hogyanányok*, II, 48. Cf. the folktale in which a child is promised to a water spirit.

71. Leskien and Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Marchen*, (1882), 427.

72. Solymossy, l. c. *Ethnographia*, (1927), 229. Leskien-Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder* (1882), 563. Curtin, *op. cit.* 109, 164. Lewis of Menar, *Russische Volksmärchen*, (1914), 160. Ananassjew-Meyer, *Russische Volksmärchen*, (1906), I, 209. W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, (1873), 83-104.

73. Solymossy arrives at the same conclusion but he insists on the Ural Altaic origin of these mythical beings.

74. Kriza Vadroszak. ("Wild-Roses") Magyar Népkelet Gyujtemeny XII. (1911), 207. Nepelet III. 67.

75. Berze-Nagy, *op. cit.* 67.

76. Solymossy, *Talossprbaj*. *Ethnographia*, (1929), 32-38.

64. *Nepkelet*, VII. (1925), 87.

65. K. Tórkö, *Csongrad megyei gyujtes*. (Collection in the County of Csongrad). Magyar Népkelet Gyujtemeny II, (1872), 375.

66. Jpolyi, *Magyar Nép. Gy.* XIII. 163.

67. O. Mailand, *Szekelyoldi Gyujtes* (Collection of the Szekelys) M Nép. Gy. VII. 534.

68. Berze Nagy, *Nepmesek*, Magyar Nép. Gy. IX. 121. R. Nisber Bain, *Cossack Fairy Tales and Folk Tales*, (1894), 153.

69. Berze Nagy, *op. cit.*, 297.

woman) another name for the iron-nosed midwife (Identity of the two women who give birth to twelve, Mother = iron-nosed midwife).

Twelve horses of the boys exchange places with the twelve horses of the old woman and they themselves with her twelve daughters. She attempts to kill the visitors but falls in sequence of exchange; flight and pursuit. The youngest of the twins goes on alone and after having picked up taboo objects arrives at the house of Big Nosed Friend (Nagyorrú barát) who had much a big nose that it was ugly to look at. Compelled by the latter to fetch the golden-haired daughter of the Devil Old Woman he finally manages to kill the Old Big Nosed Friend and to marry the gold-haired girl⁷⁷.

The significance of our iron-headed friend is therefore made clear enough. Having thus unmasked the two mystical beings of our 'Marchen' plot as representing the mother and the father the first thing we notice is the superficial amount of contact between them. Sometimes they are represented as a couple but usually they meet only at one point. This is when the Lead Pouring Monk or his alias the smith pours lead or something else into the mouth of the old woman (or helps the hero to do so) thereby killing her. If by aid of the usual dream technique we substitute the vagina for the mouth there can be no doubt about the tendency represented by the story, *'Like the Revolving Castle itself the whole plot revolves round the primal scene.* It commences (a) with the scene in the king's garden: a monster (the king himself) comes every night to steal the king's apples. The dream character is indicated by the sleep of the duplicates. The primal scene itself received in an ambiguous hostile attitude, the son wounds the paternal monster, whose cohabitation is illicit, destructive. Or the initial formula (b) is the affair with the dwarf. The homosexual component is represented by the two brothers of our hero who have a nightmare (incubus) experience with the dwarf. The dwarf coming into the room; the father's penis in the mother. The central element in both cases is the fight with the dragons. Here the primal scene may be represented either in an archaic manner by part objects, for instance castle (female) rotates on coch's foot (male) mace of dragon when coming home, breaks through out, dragon's horse stumbles on bridge. Then again the son

77. L. Kalmány, *Hagyományok*. II. 55

may replace the mother; dragon and hero wrestle, each jams the other into earth. In the Bear's son type the ascent from the underworld follows and in this case the mother partly replaced in the foregoing scenes by the son, (although present in the form of the princess, the hut etc.) takes the form of a great bird, and castration anxiety is combined with oral anxiety, and the infantile fear of being dropped. In the other formula the feminine element of danger forms the topic of the second half of the story. The wives of the dragons as beds, wells, fruit-trees, cups, huts would be the weaker duplicates if it were not for the hero who slashes all of them with his sword. The episode throws a side-light on what the hero is, his task is coitus, his danger castration anxiety, his weapon the phallos and his motivating power is the sadistic part impulse. Finally the greatest danger is represented by the mother of the dragons. Her wide open jaws are a huge vagina, and molten lead or gold, a hot substance partaking of anal and urethral characteristics, is the weapon used to kill her. The mother of dragons herself, the iron-nosed witch is the phallic mother, a 'hieroglyph' or abbreviated image representation of the primal scene. At the end of the story another phallic being, this time a representative of the father appears on the scene. Although in some variants the lead-headed or big-nosed person is the father of dragons yet his relation to the hero is quite different to that of the dragon. In the make-up of the dragon, anxiety i.e., the father in the act of cohabitation is the dominant element, while in the 'friend' it is more the father in the ordinary sense of the word. Or speaking more technically this part of our story mirrors the process of super-ego formation. This mystical personage is the ally of the hero but also his enemy. His assistance is given in conjunction with certain prohibitions and the outstanding prohibition is that the hero should not marry.

The taboos of an obsessional neurosis are destined to protect the ego from the super-ego anxiety, when not observed the wolf or dragon is let loose and threatens the hero with destruction. The Lead Friend puts fetters and chains on the hero and these fall only if he fetches the green king's green daughter.⁷⁸ This functional symbol of the super-ego is connected with the hero's wooing. It is object love or peerless Beauty of the World that helps him to emerge from the

78. Merenyi, *Sajóvolgyi eredeti népmesék*. (1862), I. 20.

bondage of the super-ego. The World's Beauty often asks him, "Are you wooing me for yourself or for another" and the journey to the Beauty is disguised from the super-ego point of view as fulfilling the orders of a mystical personage. Finally he kills the mystical personage or king who sent him to win the Beauty of the World either by the separable soul motive, or in other variants through the 'milk'-motive. In these stories the task of fetching the World's Beauty is frequently repeated in several symbolic forms. These may be: fetching a golden bird, a mare or a whole stud of supernatural horses. The Beauty asks them both to take a rejuvenating bath in mare's milk, a task which the hero successfully performs but which means death to the old king.⁷⁹ Object love is based on the infantile oral organization (milk) and there is one thing the old king cannot do, that is to become young again.

In one of the stories of this type the Lead Friend is called Big Nosed Friend, thus bringing us back to the subject of noses once more. In the same story there is another 'mystery' figure, the Slovak with the Spoon, the real father of the hero.⁸⁰

However, what about the Sun, Moon and Stars? In the story we quoted above from Transylvania (Hungarian) the lights reappear after the third dragon is killed. Hero and dragon become flames, the flame is extinguished by water poured by a raven.

Now we know a certain type of dream that takes place just before awakening or rather leads to awakening. The somatic stimulus in these dreams is the urethral impulse usually symbolised by fire and water (cf. above). The impulse to urinate stimulates the dream, the latent content of which is genital; the struggle with the dragon, the flying raven,

The dream and the story ends, the hero is awake, the sun is shining once more. The sequel again confirms the urethral interpretation; the gaping jaws (vagina) and the burning gold as urethral and excremental symbol.⁸¹

79. Cf. for these stories S. Solymosy, Taltosparbaj (Fight of magic Horses), *Ethnographia* (1922), 32. It has been assumed that the oldest Hungarian folktale of which we have a literary record belongs to this group. O. Beke, Egy régi nepmese nyomai (Traces of an old Folk-tale), *Ethnographia*, (1933), 160.

80. Ralmapy, *Hagyományok*, 11, 55-67.

81. On awakening dreams and myths. Cf. O. Rank, *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*. *Int. Ps. Bibl. Nr. 4*, (1919), 126-156. Idem, *Die Symbolschichtung im Wecktraum Jahrbuch für Psychoanalyse*. IV. (1912), 51-115.

NEUROTICISM, EXTRAVERSION AND SEX-GUILT COGNITION IN THE GENESIS OF KORO

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Definition:

Koro is a culturally related psychiatric illness, clinically characterized by acute panic reaction concerning the complaint of genital hyperinvolution and fear of impending death. In the male, the shrinking and retraction of the penis into the abdomen, and in the female shrinkage of vulval labia into the vagina and indrawing of breasts into the chest, is the cardinal symptomatology.

Background Study Material

162 male Koro cases were studied from the mid-1982 North Bengal Koro epidemic (Chowdhury et al, 1988). Age matched normal control of similar size were taken for comparison. Using a structured questionnaire that measure sexual conflict and guilt (Mosher, 1966; Mosher & Cross, 1971; Eysenck, 1972) diagnostic screening by MPO (Murthy, 1964, 1965; Murthy & Lakshminarayan, 1968) and personality assessment by EPQ (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1975) the following findings were observed (Chowdhury, 1985).

1. Highly significant (p almost 0) excess of different psychosexual abnormalities in Koro in comparison to normals (Chowdhury, 1989a), eg. spermatorrhoea (Probability (p)% .94 \times 10⁰); impotence (p% .73 \times 10⁴); ejaculatory difficulties (p .27 \times 10⁸); extramarital sexual relation (p% .14 \times 10³); prostitute visit (p% .47 \times 10¹²); incest (p% .41 \times 10⁴) and sexual weakness (p% .45 \times 10¹⁶).

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2. Highly significant (p almost 0) sexual conflict and guilt ($p\% .42 \times 10^{30}$) in comparison to normals.
3. Significant score on Neuroticism ($p < .01$) in comparison to normals and Extraversion ($p < .05$) in comparison to anxiety neurotics (Chowdhury 1986).
4. Highest percentage of Hysteria diagnosis (35) followed by a Anxiety neurosis (21.67%) on MPQ.

Discussion

The following discussion is mainly devoted to the explanation of sexual conflict and guilt in terms of personality dimensions and subsequent theoretical deduction of sex-guilt cognition as evident from the interplay of these factors, to account for the genesis of the Koro illness in males.

Interactions of Psychosexual pathology and Personality dimensions: Eysenck (1960) proposed that all neurotics score highly on the personality trait of neuroticism or emotionality. For this over-emotional disposition, high N subjects respond strongly to a wide range of stimuli and lead to a variety of irrational behavior (Eysenck, 1967; Eysenck & Eysenck, 1970). But from the sexual-behavioral point of view, high N scorers are susceptible to fear and anxiety concerning sexual encounter, especially outside the legal bonds of matrimony (Eysenck, 1970; 171a). The high N score in Koro patients though well-fitting with their clinical anxiety profile, but that contradicts the sexual-behavioral pattern of a high N scorer. On the other hand, unlike the high N (anxiety) subjects, they exhibited a high E score as well.

The dimension of extraversion different neurotic groups. High E is positively related to general antisocial behavior and they indulge more in aberrant sexual behavior than the introverts (low E) (Eysenck, 1964; Eysenck & Eysenck, 1970, 1971). Extraverts have intercourse earlier and more frequently, have intercourse with more different persons per unit of time and they indulge in more varied sexual behaviors than the introverts and normals (Wells, 1969; Eysenck, 1972).

A combination of high E and N score, as the Koro patients displayed, constitute the "Neurotic Extraverts" group (Eysenck & Claridge, 1962). This association of extraversion and neuroticism

was suggested earlier by Carl Jung, who proposed that in the case of neurotic breakdown, they are predisposed towards hysteria and psychasthenia. Conditioning theory also support the postulation that extravert neurotic is predicted to be vulnerable to hysterical or psychopathic disorder. They fail to adopt socially appropriate conditioning (Eysenck, 1976; 1979).

This association of high E and N is probably responsible for the varied psycho-sexual pathology with resultant sexual conflict and guilt and subsequent symptom formation of koro patients. Their high E component would make them react positively to sexual situations, while their High N component would make them react negatively. O'Neill and Kempler (1969) explained this situation by approach-avoidance conflict: the N component raises the avoidance gradient above average and the E component raises the approach gradient above average. Clinically, a high percentage of subjects may show varieties of sexual approach with a resultant accumulation of conflict and guilt over such approaches (Wells, 1969; Severson, 1963). Koro patients displayed this interactions. High percentage of neurosis diagnosis (56.67%) with higher position of hysteria diagnosis (35%) followed by anxiety neurosis (21.67%) supports this notion. Clinical similarity of Koro with anxiety neurosis is reported in many studies. Sexual conflict, guilt and mal-adjustment in patients of anxiety neurosis and hysteria is also reported (Robins et al, 1952; Ponnudurai et al, 1981; Eysenck, 1971b, c). So the Koro illness can be designated as 'Neurotic Extravert' within the Eysenckian dimensional frame of personality and from the clinical psychiatry point of view, Koro should be designated as a form of 'Sexual Neurosis'.

Sex-Guilt Cognition

Combination of high E and N factors offer a unique psychodynamic background upon which a hypothesis of sex-guilt cognition in the genesis of Koro phenomena could be outlined. Because of the high E the Koro patient exposed himself to a variety of sexual encounter, many of which were not ethically or morally sanctioned by the society. Because of the high N, most of the attempts were sexually unrewarding and unsatisfying and that in turn evoked a strong sense of sexual failure or inadequacy. Repeated attempts to

prove potency or satisfy sexual urge resulted in repeated failures and this when combined with a sense of shame and guilt generated out of each attempt, gave rise to conflict and guilt over sexuality, being intensified more by the high N component and that became a great personal concern which occupied a major portion of the cognition about his masculine-self.

Sex-guilt modifies a person's own cognitive construct. Mosher (1966) defines sex-guilt as a tendency toward self-punishment following a transgression of a sexual standard. The development of sex-guilt is also dependent on the subject's pre-guilt cognitive resources in perspective of the value system of his society. Pre or extra-marital sex relation, prostitute visit or adultery have moral overtone as such and as a consequence lead to guilt or remorse (Mosher & Cress, 1971). Sex-guilt has an inhibitory influence on the cognitive function of an individual, especially the sexual moral seasoning (Gerrard & Gibbons, 1982). This cognitive inhibition in turn restricts overt sexual behavior. Mosher suggested that a high-guilt subject shows a motivational or behavioral avoidance of sexual exposure because that provides less opportunity to deal with the dilemmas and conflicts associated with sexual practice and thereby attempts to minimise the quantum of anxiety.

This situation in Koro resembles cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). High sex-guilt and conflicts, in Koro, leads to the cognitive inhibition of more sexual activity (an attempt to resolve high N contribution), but high E dampen this cognition, thereby sharpens the conflict more acutely—creating the cognitive dissonance situation, a state very much unpleasant due to heightened anxiety and sexual-motivational ambivalence. So the question of commitment enters into the picture. In Koro, the commitment is 'not to engage in sexuality'. But because of the high E this motivational force is very weak, so the dominance of high E is again felt.

To resolve this anxiety, another mechanism is called for—a cognitive shift (similar to displacement), which attempts to offer some stability to the commitment. This shift is towards the cognition of 'sexual dysfunction' and in that, the symptom choice of 'penile shrinkage' may well serve the purpose. If the genitalia is not in proper form or power, no question of sexual encounter comes, thereby the chance of recurrent conflicts can be avoided. Moreover, the develop-

ment of this 'illness' is unique for the gratification of both E and N factor. Hysterical gratification is highly earned as the genitalia is exposed and handled by others—sexual exhibitionism in overt form being nurtured and at the same time, assurance of sexual integrity is also earned by the medical and nonmedical examination and discussions.

Two important questions are to be considered at this point:

- (1) If this be the resolution of sexual conflicts and guilt, then why the cases displayed an acute anxiety reaction in their clinical profile?
- (2) Why does the conflictual situation provoke a maladaptive response instead of a positive reaction, such as analysis of the situation?

The first question can be answered from the standpoint of high N component again. High N directs another cognitive shift, being generated from the stress inherent in the symptom and thus colours the picture similar to an acute anxiety attack. This cognitive shift is in the direction of a new ideational component of 'personal danger' and in this respect Koro clearly mimics a panic attack. Beck et al (1974) suggested that the amount of anxiety generated being proportional to the degree of plausibility (as to the patient) of the hypothetical danger as per his personal estimate of the probability of the harm. The usual theme of danger is death or disease. It is this emotional reaction only that is responsible for the clinical anxiety manifested in Koro cases even when the psychodynamic pathway follows a hysterical somatization reaction.

Second question may be viewed from the standpoint of defective coping style (Cohen and Lazarus, 1979). There is a lack of appraisal (cognitive process of evaluating an event) with resultant failure of coping (the intrapsychic defence) and behavioral efforts (coping strategies) to deal with the event. Possible reasons for such defective style are the intensity of ambivalence (a high N contribution), failure to mobilize cognitive resources or inability to deal directly the conflicting issues or narrow cognitive span and orientation (a product of the socio-cultural climate of the individual) that negatively interferes the coping behavior (Lipowski, 1970; Obeyesekere, 1969).

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SAMIKSA
Vol. 43, No. 2