Sigmund Freud
THE
INTERPRETATION
OF
DREAMS

Translated from the German and edited by
James Strachey

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

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understanding of them. Not long ago I came to the conclusion that the objection 'You're a doctor, etc., already' does not merely conceal a consolation but also signifies a reproach. This would have run: 'You're quite old now, quite far advanced in life, and yet you go on doing these stupid, childish things.' This mixture of self-criticism and consolation would thus correspond to the latent content of examination dreams. If so, it would not be surprising if the self-reproaches for being 'stupid' and 'childish' in these last examples referred to the repetition of reprehensible sexual acts.

Wilhelm Stekel, who put forward the first interpretation of dreams of Matriculation ('Matura'), was of the opinion that they regularly related to sexual tests and sexual maturity. My experience has often confirmed his view.

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CHAPTER VI

THE DREAM-WORK

Every attempt that has hitherto been made to solve the problem of dreams has dealt directly with their manifest content as it is presented in our memory. All such attempts have endeavoured to arrive at an interpretation of dreams from their manifest content or (if no interpretation was attempted) to form a judgement as to their nature on the basis of that same manifest content. We are alone in taking something else into account. We have introduced a new class of psychic material between the manifest content of dreams and the conclusions of our inquiry: namely, their latent content, or (as we say) the 'dream-thoughts,' arrived at by means of our procedure. It is from these dream-thoughts and not from a dream's manifest content that we disentangle its meaning. We are thus presented with a new task which had no previous existence: the task, that is, of investigating the relations between the manifest content of dreams and the latent dream-thoughts, and of tracing out the processes by which the latter have been changed into the former.

The dream-thoughts and the dream-content are presented to us like two versions of the same subject-matter in two different languages. Or, more properly, the dream-content...
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seems like a transcript of the dream-thoughts into another mode of expression, whose characters and syntactic laws it is our business to discover by comparing the original and the translation. The dream-thoughts are immediately comprehensible, as soon as we have learnt them. The dream-content, on the other hand, is expressed as it were in a pictographic script, the characters of which have to be transposed individually into the language of the dream-thoughts. If we attempted to read these characters according to their pictorial value instead of according to their symbolic relation, we should clearly be led into error. Suppose I have a picture-puzzle, a rebus, in front of me. It depicts a house with a boat on its roof, a single letter of the alphabet, the figure of a running man whose head has been conjured away, and so on. Now I might be misled into raising objections and declaring that the picture as a whole and its component parts are nonsensical. A boat has no business to be on the roof of a house, and a headless man cannot run. Moreover, the man is bigger than the house; and if the whole picture is intended to represent a landscape, letters of the alphabet are out of place in it since such objects do not occur in nature. But obviously we can only form a proper judgement of the rebus if we put aside criticisms such as these of the whole composition and its parts and if, instead, we try to replace each separate element by a syllable or word that can be represented by that element in some way or other. The words which are put together in this way are no longer nonsensical but may form a poetical phrase of the greatest beauty and significance. A dream is a picture-puzzle of this sort and our predecessors in the field of dream-interpretation have made the mistake of treating the rebus as a pictorial composition: and as such it has seemed to them nonsensical and worthless.

(A)

THE WORK OF CONDENSATION

The first thing that becomes clear to anyone who compares the dream-content with the dream-thoughts is that a work of condensation on a large scale has been carried out. Dreams are brief, mangled, and lacunose in comparison with the range and wealth of the dream-thoughts. If a dream is written out it may perhaps fill half a page. The analysis setting out the dream-thoughts underlying it may occupy six, eight, or a dozen times as much space. This relation varies with different dreams; but so far as my experience goes its direction never varies. As a rule one underestimates the amount of compression that has taken place, since one is inclined to regard the dream-thoughts that have been brought to light as the complete material, whereas if the work of interpretation is carried further it may reveal still more thoughts concealed behind the dream. I have already had occasion to point out [cf. pp. 252 f.] that it is in fact never possible to be sure that a dream has been completely interpreted. Even if the solution seems satisfactory and without gaps, the possibility always remains that the dream may have yet another meaning. Strictly speaking, then, it is impossible to determine the amount of condensation.

There is an answer, which at first sight seems most plausible, to the argument that the great lack of proportion between the dream-content and the dream-thoughts implies that the psychical material has undergone an extensive process of condensation in the course of the formation of the dream. We very often have an impression that we have dreamt a great deal all through the night and have since forgotten most of what we dreamt. On this view, the dream which we remember when we wake up would only be a fragmentary remnant of the total dream-work; and this, if we could recollect it in its entirety, might well be as extensive as the dream-thoughts. There is undoubtedly some truth in this: there can be no question that dreams can be reproduced most accurately if we try to recall them as soon as we wake up and that our memory of them becomes more and more incomplete towards evening. But on the other hand it can be shown that the impression that we have dreamt a great deal more than we can reproduce is very often based on an illusion, the origin of which I shall discuss later. [Cf. pp. 527 and 555.] Moreover the hypothesis that condensation occurs during the dream-work is not affected by the possibility of dreams

8 [This subject is discussed at length in Freud, 1925, Section A.]
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being forgotten, since this hypothesis is proved to be correct by the quantities of ideas which are related to each individual piece of the dream which has been retained. Even supposing that a large piece of the dream has escaped recollection, this may merely have prevented our having access to another group of dream-thoughts. There is no justification for supposing that the lost pieces of the dream would have related to the same thoughts which we have already reached from the pieces of the dream that have survived.

In view of the very great number of associations produced in analysis to each individual element of the content of a dream, some readers may be led to doubt whether, as a matter of principle, we are justified in regarding as part of the dream-thoughts all the associations that occur to us during the subsequent analysis—whether we are justified, that is, in supposing that all these thoughts were already active during the state of sleep and played a part in the formation of the dream. Is it not more probable that new trains of thought have arisen in the course of the analysis which had no share in forming the dream? I can only give limited assent to this argument. It is no doubt true that some trains of thought arise for the first time during the analysis. But one can convince oneself in all such cases that these new connections are only set up between thoughts which were already linked in some other way in the dream-thoughts. The new connections are, as it were, looplines or short-circuits, made possible by the existence of other and deeper-lying connecting paths. It must be allowed that the great bulk of the thoughts which are revealed in analysis were already active during the process of forming the dream; for, after working through a string of thoughts which seem to have no connection with the formation of a dream, one suddenly comes upon one which is represented in its content and is indispensable for its interpretation, but which could not have been reached except by this particular line of approach. I may here

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recall the dream of the botanical monograph (pp. 202 ff.), which strikes one as the product of an astonishing amount of condensation, even though I have not reported its analysis in full.

How, then, are we to picture psychical conditions during the period of sleep which precedes dreams? Are all the dream-thoughts present alongside one another? or do they occur in sequence? or do a number of trains of thought start out simultaneously from different centres and afterwards unite? There is no need for the present, in my opinion, to form any plastic idea of psychical conditions during the formation of dreams. It must not be forgotten, however, that we are dealing with an unconscious process of thought, which may easily be different from what we perceive during purposeful reflection accompanied by consciousness.

The unquestionable fact remains, however, that the formation of dreams is based on a process of condensation. How is that condensation brought about?

When we reflect that only a small minority of all the dream-thoughts revealed are represented in the dream by one of their ideational elements, we might conclude that condensation is brought about by omission: that is, that the dream is not a faithful translation or a point-for-point projection of the dream-thoughts, but a highly incomplete and fragmentary version of them. This view, as we shall soon discover, is a most inadequate one. But we may take it as a provisional starting-point and go on to a further question. If only a few elements from the dream-thoughts find their way into the dream-content, what are the conditions which determine their selection?

In order to get some light on this question we must turn our attention to those elements of the dream-content which must have fulfilled these conditions. And the most favourable material for such an investigation will be a dream to the construction of which a particularly intense process of condensation has contributed. I shall accordingly begin by choosing for the purpose the dream which I have already recorded on pp. 202 ff.

[Footnote added 1914:] The occurrence of condensation in dreams has been hinted at by many writers. Du Prel (1885, 85) has a passage in which he says it is absolutely certain that there has been a process of condensation of the groups of ideas in dreams.

[This question is mentioned again on pp. 345 f. and discussed at very much greater length in the last part of Section A of Chapter VII (pp. 565 f.). See especially pp. 570 f.]
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course of this conversation. A train of thought joined the lady with the flowers to my wife's favourite flowers and thence to the title of the monograph which I had seen for a moment during the day. In addition to these, 'botanical' recalled an episode at my secondary school and an examination while I was at the University. A fresh topic touched upon in my conversation with Dr. Königstein—my favourite hobbies—was joined, through the intermediate link of what I jokingly called my favourite flower, the artichoke, with the train of thought proceeding from the forgotten flowers. Behind 'artichokes' lay, on the one hand, my thoughts about Italy and, on the other hand, a scene from my childhood which was the opening of what have since become my intimate relations with books. Thus 'botanical' was a regular nodal point in the dream. Numerous trains of thought converged upon it, which, as I can guarantee, had appropriately entered into the context of the conversation with Dr. Königstein. Here we find ourselves in a factory of thoughts where, as in the 'weaver's masterpiece'—

Ein Tritt tausend Fäden regt,
Die Schiffein herüber hinüber schiessen,
Die Fäden ungesehen fließen,
Ein Schlag tauden Verbindungen schlägt.  

So, too, 'monograph' in the dream touches upon two subjects: the one-sidedness of my studies and the coldness of my favourite hobbies. This first investigation leads us to conclude that the elements 'botanical' and 'monograph' found their way into the content of the dream because they possessed copious contacts with the majority of the dream-thoughts, because, that is to say, they constituted 'nodal points' upon which a great number of the dream-thoughts converged, and because they had several meanings in connec-

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I

THE DREAM OF THE BOTANICAL MONOGRAPH

CONTENT OF THE DREAM.—I had written a monograph on an (unspecified) genus of plants. The book lay before me and I was at the moment turning over a folded coloured plate. Bound up in the copy there was a dried specimen of the plant.

The element in this dream which stood out most was the botanical monograph. This arose from the impressions of the dream-day: I had in fact seen a monograph on the genus Cyclamen in the window of a bookshop. There was no mention of this genus in the content of the dream; all that was left in it was the monograph and its relation to botany. The 'botanical monograph' immediately revealed its connection with the work upon cocaine which I had once written. From 'coca' the chains of thought led on the one hand to the Festchrift and to certain events in a University laboratory, and on the other hand to my friend Dr. Königstein, the eye surgeon, who had had a share in the introduction of cocaine. The figure of Dr. Königstein further reminded me of the interrupted conversation which I had had with him the evening before and of my various reflections upon the payment for medical services among colleagues. This conversation was the actual currently active instigator of the dream; the monograph on the Cyclamen was also a currently active impression, but one of an indifferent nature. As I perceived, the 'botanical monograph' in the dream turned out to be an 'intermediate common entity' between the two experiences of the previous day: it was taken over unaltered from the indifferent impression and was linked with the psychically significant event by copious associative connections.

Not only the compound idea, 'botanical monograph,' however, but each of its components, 'botanical' and 'monograph' separately, led by numerous connecting paths deeper and deeper into the tangle of dream-thoughts. 'Botanical' was related to the figure of Professor Gärtner [Gardener], the blooming looks of his wife, to my patient Flora and to the lady [Frau L.] of whom I had told the story of the forgotten flowers. Gärtner led in turn to the laboratory and to my conversation with Königstein. My two patients [Flora and Frau L.] had been mentioned in the

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4 [This seems to be a reference to an element in the dream-thoughts not previously mentioned.]

5 [This seems to be a reference to an element in the dream-thoughts not previously mentioned.]

6 [This seems to be a reference to an element in the dream-thoughts not previously mentioned.]
tion with the interpretation of the dream. The explanation of this fundamental fact can also be put in another way: each of the elements of the dream’s content turns out to have been ‘overdetermined’—to have been represented in the dream-thoughts many times over.

We discover still more when we come to examine the remaining constituents of the dream in relation to their appearance in the dream-thoughts. The coloured plate which I was unfolding led (see the analysis, pp. 205 f.) to a new topic, my colleagues’ criticisms of my activities, and to one which was already represented in the dream, my favourite hobbies; and it led, in addition, to the childhood memory in which I was pulling to pieces a book with coloured plates. The dried specimen of the plant touched upon the episode of the herbarium at my secondary school and specially stressed that memory.

The nature of the relation between dream-content and dream-thoughts thus becomes visible. Not only are the elements of a dream determined by the dream-thoughts many times over, but the individual dream-thoughts are represented in the dream by several elements. Associative paths lead from one element of the dream to several dream-thoughts, and from one dream-thought to several elements of the dream. Thus a dream is not constructed by each individual dream-thought, or group of dream-thoughts, finding (in abbreviated form) separate representation in the content of the dream—in the kind of way in which an electorate chooses parliamentary representatives; a dream is constructed, rather, by the whole mass of dream-thoughts being submitted to a sort of manipulative process in which those elements which have the most numerous and strongest supports acquire the right of entry into the dream-content—in a manner analogous to election by scrutin de liste. In the case of every dream which I have submitted to an analysis of this kind I have invariably found these same fundamental principles confirmed: the elements of the dream are constructed out of the whole mass of dream-thoughts and each one of those elements is shown to have been determined many times over in relation to the dream-thoughts.

It will certainly not be out of place to illustrate the connection between dream-content and dream-thoughts by a further example, which is distinguished by the specially

ingenious interweaving of their reciprocal relations. It is a dream produced by one of my patients—a man whom I was treating for claustrophobia. It will soon become clear why I have chosen to give this exceptionally clever dream-production the title of

II

‘A Lovely Dream’

He was driving with a large party to X Street, in which there was an unpretentious inn. (This is not the case.) There was a play being acted inside it. At one moment he was audience, at another actor. When it was over, they had to change their clothes so as to get back to town. Some of the company were shown into rooms on the ground floor and others into rooms on the first floor. Then a dispute broke out. The ones up above were angry because the ones down below were not ready, and they could not come downstairs. His brother was up above and he was down below and he was angry with his brother because they were so much pressed. (This part was obscure.) Moreover, it had been decided and arranged even when they first arrived who was to be up above and who was to be down below. Then he was walking by himself up the rise made by X Street in the direction of town. He walked with such difficulty and so laboriously that he seemed glued to the spot. An elderly gentleman came up to him and began abusing the King of Italy. At the top of the rise he was able to walk much more easily.

His difficulty in walking up the rise was so distinct that after waking up he was for some time in doubt whether it was a dream or reality.

We should not think very highly of this dream, judging by its manifest content. In defiance of the rules, I shall begin its interpretation with the portion which the dreamer described as being the most distinct.

The difficulty which he dreamt of and probably actually experienced during the dream—the laborious climbing up the rise accompanied by dyspnoea—was one of the symptoms which the patient had in fact exhibited years before and which had at that time been attributed, along with certain other symptoms, to tuberculosis. (The probability
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is that this was hysterically simulated.) The peculiar sensation of inhibited movement that occurs in this dream is already familiar to us from dreams of exhibiting [see pp. 275 ff.] and we see once more that it is material available at any time for any other representational purpose. [Cf. p. 371.] The piece of the dream-content which described how the climb began by being difficult and became easy at the end of the rise reminded me, when I heard it, of the masterly introduction to Alphonse Daudet's Sappho. That well-known passage describes how a young man carries his mistress upstairs in his arms; at first she is as light as a feather, but the higher he climbs the heavier grows her weight. The whole scene foreshadows the course of their love-affair, which was intended by Daudet as a warning to young men not to allow their affections to be seriously engaged by girls of humble origin and a dubious past.1

Though I knew that my patient had been involved in a love-affair which he had recently broken off with a lady on the stage, I did not expect to find my guess at an interpretation justified. Moreover the situation in Sappho was the reverse of what it had been in the dream. In the dream the climbing had been difficult to begin with and had afterwards become easy; whereas the symbolism in the novel only made sense if something that had been begun lightly ended by becoming a heavy burden. But to my astonishment my patient replied that my interpretation fitted in very well with a piece he had seen at the theatre the evening before. It was called Rund um Wien [Round Vienna] and gave a picture of the career of a girl who began by being respectable, who then became a demi-mondaine and had liaisons with men in high positions and so 'went up in the world,' but who ended by 'coming down in the world.' The piece had moreover reminded him of another, which he had seen some years earlier, called Von Stufe zu Stufe [Step by Step], and which had been advertised by a poster showing a staircase with a flight of steps.

To continue with the interpretation. The actress with whom he had had this latest, eventful liaison had lived in X Street. There is nothing in the nature of an inn in that

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street. But when he was spending part of the summer in Vienna on the lady's account he had put up [German 'abgestiegen,' literally 'stepped down'] at a small hotel in the neighbourhood. When he left the hotel he had said to his cab-driver: 'Anyhow I'm lucky not to have picked up any vermin.' (This, incidentally, was another of his phobias.) To this the driver had replied: 'How could anyone put up at such a place? It's not a hotel, it's only an inn.'

The idea of an inn at once recalled a quotation to his mind:

Bei einem Wirte wundermild,
Da war ich jüngst zu Gäste.2

The host in Uhland's poem was an apple-tree; and a second quotation now carried on his train of thought:

FAUST (mit der Jungen tanzend):
Einst hat' ich einen schönen Traum;  
Da sah ich einen Apfelbaum,
Zwei schöne Äpfel glänzten dran,
Sie reizten mich, ich stieg hinauf.

Die Schöne:
Der Äpfelchen begehrt ihr sehr,
Und schon vom Paradiese her.
Von Freuden fühl' ich mich bewegt,
Dass auch mein Garten soche trägt.3

There cannot be the faintest doubt what the apple-tree and the apples stood for. Moreover, lovely breasts had been among the charms which had attracted the dreamer to his actress.

1 [Literally: 'I was lately a guest at an inn with a most gentle host.' (Uhland, Wunderlieder, 8, 'Einkehr.')]

2 [FAUST (dancing with the Young Witch):
A lovely dream once came to me,
And I beheld an apple-tree,
On which two lovely apples shone;
They charmed me so, I climbed thereon.

THE LOVELY WITCH:
Apples have been desired by you,
Since first in Paradise they grew;
And I am moved with joy to know
That such within my garden grow.

Goethe, Faust, Part I [Scene 21, Walpurgisnacht]  
(Bayard Taylor's translation, slightly modified.)]
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The context of the analysis gave us every ground for supposing that the dream went back to an impression in childhood. If so, it must have referred to the wet-nurse of the dreamer, who was by then a man almost thirty years old. For an infant the breasts of his wet-nurse are nothing more nor less than an inn. The wet-nurse, as well as Daudet's Sappho, seem to have been allusions to the mistress whom the patient had recently dropped.

The patient's (elder) brother also appeared in the content of the dream, the brother being up above and the patient himself down below. This was once again the reverse of the actual situation; for, as I knew, the brother had lost his social position while the patient had maintained his. In repeating the content of the dream to me, the dreamer had avoided saying that his brother was up above and he himself 'on the ground floor.' That would have put the position too clearly, since here in Vienna if we say someone is 'on the ground floor' we mean that he has lost his money and his position—in other words, that he has 'come down in the world.' Now there must have been a reason for some of this part of the dream being represented by its reverse. Further, the reversal must hold good of some other relation between dream-thoughts and dream-content as well [cf. below, pp. 361 f.]; and we have a hint of where to look for this reversal. It must evidently be at the end of the dream, where once again there was a reversal of the difficulty in going upstairs as described in Sappho. We can then easily see what reversal is intended. In Sappho the man carried a woman who was in a sexual relation to him; in the dream-thoughts the position was reversed, and a woman was carrying a man. And since this can only happen in childhood, the reference was once more to the wet-nurse bearing the weight of the infant in her arms. Thus the end of the dream made a simultaneous reference to Sappho and to the wet-nurse.

Just as the author of the novel, in choosing the name 'Sappho,' had in mind an allusion to Lesbian practices, so too the pieces of the dream that spoke of people 'up above' and 'down below' alluded to phantasies of a sexual nature which occupied the patient's mind and, as suppressed desires, were not without a bearing on his neurosis. (The interpretation of the dream did not itself show us that what were thus represented in the dream were phantasies and not recollections of real events; an analysis only gives us the content of a thought and leaves it to us to determine its reality. Real and imaginary events appear in dreams at first sight as of equal validity; and that is so not only in dreams but in the production of more important psychic structures.)

A 'large party' meant, as we already know [see pp. 278 f.], a secret. His brother was simply the representative (introduced into the childhood scene by a 'retrospective phantasy') of all his later rivals for a woman's affection. The episode of the gentleman who abused the King of Italy related once again, via the medium of a recent and in itself indifferent experience, to people of lower rank pushing their way into higher society. It was just as though the child at the breast was being given a warning parallel to the one which Daudet had given to young men.

To provide a third opportunity for studying condensation in the formation of dreams, I will give part of the analysis of another dream, which I owe to an elderly lady undergoing psycho-analytic treatment. As was to be expected from the severe anxiety-states from which the patient suffered, her dreams contained a very large number of sexual thoughts, the first realization of which both surprised and alarmed her. Since I shall not be able to pursue the interpretation of the dream to the end, its material will appear to fall into several groups without any visible connection.

[Freud is probably referring here to the discovery which he had recently made that the infantile sexual traumas apparently revealed in his analyses of neurotic patients were in fact very often phantasies. See Freud, 1906a.]

[Phantasies of this kind had been discussed by Freud previously, in the latter part of his paper on 'Screen Memories' (1895a).]

The imaginary nature of the situation relating to the dreamer's wet-nurse was proved by the objectively established fact that in his case the wet-nurse had been his mother. I may recall in this connexion the anecdote, which I repeated on p. 238, of the young man who regretted that he had not made better use of his opportunities with his wet-nurse. A regret of the same kind was no doubt the source of the present dream.
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 guessed, to look at her, that she was tormented by sensual desires?

 In the same year in which the little girl had begun collecting butterflies, the district they were in had suffered from a serious plague of may-beetles. The children were furious with the beetles and crushed them unmercifully. At that time my patient had seen a man who tore the wings off may-beetles and then ate their bodies. She herself had been born in May and had been married in May. Three days after her marriage she had written to her parents at home saying how happy she was. But it had been far from true.

 The evening before the dream she had been rummaging among some old letters and had read some of them—some serious and some comic—aloud to her children. There had been a most amusing letter from a piano-teacher who had courted her when she was a girl, and another from an admirer of noble birth.

 She blamed herself because one of her daughters had got hold of a 'bad' book by Maupassant. The arsenic that the girl had asked for reminded her of the arsenic pills which restored the Duc de Mora's youthful strength in [Daudet's] Le Nabab.

 'Set them free' made her think of a passage in the Magic Flute:

 > Zur Liebe kann ich dich nicht zwingen,
 > Doch geb ich dir die Freiheit nicht.

 'May-beetles' also made her think of Käthen's words:

 > Verlebt ja wie ein Käfer bist du mir.

 This had been the true instigator of the dream.

 An interpolation is required at this point: 'books of that kind are poison to a girl.' The patient herself had dipped into forbidden books a great deal when she was young. 

 'Fear not, to love I'll never compel thee; Yet 'tis too soon to set thee free.'

 (Sarastro to Pamina in the Finale to Act I—E. J. Dent's translation.)

 'You are madly in love with me.' Literally: 'You are in love with me like a beetle.' From Kleist's Käthen von Biebrönn, IV, 2:——

 A further train of thought led to the same poet's Penelopedia, and to the idea of cruelty to a lover.
And in the middle of all this came a quotation from
Tannhäuser:

Weil du von böser Lust beneid... ²

She was living in a perpetual worry about her absent
husband. Her fear that something might happen to him
on his journey was expressed in numerous waking phan-
tasies. A short time before, in the course of her analysis,
she had lighted among her unconscious thoughts upon a com-
plaint about her husband 'growing senile.' The wishful
thought concealed by her present dream will perhaps best
be conjectured if I mention that, some days before the
dream it, she was horrified, in the middle of her daily
affairs, by a phrase in the imperative mood which came
into her head and was aimed at her husband: 'Go and
hang yourself!' It turned out that a few hours earlier she
had read somewhere or other that when a man is hanged
he gets a powerful erection. The wish for an erection was
what had emerged from repression in this horrifying di-
guise. 'Go and hang yourself' was equivalent to: 'Get
yourself an erection at any price!' Dr. Jenkin's arsenic pills
in Le Nabab fitted in here. But my patient was also aware
that the most powerful aphrodisiac, cantharides (com-
monly known as 'Spanish flies'), was prepared from crushed
beetles. This was the drift of the principal part of the
dream's content.

The opening and shutting of windows was one of the
main subjects of dispute between her and her husband.
She herself was aerophobie in her sleeping habits; her hus-
band was aerophobic. Exhaustion was the chief symptom
which she complained of at the time of the dream.

In all three of the dreams which I have just recorded, I
have indicated by italics the points at which one of the
elements of the dream-content re-appears in the dream-
thoughts, so as to show clearly the multiplicity of connec-
tions arising from the former. Since, however, the analysis
of none of these dreams has been traced to its end, it will

² (Literally: 'Because thou wast inspired by such evil pleasure'. This
is presumably a recollection of the opening phrase of the Poipo's
condemnation reported by Tannhäuser in the last scene of the
opera. The actual words are: 'Hast du so böse Lust getrieben' –
'Since thou hast shared such evil pleasure'.

perhaps be worth while to consider a dream whose analysis
has been recorded exhaustively, so as to show how its
content is over-determined. For this purpose I will take
the dream of Irma's injection (pp. 139 ff.). It will be easy
to see from that example that the work of condensation
makes use of more than one method in the construction
of dreams.

The principal figure in the dream-content was my pa-
tient Irma. She appeared with the features which were
hers in real life, and thus, in the first instance, represented
herself. But the position in which I examined her by the
window was derived from someone else, the lady for
whom, as the dream-thoughts showed, I wanted to ex-
change my patient. In so far as Irma appeared to have
a diphtheritic membrane, which recalled my anxiety about
my eldest daughter, she stood for that child and, behind
her, through her possession of the same name as my daugh-
ter, was hidden the figure of my patient who succumbed
to poisoning. In the further course of the dream the figure
of Irma acquired still other meanings, without any altera-
tion occurring in the visual picture of her in the dream.
She turned into one of the children whom we had ex-
amined in the neurological department of the children's
hospital, where my two friends revealed their contrasting
characters. The figure of my own child was evidently the
stepping-stone towards this transition. The same 'Irma's'
recalcitrance over opening her mouth brought an allusion
to another lady whom I had once examined, and, through
the same connection, to my wife. Moreover, the patho-
logical changes which I discovered in her throat involved
allusions to a whole series of other figures.

None of these figures whom I lighted upon by follow-
up 'Irma' appeared in the dream in bodily shape. They
were concealed behind the dream figure of 'Irma,' which
was thus turned into a collective image with it, must be
admitted, a number of contradictory characteristics. Irma
became the representative of all these other figures which
had been sacrificed to the work of condensation, since I
passed over to her, point by point, everything that re-
minded me of them.

There is another way in which a 'collective figure' can
be produced for purposes of dream-condensation, namely
by uniting the actual features of two or more people into
a single dream-image. It was in this way that the Dr. M.
of my dream was constructed. He bore the name of Dr. M., he spoke and acted like him; but his physical characteristics and his malady belonged to someone else, namely to my oldest brother. One single feature, his pale appearance, was doubly determined, since it was common to both of them in real life.

Dr. R., in my dream about my uncle with the yellow beard (pp. 171 ff.) was a similar composite figure. But in his case the dream-image was constructed in yet another way. I did not combine the features of one person with those of another in the process omit from the memory-picture certain features of each of them. What I did was to adopt the procedure by means of which Galton produced family portraits: namely by projecting two images on to a single plate, so that certain features common to both are emphasized, while those which fail to fit in with one another cancel one another out and are indistinct in the picture. In my dream about my uncle the fair beard emerged prominently from a face which belonged to two people and which was consequently blurred; incidentally, the beard further involved an allusion to my father and myself through the intermediate idea of growing grey.

The construction of collective and composite figures is one of the chief methods by which condensation operates in dreams. I shall presently have occasion to deal with them in another context. [See pp. 355 ff.]

The occurrence of the idea of ‘dysentery’ in the dream of Irma’s injection also had a multiple determination: first owing to its phonetic similarity to ‘diphtheria’ [see p. 147], and secondly owing to its connection with the patient whom I had sent to the East and whose hysteria was not recognized.

Another interesting example of condensation in this dream was the mention in it of ‘propyls’ (pp. 148 ff.). What was contained in the dream-thoughts was not ‘propyls’ but ‘amyls.’ It might be supposed that a single displacement had taken place at this point in the construction of the dream. This was indeed the case. But the displacement served the purposes of condensation, as it proved by the following addition to the analysis of the dream. When I allowed my attention to dwell for a moment longer on the word ‘propyls,’ it occurred to me that it sounded like ‘Propylaea.’ But there are Propylaea not only

in Athens but in Munich.

A year before the dream I had gone to Munich to visit a friend who was seriously ill at the time—the same friend who was unmistakably alluded to in the dream by the word ‘trimethylamin’ which occurred immediately after ‘propyls.’

I shall pass over the striking way in which here, as elsewhere in dream-analyses, associations of the most various inherent importance are used for laying down thought-connections as though they were of equal weight, and shall yield to the temptation to give, as it were, a plastic picture of the process by which the amyls in the dream-thoughts were replaced by propyls in the dream-content.

On the one hand we see the group of ideas attached to my friend Otto, who did not understand me, who sided against me, and who made me a present of liquor with an aroma of amyl. On the other hand we see—linked to the former group by its very contrast—the group of ideas attached to my friend in Berlin [Wilhelm Fliess], who did understand me, who would take my side, and to whom I owed so much valuable information, dealing, amongst other things, with the chemistry of the sexual processes.

The recent exciting causes—the actual instigators of the dream—determined what was to attract my attention in the ‘Otto’ group; the amyls was among these selected elements, which were predisposed to form part of the dream-content. The copious ‘Wilhelm’ group was stirred up precisely through being in contrast to ‘Otto,’ and those elements in it were emphasized which echoed those which were already stirred up in ‘Otto.’ All through the dream, indeed, I kept on turning from someone who annoyed me to someone else who could be agreeably contrasted with him; point by point, I called up a friend against an opponent. Thus the amyl in the ‘Otto’ group produced memories from the field of chemistry in the other group; in this manner the trimethylamin, which was supported from several directions, found its way into the dream-content. ‘Amyl’s’ itself might have entered the dream-content unmodified; but it came under the influence of the ‘Wilhelm’ group. For the whole range of memories covered by that name was searched through in order to find some element which could provide a two-sided determination for ‘amyls.’ ‘Propyls’ was closely associated with ‘amyls,’ and Munich

[A ceremonial portico on the model of the Athenian one.]
from the 'Wilhelm' group with its 'propylaea' came halfway to meet it. The two groups of ideas converged in 'propyls-propylaea'; and, as though by an act of compromise, this intermediate element was what found its way into the dream-content. Here an intermediate common entity had been constructed which admitted of multiple determination. It is obvious, therefore, that multiple determination must make it easier for an element to force its way into the dream-content. In order to construct an intermediate link of this kind, attention is without hesitation displaced from what is actually intended on to some neighbouring association.

Our study of the dream of Irma's injection has already enabled us to gain some insight into the processes of condensation during the formation of dreams. We have been able to observe certain of their details, such as how preference is given to elements that occur several times over in the dream-thoughts, how new unities are formed (in the shape of collective figures and composite structures), and how intermediate common entities are constructed. The further questions of the purpose of condensation and of the factors which tend to produce it will not be raised till we come to consider the whole question of the psychical processes at work in the formation of dreams. [See pp. 365 ff. and Chapter VII, Section E, especially pp. 634 ff.] We will be content for the present with recognizing the fact that dream-condensation is a notable characteristic of the relation between dream-thoughts and dream-content.

The work of condensation in dreams is seen at its clearest when it handles words and names. It is true in general that words are treated in dreams as though they were concrete things, and for that reason they are apt to be combined in just the same way as presentations of concrete things. Dreams of this sort offer the most amusing and curious neologisms.\footnote{The relation between presentations of words end of things was discussed by Freud very much later, in the last pages of his paper on the Unconscious (1915e).}

\footnote{A dream involving a number of verbal concepts is reported by Freud in Chapter V (10) of his Psychopathology of Everyday Life (1901b).—The examples which follow are, as will be seen, for the most part untranslatable. See Editor's Introduction (p. xiii).}

On one occasion a medical colleague had sent me a paper he had written, in which the importance of a recent physiological discovery was, in my opinion, overestimated, and in which, above all, the subject was treated in too emotional a manner. The next night I dreamt a sentence which clearly referred to this paper: 'It's written in a positively noreddal style.' The analysis of the word caused me some difficulty at first. There could be no doubt that it was a parody of the [German] superlatives 'kolossal' and 'pyramidal'; but its origin was not so easy to guess. At last I saw that the monstrosity was composed of the two names 'Nora' and 'Ekdal'—characters in two well-known plays of Ibsen's. [A Doll's House and The Wild Duck.] Some time before, I had read a newspaper article on Ibsen by the same author whose latest work I was criticizing in the dream.

One of my women patients told me a short dream which ended in a meaningless verbal compound. She dreamt she was with her husband at a peasant festivity and said: 'This will end in a general "Malstollmitz."' In the dream she had a vague feeling that it was some kind of pudding made with maize—a sort of polenta. Analysis divided the word into 'Mats' [maize], 'toll' [bad], 'mannstoll' ['nymphen-maniac']—literally 'mad for men' and Olmitz [a town in Moravia]. All these fragments were found to be remnants of a conversation she had had at table with her relatives. The following words lay behind 'Mats' (in addition to a reference to the recently opened Jubilee Exhibition\footnote{[To commemorate the Jubilee of the Emperor Francis Joseph, which was celebrated in 1898.]}): 'Meissen' (a Meissen [Dresden] porcelain figure representing a bird); 'Miss' (her relatives' English governess had just gone to Olmitz); and 'miel' (a Jewish slang term, used jokingly to mean 'disgusting'). A long chain of thoughts and associations led off from each syllable of this verbal hotchpotch.
A young man, whose door-bell had been rung late one night by an acquaintance who wanted to leave a visiting-card on him, had a dream that night: *A man had been working till late in the evening to put his house-telephone in order. After he had gone, it kept on ringing—not continuously, but with detached rings. His servant fetched the man back, and the latter remarked: It’s a funny thing that even people who are “tutelarim” as a rule are quite unable to deal with a thing like this.*

It will be seen that the indifferent exciting cause of the dream only covers one element of it. That episode only obtained any importance from the fact that the dreamer put it in the same series as an earlier experience which, though equally indifferent in itself, was given a substitute meaning by his imagination. When he was a boy, living with his father, he had upset a glass of water over the floor while he was half-asleep. The flex of the house-telephone had been soaked through and its continuous ringing had disturbed his father’s sleep. Since the continuous ringing corresponded to getting wet, the ‘detached rings’ were used to represent drops falling. The word ‘tutelarim’ could be analysed in three directions, and led in that way to three of the subjects represented in the dream-thoughts. *Tutel* is a legal term for ‘guardianship’ [‘tutelage’]. *Tutel* (or possibly *Tutel*) is also a vulgar term for a woman’s breast.

The remaining portion of the word, *rein* [‘clean’], combined with the first part of *Zimmertelephon* [house-telephone], forms *zimmerrein* [house-trained]—which is closely connected with making the floor wet, and, in addition, sounded very much like the name of a member of the dreamer’s family.

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1 In waking life this same kind of analysis and synthesis of syllables—a syllable chemistry, in fact—plays a part in a great number of jokes: “What is the cheapest way of obtaining silver? You go down an avenue of silver poplars [Pappeln, which means both “poplars” and “bubbling”] and call for silence. The bubbling then ceases and the silver is released.” The first reader and critic of this book—and his successor—are likely to follow his example—protested that “the dreamer seems to be too ingenious and amusing.” This is quite true so far as it refers only to the dreamer; it would only be an objection if it were to be extended to the dream-interpreter. In waking reality I have little claim to be regarded as a wit. If my dreams seem amusing, that is not on my account, but on account of the peculiar psychological conditions under which dreams are constructed; and the fact is intimately connected with the theory of jokes and the comic. Dreams become ingenious and amusing because the direct and easiest pathway to the expression of their thoughts is barred: they are forced into being so. The reader can convince himself that my patients’ dreams seem at least as full of jokes and puns as my own, or even fuller.

[Added 1909.] Nevertheless this objection led me to compare the technique of jokes with the dream-work; and the results are to be found in the book which I published on *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905). In particular in Chapter VI, “Towards the end of this chapter Freud remarks that dream-jokes are bad jokes, and explains why this should be so. The same point is made in Lecture XV of the *Introductory Lectures* (1916-17).—The ‘first reader’ referred to above was Fliess, and the question is dealt with in a letter to him of September 11, 1899 (Freud, 1950a, Letter 118).
two separate pieces. The first piece was the word 'Auto-
didasker,' which I recalled vividly. The second piece was an
effect reproduction of a short and harmless phantasy which
I had produced some days before. This phantasy was to
the effect that when I first saw Professor N. I must say to
him: 'The patient about whose condition I consulted you
recently is in fact only suffering from a neurosis, just as
you suspected.' Thus the neologism 'Autodidasker' must
satisfy two conditions: firstly, it must bear or represent
a composite meaning; and secondly, that meaning must be
solidly related to the intention I had reproduced from
talking life of making amends to Professor N.

The word 'Autodidasker' could easily be analysed into
'Antor' [Author], 'Autodidakt' [self-taught] and 'Lasker,'
with which I also associated the name of Lassalle.¹
The first of these words led to the precipitating cause of the
dream—this time a significant one. I had given my wife
several volumes by a well-known [Austrian] writer who
was a friend of my brother's, and who, as I have learnt,
was a native of my own birth-place: J. J. David. One
evening she had told me of the deep impression that had
been made on her by the tragic story in one of David's
books of how a man of talent went to the bad; and our
conversation had turned to a discussion of the gifts of
which we saw signs in our own children. Under the im-
 pact of what she had been reading, my wife expressed
concern about the children, and I consoled her with the
remark that those were the very dangers which could be
kept at bay by a good upbringing. My train of thought
was carried further during the night; I took up my wife's
concern and weaved all kinds of other things into it. A re-
mark made by the author to my brother on the subject of
marriage showed my thoughts a by-path along which they
might come to be represented in the dream. This path led
to Breslau, where a lady with whom we were very friendly
had gone to be married and settle down. The concern I
felt over the danger of coming to grief over a woman—for
that was the kernel of my dream-thoughts—found an ex-
ample in Breslau in the cases of Lasker and Cassalle which

¹[Ferdinand Lassalle, founder of the German Social Democratic
movement, was born at Breslau in 1825 and died in 1864. Eduard
Lasker (1829–1864), born at Jaretzchin, not far from Breslau,
was one of the founders of the National Liberal Party in Germany.
Both were of Jewish origin.]

made it possible to give a simultaneous picture of the two
ways in which this fatal influence can be exercised.²
'Cherchez la femme,' the phrase in which these thoughts
could be summarized, led me, taken in another sense, to
my still unmarried brother, whose name is Alexander. I
now perceived that 'Alex' the shortened form of the
name by which we call him, has almost the same sound as
an anagram of 'Lasker,' and that this factor must have
had a share in leading my thoughts along the by-path by
way of Breslau.

The play which I was making here upon names and
syllables had a still further sense, however. It expressed
a wish that my brother might have a happy domestic life,
and indeed this way. In Zola's novel of an artist's life,
L'oeuvre, the subject of which must have been close to my
carethoughts, its author, as is well known, introduced
himself and his own domestic happiness as an episode. He
appears under the name of 'Sandoz.' The transformation
was probably arrived at as follows. If 'Zola' is written
backwards (the sort of thing children are so fond of
doing), we arrive at 'Aloz.' No doubt this seemed too undis-
guised. He therefore replaced 'Al,' which is the first
syllable of 'Alexander' by 'Sand,' which is the third syllable
of the same name; and in this way 'Sandoz' came into
being. My own 'Autodidasker' arose in much the same
fashion.

I must now explain how my phantasy of telling Professor
N. that the patient we had both examined was only suf-
fering from a neurosis made its way into the dream. Shortly
before the end of my working year, I began the treatment
of a new patient who quite baffled my powers of diagnosis.
The presence of a grave organic disease—perhaps some
degeneration of the spinal cord—strongly suggested itself
but could not be established. It would have been temting
to diagnose a neurosis (which would have solved every
difficulty, if only the patient had not repudiated with so
much energy the sexual history without which I refuse
to recognize the presence of a neurosis). In my embarrass-
ment I sought help from the physician whom I, like many
other people, respect more than any as a man and before

²Lasker died of tuberculosis, that is, as a result of an infection (syphilis),
contracted from a woman; Lassalle, as everyone knows, fell in a
duel on account of a woman. [George Meredith's 'Tragic Comedians'
is based on his story.]
whose authority I am readiest to bow. He listened to my doubts, told me they were justified, and then gave his opinion: 'Keep the man under observation; it must be a neurosis.' Since I knew he did not share my views on the aetiology of the neuroses, I did not produce my counter-argument, but I made no concealment of my scepticism. A few days later I informed the patient that I could do nothing for him and recommended him to seek other advice. Whereupon, to my intense astonishment, he started apologizing for having lied to me. He had been too much ashamed of himself, he said, and went on to reveal precisely the piece of sexual aetiology which I had been expecting and without which I had been unable to accept his illness as a neurosis. I was relieved but at the same time humiliated. I had to admit that my consultant, not being led astray by considering the anamnesis, had seen more clearly than I had. And I proposed to tell him as much when I met him—to tell him that he had been right and I wrong.

This was precisely what I did in the dream. But what sort of a wish-fulfilment can there have been in confessing that I was wrong? To be wrong was, however, just what I did wish. I wanted my wife, whose fears I had adopted in the dream-thoughts, to be wrong. The subject round which the question of right or wrong revolved in the dream was not far removed from what the dream-thoughts were really concerned with. There was the same alternative between organic and functional damage caused by a woman, or, more properly, by sexuality: tabetic paralysis or neurosis? (The manner of Lassalle's death could be loosely classed in the latter category.)

In this closely knit and, when it was carefully interpreted, very transparent dream, Professor N. played a part not only on account of this analogy and of my wish to be wrong, and on account of his incidental connections with Breul und with the family of our friend who had settled there after her marriage—but also on account of the following episode which occurred at the end of our consultation. When he had given his opinion and so concluded our medical discussion, he turned to more personal subjects: 'How many children have you got now?' 'Six.' He made a gesture of admiration and concern.—'Girls or boys?'—'Three and three: they are my pride and my treas-

A. The Work of Condensation

'Early this morning,' between dreaming and waking, I experienced a very nice example of verbal condensation. In the course of a mass of dream-fragments that I could scarcely remember, I was brought up short, as it were, by a word which I saw before me as though it were half written and half printed. The word was "erziehlish," and it formed part of a sentence which slipped into my conscious memory apart from any context and in complete isolation: "That has an erziehlish influence on the sexual emotions." I knew at once that the word ought really to have been "erziehlsch" ("educational"). And I was in doubt for some time whether the second "e" in "erziehlish" should not have been an "i." In that connection the word

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2 Quoted from Marcinowski [1911]. [This paragraph was added in 1914.]

3 This ingenious example of condensation turns upon the pronunciation of the second syllable—the stressed syllable—of the nonsense word. If it is "ze," it is pronounced roughly like the English "easy," thus resembling the second syllable of "erziehllish" and of the invented "erziehlscherisch." If it is "zi," it is pronounced roughly like the English "tea," thus resembling the second syllable of "erziehlscherisch," as well as (less closely) the first syllable of "hyphalil."
VI. The Dream-Work

"syphilis" occurred to me and, starting to analyse the dream while I was still half asleep, I racked my brains in an effort to make out how that word could have got into my dream, since I had nothing to do with the disease either personally or professionally. I then thought of "erzieherisch" [another nonsense word], and this explained the "e" of the second syllable of "erzifilisch" by reminding me that the evening before I had been asked by our governess [Erzieherin] to say something to her on the problem of prostitution, and had given her Hesse's book on prostitution in order to influence her emotional life—for this had not developed quite normally; after which I had talked [erzihli] a lot to her on the problem. I then saw all at once that the word "syphilis" was not to be taken literally, but stood for "poison"—of course in relation to sexual life. When translated, therefore, the sentence in the dream ran quite logically; "My talk [Erzählung] was intended to have an educational [erzieherisch] influence on the emotional life of our governess [Erzieherin]; but I fear it may at the same time have had a poisonous effect." "Erzifilisch" was compounded from "erzihli" and "erzieh-."

The verbal malformations in dreams greatly resemble those which are familiar in paranoia but which are also present in hysteria and obsessions. The linguistic tricks performed by children, who sometimes actually treat words as though they were objects and moreover invent new languages and artificial syntactic forms, are the common source of these things in dreams and psychoneuroses alike.

The analysis of the nonsensical verbal forms that occur in dreams is particularly well calculated to exhibit the dream-work's achievements in the way of condensation. The reader should not conclude from the paucity of the instances which I have given that material of this kind is rare or observed at all exceptionally. On the contrary, it is very common. But as a result of the fact that dream-interpretation is dependent upon psycho-analytic treatment, only a very small number of instances are observed and recorded and the analyses of such instances are as a

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A. The Work of Condensation

rule only intelligible to experts in the pathology of the neuroses. Thus a dream of this kind was reported by Dr. von Karpinska (1914) containing the nonsensical verbal form: 'Swingnum elvi.' It is also worth mentioning those cases in which a word appears in a dream which is not in itself meaningless but which has lost its proper meaning and combines a number of other meanings to which it is related in just the same way as a 'meaningless' word would be. This is what occurred, for instance, in the ten-year-old boy's dream of a 'category' which was recorded by Tausk (1913). 'Category' in that case meant 'female genitals' and to 'categorize' meant the same as 'to menstruate.'

Where spoken sentences occur in dreams and are expressively distinguished as such from thoughts, it is an invariable rule that the words spoken in the dream are derived from spoken words remembered in the dream material. The text of the speech is either retained unaltered or expressed with some slight displacement. A speech in a dream is often put together from various recollected speeches, the text remaining the same but being given, if possible, several meanings, or one different from the original one. A spoken remark in a dream is not infrequently no more than an allusion to an occasion on which the remark in question was made.1

1[Footnote added 1909:] Not long ago I found a single exception to this rule in the case of a young man who suffered from obsessions while retaining intact his highly developed intellectual powers. The spoken words which occurred in his dreams were not derived from remarks which he had heard or made himself. They contained the undistorted text of his obsession thoughts, which in his waking life only reached his consciousness in a modified form. [This young man was the subject of Freud's case history of an obsessive neurotic (the "Rat Man"); a reference to this point will be found there (Freud, 1909d) near the beginning of Section II(A).—The question of spoken words in dreams is dealt with much more fully below on pp. 453 ff.]

1[See Chapter IV of Freud's book on jokes (1905c).]

2[This paragraph was added in 1916.]