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Beyond the Unconscious

Essays of Henri F. Ellenberger in the History of Psychiatry

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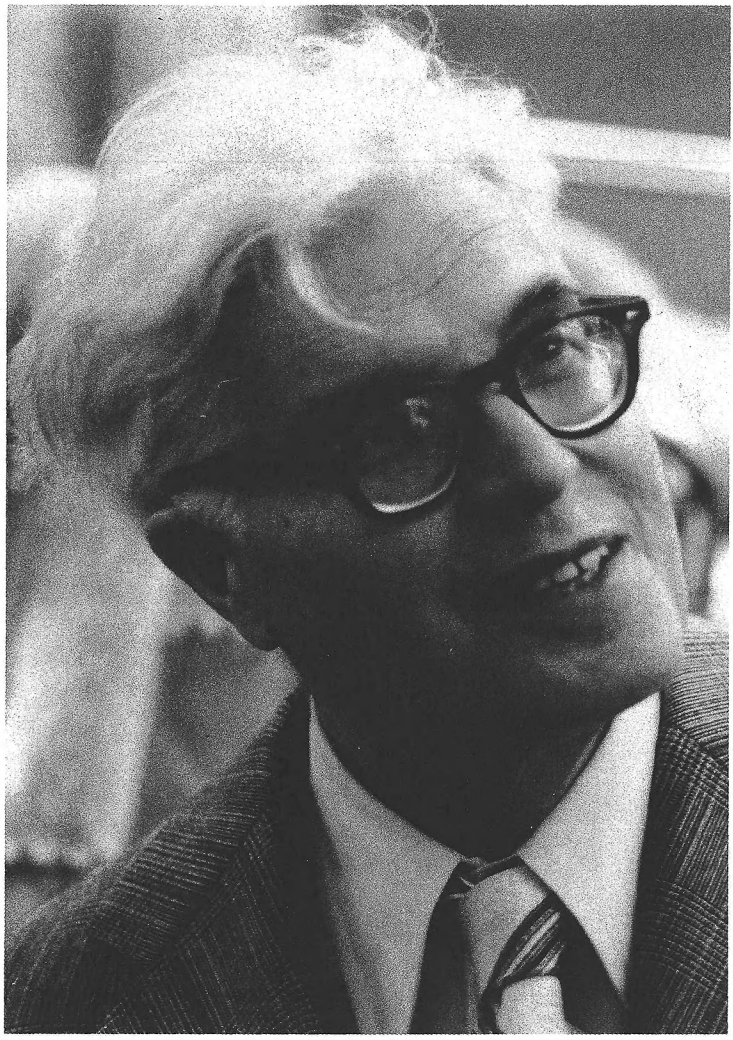

BEYOND THE UNCONSCIOUS

ESSAYS OF HENRI F. ELLENBERGER IN THE HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRY

Introduced and Edited by
Mark S. Micale

Translations from the French by
Françoise Dubor and Mark S. Micale

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Frontispiece: Henri F. Ellenberger, 1978, age 73. (Courtesy of Henri and Emilie Ellenberger)

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Preface and Acknowledgments

THE SWISS medical historian Henri F. Ellenberger is best remembered today as the author of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, published in 1970.[1] A brilliant, encyclopedic study of psychiatric theory and therapy from primitive times to the middle of the twentieth century, Ellenberger's book was widely regarded upon publication as a major, masterly work. Twenty years later, it remains simply indispensable to research in many areas of the history of psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis.

In addition to *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, Ellenberger, across a span of some thirty years, has produced many shorter writings in psychiatric history. Before publication of his classic, Ellenberger had written a monograph as well as approximately twenty articles on historical subjects. Furthermore, since 1970 Ellenberger has continued to work quietly and has written another fifteen essays of a historical nature. Oddly, however, whereas readers in the history of the mental sciences are closely familiar with Ellenberger's large study, few individuals, including specialists, are aware of his essays. A majority of these historical articles were originally published in specialized medical periodicals, quite a few of them outside of the United States, while several others appeared in volumes that are currently out of print. Ellenberger's monograph—a short but factually dense and highly interesting history of psychiatry in Switzerland published in 1954—is all but impossible to locate today. Moreover, and for reasons that are themselves significant, Ellenberger personally and professionally has been largely invisible since the appearance of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*. Indeed, many people, North Americans and Europeans alike, have the impression that he is no longer alive.

This situation is as curious as it is undeserved. Many of Ellenberger's scattered historical writings deal with subjects of considerable interest and importance. Not infrequently, they are based on pioneering research in the original sources, and they often reveal the same series of outstanding qualities that marks *The Discovery of the Unconscious*. Nor is this all. Over the last decade and a half, the fields of the history of psychiatry, psychology, and psychoanalysis have begun to develop extremely rapidly. More young practitioners, from an impressive range of disciplinary backgrounds, generating an ever greater quantity of scholarly material on a broad range of subject matters, are entering these fields all the time. Furthermore, the

[1] Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York, Basic Books, 1970).

debates waged within these scholarly circles have often been followed by readers in many other areas of the sciences and humanities. What was once an antiquarian pastime of historically minded physicians and social scientists is in the process of becoming an independent field of historical inquiry with considerable cultural resonance. An important part of such a development must be the discovery and critical interpretation of the intellectual origins of these fields of study, and in this process of disciplinary self-definition, the work of Ellenberger figures prominently. Indeed, as I will propose, Ellenberger in a striking number of ways anticipates directly many of the most significant developments in present-day psychiatric historiographies. In other respects, his writings point forward to fresh areas of inquiry still awaiting historical exploration.

Fortunately, as these disciplines develop, Ellenberger is beginning to receive the kind of professional appreciation he deserves. A scholarly conference recently held in Toronto, Canada, devoted to the history of psychoanalysis, was dedicated to Ellenberger.[2] And in October 1990, at the first meeting of the European Association of the History of Psychiatry in 's Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands, where nearly two hundred psychiatric historians from a dozen countries gathered for the first time, Ellenberger was enthusiastically elected honorary chairman of the organization. Most significant have been developments in France. From a lifetime of research in European libraries and archives, Ellenberger amassed a formidable collection of historical materials, including roughly two thousand books and over thirty crates of printed and archival documents. In 1986, Ellenberger, with the guidance of his son, Michel, offered the bulk of his personal library and archives to the Société Internationale d'Histoire de la Psychologie et de la Psychanalyse in Paris. The French, who had received *The Discovery of the Unconscious* less ambiguously than the American medical community (where the current of Freudian revisionism running through the work caused many reviewers to qualify their accolades), received the offer with notable enthusiasm. In March 1992, a special Centre de Recherche et de Documentation, designated officially as the Institut Henri Ellenberger, opened in the main library building of Sainte Anne Hospital in the French capital. This center will house the contents of Ellenberger's rich collection in combination with other historical materials in what is certain to become a major resource for historians in the future.[3]

[2] The proceedings of the conference have been published as Toby Gelfand and John Kerr, eds. *Freud and the History of Psychoanalysis* (Hillsdale, N.J., Analytic Press, 1992).

[3] Also, the French edition of Ellenberger's major work, *A la découverte de l'inconscient: Histoire de la psychiatrie dynamique* (Villeurbanne, Simep-Éditions, 1974), is in the process of being reissued.

These recent occurrences, while admirable, are essentially honorific in nature. They suggest that a detailed and informed reappraisal of the substance of Ellenberger's historical work itself is now in order. Such a reassessment should extend beyond *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (which in its English paperback form has remained readily available since 1981) to include Ellenberger's lesser-known historical writings. In 1978, a French-Canadian miscellany of Ellenberger's essays was published.[4] But the selection of essays in this work was incomplete and eccentric, and the book is now out of print. Moreover, the collection lacked the factual and interpretive scholarly apparatus necessary to place and fully to appreciate Ellenberger's work. It seems clear that a more substantial presentation is desirable, and *Beyond the Unconscious* is the result of this need.

The present volume is designed to offer the most pertinent and important of Ellenberger's historical essays to English-language audiences, both medical and nonmedical. Fourteen of Ellenberger's approximately thirty-five essays have been chosen for republication. These essays divide roughly into four thematic categories: Freud and the early intellectual history of psychoanalysis; figures and philosophies in the history of the mental sciences (including pieces on Jean-Martin Charcot, Pierre Janet, and Hermann Rorschach); the role of the "great patients" in the history of psychology and psychoanalysis; and topics in the cultural history of medicine. With the exception of the entry on Charcot, these essays contain historical material not to be found in the large book. The articles in the collection span Ellenberger's career, the earliest dating from 1954, the most recent from 1991. Five of the essays were originally written and published in French and appear here in translation for the first time. As with all of Ellenberger's writings, the chronological emphasis in these works is on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while the focus culturally and geographically remains on the central and western European experiences with instructive comparative glances toward North America and Asia.

The articles in the book are preceded by a substantial biohistoriographical introduction. In these pages, I sketch Ellenberger's life and career, review the contents and critical reception of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, and discuss the major themes running through his historical essays. I also attempt here to establish Ellenberger's importance for the contemporary study of psychiatric history and to suggest, rather more interpretively, the cultural significance of his work. The volume contains as well three appendices, the last of which records Ellenberger's complete histori-

[4] Ellenberger, *Les mouvements de libération mythique et autres essais sur l'histoire de la psychiatrie* (Montreal, Éditions Quinze, 1978), which later appeared in an Italian translation as *I movimenti di liberazione mitica* (Naples, Liguori, 1986).

cal writings. Finally, the appendices are followed by a wide-ranging bibliographical essay, which is intended both to indicate the current state of scholarship on the subjects about which Ellenberger wrote and to trace out his influence on a later generation of researchers and writers.

With an ample analytical introduction and a detailed bibliography, it has proved unnecessary to remark extensively in a direct textual way on Ellenberger's essays. I have commented annotatively only occasionally—all in all, no more than twenty times—in places either where the text required clarification or where a biographical circumstance of the author seemed interesting or relevant. Stylistically, these writings, like their author, are clear, straightforward, and utterly without affectation. Editorially, therefore, my interventions are also rather sparse. In the early essays from the 1950s, written when Ellenberger had recently come to the United States to work at the Menninger Clinic and was still learning English, the diction is at times awkward. This I have altered accordingly. Also, in certain articles Ellenberger tends to write in short, clipped paragraphs, which might have seemed strange to North American and British audiences, so I have taken the liberty of combining these paragraphs. In numerous places, I have as well made brief excisions, indicated by ellipses, where the information presented was repetitive or extraneous. Moreover, in preparation for this volume, Ellenberger himself has made scattered factual corrections in his articles and has stylistically revised a number of them. Otherwise, the essays appear here as they did upon initial publication.

In assembling the materials for this project, I received the encouragement and assistance of many people. As with *The Discovery of the Unconscious* in the 1960s, this shorter work received crucially important financial assistance from the Historical Section of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland (Grant no. 1 R01 LM04938-01). I would like on this score to acknowledge in particular the support of Gerald Grob and Barbara Rosenkrantz and, later, the thoughtful, decisive intervention of Jeanne Brand. At an early stage, Richard Wolfe, Frank Sulloway, and Eugene Taylor encouraged the project. As so often before, Peter Gay provided sage advice. In Paris, Dr. Olivier Husson regularly kept me apprised of the progress of the Institut Henri Ellenberger while Michel Ellenberger, from his special vantage point, gave a close and informed reading to the biographical sections of the Introduction of the book. Kelly E. Burket cooperatively provided extensive materials from the Menninger Archives about Ellenberger's career, and Rose-May Nahabet, of the Department of Criminology at the University of Montreal, graciously offered the same service. Larry Friedman answered questions about the professional atmosphere at the Menninger Clinic during the 1950s, and Philip Holzman and

Dr. Irving Kartus reminisced freely about Ellenberger and the Menninger Clinic during this same period. Dr. Stanley Jackson helped me to place Ellenberger in the Canadian psychiatric community of the 1960s. Diana Wylie, my colleague in the History Department at Yale University, graciously attempted to educate me about South African history and culture at the turn of the century.

Further, in assessing the status of Ellenberger's work for scholars today and in gathering references for the bibliographical essay, I have spoken informally over the past two years with many individuals. In a long and stimulating conversation, Paul Stepansky shared his thoughts with me about Ellenberger's writings on Alfred Adler as well as Ellenberger's accomplishments generally. Adam Crabtree kindly allowed me to consult portions of his forthcoming work on the history of Mesmerism and animal magnetism. Dr. Gerhard Fichtner, at the Institute of Medical History in Tübingen, placed at my disposal his splendid computerized bibliographical programs, and Onno van der Hart, of the University of Amsterdam, alerted me to the new medical literature on Pierre Janet. My friends George Mora, Michael Neve, and John Kerr kindly read the introductory essay and made perceptive observations. In addition, I have had valuable conversations or correspondence with Mireille Cifali, Geoffrey Cocks, Angela Graf-Nold, Dr. James Phillips, Sonu Shamdasani, Eugene Taylor, and Fernando Vidal. In preparing the manuscript, Sarah Trapnell provided excellent typographical service under short notice while Paul Dambowic perused many of these pages with an expert editorial eye. It has also been a professional pleasure working with Françoise Dubor in translating the French-language essays in the collection. Moreover, at Princeton University Press I want enthusiastically to thank Emily Wilkinson, who tolerated a number of delays with this manuscript, who graciously accommodated a generous selection of essays, and who then shepherded the book through the process of publication.

Far and away, however, my greatest acknowledgment of thanks goes to Dr. Ellenberger himself and his wife Emilie. Under severely constraining medical circumstances, during long and unforeseen delays, through the mail, and in personal conversations, Dr. Ellenberger has provided for this project an abundance of information about his life and work. To be able to present to him this volume in completion gives me the greatest satisfaction.

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BEYOND THE UNCONSCIOUS

Introduction

Henri F. Ellenberger and the Origins of European Psychiatric Historiography

The Biographical View

Henri Frédéric Ellenberger was born on November 6, 1905, in southern Africa. Ellenberger issued from a large French-speaking Swiss family from the town of Yverdon in the Vaud canton near Lake Neuchâtel. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the family had worked as European Protestant missionaries at various locations in the south of Africa. Ellenberger's grandfather, who arrived on the African continent in 1861, initiated the family tradition.[1] In addition to his missionary pursuits, D. Frédéric Ellenberger gathered volumes of information from native sources about the life and customs of the local indigenous peoples and prepared a full account of the early tribal history of the Basuto.[2]

Ellenberger's father, Victor Ellenberger, passed nearly his entire adult life in South Africa, where he worked at a number of sites as a member of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris. Ellenberger *père* seems to have been a remarkable man—a self-taught linguist, naturalist, and social anthropologist. Among other activities, he traveled widely on the African continent, often recording his botanical, zoological, and anthropological observations; he translated into French an African literary masterwork, the epic poem *Chaka* by the Sotho poet Thomas Mofolo, which aroused considerable European interest in native African literatures; and he collected remnants of the ancient Bushmen societies, including rock paintings, which were exhibited at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris in 1930.[3] He also wrote two historical books about the French-speaking Protestant church in Africa.[4]

[1] The story of the family's missionary work is related by Ellenberger's father in Victor Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland (1833–1933)*, translated from the French by Edmond M. Ellenberger (Morija, Sesuto Book Depot, 1938).

[2] *History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern*, compiled by D. Frédéric Ellenberger and written in English by J. C. MacGregor (London, Caston, 1912).

[3] V. Ellenberger, *Sur les hauts—plateaux de Lessouto: Notes et souvenirs de voyages* (Paris, Société des Missions Évangéliques, 1930); Thomas Mofolo, *Chaka, une épopée bantoue*, translated from the Sotho into French by V. Ellenberger (Paris, Gallimard, 1940).

[4] V. Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*; idem, *Landmarks in the Story of the French Protestant Church in Basutoland* (London, Pickering and Inglis, 1933).

Unfortunately, we have less information about Ellenberger's mother. However, we do know that Évangéline Ellenberger (née Christol) also came from a large Protestant missionary family and that her father, Frédéric Christol, wrote one of the first books on African art as well as numerous personal reminiscences about his experiences on the African continent.[5] Ellenberger's mother raised a family of six children in a foreign, difficult, and often dangerous environment where she seems to have shared the interest of other family members in the popular culture of her surroundings.[6] For several generations, the Ellenberger family kept one foot in Europe (they always retained their Swiss citizenship and returned intermittently to France and Switzerland) and the other in Africa, where they worked among the Bantu-speaking Sotho in the colony of Basutoland, a British protectorate within the Union of South Africa.

Henri Frédéric Ellenberger, the historian and author of the essays in this book, was born in a small village along the Zambezi River, in what was then Northern Rhodesia and is now western Zambia, at the missionary outpost there. Ellenberger spent the first nine years of his life, from 1905 to 1914, at several sites in Zambia and South Africa. In retrospect, these early years are significant. With his distinctive family background, Ellenberger developed at an early age a keen and enduring interest in the comparison of foreign cultures. He also had ample opportunity to cultivate his considerable linguistic aptitudes. At home, he learned French and German,[7] while at primary school he was introduced to English and Dutch Afrikaans. In addition, through his father's work, he learned to speak Sotho, a language of the Bantu-speaking people, who were the subjects of his mission.

In 1914, Ellenberger's parents sent their son, then 9 years old, on an extended trip to Europe for his secondary education. Soon after his arrival, however, the First World War broke out, and young Ellenberger was unable to return to his family for over five years. Ellenberger received most of his pre-university schooling at a number of locations in France, where he seems to have performed well academically and to have read widely and independently. For his undergraduate education, Ellenberger studied in the humanities at the University of Strasbourg from 1921 to 1924. Alsace had recently been reclaimed by the French as a result of the war, and Strasbourg combined freely, if uneasily, French and German cultures and languages. In 1924, at the age of 19, Ellenberger received his baccalaureate degree in *lettres-philosophie*.

[5] Frédéric Christol, *L'art dans l'Afrique australe* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1911); idem, *Vingt-six ans au sud de l'Afrique* (Paris, Société des Missions Évangéliques, 1930).

[6] Mme. Victor Ellenberger, *Silhouettes zambéziennes* (Paris, Société des Missions Évangéliques, 1920).

[7] While Ellenberger's immediate family came from French-speaking Switzerland, the original place of family birth (*lieu d'origine* or *Heimatort*), an important concept in Swiss citizenship, was Rüderswyl in the German-speaking canton of Bern.

Upon graduation, Ellenberger moved to Paris, where he spent the next ten years. He recalls these years in the French capital as among the happiest and most intellectually stimulating of his life. Soon after his arrival, he enrolled in medical school at the University of Paris, deciding almost immediately upon a specialty in psychiatry. After his general medical course of study, he worked during the late 1920s and early 1930s as an *externe* in a number of Parisian hospitals, and then from 1932 to 1934 as *interne des asiles de la Seine*, including one-year stints at two celebrated French psychiatric establishments, the Salpêtrière and the Sainte Anne asylum. Ellenberger wrote his medical dissertation on the affective states of catatonic psychoses and received his medical degree in 1934.[8] In November 1930 he had married Emilie Esther von Bachst, a young woman of Russian extraction who was then studying painting and the crafts in Paris.

Fond of France but disadvantaged by the hierarchical Parisian medical system, Ellenberger upon graduation from medical school moved to Poitiers in the department of Vienne in west-central France, where he spent the remainder of the 1930s. Here he worked in a small private psychiatric practice as a *spécialiste des maladies nerveuses*. At the same time, he served as consulting neuropsychiatrist at a local private hospital as well as a regional consultant in forensic psychiatry. Ellenberger's years in Poitiers, while predating his historical scholarship, were also significant for his intellectual formation. His medical practice at this time included a large number of refugees from the Spanish Civil War, which gave him an opportunity to develop reading and speaking skills in yet another language. Further, Ellenberger was struck in the region of Poitou by the many popular superstitions and practices that endured among the local people, reminiscent in ways of the habits and mentalities he had encountered earlier among native Africans. Also, during this period Ellenberger maintained a friendship with Arnold Van Gennep, one of the founding figures of French ethnography, who throughout the 1930s published a series of pioneering monographs on the folklore of the French provinces. As a result, Ellenberger now developed a powerful interest in regional anthropological lore. He learned the local *patois*, which enabled him to collect information about the rural populations of Poitou. In his spare time, he read deeply in the literature of European anthropology, and he wrote a book-length manuscript about the folklore of the area.[9]

[8] Ellenberger, *Essai sur le syndrome psychologique de la catatonie* (Poitiers, Société Française d'Imprimerie de la Librairie, 1933).

[9] Ellenberger, "Le folklore du Poitou: Département de la Vienne" (unpublished typescript), portions of which later appeared as "Le monde fantastique," *Nouvelle revue des traditions populaires*, 1 (1949), 407–35; 2 (1950), 3–26; "Relevé des pèlerinages du département de la Vienne," *Nouvelle revue des traditions populaires*, 9 (1950), 331–57, 387–415; and "Documents de littérature orale du Poitou," *Arts et traditions populaires*, 8 (1960), 115–42.

Most importantly, Ellenberger at this time conceived the idea of combining his interests in cultural anthropology and medical psychology. As a field of scholarly study, cross-cultural psychiatry scarcely existed in the 1930s. Nonetheless, Ellenberger began systematically to gather data on what he has always preferred to call "ethnopsychiatry," or the comparative study of the past and present experiences of mental illness in different cultures. From the mid-1940s onward, he published articles on suicide, hysteria, schizophrenia, alcoholism, and obsessive-compulsive disorders from a transcultural perspective, and has in fact continued to do so until recently.[10] Long before the field began to develop rapidly in the 1970s, Ellenberger was charting the territory of transcultural psychiatry, a fact that has gone almost entirely unnoticed outside of specialized medical circles.[11]

In the spring of 1941, owing to the political and military situation in France, Ellenberger, along with his wife and their three young children, left Poitiers and returned to Switzerland.[12] Despite his Swiss citizenship, Ellenberger had in fact spent little time actually living in Switzerland and had no professional experience with Swiss medicine. Over the course of the following twelve years, however, this changed. For two years during the early 1940s, he worked as a senior psychiatrist at the Waldau Mental Hospital near Bern. Then, from 1943 to 1952, he served as associate director, or *Oberarzt*, of the Breitenau Mental Hospital in Schaffhausen. A historic town placed picturesquely on the Rhine River near the German border in the north-central part of the country, Schaffhausen was a classic Swiss

[10] The major writings include Ellenberger, "Die Putzwut," *Der Psychologe*, 2 (1950), 91–94, 138–47; "Der Tod aus psychischen Ursachen bei Naturvölkern," *Psyche*, 5 (1951–1952), 333–34; "Der Selbstmord im Lichte der Ethno-Psychiatrie," *Monatsschrift für Psychiatrie und Neurologie*, 125 (1953), 347–61; "Cultural Aspects of Mental Illness," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 14 (1960), 158–73; (with E. D. Wittkower, H.B.M. Murphy, and J. Fried), "Crosscultural Inquiry into the Symptomatology of Schizophrenia," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 84 (1960), 854–63; "Ethno-psychiatrie," in *Encyclopédie médico-chirurgicale* (Paris, 1965), vol. 1, *Psychiatrie*, 37725 A 10, pp. 1–14, and 37725 B 10, pp. 1–22; "Intérêt et domaine d'application de l'ethno-psychiatrie," *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Psychiatry*, Madrid, Spain (September 5–11, 1966); "Aspects ethno-psychiatriques de l'hystérie," *Confrontations psychiatriques*, 1 (1968), 131–45; "Impressions psychiatriques d'un séjour à Dakar," *Psychopathologie africaine*, 4 (1968), 469–80; "L'alcoolisme à la lumière de la psychiatrie comparée," *L'union médicale du Canada*, 103 (1974), 1914–20; and "Psychiatrie transculturelle," in R. Duguay, H. F. Ellenberger, et al., eds., *Précis pratique de psychiatrie* (Montreal, Chenelière & Stanké, 1981), 625–42.

[11] For an exception to this rule, see Erwin H. Ackerknecht, "Transcultural Psychiatry," in Edwin R. Wallace IV and Lucius C. Pressley, eds., *Essays in the History of Psychiatry* (Columbia, S.C., William S. Hall Psychiatric Institute, 1980), 172.

[12] Ellenberger's children, named Michel, Hélène, and André, had been born, respectively, in 1931, 1933, and 1935. His fourth child, Irène, was born in 1941 after the family's return to Switzerland.

setting. It was also a town associated with the history of psychiatry and psychology, for it was in Schaffhausen that Hermann Rorschach had been born and raised and had initiated a strong national tradition of psychodiagnostic testing. Equipped with approximately three hundred beds and divided into two large sections for male and female patients, the Breitenau Hospital served as the public psychiatric facility for the town and canton of Schaffhausen. Here, Ellenberger was in charge of the Division for Women, where he worked regularly with a range of patients, including the acutely and chronically psychotic. He also perfected his spoken German, read systematically in the large hospital library, provided service at local military medical facilities, and became active in Swiss societies of psychiatry, psychology, criminology, and culture.

As a state hospital, the Schaffhausen asylum was linked to other cantonal psychiatric institutions in Switzerland. As a result of this arrangement, during the 1940s and early 1950s Ellenberger became acquainted with many of psychiatry's old-timers who had been members of the first generation of Swiss psychiatry and of the famous Swiss psychiatric circle influenced by Sigmund Freud. He met former students of Auguste Forel and Eugen Bleuler. He became acquainted with Manfred Bleuler and Carl Gustav Jung (who by that time had retreated to the nearby town of Küsnacht on the shores of Lake Zurich). He frequently visited Ludwig Binswanger, the well-known existential psychiatrist. And he developed close friendships with Alphonse Maeder, an early member of the Zurich psychoanalytic group and later Jung disciple, with Leopold Szondi, the psychiatrist–geneticist and inventor of the Szondi Test, and with Oskar Pfister, the lay pastor and psychoanalyst who had been on intimate terms for many years with the Freud family. With Pfister—"the grand old man of psychoanalysis," as Ellenberger's generation knew him[13]—Ellenberger underwent an informal training analysis during the early 1950s. He also frequently attended lectures and seminars at the Zurich Psychoanalytic Society and the Psychological Institute in Zurich. At these meetings, Pfister, Maeder, Jung, Szondi, and the others spoke often of their earlier experiences during what sounded to many younger physicians at the time like a past golden age of European psychiatry. Ellenberger in particular listened attentively to these stories and later drew upon this rich store of observation and knowledge. Perhaps most importantly, Ellenberger established during the Schaffhausen years a network of personal and professional contacts in the world of central European psychiatry that, as we will see shortly, proved immensely valuable for his later historical research.

13 "The Life and Work of Hermann Rorschach (1884–1922)," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 18, no. 5 (September 1954), 214.

Ultimately, however, the career of a provincial asylum doctor and administrator frustrated Ellenberger. He recalls the modest salary of his post at Schaffhausen, the endless ward rounds and staff meetings, and the excessive paperwork required under the Swiss hospital system. Moreover, after the preceding decade in France, Ellenberger experienced in Switzerland a certain claustrophobia—a *Kantönligeist* or "little canton spirit," he calls it. Perhaps most significantly, after a number of years at Schaffhausen Ellenberger was chagrined to realize that, without a diploma from a Swiss medical faculty, he was unable to advance to a position at one of the prestigious university psychiatric clinics of Zurich, Basel, Bern, Lausanne, or Geneva. For these reasons, by the early 1950s Ellenberger was open to alternative career opportunities.

Foremost among these opportunities in Ellenberger's mind was America. Following the war, which had impeded the flow of medical and scientific information in both directions across the Atlantic, a strong interest formed in Switzerland in learning about recent developments in psychotherapeutics abroad. In this spirit, Ellenberger was able to procure from the American-Swiss Foundation a grant for a three-month sojourn in the United States in order to lecture on contemporary European psychiatric theories and practices and to return with information about the latest American developments. From September to December 1952, Ellenberger toured widely throughout the United States, speaking at prominent psychiatric establishments in New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, Washington, and Chicago.[14] Included in his travels was a three-week stay in Topeka, Kansas, at the Menninger Clinic. Ellenberger departed from America late in 1952 with a wealth of ideas and observations about life in the New World—and with an offer to join the Menninger staff as a professor of clinical psychiatry on the teaching faculty and as a special assistant to Karl Menninger.

The family partnership between father and sons in Topeka that matured into the Menninger Clinic had begun in 1919 and had grown steadily during the following two decades. During the post–World War II years, the institution was undergoing a rapid expansion of all of its medical services. As Lawrence Friedman recounts in his recent history of the establishment, by the 1950s the clinic was evolving into "the major facility for mental health professional education in the nation."[15] Moreover, during the 1930s and early 1940s, many European physicians had emigrated to the

[14] Ellenberger's lecture during this trip, which seems to have charmed his audiences, was later printed as "Current Trends in European Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 7 (1953), 733–53.

[15] Lawrence J. Friedman, *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic* (New York, Knopf, 1990), xi.

United States, and, under the guidance of David Rapaport, no institution had been more active in recruiting central European psychotherapists, particularly psychoanalysts, than the Menninger.[16] With close associations with the Topeka Psychoanalytic Institute, and with a growing number of European psychoanalysts on its staff, the overwhelming theoretical and therapeutic orientation of the institution during this period was Freudian.

Early in 1953, Ellenberger assumed his new post in the United States. At the Menninger, he for the first time moved from the hospital ward and the administrator's office into the classroom. Working now in English, he taught students, mainly young American doctors, at the Menninger School of Psychiatry in various psychiatric subjects. The curriculum log at the Menninger Archives today indicates that he offered lecture courses on "General Psychopathology," "Classic Psychiatric Syndromes," and "Principles of Psychiatric Treatment" as well as seminars devoted to more specialized topics, such as "Alcoholism and Addiction," "The Neuroses," and "Sexual Deviations."

At the same time, Ellenberger found almost immediately that he was valued in Topeka for other reasons, too. With his multilingualism and his extensive knowledge of recent developments in European psychiatry, he was able to serve as a channel for information about contemporary European psychiatry to American practitioners. Throughout the 1950s, the *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* is chock-full of lengthy reviews by Ellenberger of the latest French, German, Swiss, Dutch, Spanish, and Russian medical texts. Ellenberger soon discovered that he was also appreciated by his American hosts for his close personal familiarity with many European psychiatric figures. For instance, a strong interest existed in American psychiatric circles at the time in the Rorschach Test, and at the Menninger, Gardner Murphy was conducting extensive experiments in his psychological laboratory with projective diagnostic techniques. Staff members and students were therefore intrigued to learn that Ellenberger personally knew members of the Rorschach family, had lived and practiced in Schaffhausen, and could describe vividly the institutions where Rorschach had worked. In response to this interest, during his first year in Topeka Ellenberger wrote a lengthy article—really a short monograph—about Rorschach based on a reading of Rorschach's complete writings and on personal interviews with Rorschach's family, teachers, and former colleagues.[17] It

[16] On the immigration of European psychoanalysts to the United States, refer to Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930–1941* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968), chap. 6. For émigré psychiatrists at the Menninger specifically, see Friedman, *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic*, chap. 5.

[17] Ellenberger, "Life and Work of Hermann Rorschach."

was Ellenberger's first piece of historical writing. In much the same way, Ellenberger often lectured during the 1950s to professional audiences in America about Bleuler, Jung, Adler, Pfister, Binswanger, Maeder, Szondi, Minkowski, and others.

Ellenberger had come to the Menninger with a primary research interest in ethnopsychiatry. However, based on this new and unexpected interest in his knowledge of twentieth-century European psychiatric history, he gradually set his research aside. Curriculum records at the Menninger indicate that in the academic year 1955–1956 Ellenberger for the first time organized a lecture course entitled "The History of Dynamic Psychiatry." The course, which consisted of forty one-hour lectures, reviewed the prescientific origins of modern-day psychiatry from primitive medicine to the Enlightenment, then proceeded to the main theoretical models of dynamic psychiatry in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and concluded with reflections on the contemporary state of psychological theory and therapeutics. The new class was a success, and for the next four years Ellenberger offered the course regularly, polishing his lectures on the subject. These lectures, which are preserved today in handwritten notebooks in his personal archives, represent Ellenberger's first attempt to formulate a comprehensive account of the history of psychiatry; they would later contribute directly to *The Discovery of the Unconscious.*[18]

Without a doubt, Ellenberger's years at the Menninger were a highly significant period in his career. But in the long run Ellenberger chose not to remain in the United States. During the 1950s, Ellenberger's family had remained in Switzerland, where his children were educated, which meant that his time with them was largely limited to the summers. Moreover, with a diverse and cosmopolitan Continental background, it is likely that Ellenberger over time tired of life in a provincial midwestern American setting. Also, while Ellenberger practiced on the staff of the Menninger, he never studied for medical certification in any American state, so that his opportunities for professional practice at other locations in the country were very limited. In combination with these factors, we can speculate that Ellenberger ultimately found the theoretical atmosphere at the Menninger less than congenial. Ellenberger's writings and teachings establish at once his deep familiarity with psychoanalytic theory. But in his personal clinical practice, he has always insisted on a theoretical and therapeutic eclecticism. In addition to psychoanalysis, he has also remained keenly interested in phenomenological psychiatry and existential analysis as well as Jungian

[18] Two of Ellenberger's course lectures were published at the time: "The Ancestry of Dynamic Therapy," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 20, no. 6 (November 1956), 288–99; and "The Unconscious before Freud," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 21, no. 1 (January 1957), 3–15, which later appeared with revisions as, respectively, the first and second chapters of *The Discovery of the Unconscious.*

Analytical Psychology, all of which were then at the peak of development in France, Germany, and Switzerland. It is not certain that these enthusiasms were uniformly welcome at the Menninger in the 1950s. Also, here as elsewhere in his career, it is well to recall Ellenberger's Swiss background. The psychoanalytic school in Switzerland included a rich tradition of lay analysis, accommodated religious interests and beliefs (as exemplified by the psychoanalyst–theologian Pfister), and extended creatively toward the humanities, especially philosophy, literature, and pedagogy. To be sure, Ellenberger found the American psychiatric world of the 1950s more open professionally than the European; but it is likely that he also experienced it as somewhat dogmatic, monodoctrinal, and overly medicalized. If he left Switzerland for professional reasons, he departed Topeka for reasons that were personal, cultural, and ideological.

At the same time, there were many things that Ellenberger admired about life in America. He therefore now searched for a setting that would combine features of the Old and New Worlds and where his French-speaking family could join him. In Montreal, Canada, he found the ideal location. In 1959, Ellenberger left the Menninger and traveled to Montreal, where for the next three years he worked at the Allan Memorial Institute, a facility for general family psychiatry associated with McGill University in the English-speaking sector of the city. Then, in the early 1960s, the University of Montreal sought to establish a Department of Criminology within its Faculty of Social Sciences, the first academic program of its kind in Canada. Academic criminology had not previously been a major area of interest for Ellenberger; but in Poitiers and Schaffhausen he had often provided local medicolegal testimony and filed forensic reports. Therefore, in 1962 Ellenberger accepted a position on the faculty of this new department, a return after over two decades to a French-speaking work environment.

At the University of Montreal, Ellenberger for the next fifteen years taught the psychology and biology of criminal behavior to students in both medicine and the social sciences. He offered lecture courses on "Psychiatry for Criminologists," "Biocriminology," "Judicial Psychology," and "The History of Criminology"; and he developed seminars on "Classical Theories of Criminology," "Victimology" (a subdiscipline he helped to pioneer), and "The Normal and the Pathological." From 1962 to 1965, he ranked on the Montreal faculty as *professeur agrégé* and from 1965 to 1976 as *professeur titulaire*. During the period 1964 to 1972 he also worked as a consultant at the Institut Pinel, a maximum-security prison for the violent insane, and beginning in 1972, he served as a staff psychiatrist at the Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal. Ellenberger retired in the spring of 1977, at the age of 72. At that time he was appointed professor emeritus. He has retained his residence in Montreal, and it is there that he lives today.

Precisely when during the course of his career Ellenberger arrived at the idea of writing a major historical study of psychiatry is difficult to ascertain. The decision seems to have been made gradually, most likely during the second half of the 1950s when he was lecturing at the Menninger. To be sure, when Ellenberger set about systematically to research *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, there existed already a small historical literature on psychiatry, and this extant scholarship provides the immediate historiographical context for a critical understanding of Ellenberger's book. The earliest historical writing about psychiatry, which dates from the nineteenth century, was German in provenance and often took the form either of chapters on psychiatry in general medical histories or of introductory historical chapters to psychiatric textbooks. From the 1920s to the 1950s, a number of ambitious biographical compendia appeared that presented the lives and writings of major psychiatric figures in France and Germany.[19] Also, several volumes had been published that traced in linear fashion the history of psychiatric ideas or practices in individual countries.[20] These works provided highly valuable collections of factual material; but, as Ellenberger observed quietly, they tended to be narrative in style and hagiographical in conception as well as at times nationalistic in tone and intent.

Furthermore, book-length historical accounts of psychiatry up to this time were usually cast in one of two historiographical modes—what might be called the humanitarian/rationalist mode and the Freudian/teleological mode. These approaches were combined in what was easily the most influential study of psychiatric history before Ellenberger's volume, Gregory Zilboorg's *A History of Medical Psychology* (1941).[21] Born and brought up in Russia, trained psychoanalytically in Berlin, and then practicing prominently in private practice in New York City, Zilboorg provided the "standard" version of the history of psychiatry for a generation of medical practitioners. Zilboorg's *History of Medical Psychology* had a number of merits: it was international in scope; chronologically, it offered a full history from primitive times to the present; and the book was attractively

[19] Theodor Kirchhoff, ed., *Deutsche Irrenärzte: Einzelbilder ihres Lebens und Wirkens*, 2 vols. (Berlin, Verlag Von Julius Springer, 1921, 1924); René Semelaigne, *Les pionniers de la psychiatrie française avant et après Pinel*, 2 vols. (Paris, Baillière, 1930, 1932); Kurt Kolle, ed., *Grosse Nervenärzte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, Georg Thieme Verlag, 1956, 1959, 1963).

[20] Albert Deutsch, *The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1937); Denis Leigh, *The Historical Development of British Psychiatry* (Oxford, Pergamon, 1961); Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine, eds., *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry, 1535–1860: A History Presented in Selected English Texts* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1963); Henri Baruk, *La psychiatrie française de Pinel à nos jours* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967).

[21] Gregory Zilboorg, in collaboration with George W. Henry, *History of Medical Psychology* (New York, Norton, 1941).

written, with many lively, lengthy quotations.[22] Interpretively, Zilboorg offered readers a rendition of psychiatry's history as a monumental clash between the forces of good and evil. He presented three historical foci of achievement: the struggle of the medical humanists of the Renaissance against witchcraft and the demonological view of mental illness; the legendary work of Philippe Pinel during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period to liberate the insane from an inhumane incarceration; and the career of Freud, dedicated to formulating a comprehensive, scientific theory of the mind and thereby to inaugurating the genuinely modern phase in the history of psychiatry. In Zilboorg's historical picture, as well as other works from the period, psychiatric history represented centrally a movement from ignorance and irrationality to scientific reason, and from cruelty and persecution to organized kindness and enlightenment.[23] Despite occasional delays, the story was a clear, unilinear, and unproblematical progression to the achievement of Freud.[24]

Several historical works of note also appeared in the two decades following Zilboorg's *History of Medical Psychology*. Between 1957 and 1968 (the year in which Ellenberger completed *The Discovery of the Unconscious*), no fewer than six monographs on the general history of psychiatry were published.[25] Ellenberger admired aspects of these books.[26] But two of these volumes represented compilations of essays, and the others were all under two hundred pages in length. In 1961, a second major study appeared in the form of Werner Leibbrand and Annemarie Wettley's *Der Wahnsinn: Geschichte der abendländischen Psychopathologie*.[27] Unfortunately, this volume has never been translated into English and is not well known among readers in Britain and North America; but Ellenberger was very familiar with it and considered it the best historical survey of psychia-

[22] For more on Zilboorg and his historical work, refer to George Mora, "Three American Historians of Psychiatry: Albert Deutsch, Gregory Zilboorg, George Rosen," in Wallace and Pressley, *Essays in the History of Psychiatry*, 6–13.

[23] See also Walter Bromberg, *Man Above Humanity: A History of Psychotherapy* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1954); idem, *The Mind of Man: The History of Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1959); and J. Schultz, *Psychotherapie: Leben und Werke grosser Arzte* (Stuttgart, Hippokrates Verlag, 1952).

[24] For the *locus classicus* of this Whig historiography, see the epilogue of Zilboorg's book.

[25] Erwin H. Ackerknecht, *Kurze Geschichte der Psychiatrie* (Stuttgart, Ferdinand & Enke, 1957; English translation, 1959); Mark Altschule, *Roots of Modern Psychiatry* (New York, Grune and Stratton, 1957); Jerome M. Schneck, *A History of Psychiatry* (Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1960); Nigel Walker, *A Short History of Psychotherapy in Theory and Practice* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957); Ernest Harms, *Origins of Modern Psychiatry* (Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1967); Baruk, *Psychiatrie française*.

[26] In particular, see his reviews of Ackerknecht in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 32 (1958), 380–81, and Harms in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 43 (1969), 94–95.

[27] Werner Leibbrand and Annemarie Wettley, *Der Wahnsinn: Geschichte der abendländischen Psychopathologie* (Freiburg, Karl Alber, 1961).

try available at the time.[28] Running to nearly seven hundred pages, Leibbrand and Wettley's book was substantial. It did a good job of placing the main events of psychiatric history in the context of general medical history, and, along with Erwin Ackerknecht's study, it was one of the few books of its kind to be written by professional medical historians rather than physicians. Still, Ellenberger felt that the work had serious limitations. Leibbrand and Wettley were excessively concerned with the philosophical aspects of psychiatric theory, and they seemed to place an inordinate emphasis on German medical developments. Despite the length of the book, the historical sources on which it rested were limited to the most basic printed medical texts, and a good third of the book was given over to lengthy quotations from primary texts. Above all, Leibbrand and Wettley displayed a marked lack of concern, if not outright hostility, to the idea and the history of depth psychology.

Finally, in 1962, when Ellenberger was deeply engaged in the research for his own volume, Lancelot Whyte's *The Unconscious before Freud* appeared.[29] Here was a work that dealt squarely with the history of dynamic psychiatry and that privileged the theme of the unconscious. (Whyte, in fact, had drawn his title from Ellenberger's 1957 essay "The Unconscious before Freud.")[30] But, again, the book was very slender, offered essentially a catalogue of quotations, and was structured throughout by a pronounced psychoanalytic historical teleology. In other words, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when Ellenberger set about the task of reading and writing for a large-scale historical study, there was ample room for a better book on the subject.[31]

Once Ellenberger embarked upon his historical project, he seems almost immediately to have become passionately involved in it. What had hitherto been an occasional and somewhat antiquarian avocation for him quickly became a consuming intellectual pursuit. In fact, one has the impression that from this time onward in his career, Ellenberger's medical practice, which filled his workaday hours, became largely a practical necessity and

[28] See his very favorable assessment of the book in "Histoire de la psychopathologie en Occident," *Critique*, 18 (1962), 641–55.

[29] Lancelot Law Whyte, *The Unconscious before Freud* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1962).

[30] Also available at the time on this theme were Edward L. Margetts, "The Concept of the Unconscious in the History of Medical Psychology," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 27 (1953), 115–38; and Mark D. Altschule, "The Growth of the Concept of Unconscious Cerebration before 1890," in his *Roots of Modern Psychiatry: Essays in the History of Psychiatry*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (New York, Grune and Stratton, 1965), chap. 4.

[31] For a comprehensive bibliography of the psychiatric historical literature when Ellenberger began writing *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, refer to George Mora, "The History of Psychiatry: A Cultural and Bibliographical Survey," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 52 (1965), 298–328.

that his absorbing interest now lay in historical scholarship. However, Ellenberger at this point soon came to realize the amount of time and application entailed in a large scholarly enterprise. From the beginning, he was determined to base his study on extensive reading in fresh primary source materials, but this of course required research in European libraries and archives. However, to his great and continual frustration, he found over the next decade that, despite repeated requests, he was unable to obtain sabbatical leave from his medical labors in Canada in order to pursue historical research abroad.

As a result, over the years Ellenberger developed a distinctive and ingenious strategy for research. During the academic year, he lived in Montreal, tending full-time to his duties as a teaching and institutional psychiatrist. He then spent the long summer months of every year in Europe. For these trips, he prepared meticulously with an extensive correspondence with overseas librarians and archivists. During these carefully planned expeditions each year, Ellenberger moved relatively rapidly from one research location to the next. He also regularly combined his reading in libraries with visits to sites significant in the history of psychiatry and with extensive personal interviews with friends, colleagues, and family members of the figures he was studying. His daily travelogues, which he maintained for later reading by his family, record his scholarly activities during these trips: a conversation with Alfred Adler's daughter in New York City, a visit to Ernest Jones in his country home outside of London, a tour with Manfred Bleuler through the Burghölzli Hospital in Zurich, an expedition to Küsnacht to examine Jung's private library, a trip to the newly opened Freud House Museum in Vienna, an excursion to a private sanatorium along Lake Constance where a famous patient of Josef Breuer's had been treated, and so on.

Nor were Ellenberger's scholarly peregrinations limited to the major western and central European countries. His travel diary for the summer of 1961, for instance, reads "Psychiatric Impressions from Latin American Countries." It records his experiences of meeting physicians, lecturing (in Spanish) in several countries, and exploring public and private mental-health facilities in South America. In 1968, he took a similar trip to northern Africa, and during the summer of 1970 he visited a dozen and a half psychiatric facilities in the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden.[32] Furthermore, in many places that he visited Ellenberger was careful to establish

[32] Other documents pertaining to Ellenberger's research activities are included in his personal archives, which are now housed at the Institut Henri Ellenberger. These materials include a vast correspondence with friends, colleagues, historians, librarians, and archivists across Europe conducted in search of texts and manuscripts. Ellenberger's daily travel diaries remain in the possession of the Ellenberger family. However, for an excerpt see Appendix B.

good working relations with local physicians, medical historians, and library staff, which allowed him to continue his research subsequently through the mail.

Ellenberger's diaries indicate that he traveled in this manner from the mid-1950s until 1981. Through this combination of activities, he was able over the years to amass an enormous quantity of data about his subject. In 1965, in the evenings after his day's work in the classroom and hospital ward, he began to write up his material. This same year, he was awarded a modest three-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health in the United States, which allowed him to procure the services of a typist to assist in the preparation of his book. Three years later, in December 1968, he completed a full manuscript, and early in 1970 his book appeared in print.

The Discovery of the Unconscious: Anatomy of a Historical Masterwork

With its 10 chapters, 932 pages, and 2,611 footnotes, *The Discovery of the Unconscious* is indeed a book to grapple with. The subtitle of the book states clearly the subject matter of the work: the history and evolution of dynamic psychiatry. Ellenberger never formally defines dynamic psychiatry in the book but rather describes it, massively, over the course of a thousand pages. Elsewhere in his writings, he characterizes this branch of medicine by contrasting it with its principal rival psychological traditions. It is dynamic, or depth, psychiatry and psychology that interests him—as opposed to the rational, commonsense psychologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, organic psychiatries that trace mental illnesses to pathophysiological disturbances of the brain, descriptive Kraepelinian psychiatry, or Pavlovian and Skinnerian behavioral psychologies.[33] Furthermore, at the center of the history of dynamic psychiatry, in Ellenberger's interpretation, lies the study of a dual model of the mind, divided fundamentally between conscious and unconscious mentation. The goal of his study, which Ellenberger also declares clearly at the outset, is threefold: to establish a factually accurate historical account of psychiatric history; to present the origins and idea content of "the great dynamic psychiatric systems" of the past; and to analyze the scientific and cultural meanings of these systems.[34]

[33] Ellenberger, "Ancestry of Dynamic Therapy," 288; "The Evolution of Depth Psychology," in Iago Galdston, ed., *Historic Derivations of Modern Psychiatry* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967), 159–60.

[34] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, v–vi.

Ellenberger sets out the guiding methodological principles of his work in the preface as well as in a separate article published at the same time.[35] He had been struck by the fact that nearly everything written to date about psychiatry and its history was the product of students, partisans, or rivals of particular theories or schools. As a result, he observes, the historical literature on this topic, far more than that about other branches of medicine or science, is replete with tendentious and polemical formulations, to say nothing of simple factual errors. Ellenberger used Philippe Pinel, whom he admires greatly, as an example. No figure was more important in the history of the field; and yet no dependable biography of Pinel existed, only a string of contemporary personal anecdotes, repeated as factual stories, and elevated over time into historical legend.[36] In a similar vein, Ellenberger contends that almost none of the translations into other languages of past psychiatric writings are reliable. As a consequence, he develops a series of simple but important countermeasures that he follows throughout his historical work: at all times verify factual materials, including the most basic facts of biography; gather information from primary source materials rather than secondary literature; read comprehensively and chronologically in the *oeuvre* of a past author; and use first editions of texts in the language in which they were written.

In his prefatory comments to *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, Ellenberger also establishes the range of his study. Previous works had offered essentially linear intellectual histories of psychiatry, accounts of medical doctrine as found in the best-known printed medical texts of the past. Ellenberger, too, places an intellectual-historical explication of his subject at center stage; but he will present this story, he explains, in the round, in its many defining historical contexts. He will combine a traditional study of the theoretical content of past theories of dynamic psychiatry with a consideration of the personality of the theorist, the professional setting, the ambient cultural and intellectual environment, the social and political context, and the clinical factors impinging upon the theoretician. Ellenberger's is to be a multidimensional historical portrait of psychiatry.

Organizationally, Ellenberger divides his work into three large sections. The first five chapters of the book deal with the intricate intellectual and cultural prehistory of modern-day psychiatry. The following four chapters, forming the bulk of the book, present detailed studies of the four major twentieth-century dynamic theoreticians. A closing chapter reviews all of the preceding information synthetically. A criticism frequently lodged

[35] Ellenberger, "Methodology in Writing the History of Dynamic Psychiatry," in George Mora and Jeanne L. Brand, eds., *Psychiatry and Its History: Methodological Problems in Research* (Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1970), 26–40.

[36] Ibid., 27–28.

against *The Discovery of the Unconscious* is that the book is swollen and shapeless. On first glance, the chapter headings seem repetitive, and one result has been a tendency for readers to use the work only as a kind of sourcebook of factual information. As I will discuss in greater detail, such an approach is particularly unfortunate because it obscures the important interpretive lines running through the work. Moreover, the impression of repetition and disorganization is largely the result of a presentational deficiency in the American edition of the work, which lists in the table of contents only the major chapter headings, excluding the many subsections of each chapter that differentiate the chapters from one another. An examination of these chapter subheadings, which are included in the French edition of the book, reveals that *The Discovery of the Unconscious* is in fact expertly organized (see Appendix A).

Considering the high inherent interest of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, the central place of the text in Ellenberger's intellectual career, and its numerous interconnections with his historical essays, it is valuable to survey the contents of the book. The opening chapter of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, entitled "The Ancestry of Dynamic Psychiatry," presents a discussion of primitive medicine in prehistoric Western societies and in present-day preliterate populations. Zilboorg had presented primitive medicine as a background of superstition and irrationality against which to define the coming of the medical Enlightenment. However, for Ellenberger the shamans and medicine men of primitive peoples had been the first true practitioners of psychotherapy.[37] Drawing widely on historical and anthropological evidence from African, Australian, Siberian, Japanese, and Native American societies, he isolates ten varieties of primitive mental healing. Much of primitive psychotherapy, he demonstrates, was based on the concept of invasion by a foreign disease entity and the magical or ritualistic extraction of the pathogenic object. He proposes that primitive medicine men operated in essence as intuitive psychosomaticians and as such were often highly successful. Their curative techniques were wholly rational within the belief systems of their time, and they usually involved structured ritualized activities engaged in by a specially designated charismatic healer who performed his cure in a public, communal setting. Many

[37] The publication in 1951 of the first volume of Henry Sigerist's *History of Medicine* initiated a widespread interest in primitive medical practices. Sigerist's authoritative volume was followed by an influential article by Erwin Ackerknecht arguing specifically for the significance of psychological healing among primitive populations. See Henry E. Sigerist, *History of Medicine*, 2 vols. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951), vol. 1, *Primitive and Archaic Medicine*, especially chap. 2; and Erwin H. Ackerknecht, "Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine, and Primitive Culture," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 14 (1943), 30–67.

of these early curative procedures, Ellenberger speculates, involved the induction of hypnotic or quasi-hypnotic states.[38]

Following his analysis of primitive medicine, Ellenberger considers a series of other related past therapeutic practices from diverse cultural settings. These include ceremonial temple healing and "philosophical psychotherapy" in the ancient world; the Catholic experiences of confession, demonic possession, and exorcism; and the Protestant practice of the "Cure of Souls."[39] The explanatory worldviews of these practices, he observes, were very different one from the other; but the psychological factors and forces at play in these methods were often notably similar to those of latter-day scientific psychotherapies. Far from representing an undifferentiated background of ignorance and superstition, many of these teachings offered "a surprisingly high degree of insight into what are usually considered the most recent discoveries in the realm of the human mind."[40] Where previous Whig historians, then, had envisioned a radical value-laden dichotomy between primitivist, religious, and philosophical beliefs and modern science, Ellenberger perceived profound continuities across twenty-five centuries of theory and practice.[41]

An interesting feature of all historical accounts of psychiatry concerns the chronological point at which they begin. What do psychiatric historians interpret as the most important themes in the development of the discipline? Whom do they offer as the founding figures of the field? And where do they locate the key, transformational episodes in psychiatry's past? For Ellenberger, the royal road to the discovery of the unconscious lay through the study of hypnosis, and this hypnotic exploration of the human mind was initiated in the 1770s by the Viennese physician Franz Anton Mesmer. Ellenberger believes that in the exploration of unconscious mental life, Mesmer was a figure of premier importance. Mesmer's work of the late eighteenth century, he shows, was elaborated upon in Europe and North America during the following hundred years by a diversity of medical and nonmedical writers, including animal magnetists, hypnotists, and lay healers. During the 1890s, this heritage of Mesmeric work was picked up, systematized, and scientized by the first major dynamic psychiatric theorists. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of *The Discovery of the Unconscious* represent chronologically parallel but thematically distinct studies of this important line of evolution from Mesmer to the late nineteenth century.

The second chapter of the book, "The Emergence of Dynamic Psychia-

[38] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, 4–12.

[39] Ibid., 13–22, 40–43, 43–46.

[40] Ibid., 3.

[41] In Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, see Table 1–3, p. 47, which explicitly compares these past and present therapeutic modes.

try," provides a straightforward descriptive narrative of the figures and texts involved in this century-long sequence of research. Ellenberger dates the beginnings of dynamic psychiatry specifically from 1775, when Mesmer clashed with Father Johann Joseph Gassner, a country priest from Württemberg. During the 1770s, Gassner had became widely known for his dramatic public cures of local townspeople, which he conducted as traditional Catholic exorcisms. Mesmer adopted Gassner's procedures; but he effectively naturalized Gassner's work by explaining the alleged recoveries they produced according to fashionable Newtonian theories of the day. Ellenberger then relates colorfully the well-known stories of Mesmer's theories of animal magnetism, of the fashionable Mesmeric cults in which well-to-do Parisian ladies gathered around magnetized *baquets* of water, and of the censorship of Mesmer's activities by a royal commission in 1784.[42]

According to Ellenberger, the next link in this historical chain was furnished by the Marquis de Puységur, a provincial nobleman and high-ranking military officer from Lorraine, France. Puységur had begun as a disciple of Mesmer; however, he soon broke with the orthodox Mesmerists when he made the crucial realization that the cures brought about by Mesmer were not the product of a pseudophysical magnetic fluid but an unknown psychological force operating between the magnetist and the magnetized. By psychologizing the concept of the magnetic *rapport*, Ellenberger argues, Puységur in effect discovered the first channel for psychotherapeutic action between doctor and patient, and for this he deserves a position equal to Mesmer's as the originator of modern dynamic psychiatry. Puységur subsequently practiced his technique on local peasants in the village square of Buzancy near his family estate in the Ardennes where local people joined hands around a large magnetized elm tree.[43] Later in his career, he advocated the use of magnetism in hospitals to treat the insane.

To be sure, the work of Mesmer and Puységur had been discussed by previous medical historians; but Ellenberger characteristically probes further. He discovers that, while Mesmerism had been officially suppressed in 1784, popular interest in animal magnetism flourished until the middle of the following century. In France, the Abbé Faria, François Joseph Noizet, J.P.F. Deleuze, Alexandre Bertrand, and Antoine and Prosper Despine continued Mesmer's research. Between 1815 and 1850, Ellenberger finds, no fewer than nine journals of "magnetic medicine" appeared, and across eastern France, where the influence of Puységur remained strong, societies of animal magnetism cropped up ubiquitously. Using articles from local newspapers and rare compendia of published cases by local physicians

[42] Ibid., 53–69.

[43] Ibid., 70–74. See also Appendix B.

housed at the University Library of Strasbourg, Ellenberger studies the medical and popular-cultural history of the Mesmerist movement during this period. Furthermore, he brings to light the great interest in Mesmerism in the German lands between 1790 and 1820. In Prussia and Bavaria, for instance, animal magnetism was interpreted according to the dominant Romantic philosophies of the day, as a kind of quasi-pantheistic force, and was studied closely in the universities and with governmental support.

With the coming of scientific positivism at mid-century and the movement toward organicism in the mental sciences, the study of hypnotic psychological phenomena, Ellenberger explains, suffered an eclipse on the European continent. However, in England and Scotland during the 1840s, John Elliotson, James Braid (who coined the term *hypnotism*), and James Esdaile explored the possibility of "Mesmeric anesthesia," or the use of hypnosis for inducing sleep during surgical operations. During these same years, a wave of spiritism began to sweep across large parts of the United States, spreading eventually to Europe and bringing in its wake the practices of séances and mediumship. Another approach to the study of the mind and its unconscious activities was pursued.[44]

The revival of the medical study of hypnosis, and the immediate lead into twentieth-century psychological dynamism, Ellenberger shows next, took place back in France with the appearance of two competing schools of research during the final quarter of the century. In Paris, Jean-Martin Charcot, at the height of international fame for his neurological research, became interested in hypnosis and employed hypnotic techniques in widely publicized experiments on patients with fixed hysterical symptoms. Drawing on a wide range of contemporary medical and popular writings, Ellenberger paints a memorable descriptive portrait of Charcot's scientific work and cultural milieu during the French *fin de siècle*.[45] Simultaneous with Charcot's work in the French capital were developments in Nancy. In the 1860s, A. A. Liébeault, a country doctor familiar with the ideas of Noizet and Bertrand, treated with somnambulic trances poor people from the Lorraine countryside suffering from all manner of mental and physical ailments. Liébeault met with considerable success. The following decade, many of his practices were picked up and developed by Hippolyte Bernheim, a distinguished internist on the medical faculty at the nearby University of Nancy, who in turn formed an informal school of followers around him.[46] With Charcot and Bernheim, the study of hypnotic phenomena, censored officially in France since the late Enlightenment, was integrated into mainstream academic medicine. For Ellenberger, therefore, the back-

[44] Ibid., 81–85.

[45] Ibid., 89–101. See also Chapter 4, "Charcot and the Salpêtrière School."

[46] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, 85–89.

ground to modern psychiatry began with the secularization of the Catholic practices of exorcism in the latter half of the eighteenth century, advanced though the work of Mesmer and Puységur on animal magnetism, extended through an array of lay and professional practitioners of hypnotism across the nineteenth century, and culminated in the writings of Charcot, Bernheim, and their students.[47]

At first glance, it might seem that the work of Mesmer, Puységur, and their followers represented little more than a chapter in the history of charlatanry; but Ellenberger avers otherwise. In the third chapter of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, "The Background of Dynamic Psychiatry," he proposes innovatively that the cumulative knowledge produced by several generations of Mesmerists, magnetizers, and hypnotists represented a full-fledged system of psychology and psychiatry. Ellenberger goes so far as to refer to these teachings as "the first dynamic psychiatry."[48] Drawing on the abundant nineteenth-century literature of animal magnetism and hypnotism (including monographs by medical Mesmerists, polemical pamphlet literature, Mesmeric textbooks, and the autobiographies of popular magnetists), he reconstructs the salient features of this early psychological dynamism. In the main, the first dynamic psychiatry was the result of experiments made on hypnotized patients. This knowledge was not systematic and theoretical but descriptive and observational. Furthermore, clinical description during the nineteenth century tended to cluster around three or four basic conditions and syndromes—early in the century, around the so-called magnetic diseases, such as artificially induced somnambulism, lethargy, and catalepsy; then around multiple personality, or *dédoublement de la personnalité*; and finally, during the closing quarter of the century, around the diagnosis of hysteria, which synthesized these earlier clinical categories and led directly into the "scientific" psychodynamic theories as they are known presently.

Cumulatively, Ellenberger continues, the writings of Mesmer, Puységur, and their followers document a dual model of the mind, the existence of conscious and unconscious ego activities, and a belief in the psychogenesis of many emotional and physical conditions. Their works also reveal the utilization of the unconscious for specific psychotherapeutic purposes.

[47] Similar historical trajectories had been described by other historians of psychiatry. Consider, for example, Zilboorg, *History of Medical Psychology*, chap. 9, and Bromberg, *The Mind of Man*, chap. 8. It was Ellenberger's accomplishment to present this line of evolution in much greater detail than before and to highlight a large number of new historical figures and episodes in it.

[48] With the use of this phrase, Ellenberger is most likely playing off of Zilboorg's chapter "The First Psychiatric Revolution," in which Zilboorg described with high praise the work of Agrippa, Vives, and Weyer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Zilboorg, *History of Medical Psychology*, chap. 7).

Elaborating on these points, Ellenberger reviews the range of techniques of hypnotization employed during the 1800s. He discusses as well a series of nineteenth-century cases of "ambulatory automatisms," or prolonged hysterical fugue states in which individuals in a post hypnotic state executed extraordinary activities.[49] Following this, in some of the most fascinating pages of the book, he narrates several semilegendary cases of multiple personality found in these writings, including the stories of Mary Reynolds (told by Dr. John Mitchell), "Estelle" (Despine), "Félida" (Azam), "Hélène Smith" (Flournoy), "Elena" (Morselli), Ansel Bourne (Hodgson and James), and "Miss Beauchamp" (Morton Prince).[50] Within this psychiatric literature, Ellenberger discriminates between the many types of multiple personality discovered at the time. He also describes the remarkable supranormal phenomena exhibited by these individuals, including suggestibility at a distance, enhanced mimetic abilities, sensory anesthesias and hyperesthesias, and anterograde and retrograde amnesia.

Psychotherapeutically, the first dynamic psychiatry, Ellenberger also shows, laid great emphasis on the "magnetic rapport" between doctor and patient. He reviews past theories of the origin and nature of the rapport (including electrical, astronomical, vitalistic, erotic, and psychological theories), and he exposes the range of effects (sedative, suggestive, authoritative, and cathartic) for which the rapport was employed. He estimates that the literature of Mesmerism and hypnosis investigated the emotional aspects of the patient-therapist relationship more deeply than anything preceding the psychoanalytic exploration of transference.[51] He closes with the decline of the first dynamic psychiatry around 1890, by which time certain dangers inherent in hypnotic research as well as its sensationalistic exploitation by popular demonstrators once again conspired to discredit the practice in official medical circles.

In the fourth chapter of his book, Ellenberger moves from textual analysis to historical contextualization. He contends that developments in the history of dynamic psychiatry become fully intelligible only against the background of social, political, and intellectual history. The Industrial Revolution, the great democratic political movements of Europe and America, and the fragmentation of the old hierarchical social structures were among the salient long-range historical developments during the period of the first dynamic psychiatry.[52] Culturally, this period was marked by the Enlightenment, the Romantic movement, and the era of positivism.

The most significant passages in this chapter consist of the four middle

[49] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, 124–26.
[50] Ibid., 126–40.
[51] Ibid., 152–55.
[52] Ibid., 186–92.

sections devoted to the impact of the Romantic movement on psychological theorizing.[53] Following the interpretation of the German historian of medicine Werner Leibbrand, Ellenberger advances the concept of "Romantic medicine," which included, he proposes, a Romantic phase of psychiatric history.[54] German *Naturphilosophie* of 1800 to 1840, he observes, displayed a great interest in extreme and bizarre states of mind, including dreams, hallucinations, and many forms of mental illness. Ellenberger discusses in particular the ideas of Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling, Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert, Ignaz Paul Vital Troxler, and Carl Gustav Carus. Arthur Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation* of 1819, which exerted an enormous influence on nineteenth-century German intellectuals, explored the irrational forces of the human mind and the dynamic character of human drives, including the sexual instincts. The German Romantic fascination with the unconscious culminated in Eduard von Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious* (1869).

Ellenberger then reviews the work of the "Romantic" psychiatrists proper, whose writings, he claims, contain many "modern" psychological insights. In *Rhapsodies on the Application for the Psychic Cure Method of Mental Disorders*, Johann Christian Reil expounded an entire program of psychotherapy for mental illness, including the use of "therapeutic theater." Johann Gottfried Langermann was a pioneer of occupational therapy. Johann Christian Heinroth studied the role of anxiety and guilt feelings in psychopathology. Karl Wilhelm Ideler emphasized the effects of frustrated sexual drives in the psychogenesis of mental diseases. And Heinrich Wilhelm Neumann devised an original system of psychology that emphasized the relationship between anxiety and masked sexual frustration in psychotic patients.[55] For many English-language readers, Ellenberger's discussion provided an introduction to these figures. Ellenberger finds that with the rise at mid-century of new scientific concepts, the study of brain anatomy became of prime importance in psychiatry and the work of the German *Psychikers* fell into disrepute. Nevertheless, Ellenberger evaluates their work highly and proposes that there was scarcely a single concept of Freud and Jung that was not anticipated by the German philosophies of nature and Romantic psychiatry.

In "On the Threshold of a New Dynamic Psychiatry," the fifth chapter of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, Ellenberger abandons the longitudinal

[53] Ibid., 199–223.

[54] Werner Leibbrand, *Romantische Medizin* (Hamburg and Leipzig, H. Goverts Verlag, 1937), especially chap. 5. See as well Zilboorg, *History of Medical Psychology*, 464–78; Max Neuburger, "British and German Psychiatry in the Second Half of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 18 (1945), 121–45; and Leibbrand and Wettley, *Der Wahnsinn*, 465–508.

[55] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, 210–15.

thematic evolution of dynamic psychiatry. He now focuses his historical microscope closely on the 1880s and 1890s. These were key transitional decades, bridging the old and new dynamic psychiatries; Ellenberger provides a detailed and searching analysis of the combined medical and cultural history of the period. He begins by reviewing the major characteristics of the closing quarter of the nineteenth century: the British Empire at the apex of its prestige and influence; Germany newly unified and growing rapidly in economic, political, and military power; Franco-German hostility continually at a high pitch; nationalistic unrest spreading across the Austro-Hungarian Empire; and so forth.[56] Within the sciences, he notes, the period witnessed the professionalization of one field after another. Increasingly, the loose collection of doctors, philosophers, quacks, and laypersons commenting in earlier times on matters of the mind gave way to "university psychiatry," situated institutionally in the major academic centers, dependent for clinical material on the new university clinics, and pursued in specialized scientific journals. He also highlights the new professional protocols of the period—the French patronal system and the *Korpsgeist* of the German and Austrian medical faculties—and considers the significance of these systems for the personal, professional, and theoretical behavior of doctors at the time.

Culturally, the *fin de siècle* brought a sharp reaction against the positivism and naturalism of the preceding generation. Ellenberger characterizes this as an age of "Neo-Romanticism."[57] As with the first Romantic period, there was again strong interest in the hidden depths of the human mind. The irrational, the occult, the primitive, and the mystical became choice subjects for novelists, poets, painters, philosophers, and physicians alike. A cult of decadence flourished in literary circles, and degenerationism, which had originated in the field of psychiatry in the 1840s and 1850s, became a major preoccupation of scientific intellectuals, as typified in Max Nordau's hugely influential *Degeneration* (1892). The neo-Romantic spirit flourished above all in Paris and Vienna, those quintessential capitals of the *belle époque*, which provided the two most important settings for the emergence of the new psychologies.[58]

Here, as elsewhere in his writings, Ellenberger highlights the anticipation of medicopsychological theories of the mind by philosophers and men and women of letters. In this regard, the most potent figure in late-nineteenth-century Europe was without a doubt Friedrich Nietzsche. Ellenberger adopts the interpretations of Ludwig Klages and Karl Jaspers

[56] Ibid., 254–62.

[57] He draws this term from Ika Thomese's *Romantik und Neu-Romantik* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1923).

[58] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, 278–84, 293–94.

and presents Nietzsche as an event equally in the histories of psychology and philosophy. In Ellenberger's view, Nietzsche was the great proponent of the "unmasking psychologies" of the day, which sought to reveal the hidden psychological functions of myths, religions, philosophies, and personal and social systems of secular morality. Nietzsche's exact influence on subsequent psychologists and psychiatrists is difficult to ascertain, Ellenberger concedes, but is nonetheless undeniable. Among the major theorists of the unconscious in the next century, only Jung, he writes, who engaged in a detailed exegesis of Nietzsche's writings, has acknowledged the great significance of the philosopher for his thinking.[59]

In other parts of this chapter, Ellenberger provides reviews of the European medical literature on several psychological themes prominent during the 1880s and 1890s. One characteristic of the final decades of the nineteenth century was the rapid expansion of investigations into sexual psychology and psychopathology. The literature of Catholic moral theory and the writings of authors such as Diderot, Rousseau, the Marquis de Sade, and Michelet had previously addressed with insight many aspects of human sexuality. However, beginning in the 1870s there emerged the idea of a *scientia sexualis*, including the psychiatric study of so-called sexual deviations. In 1870, Carl Westphal of the University of Berlin published the first "scientific" study of homosexuality or "contrary sexual instinct." In 1877, the French alienist Charles Lasègue coined the term *exhibitionism*, and ten years later the psychologist Alfred Binet provided a full clinical description of sexual fetishism. Ellenberger establishes that far and away the most influential early sexological text was Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, the first edition of which appeared in 1886. A compendium of case histories of sexually "abnormal" individuals related in graphic narrative form, the *Psychopathia Sexualis* provided a comprehensive classificatory scheme for the full range of human sexual behaviors. Around the turn of the century, medical texts began to appear that were more sophisticated theoretically, including Albert Moll's *Inquiry into Libido Sexualis* (1897), Havelock Ellis's *Studies on the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1910), and Freud's *Three Essays on a Theory of Sexuality* (1905).[60]

In much the same vein, Ellenberger uncovers a rich European tradition of theorizing about dreams in the immediate pre-Freudian era. During the mid-nineteenth-century period of medical materialism, dreams had been viewed as meaningless by-products of uncoordinated cerebral activity. But during the last third of the century, they became the object of systematic interest. Again, the subject was addressed simultaneously in texts of philosophy, theology, imaginative literature, medicine, and popular folklore.

[59] Ibid., 271–78.
[60] Ibid., 291–303.

Ellenberger reviews the research on dreams of many French, German, and Dutch authors between 1860 and 1900 who speculated on the religious, psychological, physiological, and mythopoetic functions of dreaming. He centers his discussion on three texts from the 1860s that probed the subject most deeply, namely, Karl Albert Scherner's *The Life of the Dream* (1861), Alfred Maury's *Sleep and Dreams* (1861), and M.-J.-L. Hervey de Saint-Denis's *Dreams and the Means to Direct Them* (1867). Hervey de Saint-Denis, who taught Chinese languages and literature at the Collège de France, emerges as a particularly interesting figure who recorded his dreams on consecutive mornings for nearly his entire adult lifetime and learned to recall, examine, and even direct his own oneiric productions.[61] Ellenberger closes this chapter charmingly with an excursus on turn-of-the-century utopian literature, in which psychology and psychiatry figured with surprising prominence.[62] This is perhaps the richest chapter in the book.

Following this, we move to the second half of *The Discovery of the Unconscious*. Chapters 6 through 9 of the book offer extensive studies, monographic in length and detail, of the four figures Ellenberger judges to be the major theoreticians of modern dynamic psychiatry. Veritable micro-biographies in themselves, these chapters discuss the main events in the lives of the theorists, consider their personalities, delineate the intellectual development of their theories and practices, reconstruct the intellectual sources of their writings, discuss the contemporary reception of their ideas, and assess their scientific influence and cultural impact. Ellenberger unites these chapters with comparative references to the ideas and practices of other figures and by indicating numerous points of biographical contact between them.

The first of these chapters deals with Pierre Janet (1859–1947), the only Frenchman among the four. In 1970, Ellenberger's chapter represented the first detailed account of Janet's life to be given in any language, and it remains today the most comprehensive exposition of Janet's ideas in English. Later in this introductory essay, Janet's intellectual significance for Ellenberger will be assessed. It will be sufficient here to say that Ellenberger had great esteem for Janet and insisted throughout his lifetime on Janet's cardinal historical importance. In this chapter, Ellenberger surveys Janet's life, including his early academic career as a philosophy teacher in Le Havre during the 1880s, his work from 1893 to 1902 at the new Institut Psychologique at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris, and his long and distinguished later career at the Collège de France. In reconstructing Janet's biography, Ellenberger uses a large quantity of data from Janet's files lo-

[61] Ibid., 303–11.
[62] Ibid., 318–21.

cated at the Le Havre *lycée*, the École Normale Supérieure, and the Collège de France as well as from conversations with Janet's daughters, Hélène Pichon-Janet and Fanny Janet.[63] He fleshes out Janet's career by using the interesting French technique of providing brief parallel biographies of a number of his subject's contemporaries, in this case of the philosopher Henri Bergson and the experimental psychologist Alfred Binet.[64]

The bulk of this chapter is devoted to an in-depth presentation of the full evolution of Janetian psychology. Ellenberger canvasses Janet's early psychological ideas as they appeared in his doctoral thesis in philosophy, *L'automatisme psychologique* of 1889. This text, Ellenberger argues, is a classic of psychological science in which Janet studies with great acuity phenomena such as hysteria, catalepsy, amnesia, artificial somnambulism, and ambulatory automatisms.[65] Janet then pursued the clinical exploration of these subjects in his medical dissertation, published four years later under the title *L'état mental des hystériques*. Ellenberger considers at length a series of case histories of hysterical patients in this study, highlighting along the way Janet's superb clinical sensibility at this early stage of his career.[66] These early writings, he proposes, represent the first full psychologization of the neurosis concept following the neurological and gynecological theories of the preceding generation.

Ellenberger then explicates Janet's theory of "subconscious fixed ideas." According to this notion, neurotic illnesses originated in a frightening or traumatic experience remote in the emotional history of the individual that was then pushed into the patient's subconscious (a term Janet coined) and around which psychological delusions or physical symptoms formed. Through hypnotic suggestion returning the patient to the original scene of the trauma, as well as through other therapeutic techniques, Janet believed that an individual could regain control over these pathogenic memories. Ellenberger notes the affinity of these ideas of Janet with the Freudian therapy of catharsis and, through a close chronological review of texts, attempts to establish the priority of Janet.[67]

Ellenberger next turns to Janet's later studies. In *Névroses et idées fixes* of 1898, Janet elaborated on his ideas about neurotic psychogenesis. And in *Obsessions et psychasthénie* of 1903, he developed the important concept of "*désagrégation psychologique*—psychological dissociation."[68] After 1910, Ellenberger demonstrates, Janet moved from clinical case studies toward system and synthesis. In *Les médications psychologiques*,

[63] Ibid., 334–47, 354–56.
[64] Ibid., 353–56.
[65] Ibid., 356–64.
[66] Ibid., 361–74.
[67] Ibid., 361–64, 373–77, 406–7.
[68] Ibid., 177–86.

his masterwork published in two large volumes in 1919, he developed a vast and imaginative scheme of the five levels of mental functioning and the discontinuity between those levels that could lead to mental disease.[69] From the 1920s onward, he dedicated himself mainly to the psychology of religion, his major statement from this period being *From Anguish to Ecstasy* of 1926.[70]

Following this summary of Janet's lifework, Ellenberger attempts to elucidate the range of intellectual influences operating on Janet. He emphasizes the importance for the youthful Janet of his uncle, Paul Janet, a well-established academic philosopher. He considers the nearly lifelong friendship between Janet and Bergson, and he effectively places Janet's work in the context of the early French experimental psychological school of Binet, Théodule Ribot, and Charles Féré. He also points out that Janet was the first major figure in the history of European dynamic psychology to learn extensively from the Americans, in particular from Josiah Royce, James Mark Baldwin, and William James.[71] Conversely, Ellenberger emphasizes that Janet's influence on later psychological theorists, while often unacknowledged, was profound. He specifies the Janetian element in the work of Bleuler, Freud, Jung, and Adler as well as the importance of Janet for certain major French psychiatrists of the twentieth century, such as Henri Baruk, Jean Delay, and Henri Ey.[72] Ellenberger concludes with reflections on the posthumous decline of Janet's reputation, which he attributes to the rise to prominence of Freudian psychoanalysis and Watsonian behavioral psychology. In the closing lines of the chapter, he casts forward optimistically to a time when readers—physicians and historians alike—will unearth Janet's work, which is now submerged and out of sight like some enormous archeological structure from the past.

The seventh chapter of *The Discovery of the Unconscious* deals with Sigmund Freud. Running to 150 pages with over 540 notes of documentation, this is the longest section of the book. The chapter is very full factually, and despite the quantity of scholarly commentary on Freud in 1970, Ellenberger manages to bring forth numerous previously unknown facts about Freud's life as well as fresh, at times controversial, interpretations of his work. Ellenberger begins biographically by reconstructing Freud's family genealogy. One point emerging from this discussion is the diversity of social and cultural backgrounds among Austrian Jews in the nineteenth century and the variety in attitudes toward their social and professional lives held by their descendants in Freud's time.[73] Ellenberger also offers an

[69] Ibid., 386–94.
[70] Ibid., 394–400.
[71] Ibid., 400–406.
[72] Ibid., 406–7.
[73] Ibid., 418–27.

account of Freud's schooling, drawing in part on the recently discovered correspondence of Freud with his adolescent friend Eduard Silberstein. He discusses Freud's medical education, in part through an analysis of the official curriculum of the Vienna Medical School in the 1880s, which had been made available to him by the Viennese historian Renée Gicklhorn.

Concerning Freud's adult career, Ellenberger centers his presentation on a selection of biographical episodes that he believes have been misrecorded or misrepresented in the extant psychoanalytic literature. He offers revisionist readings of the reception of Freud's well-known lecture on hysterical disorders in male patients to the Vienna Gesellschaft der Ärzte in 1886; of the slow advancement of Freud through the academic hierarchy in Vienna; of the professional reception of Freud's early writings, including the *Studies on Hysteria* (1895) and *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900); and of the role of Freud in the so-called Wagner-Jauregg Process of 1920 over the medical mistreatment of soldiers during the First World War. He also traces Freud's evolving and unstable relations with his many followers along with the history of Freud's involvement with various psychoanalytic organizations. Again, he provides parallel biographies of his subject's contemporaries, this time of the novelist Arthur Schnitzler and the psychiatrist and Nobel laureate Julius Wagner-Jauregg.[74] He also relates with poignancy the story of Freud's struggle against jaw and palate cancer during the last fifteen years of his life.[75]

Following this, Ellenberger offers a rather judgmental assessment of Freud's character. On the negative side, he presents a picture of Freud as self-absorbed, highly ambitious, and neurotically oversensitive to criticism, while on the positive he underscores Freud's hard work, high native intelligence, and passionate intellectual curiosity. In this evaluation, Ellenberger draws on many sources, including a highly interesting series of reminiscences about Freud by former patients. He praises Freud as a man of letters in the highest possible terms.[76]

The largest amount of space in this chapter is devoted to a copious intellectual-historical exposition of Freud's work. Ellenberger begins by placing a strong emphasis on Freud's first publications in the fields of neuroanatomy and neurophysiology. While historians of psychoanalysis had once ignored these early, nonpsychological statements, Ellenberger joins a growing number of scholars in believing that a knowledge of these writings is indispensable for understanding the origins of psychoanalysis. He then repeats the familiar account of Freud's scientific studies with Ernst Brücke, Sigmund Exner, and Theodor Meynert. As a part of this

[74] Ibid., 469–74.
[75] Ibid., 427–57.
[76] Ibid., 457–69.