READING FREUD'S PATIENTS

Memoir, Narrative and the Analysand

Anat Tzur Mahalel

THE HISTORY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS SERIES

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Reading Freud's Patients

What would the story of analysis look like if it were told through the eyes of the analysand? How would the patient write and present the analytic experience? How would the narrative as written by the analysand differ from the analytic narrative commonly offered by the analyst? What do the actual analytic narratives written by Freud's patients look like?

This book aims to confront these intriguing questions with an innovative reading of memoirs by Freud's patients. These patients—including Sergei Pankejeff, known as the Wolf Man; the poet H. D.; and the American psychoanalyst Abram Kardiner—all came to Vienna specially to meet Freud and embark with him on the intimate and thrilling journey of deciphering the unconscious and unraveling the secrets of the psyche. A broad psychoanalytic and literary-historical reading of their memoirs is offered in this new entry to the popular Routledge History of Psychoanalysis Series, with the purpose of presenting the analysands' narratives as they themselves recounted them. This makes it possible to re-examine the links among psychoanalysis, literature, and translation and sheds new light on the complex challenge of coming to know oneself through the encounter with otherness.

This book is unique in its focus on multiple memoirs by patients of Freud and presents a fresh, even startling, close-up look at psychoanalysis as a clinical practice and as a rigorous discourse and offers a new vision of Freud's strengths and, at times, defects. It will be of considerable interest to scholars of psychoanalysis and intellectual history, as well as those with a wider interest in literature and memoir.

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Anat Tzur Mahalel

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-0-367-02714-8 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-367-02715-5 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-0-429-39824-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

To my family, Elad, Itamar, Talia, and Yael

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
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Series editor's foreword

Nothing is more important in psychoanalysis than the patient's experience. It follows that, however valuable the innumerable case histories written by analysts may be, there are no more precious documents in our literature than patients' chronicles of their own journeys into the interior, which must include a reckoning of their relationships with their guides.

Under no circumstances is this truer than when that guide is Freud himself, and the patients' memoirs are written with an awareness that they will be of interest to readers primarily as a contribution to the vast archive of primary sources on the life and work of the founder of psychoanalysis. Surprisingly, however, until the present contribution by Anat Tzur Mahalel, the sole extant study of the book-length narratives by Freud's patients has been that by Beate Lohser and Peter M. Newton (1996), and it may be said that their collective significance for our understanding of the history of psychoanalysis has only begun to be appreciated.

In advancing her thesis that "this distinct literature can be seen as a work of translation of the analytic experience, which includes the work of memory and the work of mourning," Tzur Mahalel approaches the narratives by Freud's patients not simply for what they reveal about his analytic technique, but as texts of creative nonfiction that demand to be read with the tools of literary criticism. In thus expanding the conceptual framework of Lohser and Newton, Tzur Mahalel simultaneously enlarges their canon by devoting a chapter to the memoirs of the Russian Sergei Pankejeff—better known as the "Wolf Man"—as well as to those by Joseph Wortis, Smiley Blanton, Abram Kardiner, John Dorsey, and Hilda Doolittle, all five of whom happened to be Americans.[1]

Tzur Mahalel quotes Dorsey's (1976) avowal that "all I can mean by describing Sigmund Freud must really refer to *my* image of my Sigmund Freud" (xvi). Notwithstanding his leaden style, Dorsey's statement contains a truth that pertains to the readers of these works no less than it does to their authors' experiences with Freud. I imagine that almost everyone will share my amusement at Freud's comparison of his reticence at the outset of Dorsey's analysis to "the Japanese gardener who was reproached, after being hired, for sitting for several days and doing no work," but "rejoined that he *was* working: the first step in building the garden being to take in the landscape" (53), and will also join me in smiling at his mockery of "the American who boasted of making the complete tour of the Louvre in one hour and three-quarters, and who then added, 'And if I had my roller-skates on I could have made it in an hour and a half'" (68).

But while appreciation of Freud's wit is unlikely to arouse controversy, those who are enticed by Tzur Mahalel's thoughtful and engaging book to read or reread these vital contributions to the history of psychoanalysis are bound to diverge widely in the image of Freud they construct from this Rashomon-like compilation of perspectives on the same human being. For myself, not only did I come away convinced that a far more troubling picture of Pankejeff's four and a half years on Freud's couch, as well as of his status as a protégé of the psychoanalytic establishment, emerges from the interviews he granted late in life to Karin Obholzer than it does from the authorized version of his memoirs in the volume published by Muriel Gardiner, but I was also perturbed by the degree to which Freud allowed himself to be swayed by the attitudes of his patients. On the one hand, he showed unabashed favoritism to those who were awestruck and submissive, including both Blanton (1971), who told him that *The Interpretation of Dreams* was "my bible. I carry it and reread it every year" (93), and the even more lightweight Dorsey (1976), for whom "my Professor Freud attained preeminently [*sic*] my revered father figure" (23), while on the other he belittled the intellectually formidable but skeptical Wortis (1954) in truly appalling fashion, informing him that "you are ignorant and I am here to teach you" (50), and "you must learn to absorb things and not answer back. You must change that habit" (114).

Of particular interest to me is the testimony of Kardiner (1977), who credits Freud with uncovering his fear of his father in childhood, but takes Freud to task for failing to see that "*the one whom I feared now was Freud himself*," so that, ironically, "the central fact in the transference situation was overlooked by the man who had discovered the very process of transference itself" (58, 100). In comparing notes with other analysands, Kardiner learned that, "as with the Oedipus complex, unconscious homosexuality was a routine part of everyone's analysis" with Freud, not just of his own, and that Freud believed the male patient "could do nothing but reconcile himself to it" (61, 99), a point of view wholly in accord with his fatalistic outlook in "Analysis Terminable and Interminable." With the benefit of hindsight, Kardiner explains the consequences of Freud's refusal to confront the "aggression and hostility" concealed beneath his submissiveness in the following fashion:

> I made a silent pact with Freud. "I will continue to be compliant provided that you will let me enjoy your protection." If he rejected me, I would lose the chance to enter this magical professional circle. This tacit acceptance on my part sealed off an important part of my character from scrutiny.
>
> (59)

That Freud had failed to analyze his negative transference was also at the heart of Ferenczi's critique of Freud, and there is an uncanny convergence between Kardiner's testimony in his memoirs and that furnished by Ferenczi in his *Clinical Diary*, where he describes his own "silent pact" in which he played the role of "a blindly dependent son" to Freud, in return for which he was rewarded with "membership in a distinguished group guaranteed by the king, indeed with the rank of field marshal for myself (crown-prince fantasy)" (Dupont 1985, 185). What makes the perspective of both Kardiner and Ferenczi so compelling is that they combine an outward posture of compliance like that wholeheartedly adopted by Blanton and Dorsey with the internal critical awareness of a Wortis, so that when they do finally cast off their inhibitions and reject their Faustian bargains, their indictments of Freud are that much more searing since they come from disillusioned adherents who had gained admission to his "magical professional circle," rather than from outright opponents of psychoanalysis.

The fact remains, however, that by the end of his journey Ferenczi came to recognize that "it was only adoration and not independent judgment that made me follow him" (Dupont 1985, 185), just as Wortis (1954) dared to tell Freud to his face that he "did not generally stand in awe of a name simply because it was famous, but tried to judge for myself," which led Freud to wash his hands of him completely: "If anybody asked me about a certain talented Wortis who came to study with me, I will say he learned nothing from me, and I will disclaim all responsibility" (120, 128). Even Pankejeff, after Freud had explained the free association technique to him at the outset of his analysis, when he responded that he would give it a try but wanted to verify the results for himself, was, as he informed Obholzer (1980), met with the reproof: "Don't start that. Because the moment you try to view things critically, your treatment will get nowhere," as a result of which Pankejeff "naturally gave up the idea of any further criticism" (31). Despite Freud's adjuration that he proceed with blind faith, however, especially with respect to the primal scene that he allegedly witnessed at the age of one and a half, Pankejeff concludes in retrospect, "He maintains I saw it, but who will guarantee that it is so? That it is not a fantasy of his?" (31). Pankejeff's criticism of Freud for too energetically riding his own hobby horses—for forcing the evidence to fit his preconceived theories—is, moreover, independently echoed by both Wortis (1954) and Kardiner (1977), the former of whom castigates his "general foraging in a false direction" (185), while the latter details how Freud erroneously used his "extraordinary insight" to "put me on a wild goose chase for a problem that did not exist" (98).

As it turns out, at least in my reading, the seemingly divergent perspectives on Freud that may be gleaned from the narratives of his patients actually add up to a coherent and, in the main, far from flattering portrait, one that is the mirror image of his notorious declaration to Ferenczi that "neurotics are a rabble, good only to support us financially and to allow us to learn from their cases: psychoanalysis as a therapy may be worthless" (Dupont 1985, 186). To be sure, I believe that I have sound reasons and solid evidence to support my conclusions, but I recognize that others are bound to see things differently. Indeed, although Tzur Mahalel argues that "the writings of Freud's patients express admiration for him as an intriguing researcher and gifted writer," she declines to join the debates over Freud's character or the quality of his analytic work. She chooses instead to focus on what matters most in the end—the experience of his patients during and after their analyses, including the intense attachments fostered by regression, as well as the retrospective work of mourning and translation. In so doing, Anat Tzur Mahalel highlights our good fortune that this unique genre of autobiographical narratives—to which Ferenczi's *Clinical Diary* forms the indispensable seventh seal—has preserved the therapeutic relationship with Freud "not only in the analytic, but also in the textual, space."

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Note

1 Also available in the History of Psychoanalysis Series is Anna Guggenbühl's diary of her analysis with Freud in 1921 (Koellreuter 2016), but this extremely interesting raw material lacks the narrative form that would lend itself to a literary analysis. Paul Roazen's *How Freud Worked* (1995) offers a characteristically gossipy retrospective tour of his interviews with ten of Freud's former patients.

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Prologue

Case studies are the most central and prominent window into psychoanalytic work, both for professionals and for the broader public. Psychoanalysis is represented by and studied through case studies, which offer a glimpse into the intimacy of analytic work. The starting point of this book is that not enough attention has been paid to the fact that case studies are written exclusively by analysts. This is an intriguing state of affairs because psychoanalysis is by its nature dialogical, based as it is on a dialog between different worlds, concretely between the worlds of analysand and analyst and broadly speaking between the conscious and unconscious and between self and other.

The main interest of this book is therefore the voice of the analysand. The writing subject in psychoanalysis is the analyst, whose voice in the analytic literature is well represented. But what is the voice of the analysand? What are its distinct characteristics? Is it the voice we hear second-hand through the analyst? Is it the voice heard when a certain analysand is asked to write a memoir? Is it the voice we hear when reading stories written by analysands? These questions, which are not often raised, bring us to the notion of the muteness of the analysand. This muteness has hardly been mentioned in academic discussions and can be considered a blind spot of psychoanalysis. This is an allusive muteness, for one of the primary aims of psychoanalysis has always been to bring forth the analysand's repressed memories, and aspects of the self that have not yet found expression. I want to emphasize that I am not arguing that analysands do not write, for memoirs written by analysands have existed for many decades. Nevertheless, this literature has always been situated in the margins of psychoanalytic literature, and these margins are the main concern of the present book.

Literature written by analysands has followed the psychoanalytic literature from its very beginning, yet has been mainly overlooked in the field's academic and theoretical writings. Texts by analysands have tended to be treated as no more than personal stories, anecdotal in their theoretical importance. This stance has pushed these texts aside and made them transparent. The challenge of tying together memoirs written by Freud's patients, for example, as a distinct corpus and offering them a united reading has been taken up mainly by Lohser and Newton (1996). A textual collection of oral reports and interviews gathered from Freud's patients also appeared in Roazen (1995). These books were significant in bringing forth the voices of the analysands and, in some cases, analyzing them. Nevertheless, the main concern of these attempts was gathering information about Freud as analyst and persona, rather than characterizing the analysand as a writing subject. Drawing attention to the analysand as author brings forth questions that have until now been overlooked, such as their motivations for writing, the content and form of the texts, and the dialog that these texts create with psychoanalytic literature. In addressing these questions, I aim to treat these memoirs as distinct texts that deserve their own targeted reading and not to be treated only as footnotes to the canon.

The main concern of the present book is not memoirs written by analysands in general, but memoirs written by a specific group of analysands, Freud's analysands. This corpus is constructed of six memoirs, which were written over two decades, after Freud's death. Interestingly, they were all written by foreign, not Austrian, analysands. The author-analysands of this corpus consist of American psychiatrists, an American woman poet, and a Russian aristocrat who later became an émigré. They came to Freud at different phases in their lives and went through various analyses, different in duration and character. The times of writing the memoirs and their writing styles also distinguish the memoirs: some of them were written during analysis, as diaries that were later edited, and others were written long after analysis terminated; some of the memoirs try to stay close to the case study genre and to the actual events that took place in the analytic sphere, while others emphasize poetic and symbolic aspects of the encounter with Freud. Even among the group of American psychiatrists, four in number, that seem similar in their motivation for undergoing analysis, as part of their professional ambitions, there are salient differences in their level of identification with the new discipline and in the transference relationships each one of them creates with Freud. Two of them were first-generation Eastern Europe Jewish immigrants to New York City, while the other two were Southerners from Christian farm-owning families.

As a psychoanalytically-oriented psychotherapist and clinical psychologist, one of the central impressions I take away from reading the texts written by analysands is the diversity that characterizes them, including diversity in the points of view they offer on the analytic situation. Reading these texts brings into focus the common ground we expect to find in literature about analysis, a common ground based on shared theoretical and technical premises and language, i.e., analysis as presented from the point of view of the analyst. This is the point of view from which the analytic situation—in terms of psychic life, analytic interpretations and processes, and the achievement of psychic transformation—has been exclusively presented and learned.

Texts written by analysands are actually autobiographical case studies. Reading these texts makes it clear that the analytic situation has been represented in a biased way because of the one-sided authorship that has predominated. There is something of a paradox here, as psychoanalysis, that field that is so profoundly occupied with liberating the analysand's repressed reminiscences and muted inner voices, has collaborated in the analysand's literary silence. Even though contemporary psychoanalytic thought tends to emphasize the relational aspects of the analytic encounter as a mutual "meeting of minds," as suggested by Lewis Aron (1996), the psychoanalytic literature has remained much more conservative. This insistence on one-sidedness creates a situation in which only one subject is given the authority to become an author in psychoanalytic literature.

I should note that stories of analysis written by analysands are by no means rare. Analysands have been writing moving, intriguing stories of analysis since the beginning of psychoanalysis. They have appeared as memoirs of the analyst or of the transformative process of analysis, or as part of their authors' autobiographies. They have appeared on the initiative either of the writing analysand, the analysand's colleagues, or the analyst. The present book's innovation is in gathering the memoirs written by Freud's patients, specifically, and in looking at this collection as a distinct group of texts.

This process is valuable for a couple of reasons. First, it offers an opportunity to shed light on psychoanalysis in its initial evolution. The writing analysands arrived in Vienna from various locations for the singular purpose of meeting Freud and his innovative thought. They write about their initial encounters with his thought, which usually took place in the textual realm, when they read his writing. They describe reading Freud's texts as a revelation of new realms of knowledge and experience, an innovative and yet-to-be-discovered path. Subsequently, they felt the urge to follow their curiosity and come to Vienna, full of hope and expectations for the opening of new personal and professional horizons. When we look into the experience of being an analysand of Freud's, we need to bear in mind the intensely structured setting, involving five to six analytic sessions a week. During analysis, patients were instructed not to make any significant life decisions, whether personal, familial, or professional. They came alone or with their families and made the hotel near Freud's residence their temporary home. We can imagine how much hope and enthusiasm was involved in this journey, hope for a turning point in life, an internal and external transformation. Freud's patients chose to leave their homes, their familiar habits, and every framework of affiliation that they had in order to go on an adventurous journey that revolved almost exclusively around the analytic sessions and the transference relationship. They went with the aim of discovering this revolutionary field and being part of the recently discovered path to the mysterious realms of the psyche.

Second, this collection of texts was written by analysands who were in analysis with the most famous analyst of all, whose writing has become a canonical and inseparable part of modern thought. The very act on the part of his analysands of writing memoirs about him can be understood, as I bring forth, as a brave and even subversive act of presentation. In literary theory, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari offer the concept of *minor literature*, literature that emerges from canonical literature and gives voice to the voices that had been left muted, that were not even presented as voices. Because minor literature has to do with giving a voice to the voiceless, it is understood as a political act that involves subversion. Deleuze and Guattari characterize this distinct process of writing as "writing like a dog digging a hole, a rat digging its burrow. And to do that, finding his own point of underdevelopment, his own *patois*, his own third world, his own desert" (1986 [1975], 18, emphasis in original). Understanding the memoirs written by Freud's patients as minor literature is not only a result of their relationship to Freud's canonical stance, but also has to do with the writers' initiative to transform themselves to the active stance of the writer, or author. By writing, the analysand is given the authority to offer a textual sketch of Freud, and this authority is not an act that should be taken for granted, especially not at the time these analyses took place.

Therefore, this book offers two new perspectives on this collection of writing by Freud's analysands: first, in terms of the importance of the collection for psychoanalytic and memoir literature; and second, in terms of its significance as minor literature that has been set aside or overlooked in relation to the canon of psychoanalytic literature.

It gives me great pleasure to thank those whom I have been privileged to meet and work with on this book. First and foremost, I am thankful to Vered Lev Kenaan at the Department of Hebrew and Comparative Literature and Emanuel Berman of the Department of Psychology at the University of Haifa, my supervisors, and academic parents. I feel extremely privileged to have met Vered and Emanuel, both leading scholars in their fields, who guided me wisely and safely from the very beginning of my dissertation. In this intriguing interdisciplinary field of psychoanalysis and literature, they helped me to discover my own voice and stay attuned to it. I thank Routledge and my editor, Russell George, for the wonderful opportunity they have given me to explore the generous space that is offered by a book. I am grateful to the late Lewis Aron, who expressed interest in my research throughout its evolution and whose death is a great loss to the psychoanalytic community. I wish to thank Dana Amir, the head of the interdisciplinary research track in psychoanalysis, for her inspiration as a scholar in psychoanalysis and her brilliant reading. I thank Michal Ben Naftali for her remarkable voice as author and philosopher and for her wise insights into my writing. My gratitude to the late Beatriz Priel, who was my masters' thesis supervisor and first truly opened my eyes to psychoanalytic literature, challenging me never to look at things just as they were. I want to thank the research group of the interdisciplinary research track in psychoanalysis and the scholars of the Department of Hebrew and Comparative Literature at the University of Haifa, who helped me think about my research in its different phases. I am grateful to my dear patients from all times and places, and my dear students through the years at the University of Haifa, all of whom made me think about psychoanalysis in new ways. I thank Marie Deer, my dedicated language editor, for our mutual professional path together.

I am eternally grateful to my beloved family, my parents, Nava and David Mahalel, for always believing in me, to my brothers Adi and Amit, and to my late grandparents Gila and Michael Dana, Ahuva and Shachar Mahalel.

Finally, my deepest thanks to my close family, who are my earth and sky, my home and path, body and soul. To my husband and closest companion, Elad, for his wisdom and patience, for our mutual learning of the craft of living. To my children: Itamar for teaching me the art of listening; Talia for her sight and insight; and Yael for her laughter and vibrance. Thank you for the love; the whole wide world is captured within it.

Chapter 1

Psychoanalytic space and writing space

Introduction

Psychoanalysis, from its very beginning, is intertwined with text and writing. The psychoanalytic space is created and developed by various aspects of textuality as much as it is created and developed by the encounter between two subjects in the clinic. At the heart of both psychoanalysis and writing are self-reflection and the exploration of the unconscious. Within this space, the subject recreates the subject's life narrative, self, and singular voice.

On the verge of the twentieth century, the modern world adopted psychoanalysis with great enthusiasm. It became a central and curious entity, supplying innovative understandings of intrapsychic, intersubjective, and cultural phenomena. The challenge that psychoanalysis offered to the modern enlightened subject, governed by logic and intellect, was profound. Accepting the centrality of the unconscious transformed how we understand subjectivity and one's relations with his inner world and surroundings. It was suggested that we turn our attention from an omnipotent, divine, outer entity toward an inner entity that carries the individual's reservoir of psychic energy, private history, and way of remembering.

Psychoanalysis calls for a new kind of listening to the human voice, a very fine tuning of one subject to self and other, in an attention that is both concentrated and free-floating, analytic and sensual, aiming to explore the unconscious but not forcing it to be revealed. This is an attention that requires a vast space of time and effort in order to be fully and truly productive. It is also the unique attention received from the analyst that gradually creates, in turn, a similar attention within the analysand. For Freud, the meaning of contenting oneself "with studying whatever is present for the time being on the surface of the patient's mind" (1914a, 147) lies in putting the focus on listening to the subtle nuances of expression, voice, and body gestures, the distinguished narrative brought to the analytic setting and its weaving during the process. At the outset of analysis, Freud used to say, "Before I can say anything to you I must know a great deal about you; please tell me what you know about yourself" (1913a, 134). In these words, the abstinent analyst, who may be experienced as frustrating at times, is brought to light in his generosity, the generosity of true listening.

An area of psychoanalytic exploration that has not yet received the attention it deserves is the literature written by analysands. In this book I offer a unique collection of texts written by analytic patients, in fact by patients of the father of psychoanalysis himself, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). The specific choice of texts presented here allows an alternative point of view on the history of psychoanalysis, on the psychoanalytic setting as introduced and created by Freud, and on his patients' encounters and relationships with him. Freud's patients felt themselves to be participants in the historical moment of the creation of a new scientific field that suggested an innovative way to understand the human psyche, development, motivations, pathology, and cure. This new field suggested revolutionary paths for exploring the unconscious and understanding enigmatic phenomena such as dreams, parapraxis, and perversion.

The writings of Freud's patients express admiration for him as an intriguing researcher and gifted writer, which was the main reason they all made great efforts to overcome important challenges and become his analysands. Another thing that makes this collection of texts unique is that the therapeutic relationship with Freud existed not only in the analytic, but also in the textual, space. The authors of these texts read Freud vigorously before, during, and after their analytic encounters with him, and experiences of reading and writing received a prominent place in those encounters. Freud used to talk freely with his patients about literature, books, and the experience of reading and writing, and his rich library played an important role in analysis, as Freud would approach it, open one book or another, and read from it or check some point in the book. He used to loan books to his patients and present copies of his own literary works to them as gifts.

Freud's writing created a new literary genre, weaving together the poetic and the scientific, the mythic and the autobiographical, and offering a continuous search for the various languages of the psyche. His use of canonical literature is characterized by deep emotional participation and intimacy, expressing his profound attachment to literature and textuality. The classical poets and authors, including Shakespeare, Dostoyevsky, Lessing, Schiller, and his most beloved Goethe, had served as central figures of admiration and identification for Freud since childhood. Poetry was a source of inspiration, both personal and professional, for Freud in various stages of his life. The image of the poet appears in his writing as a mentor, a source of consolation and guidance, and a voice expressing his deepest fantasies and longings (Anzieu 1986 [1959], 118–121, 146, 292–294, 309–314; Frankland 2000, 6–62; Nägele 1987, 23–45). An example of Freud's deep ties to the literary world can be found in his literary self-portrait, *An Autobiographical Study*. He states there that the main inspiration for his decision to study medicine was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's essay *Nature* (which we now know to have been written, in fact, by a friend of Goethe's and erroneously attributed to Goethe himself) (Freud 1925a, 8). Freud identified most deeply with Goethe's education and formation (*Bildung*), as presented in Goethe's autobiography, *Aus Meinem Leben:*

Dichtung und Wahrheit, to which Freud dedicated an essay (Freud 1917a). Freud was especially inspired by the apprenticeship period through which the young Goethe had to go in order to find his place in society, and the way in which Goethe, as author and poet, used his own personal reminiscences as an *exemplum*. Freud also took profound inspiration from Goethe's dedication to science and poetics and his attraction to the unknown as an enigma waiting to be solved, but whose secrets are never completely revealed (Anzieu 1986 [1959], 119, 370–371).

Freud's affinity for the literary realm gave his patients the opportunity to create a multi-layered dialog with him that included rich and profound literary aspects. They read his writings and usually also the literary corpus that inspired him. Their psychoanalytic-poetic dialog with Freud continued to develop even after their separation from him and even his death, finding its expression in the memoirs they wrote and published about him. The patients' narratives are autobiographical texts, for they center on the narrative of transformation and development of the self. They can also be regarded as a collection of memoirs on Freud, for his figure, as an analyst, scholar, and author, stands in the center of the texts. These texts are also influenced by the genre of the psychoanalytic case study and by Freud's own distinguished writing. Nevertheless, they cannot, obviously, be regarded as case studies, for the point of view they suggest is different, and this is also what makes them distinct and subversive.

Psychoanalytic writing and case studies

Case studies are a distinguished and unique genre created by psychoanalysis. They offer the story of a single analysis or psychotherapy, with an emphasis on the subject's history, the sources of the development of the distress or illness, and the therapeutic process and its results. Case studies are the most central and prominent window into psychoanalytic work, both for professionals and for the broad public. Because this genre first appeared in Freud's writing, the case studies were mainly read and used as texts aimed at conveying knowledge of scientific and cultural importance about psychoanalytic work. Nevertheless, these texts were, from the outset, also regarded as stories, telling the tales of people's lives and psychic transformations. In Freud's book, *Studies in Hysteria*, from 1895, which was written in collaboration with Joseph Breuer, the genre of the psychoanalytic case study was introduced solemnly, with a slightly apologetic tone,

> I have not always been a psychotherapist. Like other neuropathologists, I was trained to employ local diagnoses and electro-prognosis, and it still strikes me myself as strange that the case histories I write should read like short stories and that, as one might say, they lack the serious stamp of science. I must console myself with the reflection that the nature of the subject is evidently responsible for this, rather than any preference of my own.
>
> (1895, 160)

These words express Freud's complex stance toward the revolutionary aspects of his revelations, which were profound but not necessarily in accordance with the scientific zeitgeist of his time.

The genre of the case study originally strived to offer a scientific observation of the analytic process, but the text can by no means avoid the subjective point of view, for the process by its very essence strives for subjectivity and the creation of the subject. The case study genre, therefore, at its core, represents a bold turning away from the empirical dogma of the objective scientist and a movement toward hermeneutics, wherein the psychoanalyst resembles an investigator of ancient texts and forgotten languages; *this* investigation, however, cannot be carried out without the active participation of the analysand.

Today, psychoanalytic writing is explicitly situated between referential writing, which remains loyal to the actual events that took place, and fiction. The final text of a case study contains aspects of the psychodynamics of the analysand in the context of the analytic encounter and of the analyst's psychodynamics, as well as the working through of these aspects as processed in the analytic encounter and its transformation into text (Ogden 2005). The case study is therefore the product of a complex and vast work of translation, first from the inner discourse of the analysand to the analytic discourse created with the analyst, and then from the analytic discourse to text.

The case study is obligated to tread a path between the referential and the fictional, the actual and the fantasmatic, the ethical demand for truth and the need to tell a story. The referential aspect of the case study entails a loyalty to the need to give voice to the patient's narrative. The fictional aspect of the text reveals the analytic experience in its emotional and sensual richness, which cannot be delivered using facts. Hermeneutic readings of Freud's classical case studies allow us to evaluate their multi-layered richness, including the intertextual links they create with other genres (Cohn 1999). I want to suggest that although Freud's intention was to offer a narrative, in which the source of pathology is revealed in full through psychoanalysis, the texts that were finally produced expressed a complex matrix of points of view on different subjects in various contexts. The analytic process is presented as a work of art woven together from the threads and patches of its various narratives and interpretations. What the case study offers is not, finally, a mimetic documentation of the therapeutic process but rather a translation into text of continuous chains of events, experiences, and interpretations. In the work of translation offered in the case study, the biographical narrative of the analysand is reconstructed and the subject is transformed and re-created as a protagonist. The analyst is also transformed in the process of writing, becoming the author of the analysand's biography. In this respect, the case study always contains both biographical aspects of the analysand-protagonist and autobiographical aspects of the analyst-author (Anderson 2001, 60–65).