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IN HER OWN WORDS
EXPLORING THE SUBJECTIVITY OF FREUD'S 'TEACHER'
ANNA VON LIEBEN

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

This project is inspired by Roy Porter (1985), who draws attention to the patient-shaped gap in medical history, and Rita Charon (2006), who emphasises the need to bring the patient's narrative to the fore in the practice of medicine. The principal aim was to devise a means of accessing the lived experience of a patient who is no longer alive in order to gain an understanding of her narrative. Anna von Lieben was identified as a suitable subject as she wrote a substantial quantity of autopathographical poetry suitable for analysis and her status as Freud's patient makes her a person of significant interest to the history of medicine.

The poems were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), an idiographic and inductive method of qualitative research, based on Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology, which explores the lived experience of individuals and is committed to understanding the first-person perspective from the third-person position.

The main findings from the IPA study reveal that Anna experienced a prolonged period of malaise, starting in late adolescence which she believed to result, at least partly, from a traumatic experience which occurred at that time. The analysis also indicates that Anna suffered from deep and lasting feelings of guilt and shame. The discovery of additional family documentation enabled me to contextualise and add substance to the findings of the IPA study. Anna's husband's diaries in particular reveal that Anna:

- had a severe and longstanding gynaecological disorder
- suffered from severe morphinism
- did not benefit from Freud's treatment which seemed neither to ease her symptoms nor identify any cause
- was treated in Paris, not by Jean-Martin Charcot as previously supposed, but by a French hydrotherapist, Theodore Keller, who appears to have become a person of considerable significance in her life.

The above findings led me to investigate Anna's comorbidities (gynaecological disease and morphinism) and to show how those could be responsible for much of the symptomatology identified by Freud as 'hysteria'. I then explore the possibility that her psychotic-like experiences could have been iatrogenically induced by her treatment first by Keller and then by Freud. Finally, I propose a fourfold set of hypotheses as an alternative to Freud's diagnosis of hysteria.

Contents

ABSTRACT	ii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION	x
Note on citations and abbreviations	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Organisation of the thesis	1
1.2 Rationale.....	3
1.3 Aims and means	5
1.4 Historical background	5
1.4.1 Who was Anna von Lieben?.....	6
1.4.2 Why Anna von Lieben?.....	9
CHAPTER 2: PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL.....	10
2.1 Poems by Anna von Lieben.....	10
2.2 Family correspondence.....	17
2.3 Leopold von Lieben's diaries	18
2.4 New biographical information emerging	18
2.5 Formulation of research questions.....	19
CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION TO METHODOLOGY.....	21
3.1 Rationale for adopting Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.....	21
3.2 IPA Procedure	22
3.3 Autobiographical poetry as data for qualitative analysis	23
3.4 Evaluating the validity of IPA.....	24
3.5 Reflexivity	27

3.6 Differences between IPA and Close Reading	29
3.7 Pilot studies	30
3.8 Use of foreign language text for IPA	33
3.9 Application of IPA in the present study	34
CHAPTER 4: ANNA'S NARRATIVE	35
4.1 Preliminary processing of the poems	35
4.2 IPA of Data Set 1 (1866-1870).....	38
4.2.1 <i>Einst und jetzt</i> and <i>Der Onkel</i>	38
4.2.2. Anna's experience of her malaise	59
4.2.3 Findings	64
4.2.4 Discussion of findings	97
4.2.5 Reflexive interlude.....	108
4.3 Analysis of Data Set 2 (1870-1873).....	113
4.3.1 Engagement poems	114
4.3.2 Marriage poems	126
4.4 Summary of Anna's narrative 1866 to 1873	139
CHAPTER 5: LEOPOLD'S NARRATIVE	140
5.1 Introduction	140
5.2 Reports on his wife's state of health	140
5.2.1 Treatment in Paris	143
5.2.2 Treatment by Freud.....	147
5.2.3 Anna's final years	160
5.3 Summary of Leopold's narrative.....	161
5.4 Anna's narrative through the lens of Leopold's	163
CHAPTER 6: FREUD'S NARRATIVE.....	170
6.1 From Studies on Hysteria	170

6.1.1 The genesis of <i>Studies on Hysteria</i>	170
6.1.2 The case of Cäcilie M. (Anna von Lieben).....	171
6.2 From “An Autobiographical Study”.....	178
6.3 Comparison of Freud’s account of Anna’s case with the narratives of Anna and Leopold.....	179
6.3.1 Divergences, spurious cures and other conundrums.....	179
6.3.2 ‘A hysterical psychosis for the payment of old debts’.....	181
6.4 From the 1896 papers on the aetiology of hysteria	182
6.4.1 Genesis of the Freud’s theories on the aetiology of hysteria.....	182
6.4.2 Freud’s theories compared with Leopold’s and Anna’s narratives	185
6.5 Freud’s therapeutic procedure	188
6.5.1 Freud’s procedure with Anna	189
6.5.2 Criticisms of Freud’s therapeutic techniques.....	192
6.5.3 Potential for iatrogenic effects	194
CHAPTER 7: LEOPOLD’S AND ANNA’S RESPONSES TO FREUD’S TREATMENT	
.....	196
7.1 Leopold’s (presumed) letter to Freud	196
7.2 Anna’s verdict	199
CHAPTER 8: DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE ACCOUNTS OF FREUD AND THOSE OF LEOPOLD AND ANNA	203
8.1 Relative reliability of the three narratives	203
8.2 Possible reasons for the discrepancies.....	204
8.3 Conclusion.....	206
CHAPTER 9: OMISSIONS FROM FREUD’S ACCOUNT	208
9.1 Gynaecological illness.....	208
9.1.1 Endometriosis?.....	208
9.2 Rheumatism?.....	214

9.3 Morphine addiction	214
9.4 Re-assessment of Anna's condition in light of possible co-morbidities	217
9.5 Re-consideration of Freud's hysteria diagnosis in light of Anna's symptomatology	219
CHAPTER 10: RETURN TO THE HERMENEUTIC CIRCLE	221
10.1 Reinterpretation of <i>Einst und Jetzt</i>	221
10.1.1 Reflexive interlude.....	226
10.1.2 Conclusion	229
10.2 Reinterpretation of <i>Der Onkel</i>	229
10.2.1 Reflexive interlude.....	232
10.2.2 Conclusion	232
CHAPTER 11: ANNA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH DR THÉODORE KELLER.....	234
11.1 An extraordinary rapport	234
11.2 Anna's treatment by Dr Théodore Keller.....	238
11.2.1 Who was Théodore Keller?	239
11.2.2 The hydrotherapy practices of Théodore Keller	239
11.2.3 Exploration of Anna's experiences with Théodore Keller	242
CHAPTER 12: RETROSPECTIVE DIAGNOSIS	245
12.1 Rationale.....	245
12.2 Retrospective diagnosis of Anna's malaise.....	246
12.2.1 Freud's diagnosis	246
12.2.2 Retrospective diagnosis derived from the present study	246
12.3 Conclusion.....	248
CHAPTER 13: CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY	249
13.1 The Bertha Pappenheim case.....	249
13.2 The Freud patients	250
13.2.1 Sergei Pankejeff.....	250

13.2.2 Anna Guggenbuhl	255
13.2.3 ‘The Americans’	255
13.3 The Eissler interviews	257
13.4 Anna von Lieben in the recent literature	258
13.5 Potential for future research	260
CHAPTER 14: CONCLUSIONS	262
APPENDICES	266
Appendix 1: Analytical table for <i>Einst und jetzt</i>	266
Appendix 2: Analytical table for <i>Der Onkel</i>	271
Appendix 3: Prayer Thoughts Scale (Ladd and Spilka, 2002, p. 480)	276
Appendix 4: RCOPE Subscales and Definitions of Religious Coping Methods (Pargament et al., 2011: Table 1, p. 56)	278
Appendix 5: Letter from Valerie von Lieben to Ilse von Lieben, 29 September 1890, pp. 2-3.....	280
Appendix 6: Diary page of Leopold von Lieben (TB7: 31 March 1892 to 10 April 1892)	281
Appendix 7: Freud’s five forms of defence (Masson, 1985, p. 111).....	282
REFERENCES.....	283

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: <i>Classification of poem sources</i>	13
Table 2: <i>Examples of word variations between poem sources</i>	14
Table 3: <i>Items of family correspondence (Karplus Collection) selected for transcription</i> ..	18
Table 4: <i>Evolving Guidelines for Publication of Qualitative Research Studies in Psychology and Related Fields</i>	25
Table 5: <i>Characteristics of good qualitative research</i>	26
Table 6: <i>Semantic comparison of Der Fischer and Der Onkel</i>	46
Table 7: <i>Themes relating to personal loss</i>	65
Table 8: <i>Themes for ‘like a prison’</i>	69
Table 9: <i>Themes for ‘desire for death’</i>	75
Table 10: <i>Themes for ‘impacted sense of self’</i>	79
Table 11: <i>Themes relating to ‘relationship with God’</i>	88
Table 12: <i>Summary of superordinate themes</i>	96
Table 13: <i>Manifestations of aspects of sense of self</i>	103
Table 14: <i>Anna’s religious coping strategies vs RCOPE</i>	107
Table 15: <i>Themes from Rhodes et al. vs extracts from Anna’s words</i>	167
Table 16: <i>Prominent items from Anna’s memories and hallucinations</i>	185
Table 17: <i>Krankengeschichte vs prose rendering</i>	200
Table 18: <i>Narrator vs narrative type</i>	203
Table 19: <i>Symptoms vs possible co-morbidities</i>	218

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: <i>Portrait of Anna von Lieben, ca. 1864</i>	7
Figure 2: <i>Cover images of the poetry volumes</i>	16
Figure 3: <i>Source language and target language bias in translation</i>	33
Figure 4: <i>V1 data divisions</i>	38
Figure 5: <i>Chocolate culture shock</i>	232

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature: Hilda Reilly

Note on citations and abbreviations

For the works of Sigmund Freud, the following editions were consulted:

Print editions

Breuer, J., & Freud, S. (1974). *Studies on Hysteria* (J. Strachey & A. Strachey, Trans.). Pelican Books. Abbreviated to SoH in the text.

Freud, S. (2001). *A Case of Hysteria, Three Essays on Sexuality and Other Works* (J. Strachey, Trans.). Vintage

Online editions

Because of Covid restrictions it has not been possible to consult the print editions of Freud's other work, in particular the Standard Edition. The following online versions were therefore used:

Freud, S. Complete Works Downloaded from

https://www.valas.fr/IMG/pdf/Freud_Complete_Works.pdf "This edition represents a port from the original HLP file format. Ivan Smith 2000, 2007, 2010." Abbreviated to CW in the text.

Freud, S. (1952). *Gesammelte Werke*, Erster Band. Imago. Downloaded from

http://freud-online.de/Texte/PDF/freud_werke_bd1.pdf Abbreviated to GW in the text.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1 presents the theoretical inspiration for the project, outlines its aims, describes the biographical background of the principal research subject, Anna von Lieben, and explains her significance in the history of medicine

Chapter 2 describes the primary source material discovered during my research – most notably two handwritten books of poetry by Anna and her husband’s handwritten diaries – along with sundry family correspondence. It concludes with a statement of the research questions which this new material enabled me to formulate.

Chapter 3 introduces the principal methodology adopted for the qualitative analysis of Anna’s poetry – Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). It sets out the theoretical roots of IPA, its defining features, and the analytical procedures adopted. It then explains why IPA is suited to the present project and summarises the differences between IPA and close reading. The chapter includes an overview of the pilot studies carried out to develop competence in the implementation of IPA and discusses issues to be considered when carrying out qualitative analysis with foreign language texts.

Chapter 4 begins by explaining the basis on which the preliminary selections of the poems, and their division into data sets were made. It further explains why IPA is used for the primary data set and close reading for the secondary one. It then presents the IPA process, the findings and the discussion relating to the primary data set and proposes a tentative initial hypothesis about the cause and nature of Anna’s distress. This is followed by a close reading of the poems in the secondary data set, leading to an overview of her relationship with her husband Leopold during its early stages.

Chapter 5 gives an overview of Leopold’s diaries, his style of writing and his principal matters of concern. It gives details of his reports on Anna’s state of health, with a particular focus on her treatment by Dr Theodore Keller in Paris and by Sigmund Freud in Vienna. It then presents the fuller picture obtained when Anna’s narrative is considered in tandem with Leopold’s.

Chapter 6 sets out the theory of hysteria developed by Josef Breuer and Freud as outlined in *Studies on Hysteria* (Breuer & Freud, 1974). It summarises the key elements of Freud's treatment of Anna von Lieben ('Cäcilie M.') as detailed in that publication, including symptoms noted by Freud, examples of claimed cures, and details of how, according to Freud, those were achieved. This account is then assessed in light of the narratives obtained from Leopold and Anna. The chapter continues with a summary of Freud's theories about the aetiology of hysteria, as detailed in his 1896 papers on that topic, followed by further comparison with the evidence obtained from Leopold. It concludes with a discussion of Freud's therapeutic procedure and its potential for giving rise to iatrogenic effects.

Chapter 7 discusses the content of what appears to be the draft of a letter addressed by Leopold to Freud in which Leopold expresses misgivings about his wife's treatment, in particular the negative impact it is having on her family relationships and daily life. It then presents a poem written by Anna which expresses some views of her own on her illness and Freud's treatment of it.

Chapter 8 assesses the relative reliability of the three narratives – Freud's, Leopold's and Anna's – and discusses factors which could account for the discrepancies between them.

Chapter 9 highlights symptoms not mentioned by Freud and examines co-morbidities which Anna may have suffered from. In light of the symptoms and syndromes identified, it reassesses Anna's condition and questions Freud's claim that she suffered from hysteria.

Chapter 10 sees a return to the analytical part of the study with two of the key poems being re-examined in light of the evidence uncovered later in the study. Based on the new interpretation thus derived, a revised hypothesis is proposed regarding the cause of Anna's malaise.

Chapter 11 moves the focus to Anna's relationship with Dr Theodore Keller. It considers evidence that Dr Keller figured prominently in Anna's mental activity and explores the hypothesis that she had developed a powerful bond of transference with him, with possible iatrogenic effects.

Chapter 12 explains the rationale on which a retrospective diagnosis may be made and justifies its application in the case of Anna. Using a form of Bayesian reasoning, it compares Freud's diagnosis of hysteria with the various hypotheses developed throughout this study. It then proposes a four-fold set of hypotheses as the most plausible explanation of her condition.

Chapter 13 contextualises the thesis by comparing it with literature on other patients of Freud, particularly autobiographical accounts. The original nature of the present study is highlighted and avenues for future research are identified.

Chapter 14 concludes the thesis by summarising the findings in relation to each of the research questions posed at the beginning. It then highlights the way in which qualitative research methods in combination with historical methods can contribute to the furtherance of narrative medicine and, in this case, restore the dignity of a victim of epistemic injustice.

1.2 Rationale

Until recently, the story of medicine has been a physician-centred one. This focus is currently changing, as evidenced by the growing interest in Narrative Medicine, the discipline developed by Rita Charon who founded the first programme of Narrative Medicine at Columbia University in 2000. The practice of narrative medicine aims at developing in practitioners skills of narrative competence which will enable them to recognise, absorb, interpret and be moved by the stories of their patients, thus helping to bridge the divide between doctors and patients (Charon, 2006; Charon, 2016).

At the same time, there is a developing trend for patients to produce their own first-person accounts, particularly in the case of psychiatric illness, ample evidence of which can be found in Gail Hornstein's (2011) *Bibliography of first-person narratives of madness in English*. But how do we access, and more pertinently interpret, the narratives of those patients who are no longer alive to tell their tale?

In discussing a research agenda for a more patient-centred version of medical history Roy Porter (1985) points out that the medical encounter is a two-way affair and that the patient's role should be at the centre of medical history whereas historically it has been

ignored. He calls for an exploration of the history of 'the sick', i.e., the communities of persons suffering from the various diseases. He believes that this should take into consideration their belief systems, their attitudes to the body, their understanding of its organs and their functions, their responses to illness and death, their behavioural reactions to falling sick, their explanations for disease. More specifically, he suggests that we examine the ways in which they express pain and the terminology they use to describe sickness, its cause and its cure. "[W]e have admirable histories of epilepsy and hysteria," he writes, "but significantly none of epileptics or hysterics" (p. 182).

While Porter admits that the "real challenges" for the research agenda "lie in reconstructing patterns of consciousness and action" (p. 185) he does not suggest how this might be achieved. Since his seminal 1985 article little progress has been made in this direction. Porter himself (1993), in a chapter significantly titled 'The Body and the Mind, the Doctor and the Patient', makes a strong plea for a grass-roots history of hysterics to be undertaken and then veers off to "explore the medical profession's attempts to resolve the hysteria mystery" (p. 230). His only references to the patients' states of mind are the ones already commonly associated with the history of hysteria – sexual repression and intellectual frustration.

Flurin Condrau (2007) sees little sign of the radical change of perspective advocated by Porter, with questions of subjectivity and experience remaining largely uncharted territory for medical historians. While recognising the increasing contribution made by autobiographical writings of the sick, Condrau notes that there has been little methodological innovation in terms of how this material might be developed.

Alexandra Bacopoulos-Viau and Aude Fauvel (2016) agree that the history of the patient remains underdeveloped and criticise Porter for giving no indication of how the study of individual subjective experiences could be undertaken in such a way as to contribute to the formation of a broader sub-culture. Focusing on the field of psychiatry, they examine developments consequent upon Porter's call to place sufferers centre stage and they discern two trends – an increased interest in personal accounts by the mentally ill and at the same time a Foucauldian tendency to regard patients who produced those accounts as somehow

out of the ordinary. They also point to a tendency for women's narratives to be distorted or silenced by male psychiatrists.

1.3 Aims and means

The present study aims to address the above challenges by exploring the autopathographical writing of a historical patient and implementing a qualitative research methodology designed to illuminate her subjective experience of her illness. It complements the findings of this exploration with facts and insights derived from the diaries and letters of her husband and other close family members. It compares the two foregoing narratives with the account of her treatment given by her doctor, Sigmund Freud, and with Freud's account of how his thinking was developing at the time.

1.4 Historical background

I had previously carried out research on hysteria for an MA in Creative Writing, which I used as the basis for a fictionalised presentation of the illness of Bertha Pappenheim, 'Anna O' (Breuer and Freud, 1974, hereafter cited as SoH), the 'founding patient' of psychoanalysis. Having thus familiarised myself with the early work of Sigmund Freud and his case histories I then identified Anna von Lieben, 'Cäcilie M.', as a suitable candidate for the proposed study.

Anna von Lieben was treated by Sigmund Freud during the late 1880s and early 1890s and was diagnosed as suffering from hysteria. Freud wrote relatively little about her in his published work for reasons of confidentiality, yet he regarded her as highly significant to the development of his thinking (SoH; Masson, 1985).

That Anna von Lieben was the patient referred to by Freud as Cäcilie M. has been known since Peter Swales (1986) published an account of the detective work by which he established this with virtual certainty ("durch die an Sicherheit grenzende Wahrscheinlichkeit") (Rossbacher, 2003, p. 446). This is corroborated by evidence from family documents discovered in the course of this project.

1.4.1 Who was Anna von Lieben?

Anna von Lieben (*née* Todesco) was born in Vienna on 26 September 1847 to Eduard Todesco and his wife Sophie, *née* Gomperz. She had an older sister Franziska (Fanny) born in 1846, a brother Hermann born in 1849 and a younger sister Gabriella (Jella) born in 1854. Her paternal ancestors rose from humble origins as textile merchants in Pressburg (now Bratislava) in the second half of the eighteenth century to become wealthy industrialists and bankers in Vienna in the early nineteenth century. Her father Eduard was ennobled to become Baron von Todesco in 1869 in recognition of the family's services to charitable causes. Her mother Sophie came from a wealthy and influential family of longstanding renown as scholars, businessmen and financiers.

The marriage was in some respects an odd match, the socially and culturally sophisticated Sophie being paired with a *nouveau riche* husband of limited learning beyond his own area of business expertise (Rossbacher, 2003). The character of Seligmann Hirsch in the eponymous novella by Ferdinand von Saar (1987) is said to be based on Eduard and he was often caricatured in the satirical press for his lack of education and uncouth manners.

Sophie, on the other hand, had been given the kind of education which would equip her to fulfil the social role which would be expected of her in the upper echelons of society to which she belonged. In 19th-century Vienna this involved a thorough grounding in literature and the arts as well as the development of aesthetic taste and a personality which would allow her to take part in intellectual social exchange. In fact, Sophie became one of the most renowned *salonnières* in Vienna, hosting salons both in the family's city residence, the magnificent Palais Todesco in the Ringstrasse area, and in their country villa in Hinterbrühl, not far from Vienna.

Both sides of Anna's family were Jewish. Previous generations of the Todescos had been devoutly religious while Sophie's ancestors had been less so, following the general trend for increasing secularisation among the Jews of Vienna at the time. Sophie herself was given a secular upbringing as were Anna and her siblings.

Prior to this study little personal detail was known about Anna's early life. The first specific information refers to the onset of her illness which, according to her daughter

Henriette (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972), began when she was aged about sixteen. Her niece Josephine Winter (1927) reports that it was believed to have stemmed from a cold caught from lying on a stone bench in the garden but that there also appeared to be serious mental health problems: “Ursprünglich soll ihr Leiden von einer Erkaltung hergerührt haben, vom Liegen auf einer Steinbank im Garten. Aber es traten auch schwere psychische Krankheitserscheinungen dazu.” (p. 42)

Figure 1: Portrait of Anna von Lieben, ca. 1864
In the possession of Michael Karplus



At some point in the second half of 1866 Anna travelled to England to visit her sister Fanny who had recently married an Englishman, Baron Henry de Worms (Swales, 1986). She stayed there for two years. After returning home in 1868 she spent much of the next few years visiting spas in Austria and neighbouring countries.

At the end of 1870 Anna became engaged to Leopold von Lieben, a prominent banker twelve years older than her. Between the following February and May she visited Rome and Florence. Apart from a visit to Ischl in October it is likely that she spent the rest of that time in Vienna, before marrying Leopold on 3 December 1871. The newly married couple spent their honeymoon in Italy, visiting Naples and Rome before returning to Vienna where they took up residence in an apartment in Anna’s family home, the Palais Todesco.

Anna's first child, Ilse, was born on 13 February 1873, followed by Valerie (Valla) on 7 April 1874, Ernst 19 May 1875, Robert on 5 September 1878 and Henriette on 5 May 1882. According to her daughter Henriette (1972) her five pregnancies were the only periods when the ill-health, which had started when she was in her mid-teens, was in remission.

In 1888, the family moved from the Palais Todesco to an apartment in a house in Oppolzergasse just off the Ringstrasse whose various floors were occupied by the families of some of Leopold's siblings. These included his sister Ida, who was married to the philosopher and former Roman Catholic priest Franz Brentano, and the husband and children of his sister Helene who spent the last 16 years of her life in an institution on account of her mental ill-health. It was around this time that Anna started her treatment by Sigmund Freud which continued until 1892 or 1893.

According to his niece Josephine, Anna's husband Leopold was serious and undemonstrative, even towards his own children. She reports that he was silent and ponderous, even in the company of adults, while on young people he had an effect akin to that of the Stone Guest¹: "Schweigsam und schwerflüssig, auch im Verkehr mit Erwachsenen, wirkte er auf die Jugend fast wie der steinerne Gast" (Winter, 1927, p. 18). His nephew Fritz describes him as strict and serious, lacking in his brother's cheerful nature: "Onkel Leopold war ein strenger, ernster Man ... fehlte allerdings des heitere Gemüt meines Vaters" (Lieben, 1960, p. 23). To date, little has been uncovered about the state of the relationship between Anna and Leopold. Swales (1986) speculates, on the basis of an unreferenced conversation with a descendant, that Anna believed her health would not have deteriorated if she had married a different man.

Anna died of a heart attack in 1900 at the age of 53.

¹ The Stone Guest appears in various dramatic works based on the Don Juan legend. Don Juan, who had murdered Commander da Salva, seduces his widow, visits the stone statue at the grave of the Commander and invites it to join the two lovers during a tryst. The pair later hear the ominous sound of heavy stone steps. The Stone Guest arrives and leads Don Juan off to his doom.

1.4.2 Why Anna von Lieben?

The fact that Freud regarded his medical relationship with Anna von Lieben as being instrumental in the development of his thinking, already entitles her to an important position in the history of medicine. Her significance for the present study, however, lies in a corpus of autobiographical poetry, much of which deals with her states of mind, particularly in relation to her ill-health, written when she was aged between nineteen and twenty-five. These texts therefore provide us with a first-person perspective on Anna's illness experience and constitute a data set for analysis, the methodology for which will be explicated in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 2: PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL

In this chapter I discuss the various types of primary source material examined during the course of this project and the channels through which they were obtained. Apart from the published material authored by Anna (Lieben, 1901), the two principal manuscript sources were: the Karplus Collection (hereafter KarplusColl), a collection of family documents and correspondence in the possession of Dr Michael Karplus, Anna's great-grandson; The Personal Papers of Marie-Louise von Motesiczky (hereafter MotColl), a collection of documents and correspondence associated with Anna's grand-daughter, Marie-Louise, held by the Tate Archive in London (TGA 20129).

All reference information for documents from those two collections are to be found in the separate Manuscript Bibliography appended after the General Bibliography.

2.1 Poems by Anna von Lieben

Published poems

At the beginning of the present study the only poems authored by Anna von Lieben known to exist were contained in the volume *Gedichte: Ihren Freunden zur Erinnerung* (von Lieben, 1901), a selection of Anna's poems published posthumously (hereafter P).

This collection, which contains some 150 poems totalling just over 9,000 words, was published shortly after Anna's death and there is no information regarding either the criteria applied or the people involved in the selection process. According to Anna's granddaughter Marie-Louise, the family would not have wanted anything of a private nature to be made public so it is possible that anything which they would have considered embarrassing or indiscreet would have been excluded. In two undated draft versions of a letter addressed to Peter Swales, Marie-Louise told Swales that she had taken legal advice on the matter and no longer wished to cooperate with his plans to write a biography of Anna:

My family, particularly the Liebens, had a proper horror of all publicity, which is in German called "die Öffentlichkeit". Nothing could have been more alien to them than a publication of their most intimate family events with all their names and

their friends [sic] names mentioned, be it even two hundred years after their death.
(MotColl, n.d.)

Indeed, if this is true, it is surprising that the family allowed even a selection of the poems to be published.

Poems believed to exist

There was evidence to believe that that the following two items were extant:

- photocopy of a handwritten ‘diary’ containing at least some poems (hereafter D)
- photocopy of a handwritten book of poems (hereafter M).

The original versions of those items had been in the possession of Anna’s grand-daughter, Marie-Louise, as described in an interview conducted by Kurt Eissler with Marie-Louise and her mother, Anna’s daughter Henriette (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972). About forty years ago they were lent to a Freud historian, Anthony Stadlen, who made photocopies of them (Swales, 1986). The originals were subsequently reported to be lost. When asked by Marie-Louise to give her a copy of the copies he had made, it seems that Stadlen refused. In an unsigned letter addressed to Dutch researcher Reina van Lier, Marie-Louise wrote: “Mr Stadlen declared that it might be not possible to make a copy of a fotocopy [sic]; so he thinks it might be impossible to return anything, in theory.” (MotColl, 7.5.1984). My repeated attempts to discuss this with Mr Stadlen with a view to accessing them met with no response.

Poems discovered in the course of this study

A trail of clues then led me to Dr Michael Karplus, Anna’s great-grandson, in Israel. I contacted Dr Karplus who told me that he had a quantity of family archive material and invited me to visit him. During my visit to Israel, I found that Dr Karplus was in possession of the following:

- A volume of poetry handwritten by Anna von Lieben (465 pages), between Autumn 1866 and Summer 1870, when she was aged 19 to 23, Gedichte 1, hereafter V1 (von Lieben, 1867-1870)

- A volume of poetry handwritten by Anna von Lieben (598 pages), between Autumn 1866 and Spring 1873, Gedichte 2, hereafter V2 (von Lieben, 1867-1873)

After making V1 and V2 available to me for examination in Israel, Dr Karplus then arranged for them to be professionally scanned by The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, who later provided me with the scanned versions.

Comparison of V1 and V2 with D and M

It appeared at first that V1 and V2 could be the volumes reported as lost by Marie-Louise. Although D is described by both Stadlen (2001) and Swales (1986) as a diary, it is known to contain at least some poems; and while M contains only poetry the fact that it appears to be confessional in nature, with the poems dated sequentially, could indicate that it was written as a personal journal, albeit in poetic form. Furthermore, both V1 and V2 correspond with the description of the books given to Eissler by Anna's grand-daughter: "in hübschem Leder gebunden, mit einem kleinen Schloss" (1972, p. 26). When questioned as to where he had obtained the books and how they came to be reported as lost, Dr Karplus told me that Marie-Louise had given them to him and must simply have forgotten that she had done so.

However, comparison with published descriptions (Stadlen, 2001; Swales, 1986) reveals a number of differences between the Stadlen versions and the Karplus versions. If this is so, it suggests that there were originally at least four handwritten volumes, covering similar periods, two of which remain lost but with the content extant as photocopies, and the two discovered in the possession of Dr Karplus.

Stadlen (2001, p. 13, note 50) labels the two photocopied versions he had at his disposal as follows:

D: the handwritten 'diary'

M: the book of handwritten poems, which Stadlen terms 'fair copy'.

As indicated above, I have labelled the corresponding Karplus versions V1 and V2. We may therefore provisionally consider that

V1 \approx the handwritten ‘diary’, D

V2 \approx the book of handwritten poems, M; like M, V2 appears to be a ‘fair copy’.

Stadlen also refers to the published poems (von Lieben, 1901) which he labels P.

To facilitate comparison of the different sources for Anna’s poems, the nomenclature adopted for them is summarised in Table 1 below and will be retained for the items in question throughout the thesis.

Table 1: Classification of poem sources

Nomenclature of source	Status	Description
P	Published	<i>Gedichte: Ihren Freunden zur Erinnerung</i> Selection of poems edited and published after Anna’s death
D	Photocopy	Held by Anthony Stadlen and described by him as a ‘diary’
M	Photocopy	Held by Anthony Stadlen and described by him as a ‘fair copy’ of a book of poems
V1	Original	Handwritten book of poems written 1866-1870
V2	Original	Handwritten book of poems written 1866-1873, mostly a ‘fair copy’ of poems in V1

On the available evidence, V2 appears to be a fair copy of all, or almost all, the poems in VI, with the addition of some 130 pages extending to the year 1873. This ‘fair copy’ appears to be similar – perhaps almost identical – to Stadlen’s M and the material in V1 has at least some overlap with Stadlen’s D. However, consideration of the following poem provides just one example of differences which indicate that the Stadlen versions and the KarplusColl versions are not completely identical.

According to Stadlen (note 50), the poem titled *Im Fieber* in P (pp. 34-5) refers to 'Wärterinnen'. In D the corresponding poem has no title and 'Wärterinnen' is singular: 'Wärterin'. In M (pp. 220-221) the poem is titled *Ein Fiebertraum* and 'Wärterinnen' is now 'Wärt'rinnen'.

In the KarplusColl volumes, in VI (pp. 222-223) the original title is given as *Ein Liebestraum*. This has been crossed out and *Fieber* is written above it; 'Wärterinnen' is in the plural. In V2 (pp. 248-249) the title is *Ein Fieber* and 'Wärterinnen' is contracted to 'Wärt'rinnen'.

The page numbers for M and V2 do not correspond.

These variations are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Examples of word variations between poem sources

Item	Poem title	Word variations	Pages
P	<i>Im Fieber</i>	Wärterinnen	34-5
D	No title	Wärterin	No page number
V1	<i>Ein Liebestraum</i> (<i>'Liebes'</i> is crossed out and <i>'Fieber'</i> added in pencil)	Wärt'rinnen	222-3
M	<i>Ein Fiebertraum</i>	Wärt'rinnen	220-1
V2	<i>Ein Fieber</i>	Wärt'rinnen	248-9

The above variations, based on the information in Stadlen, are not necessarily conclusive. They concern points of detail which may have arisen erroneously. The article was published a number of years after Stadlen made the photocopies from the originals, parts of

which were probably already faint, and these photocopies may have deteriorated further over the years. Typing errors may also have occurred.

Stadlen also mentions the poem *Krankenzimmer*, dated 1867 in P, and states that he saw this poem in D, where it was dated 1877. As V1 ends in 1870 this might be taken as conclusive evidence that D is not the same as V1. However, this same poem appeared among a number of undated loose sheets found along with VI and V2 in KarplusColl and it may have been in this form that Stadlen found it.

Swales (1986, p. 62, note 9) reports on having been allowed a “brief inspection of [Anna’s] two surviving journals” while visiting Marie-Louise in 1980. He also claims that she began a new notebook on June 7, 1868, and describes it thus:

This was a journal in which she sometimes set down poetry but, more often, her innermost thoughts and ponderings. The book opens with an account of a dream of hers about a sea voyage; and another of its pages is headed “Traumesdeutung” – the interpretation of dreams. (p. 19)

Both V1 and V2 contain a poem titled *Traumesdeutung*. However, neither volume begins with a poem about a sea voyage and neither contains an entry for June 7, 1868. On the other hand, Swales reports that the second volume ends with two poems celebrating the birth of Anna’s first child, and those are the same as the final two poems in V2.

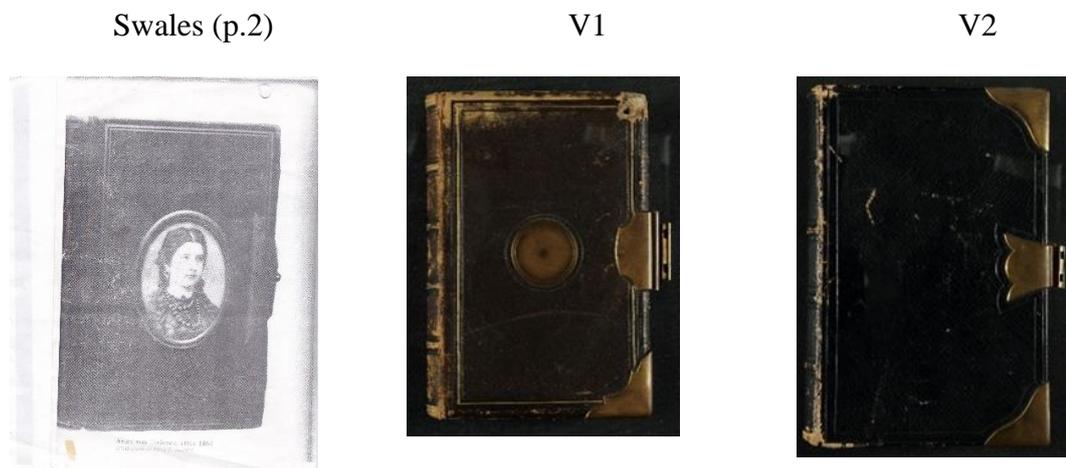
Swales’ claims should be treated with caution as there is no evidence that he is proficient in German. In fact, he admits that he relies on his German-speaking wife for translation: “[M]y biggest debt of gratitude is to my dear wife, but for whose linguistic capabilities so much of the documental material on which large portions of this reconstruction depend would have been inaccessible to me.” (pp. 59-61, note 5)

Nor is there any evidence from his correspondence with Marie-Louise that his wife, who lived with him in New York at the time, accompanied him on his visits to her in England. Moreover, it appears from drafts of a letter from Marie-Louise to Peter Swales that their relationship came to a frosty conclusion shortly after it began (MotColl, n.d.). Finally,

given the difficulty of deciphering the nineteenth-century handwriting, it is unlikely that a ‘brief inspection’ would have yielded any reliable information.

There is also the question of visual evidence to be considered. Neither of the covers of V1 and V2 corresponds with the Stadlen cover image presented by Swales (p. 2). As can be seen in the images presented in Figure 2, the clasp is a different shape in all three and a photograph is inset in the Swales image. Although there is a placement for a photograph in V1, it is round, whereas the one from Swales is oval. A possible explanation for this is that the publisher may have requested an image to illustrate the Swales article. None being available, they may have simply created one using a standard book image with a photograph of Anna inserted from another source.

Figure 2: Cover images of the poetry volumes



The only way to ascertain whether the two sets of documents – Stadlen’s D and M, and KarplusColl V1 and V2 – are identical would be if Stadlen were to allow access to his photocopies. However, this is of little importance for the present study as the KarplusColl documents, which exist in their original state, constitute a primary source in their own right.

It is likely, in fact, that a number of handwritten volumes of Anna’s poetry existed. Many of the poems in P are not found in either V1 or V2 so they must have been obtained from other handwritten sources. Few of the poems in P are dated but those which are include six

from the period between 1874 and 1889, indicating that they were not derived from either V1 or V2 as the latest entries in those volumes are dated 1870 and 1873 respectively.

Although a substantial amount of the documentary heritage of Anna's extended family has been preserved, a significant part of it has been irretrievably lost. According to Michael Karplus (personal communication, November, 2018) two consignments of family documents were dispatched from Vienna to descendants in Israel and the US around the time of the Second World War. While the first consignment reached its destination, the ship containing the one bound for the US was sunk with the loss of its cargo.

Swales (1986, p. 51) claims that Freud asked Anna to keep a diary of her analysis and that her son-in-law destroyed it after her death "on the grounds that it was full of private and indecent things, even perhaps outright obscenities". The existence of this diary is also mentioned in the interview between Kurt Eissler and Anna's daughter and granddaughter (1972), although they do not explain why the son-in-law burned it.

2.2 Family correspondence

Along with V1 and V2, Dr Karplus gave me access to his collection of family documents dating back to the late eighteenth century. From those, I selected and transcribed those letters of possible relevance to the physical and psychological ill-health of Anna, as shown in Table 3 below.

The most significant of those documents for the present study are the letters from Leopold von Lieben because of the first-hand reports they provide of his wife's condition during her period of treatment by Freud (ca.1887 to ca.1893). In addition, there is what appears to be part of a letter written by Leopold about Anna's condition and treatment. It is undated and the addressee is not named but, as will be explained in Chapter 7, the content and style point strongly to the conclusion that it was intended for Freud.

As well as the above, three letters written by Anna to two of her daughters towards the end of her life were found in the Tate Archive (MotColl, 1897; 1898; 10.2.1900).

Table 3: Items of family correspondence (Karplus Collection) selected for transcription

From	To	Dates	Approximate number of words
Leopold von Lieben (Anna's husband)	Josephine von Wertheimstein and Franz von Wertheimstein (Anna's aunt and cousin)	1875 to 1892	2,500
Leopold von Lieben	Leopold's children	5-26 July 1991	1,640
Josephine von Wertheimstein (Anna's aunt)	Anna von Lieben	1865-1890	3,000
Franzi von Wertheimstein (Anna's cousin)	Anna von Lieben	Pre-1866-1895	1,570
Anna von Lieben	Richard von Lieben (Anna's brother-in-law)	Undated	470

2.3 Leopold von Lieben's diaries

Leopold von Lieben kept a diary from 1848, when he was thirteen, until almost the time of his death in 1915. As the diaries were temporarily held in a safe in Vienna, I travelled there at a later date and obtained scans of the entries covering the period between December 1870, at the beginning of his engagement to Anna, and the end of 1900, shortly after Anna's death.

2.4 New biographical information emerging

After an initial reading of the primary source material which had now come to light, I was able to expand on the outline of Anna's biography presented in Chapter 1.

Many of the poems in V1 and V2 are dated, with the place also often noted, and they appear to be roughly in chronological order. We can thus fill in some of the gaps noted by Swales (1986). Anna's stay with her sister in England began no later than autumn 1866,

when she spent some time in Brighton. From then until June 1868, when she left England, most of her time was spent in Egham, with several visits to London and, again, Brighton. On her return to the Continent, she travelled first to Paris, and then to Baden-Baden in Germany. In July 1868 she was in Franzensbad, in what is now the Czech Republic, and in September and October she was in Ischl, in Austria. Later that year she was at home in Vienna, in June and July she was back in Franzensbad. Between August 1869 and May 1870 she visited Rigi Kaltbad, Lucerne, Montreux, Zurich and Bern in Switzerland and Nuremberg in Germany. As all the foregoing locations, with the exception of Paris, were well-known spa resorts it is likely that Anna spent much of the period between leaving England and her engagement in a quest for the improvement of her health.

Leopold's diaries, which will be presented in detail in Chapter 5, give us more information about the nature and severity of Anna's illness. Menstrual difficulties are mentioned frequently and she was operated on twice by her gynaecologist, Dr Rudolf Chrobak, once to remove unspecified growths. In 1879 she travelled to Berlin to be treated for morphine dependence and in 1886 she spent ten days in a sanatorium for the same reason. Morphinism appears to have been chronic throughout the period of their marriage. In 1882-1883 Anna spent some seven months in Paris where she was treated by a hydrotherapist, Dr Théodore Keller. It was previously believed that her treatment in Paris had been at the hands of Jean-Martin Charcot. In fact, it turns out that Charcot had referred Anna to Keller, and that Charcot's own involvement in the case was minimal. Anna made two further visits to Paris, the first one in 1884, about which no information is given, and again in December 1888, when she stayed five weeks. Although Leopold does not mention Keller during this last visit, its purpose is likely to have been treatment rather than pleasure as Anna was reportedly very unwell while there and in a strange state on her return. Keller seemingly remained a person of significance in Anna's life and figured prominently in her ideation during the period of her treatment by Freud.

2.5 Formulation of research questions

After my research visits to Israel and Vienna and discovering that I had far more primary source material than was originally envisaged, I was able to expand the aims of the study to include the narratives of other principal players in Anna's lifeworld, permitting me to formulate the following research questions:

1. How did Anna von Lieben experience her illness?
2. How do the diary entries and letters of Anna's husband contribute to an understanding of Anna's illness?
3. What new light do the findings of 1 and 2 above throw on:
 - a. Freud's reporting of Anna's case
 - b. Freud's theorisation about the aetiology of hysteria?

These questions will be addressed by exploring and comparing three narratives:

- Anna's narrative
- Leopold's narrative
- Freud's narrative.

CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION TO METHODOLOGY

3.1 Rationale for adopting Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

At the outset Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) had been identified as a suitable approach for the qualitative analysis of Anna's poems given that they were largely confessional in nature, dealing primarily with her own emotions.

IPA is a relatively new qualitative research method developed in the 1990s by Jonathan Smith (Smith, 1996; Smith, 2004; Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009), its aim being to explore individual lived experience. One of its distinguishing features is that it enables the perspectives and experiences of individuals whose voices might otherwise be silenced to be heard (Flowers, 2017). Over the past two decades IPA has been implemented widely in disciplines related to psychology and the social sciences and has been found particularly useful in exploring complex experiences associated with health care and illness (Peat et al., 2019). Researchers typically obtain participant accounts of the phenomenon under investigation by means of semi-structured interviews. The textual accounts are then analysed in accordance with recommended IPA guidelines. Although interview-based accounts are still the norm for IPA studies, alternative sources may also be used. Thus, for example, Spiers and Smith (2012) used autobiographical poetry to explore the experience of receiving renal dialysis; Williams (2004) analysed material from published autobiographical accounts to investigate how individuals with high-functioning autism experience social interaction; Bradley and Simpson (2014) used data gathered from internet blog sources to explore the experience of recovering from anorexia nervosa.

The theoretical roots of IPA lie in phenomenology (the philosophical study of lived experience) and hermeneutics (the theory of interpretation). Historically, the two main theorists of phenomenology are Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. Husserl developed a descriptive phenomenological method which aimed at identifying the essence of experiences by setting aside one's natural beliefs, feelings and assumptions in a process known as the phenomenological reduction or 'bracketing'. Heidegger later rejected the idea of 'bracketing' as unfeasible, claiming that knowledge of an individual's experience is always subject to a degree of interpretation. The hermeneutic phenomenology developed by Heidegger is the philosophical basis of IPA.

A key feature of the hermeneutic approach adopted in IPA is the use of the hermeneutic circle, whereby the dynamic relationship between the part and the whole is examined, with the part contributing to an understanding of the whole, and the whole likewise contributing to an understanding of the parts (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA recognises that there is no direct route to another person's experience. The transcript obtained from the interview with a participant is already that person's interpretation of the experience in question. The researcher's analysis of that same transcript will in turn be the researcher's interpretation of that text. IPA thus involves a double hermeneutic. As Smith and Osborn (2015, p. 26), put it: "The participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world." The aim of IPA can only be to get "experience close" rather than "experience far" (Smith, 2011, p. 10).

One of the defining features of IPA is that it aims first to explore experience *in its own terms*, rather than according to an imported predefined system, such as psychoanalytic theory or feminist theory (Smith et al., 2009). The former corresponds to a hermeneutics of empathy, the latter to a hermeneutics of suspicion. The IPA researcher, having started with this empathetic approach, then becomes more interpretative in her analytic activity, but always focusing on the text itself rather than looking outside it. In this way IPA claims for itself a centre-ground stance in which a hermeneutics of empathy is combined with a hermeneutics of "questioning" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 36). This approach has much in common with that advocated by Charon (2016) who shows how the methods of narrative medicine encourage the practitioner to put aside the hermeneutics of suspicion and try to imagine what it is like to live in the patient's world, and thus to gain an insight into their lived experience.

3.2 IPA Procedure

In the analytical stage of an IPA study the researcher engages in multiple and systematic close readings of the text to identify thematic patterns which are then translated into a narrative account presenting the participant's story. According to the guidelines recommended by Smith et al. (2009), this should be done in the following manner. The text is first read and reread in a manner which allows the researcher to immerse herself in the

data. This is followed by a process of noting exploratory comments. A number of emergent themes are identified from the initial comments which are then examined to identify superordinate themes. The latter provide the structure for an analytical account written up on the basis of the hermeneutics of empathy/questioning described above. Lastly, the findings are placed in a wider context by considering them in relation to existing research literature on comparable topics. The methodology requires a process of reflexivity throughout on the part of the researcher, involving an ongoing critical examination of her existing preconceptions and worldview. It is recommended that the researcher keep a record of this process in a reflexive journal, indicating how this thinking has fed back into the analysis (Shaw, 2010).

Generally used for in-depth analysis of a small number of cases, IPA can equally well be used for the study of one individual case (Smith et al., 2009). As such, it has a strong idiographic commitment, focusing on the particular rather than the general. The IPA procedure is a flexible one which can be adapted to the nature and circumstances of the phenomena/participants/material being examined and can accommodate creative approaches. As such it is open to innovation and is thus particularly suited to an original analysis of the von Lieben case.

It was, however, understood that adaptations would have to be made to the procedure, as discussed with its originator Jonathan Smith (personal communication, October 23, 2016). Bearing this in mind, I adopted an approach of ‘pragmatic eclecticism’ while engaging with the initial process of familiarisation with the data. This approach, as discussed by Saldaña (2016, p. 70), enables the researcher to keep an open mind during the early stages of data processing and to identify the optimum method(s) of analysis for the data in question. Moreover, as Patton (2015, p. 545) points out: “Because each qualitative study is unique, the analytical approach used will be unique.”

3.3 Autobiographical poetry as data for qualitative analysis

Given that the conventional IPA study is based on semi-structured interviews, with participants with whom the researcher communicates directly, it is legitimate to ask if pre-written autobiographical poetry can be used as data for this type of qualitative research.

Shapiro (2004), in discussing Furman's (2004) qualitative analysis of his own autobiographical poetry, suggests that readers might find the juxtaposition of the words 'poetry' and 'data' somewhat jarring; data, after all, are generally understood to be concerned with facts and to belong more properly to the domain of quantitative research. She points out, however, that poetry "speaks in a unique way from the interior of human experience" (p. 172) and is concerned with "a kind of deep understanding of subjective experience that it is difficult to access in other ways" (p. 173). As such, poetry may be "understood as an inquiry into meanings" (p. 173), aligning it with the focus of qualitative research which is likewise concerned with questions of meaning. She also draws attention to the way in which poetic language can give us access to "additional layers of nuance and ambivalence not easily found in prose" (p. 175).

Owton (2017), too, establishes a link between poetic enquiry and the goal of qualitative research, claiming that "poetry invites the reader to 'step into' another person's experience" (p. 8) and that "poetic representations can be employed as a way of seeking to reveal something of the *essence* of people's key experiences" (p. 10, emphasis in original). Owton also gives a view from the production end of the process by describing how the writing of poetry helped her to cope during a difficult period in her life by "relieving stress and frustration, releasing anger, promoting self-understanding and a 'filling in' of past memories" (p. 6).

This therapeutic power of poetry is discussed by Furman (2004) who highlights the effectiveness of poetry in conveying strong emotion and cites instances which demonstrate how autobiographical poetry writing can be both a tool for healing and a data source for exploring the experiences in question. He describes it as "the emotional microchip, in that it may serve as a compact repository for emotionally charged experiences" (p. 1).

3.4 Evaluating the validity of IPA

Towards the end of the 20th century there was a dramatic increase in the use of qualitative research methods in the social science disciplines and, with this, a growing awareness of the need to develop appropriate criteria to assess the validity of such studies (Elliott, Fischer and Rennie, 1999). Early attempts to evaluate qualitative studies by the criteria applied to quantitative ones were unsatisfactory as the latter are based on a positivistic

epistemology and the former on a phenomenological and hermeneutic paradigm. Elliott et al. addressed this problem by devising a set of guidelines for qualitative research, taking into consideration its unique epistemological stance and bearing in mind that the value of any scientific method lies in its ability to provide relevant answers to the research questions posed. Their motivation was to provide:

- a system of evaluation which would help to legitimise qualitative research
- a means of facilitating greater validity in scientific reviews of qualitative research
- a means of exerting quality control in qualitative research
- a set of reference points by which methodological advances and innovations might be inspired and guided.

Two sets of guidelines, one applicable to both qualitative and quantitative approaches, the other to qualitative research, were devised as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: *Evolving Guidelines for Publication of Qualitative Research Studies in Psychology and Related Fields*

Publishability guidelines shared by both qualitative and quantitative approaches	Publishability guidelines especially pertinent to qualitative research
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explicit scientific context and purpose 2. Appropriate methods 3. Respect for participants 4. Specification of methods 5. Appropriate discussion 6. Clarity of presentation 7. Contribution to knowledge 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Owning one's perspective 2. Situating the sample 3. Grounding in examples 4. Providing credibility checks 5. Coherence 6. Accomplishing general vs. specific research tasks 7. Resonating with readers

Adapted from Elliott et al. (1999, p. 220)

Yardley (2000) identifies four sets of characteristics which she considers applicable to most qualitative methods as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Characteristics of good qualitative research

Characteristic	Examples of form taken
Sensitivity to context	Theoretical; relevant literature; empirical data; sociocultural setting; participants' perspectives; ethical issues.
Commitment and rigour	In-depth engagement with topic; methodological competence/skill; thorough data collection; depth/breadth of analysis.
Transparency and coherence	Clarity and power of description/argument; transparent methods and data presentation; fit between theory and method; reflexivity.
Impact and importance	Theoretical (enriching understanding); socio-cultural; practical (for community, policy makers, health workers).

Adapted from Yardley (2000, p. 219)

Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009), in discussing how the validity and quality of IPA studies can be assessed, recommend the guidelines given by both the above sets of authors and demonstrate in detail how a good IPA study addresses each of Yardley's criteria. They also recommend an independent audit as a particularly effective way of ensuring credibility, a requirement highlighted by both Yardley (transparency) and Elliott et al. (providing credibility checks). For the audit, some or all of the documentation relating to the analytical processes is given to an independent researcher or supervisor and checked for plausibility.

Some ten years after IPA was first implemented as a qualitative research methodology Brocki and Wearden (2006) carried out a critical evaluation of its use in health psychology, an area to which they acknowledge IPA is particularly suited. They refer to Smith's (2004) promotion of the single case study as an area meriting development and point out that the richness of participant account which this enables is in line with the increased interest in conducting patient-centred research. However, they note that the stance of the researcher (preconceptions, beliefs, aims) was often not adequately discussed, a requirement which both Yardley and Elliott et al. highlight. They stress that this factor is particularly important in IPA, given the importance of the interpretative element of the analysis and the researcher's dynamic role in this. McDermott (2016), in assessing the quality of qualitative studies covered in her literature search, and using a framework developed by Walsh and

Downe (2006), notes that lack of evidence of researcher reflexivity was a relative weakness for all the studies included.

3.5 Reflexivity

As highlighted above, the question of reflexivity, although a key element in qualitative research, has not been treated adequately in the literature so far.

Shaw (2010) distinguishes between ‘reflection’ – concerned more with verification and accuracy checks – and ‘reflexivity’ which she describes as “an explicit evaluation of the self”, involving “reflecting your thinking back to yourself” (p. 236). This kind of reflexive activity is necessitated by the added layers of complexity which arise when philosophical ideas are applied in empirical psychological research, where the researcher engages with the lived experiences of others in a bid to analyse and report on them (Finlay, 2008). It recognises the need for researchers to develop a critical awareness of their own subjectivity, and to rein in the influence of their existing views, feelings or expectations. Finlay also mentions the importance of guarding against the danger of laying oneself open to charges of self-indulgence and solipsism, a factor which may account for the apparent unwillingness of many qualitative researchers to deal with reflexivity in sufficient depth, or even at all.

A key element of reflexivity is the notion of ‘horizon’, which Gadamer (as cited in Clark, 2008, p. 58) defines as: “The totality of all that can be realised or thought about by a person at a given time in history and in a particular culture.” The extent to which we are able to understand each other is determined by the degree to which our horizons overlap. To facilitate this process, we must make ourselves more transparent by “engaging in reflexivity, that is, proactively exploring our *self* at the start of our research enquiry” (Shaw, 2010, p. 235, emphasis in original). As Finlay and Gough (2003, p. 108) put it: “Our understanding of ‘other-ness’ arises through a process of making ourselves more transparent. Without examining ourselves we run the risk of letting our unelucidated prejudices dominate our research findings.”

It is helpful for readers if the researcher states her ontological and epistemological position from the outset. My own position is one of critical realism, ie, the belief that “while a

reality exists independent of the observer, we cannot know that reality with certainty” (Coyle, 2016, p.15), a position which is consistent with the epistemological basis of IPA. I am philosophically deterministic with respect to both natural laws and human behaviour. My life-world has been fashioned from a Catholic working-class upbringing and a family and school background which deprived me of the educational and professional opportunities which I might otherwise have had. As I consider the socio-cultural position of Anna von Lieben in relation to my own, I find a number of similarities and differences. Anna was born one hundred years before me, in a country and social class very different from my own. There is therefore a significant disparity between our horizons as defined by Gadamer. I will consider first what I believe might be similarities.

Anna was probably educationally deprived and intellectually frustrated. Alison Rose (2008) describes the obstacles encountered by young middle- and upper-class women in 19th-century Vienna, where girls, if they were educated at all, followed a curriculum based on the assumption that, as adults, their activities and interests would be directed towards cultural matters such as languages, music and the arts. She quotes from the memoir of Lise Meitner (1878-1968):

Thinking back to the time of my youth, one realizes with some astonishment how many problems then existed in the lives of ordinary young girls, which now seem almost unimaginable. Among the most difficult of these problems was the possibility of normal intellectual training. (cited in Rose, p. 13)

Winter (1927), referring to the lack of opportunity available to the female members of the Lieben family, describes their frustration: “Die ihnen versagte größere Vollkommenheit des männlichen Geschlechts war und blieb die unerreichte Sehnsucht ihres Lebens” (p. 26).

In addition to her interest in writing poetry, Anna appears to have had a mathematical bent (Lindinger, 2015, p. 63), a view supported by Swales (1986) who adduces evidence to suggest that she owned and showed an interest in the book *Novum Organum*, a philosophical work by Francis Bacon on the scientific method. According to Josef Breuer (SoH, p. 311), she was also a keen and proficient chess player, multiple references to

which are found in the diaries of her husband Leopold and the correspondence of her daughter Valla (MotColl).

I see parallels in the foregoing with my own educational and career experience and I believe that recalling such experiences will allow me to adjust my horizon towards that of Anna. Marianne Breiter (as cited in Lindinger, 2015, p. 63) believes that Anna von Lieben and some of her contemporaries were driven by intellectual frustration to take refuge in madness: “die Flucht in den Wahnsinn zum letzten Ausweg, mit ihrer nicht lebberen Kreativität fertigzuwerden.”

My own escape route took the form of a flight abroad, where I spent most of my adult life in what could be described as a prolonged ‘gap year’. Yet this too has provided me with useful experience in terms of understanding someone from a different culture. Integrating oneself into another culture is more than a cognitive exercise. For all the orientation courses and reading that expatriates might do before going to live in another country they can only truly identify with the culture when they begin to think, behave and feel, to some extent, in the same way as local people. I believe that I achieved this to a small degree during prolonged periods living in various countries in Africa and the Far East. Although I cannot share in the experience of Anna’s lifeworld, the memory of having experienced a degree of fusion with African and Oriental cultures possibly makes me more open to imagining myself in the Jewish haute-bourgeoise culture of 19th-century Vienna.

The process of reflexivity involves an exploration of the self at the beginning of a study and it continues throughout each stage of the research. Having set out my own general positions and worldview above, I will incorporate further specific issues brought to light by reflexivity as and when they arise throughout the analysis.

3.6 Differences between IPA and Close Reading

Close reading is an analytical approach associated with literary studies. It originated in the practices developed in the 1920s and 1930s by scholars of the New Criticism movement such as Ivor Richards and William Empson in the United Kingdom and John Crowe Ransom and Cleanth Brookes in the United States (Barbara Smith, 2016). Basically, close

reading is a set of techniques designed to uncover deeper layers of meaning in a text by interrogating its linguistic and rhetorical features (Ruiz de Castilla, 2018).

Matthew Jockers (2013, p. 6) defines close reading as “the sustained, concentrated reading of text” and describes it as “our primary methodology” in the study of literature. Barbara Smith (2016) takes issue with this use of the term ‘methodology’ to describe close reading, arguing that the activities involved are too diverse for it to qualify as such, as are the types of text and discourse for which it is called into service. Thus, it can be applied equally in the analysis of a wide range of text types, from Shakespearian plays to advertising jingles, from Victorian novels to social media messages to political speeches, with the techniques employed being equally varied. Smith points out, however, that, although not a methodology in itself, close reading is a component of all the various analytical approaches adopted in literature studies over the past century. Close reading is likewise a technique fundamental to the IPA process, being the first activity undertaken as the researcher immerses herself in the text to be analysed. It is on the basis of this close reading that the later interpretative stages of the analysis are built. Close reading can therefore be regarded as a subset of the set of activities involved in IPA.

The types of text used in the two analytical approaches differ. IPA is narrowly focused on first-person accounts of an individual’s experience of a particular phenomenon whereas close reading can be used with any type of text on any subject. In IPA the aim is to gain an understanding of *what it is like* for the individual to have the experience in question. The aim of close reading is simply to gain a broader understanding of the message of a text, whatever that type of message may be. IPA therefore distinguishes itself by having an idiographic and phenomenological focus; its principles are grounded in hermeneutic philosophy, while those of close reading are related to theories of literary criticism.

3.7 Pilot studies

To develop competence in the implementation of IPA methodology, and to identify any issues which might arise in using it in the innovative manner proposed, I carried out the following pilot studies.

Pilot study 1

Analysis of a corpus of contemporary English poetry written in response to the traumatic death of a sibling

The poems in question were chosen for the following reasons:

- They were of a confessional and emotional nature and therefore bore some resemblance to the poetry of Anna.
- They had been written by an acquaintance of my supervisor who was willing to engage with me in discussion.

Because the material was of a sensitive nature ethics approval was sought and granted by Glasgow University College of Arts Ethics Committee.

After analysing the poems, I subjected my findings to two processes of validation. First, I submitted my analysis to an independent IPA practitioner for the kind of independent audit advocated by Smith et al. (2009) as a means of assessing validity. I then returned my report to the author of the poems for ‘member checking’, a process whereby a participant is provided with the researcher’s findings and then comments on accuracy and resonance with felt experience (Birt et al., 2016). The analysis received favourable feedback on both counts. However, as noted in my reflexive journal, I was aware that I had felt to some extent inhibited in my thinking as I was concerned that sharing my thoughts on the poems might be disturbing for the author.

Pilot study 2

Analysis of three poems by the American writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) in which she expresses her views about the status of women: *To the Young Wife*, *To the Indifferent Women*, *Homes* (Gilman n.d.).

This exercise, which gave me the opportunity to analyse data from a previous era, drew my attention to the way in which I felt alienated by the use of language nuanced differently from that of today. I also realised that my previous reading of Gilman’s work, in particular *The Yellow Wallpaper* (2012), had left me with a negative impression of her, both as a writer and a person. I was able to engage with both of those points in a reflexivity section, showing how they may have impacted my analysis. On reflection I felt that I had possibly

been unfair to Gilman and I noted that I was unlikely to feel alienated in the same way from the 19th-century German poetic language of Anna von Lieben as I would be culturally ‘deaf’ to the kind of linguistic nuance which I found so rebarbative in the work of Gilman.

Pilot study 3

Analysis of *Tristesse* (Greenberg, 1991, pp. 71-72) a poem about a disappointed romance, possibly autobiographical, by French poet Louisa Siefert (1845-1877).

This poem was chosen because it gave me the opportunity to analyse a poem in a foreign language, French, with which I am more familiar than German. Given that we do not know if, or to what extent, *Tristesse* is autobiographical, this analysis could be considered only as a thought experiment, its main purpose being to identify any technical issues which might arise in using IPA with foreign-language texts.

As a serious poet aiming for publication, it is likely that Siefert’s mode of expression would have been influenced by the literary rules of the Romantic tradition in which she was writing. However, this kind of consideration is less likely to have influenced the work of Anna von Lieben who, as regards her more personal and highly emotionally charged poems, appeared to be writing for herself alone.

Finally, I include an extract from the reflexive writing which I undertook while analysing this poem:

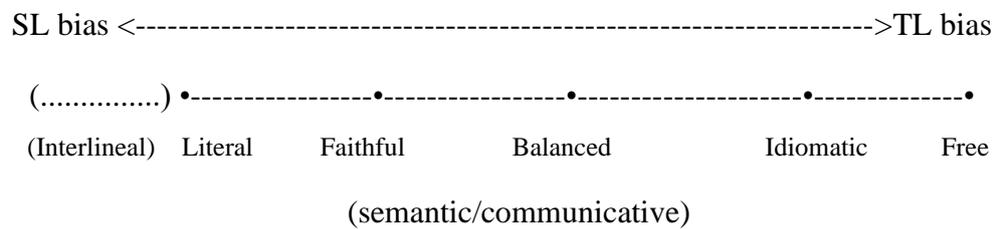
“My inclination to perceive the poem as the expression of growing maturity is possibly influenced by memories of my own teenage experiences. As a late emotional developer, my own psychological yardstick is probably one on which Siefert’s feelings register as being unusually sober and mature.

My suggestion that the last line of the poem – “Et l’ombre du passé s’étend sur l’avenir !” – is an indication of Siefert’s developing maturity is possibly prompted by my own world view as a determinist. The idea that the shadow of the past spreads over the future makes sense in terms of this view, and I probably see this way of thinking as one which might be arrived at as the more magical thinking of childhood is discarded.”

3.8 Use of foreign language text for IPA

I had originally been advised that I should translate the poems before doing the analysis to make the process available to non-German-speakers and to ensure that it mapped more closely to the intended outcome. However, although I had to translate the poem into English for one of my supervisors, I came to the conclusion that basing the analysis on the translated version would not lead to a satisfactory outcome. This conclusion was based on the following considerations. The translation of a text from one language to another can be positioned between two extremes, as in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Source language and target language bias in translation



(ST = source text, TT = target text, SL = source language, TL = target language)

Hervey et al. (1995, p. 13), adapted from Newmark (1982, p.39)

The position on this line occupied by any given translation will depend to some extent on the purpose for which the translation has been carried out. Thus, with scientific texts, where accuracy and factual detail rather than connotation or elegance of expression are key, a more literal translation would be expected, while for a dramatic script the appropriate type of translation would lie towards the idiomatic. In general, Hervey et al. advocate aiming for a modified version of the principle of equivalent effect which, in its original version, requires “that the TT should affect its recipients in the same way as the ST does (or did) its original audience” (p. 14). This being unrealistic, Hervey et al. propose instead that the approach should be to “avoid an absolutist attempt at *maximising sameness* in things that are crucially different (ST and TT), in favour of a relativist attempt at *minimizing dissimilarities* between things that are clearly understood to be different’ (p. 15, emphasis in the original). There is therefore always a loss in translation, no matter where the target text is situated on the above line. My translation of *Tristesse* probably lay

between ‘faithful’ and ‘balanced’, and more towards the ‘faithful’ end. This corresponds with my natural tendency to translate in a faithful way, a tendency which has probably been reinforced by my experience as a French-English translator of engineering texts. In effect, my analysis of my translation of *Tristesse* revealed numerous slight losses in translation.

The question here is: what kind of translation would be best suited for a text to be used for an IPA analysis? Gray (1976, p. x) draws attention to the difficulties inherent in translating between German and English poetry on account of “the differing sounds of words, the rhythms achievable, the lack of exact equivalents in meaning, the difference in emotional impact of words which have the same logical sense, and so on”, obstacles which he sums up with the phrase ‘Traduttore, traditore’. Schmidt (1971) advocates offering a prose rendition when a translation of a poem is required, claiming that if the translation is competent at the linguistic level it will not constitute a poem and if it is translated into poetic form it will be a different poem from the original. If the reader is provided with a “stubbornly modest” (Preface, para. 4) prose version he will be aware of the content and can then turn to the original, with guidance if necessary, for the poetic features. This is the strategy I adopted in translating the poems for non-German-speakers. As regards my approach during the IPA procedure, I considered it essential to focus exclusively on the German original without allowing myself to be distracted by the prose rendition I had been required to prepare for one of my supervisors.

3.9 Application of IPA in the present study

The IPA procedure will be applied to those of Anna’s poems judged likely to provide information about her phenomenological experience of her illness. A group of her other poems which do not meet the criteria for IPA will be subjected to a close reading. However, elements of the general hermeneutic approach underpinning IPA will be retained throughout the study, most notably with recourse to the hermeneutic circle as new evidence emerges and to the practice of reflexivity.

CHAPTER 4: ANNA'S NARRATIVE

The analysis of Anna's poems will be conducted in two stages. In the first stage, a selection of the poems in V1, written between 1866 and 1870, will be the focus of an in-depth qualitative study using IPA. In the second stage, a selection of the later poems in V2, those written between 1870 and 1873, will be subjected to a close reading.

4.1 Preliminary processing of the poems

My first active engagement with the poems involved transcription from the original 19th-century manuscripts. During this process I became aware that, because the volume and variety of primary material newly discovered was far greater than originally envisaged, the analytical process would be correspondingly more complex.

For the first stage in the analysis of Anna's poems I used the material in the first volume (V1), only referring to the second volume (V2) where the text of V1 was illegible. I adopted this strategy for the following reasons:

- V2 appears to be a fair copy of V1 with the addition of a number of poems written between November 1870 and March 1873, ie, after the last poem in V1. The two volumes are otherwise almost identical, the variations being mainly ones of punctuation and spelling; in V2 the handwriting is more consistent and the presentation is neater. The V1 poems can be considered the more appropriate version for IPA as they would have been written closer in time to Anna's experiencing of the psychological and physical states described and would therefore constitute a more faithful representation of them. As such, they correspond to the kind of 'hot cognition' described by Smith and Eatough (2009) as being a fruitful source for good IPA, ie, texts which engage "with issues which are current, emotive and sometimes dilemmatic" (p. 53).
- The later poems in V2 cover the period of Anna's engagement to her husband Leopold and the early years of her marriage and motherhood (November 1870 to March 1873). As they differ markedly from the previous poems, they will be subjected to a separate examination using a different methodological approach.

The transcription involved reading scanned copies of the handwritten poems and typing into a Word document those which seemed likely to be relevant to the principal research question, ie, those revealing significant personal import or emotional or physical distress. Poems of a more impersonal or a more mundane nature, or which were less emotionally freighted, were excluded. Examples of the latter are:

- *Beim Beginn des Krieges 1866* (V1, pp. 37-38), written at the time of the Austro-Prussian war
- *Schnee in London* (V1, pp. 40-41), expressing wry comments on the English weather
- *An Helene bei Übersendung von Photographien* (V1, p. 77), thanking a friend for a photograph
- *Zum Hochzeitstage meiner Eltern* (V1, p. 139), addressed to her parents on the occasion of their wedding anniversary.

After transcribing all the poems in VI, apart from those which appeared irrelevant to the research question, I tabulated them with brief descriptive comments for each one, at the same time reading and re-reading the material in a process of data familiarisation as described by Clarke and Braun (2016). From this early stage of developing a “sense of the semantic, obvious meanings of the data” (p. 90) I identified eight categories indicating the main theme or significant feature of each poem:

- Relationships with entourage
- Romance
- Negative affect
- Desire for death
- Relationship with a higher power
- Ill-health
- Revealing personality
- Expressions of opinion

At this point I was led to revisit the research questions which, in their original formulation, referred to Anna’s ‘illness’. It was already clear from a preliminary study of the poems that it is often uncertain whether Anna is referring to physical or psychological distress when

she uses words such as *krank* (ill) and *Schmerz* (pain). I therefore adopted the umbrella term ‘malaise’ to refer to all manifestations of her distress.

Merriam-Webster (n.d.) defines malaise as

1. an indefinite feeling of debility or lack of health often indicative of or accompanying the onset of an illness
2. a vague sense of mental or moral ill-being

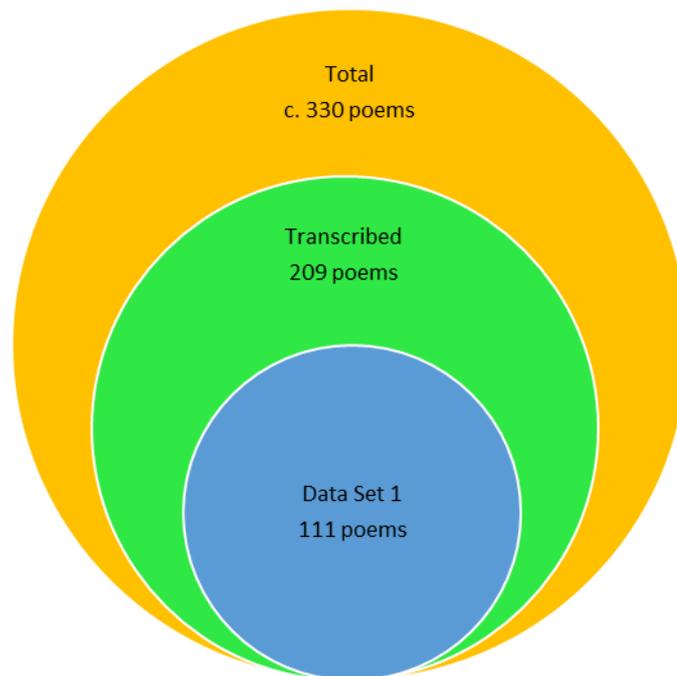
I chose this term as it covers both physical and psychological distress. It also conveys a rather nebulous idea of unwellness which I think characterises Anna’s own presentation of her condition.

The first two research questions are now:

1. How did Anna von Lieben experience her malaise?
2. How do the diary entries and letters of Anna’s husband contribute to an understanding of Anna’s malaise?

From the approximately 330 poems in V1, 209, comprising approximately 20,000 words, were transcribed and categorised as above. I then applied a mood scale (-2, -1, 0, +1, +2) showing my subjective impression of the degree of negative or positive emotion expressed in the poem. Finally, I identified those poems which appeared to lend themselves to phenomenological analysis. After this process, 111 poems, comprising approximately 3,800 words, remained as potentially pertinent to the research question and amenable to the type of analysis proposed. This selection, labelled Data Set 1, constitutes the primary data set as established at the beginning of the analysis. The breakdown of the poems in V1 is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: V1 data divisions



As the analysis proceeded, the boundary between Data Set 1 and the remaining transcribed poems became somewhat permeable as it became evident at times that items from the latter could enhance understanding of the emerging themes.

4.2 IPA of Data Set 1 (1866-1870)

4.2.1 *Einst und jetzt* and *Der Onkel*

During the process of familiarisation outlined above, a distinct narrative thread had emerged, with Anna's emotions being structured around a pivotal moment identified by Anna herself.

At this stage, two poems had stood out as possibly providing key elements of Anna's narrative: *Einst und jetzt* (V1, pp. 90-92) and *Der Onkel, Ballade: Frei nach Goethe's Fischer* (V1, pp. 333-334). The first of those poems, *Einst und jetzt*, written in autumn 1867, appears to be a first-person account of a traumatic event in Anna's life. The poem further suggests that Anna linked this event to ongoing negative changes in her physical and emotional health. Supporting evidence from other poems – *Die Jugend flieht* (V1, pp. 156-157); *Die Hoffnung* (V1, pp.29-32) – indicates that the event took place in 1864, when

Anna was aged sixteen or seventeen. *Der Onkel*, which echoes elements of *Einst und jetzt*, appears to depict a scene of seduction.

To explore the hypothesis of a traumatic event I first undertook a close reading of *Einst und jetzt* and *Der Onkel*, with a particular emphasis on the use of literary devices. To explore the experiential aspects of the event I then expanded this preliminary investigation into a full Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of the same two poems and of other relevant poems.

Close reading of *Einst und jetzt*

It is a lovely evening when Anna steps out of the house and into the garden. She lies down on the grass in a happy mood. An event then takes place – referred to tangentially but not described – which she believes transformed her from a carefree teenager confidently looking forward to a happy future to a deeply troubled young woman.

The event hypothesised may have taken place in the outdoor setting depicted. Whether or not this was the case is immaterial; of more importance is the *way* in which the setting is described. As Anna leaves the house, she enters a landscape of loveliness, a *locus amoenus* where flowers and scented grass, laden with dew and illuminated by soft moonshine and starlight, create an unthreatening and benevolent atmosphere.

Doch gar lieblich war die Nacht,
Hell des Firmament erglänzte, (lines 13-14)

Milde schien der Mond hernieder,
Träumerisch die Blumen nickten
Wie von hellen Thau umgeben
Aus den dunklen gras sie blickten. (lines 21-24)

The *locus amoenus*, a literary trope dating back to the writers of Ancient Greece and Rome, can be understood as “a landscape of the mind” (Evet, 1970, p. 5), or as “an external equivalent for a state of mind” (Ryan, 2012, p. 131). Nikolaus Lenau, a 19th-century Weltschmerz poet with whose works Anna was undoubtedly familiar, made extensive use of nature scenes in this way to convey his emotions, both positive and negative (Schmidt, 1971).

Anna seems here to be using the scene to highlight her previous happy and carefree state:

Einst konnt' ich noch selig träumen
Wie ich könnte glücklich sein; (lines 1-2)

The basic elements of the *locus amoenus* are water, grass and trees or shade. In *Einst und jetzt* the place of water is taken by the dew, and this dew turns out to be the rogue element which ruins the *locus amoenus* of Anna's own mental landscape.

The dew is first described as 'bright', as if it enhanced the beauty of the place:

Träumerisch die Blumen nickten
Wie von hellen Thau umgeben
Aus den dunklen gras sie blickten (lines 22-24)

But the dew is treacherous, the 'dark grass' hinting at a dangerous undertow. Anna labels the dew as murderous and accuses it of embracing her. There is also the suggestion that it has deceived her with its semblance of beauty, a superficial attractiveness which has seduced her:

Jener mörd' schöne Thau
Sollte mord'risch mich umschlingen, (lines 33-34)

In the following two lines she describes the dew as the harbinger of tears to come, thus linking this event with her future unhappiness:

Nur der Thränen Bote werden
Die mir künft'ge Tage bringen. (lines 35-36)

In the next stanza she again rails against the dew, identifying it more plainly as the cause of her later malaise:

Grausam habt Ihr schöne Perlen
Meines Lebens Lenz verheert,
Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück
In das ärgste Leid verkehrt. (lines 37-40)

For Anna, the dew clearly represents the agent responsible for whatever took place. But who, or what, was that agent, and what was the nature of the event which took place?

In traditional literary imagery “bowers and gardens are normal scenes of sexual encounter” (Toelken, 1955, p. 66). Closs (1938), discussing the language of flowers in the German folk song, writes: “The garden itself is a symbol of love” (p. 95). For Evett (1970), sex and the *locus amoenus* have always been closely related and he draws attention to the topos’s “built-in hospitality to moral perversion” (p. 506). The setting of *Einst und jetzt*, and the way in which it transmuted from a *locus amoenus* into something profoundly dark, can therefore be understood as a framework for sexual impropriety.

According to Toelken, the word ‘dew’ is often found “in folksongs where virginity is central” (p. 156) and it is often associated with tales of seduction. Clarke (1974) writes of the longstanding association of the god Eros with flowers and gardens and posits that Eros “is, in fact, the dew – mysterious deposit of droplets and literally the embodiment of mist” (p. 69). He shows, with examples from different cultures, that dew is widely associated with fecundity and that the word is sometimes used as a euphemism for semen.

As Herder and Bohlman (2017), Winter (2014) and Closs (1938) demonstrate, many German-language poems and folk songs share common tropes with wider global cultures, thanks largely to Johann Gottfried Herder (1975) who translated and reinterpreted material from other European traditions and beyond to compile his influential corpus of German-language folksongs, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern. Das Mädchen und die Haselstaude* which is replete with sexual allusions. In a conversation between a hazel (a phallic symbol) and a maiden, the hazel attributes its strength to being nourished by the cool morning dew, while the maiden is warned that if she wants to keep her garland – a symbol of virginity (Closs, p. 98) – she must stay at home and avoid the fools’ dance. The old German folksong *Zeit zum Rosenbrechen* – a metaphor for loss of virginity – describes the time for this:

One must break the little rose
just before midnight;
Then all the petals
are laden with cool dew;
That’s the time for breaking little roses (Toelken, p.156).

In Herder’s rendering of a Lithuanian folksong *Lied des Mädchens um ihren Garten* a maiden explains that she is unhappy because her little garden has been ravaged, the lilies

snapped, the roses stolen, the dew wiped away, and her garland has withered, suggesting that she has been sexually ill-used, in a story which may be echoed in Anna's own

If Anna's use of literary tropes and metaphors was indeed derived from classical and traditional literature it would imply a familiarity with such works, which young women of her generation may not have had the opportunity to acquire. Could Anna have done so?

This question may be answered by referring to Anna's family background. Anna's mother, Sophie von Todesco, was one of the most popular salonnières of the Vienna Ringstrasse, and her home in the magnificent Palais Todesco was frequented by the 'toute Vienne' of the day (Arnbom, 2004). Her extensive correspondence (von Todesco, 1852-1924) reveals a network of relationships with some of the most prominent writers, poets, dramatists, artists and musicians of the 19th century. As Sophie's daughter, Anna would have received the kind of education reserved for girls from this social milieu, one grounded primarily in literature and art, designed to cultivate their minds and personalities and to fit them for the role expected of them in society (Rossbacher, 2003).

With this in mind let us examine the text more closely. Anna describes how she 'hurried' out of the house ("Eilt' ich aus dem regen Haus"). This raises the question: why was she hurrying? There is a sense of anticipation, heightened by the 'mysterious darkness' ("In's geheimnisvolle Dunkel"). There is a suggestion here of something unknown, waiting to be discovered. She was in good spirits, as if eager to embrace life. It seems possible that she had an assignation, a lovers' tryst, the first of its kind perhaps, and something pregnant with novelty and promise. A change is heralded as Anna describes how she steps over the threshold ("Als ich vor die Schwelle trat"). The word 'threshold' loads the moment with significance, signalling a passage from one state to another. The first state is given an added dimension of innocence by the virginal symbolism of her thin white dress ("in dünnen weißen kleide") and by the garland she is wearing on her head ("Selber mir das Haupt bekränzte").

We see that the dew has a changing role over the course of the narrative. At the beginning it is a positive feature of the *locus amoenus*, contributing to the loveliness of the night and, by extension, to Anna's state of mind. Given the way in which the narrative develops, it is

feasible that Anna entered the garden with the expectation of some light dalliance with a man she favoured, represented in the poem by the dew.

Anna's self-identification as the victim of the dew is highlighted by the parallels between stanzas 5 and 6. In the first, the flowers nod dreamily, surrounded by the bright dew and the dark grass. In the second, Anna lies on the scented grass daydreaming. But, as she lay on the grass, the dew 'embraced' her 'murderously' ("Jener mörd' schöne Thau / Sollte mord'risch mich umschlingen"). The use of the word 'umschlingen' for the action of the dew is highly suggestive of a physical encounter – romantic or sexual – while the adverb 'mord'risch' attributes lethal destructive effects to the action. The embrace she might have originally been looking forward to seems to have gone much further than expected. Whatever the gravity of the incident in question, it had the effect of destroying her 'health, energy and happiness' ("Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück / In das ärgste Leid verkehrt), of 'murdering' the person she previously was.

It seems, therefore, that the hypothesis of a traumatic event is supported by a metaphorical analysis of *Einst und jetzt*. There are indications, at this stage of the analysis, that the event was of a sexual nature and that the perpetrator may have been someone of whom Anna had romantic expectations.

Close reading of *Der Onkel*

As its sub-title indicates, *Der Onkel, Ballade: Frei nach Goethe's Fischer*, written in the summer of 1869) is a pastiche inspired by Goethe's poem *Der Fischer* (1779). The pastiche form is often used by writers to imitate the work of a writer they admire, either as a tribute or to hone their own literary skills. I will now analyse and compare *Der Onkel* and *Der Fischer* to investigate whether either of those possibilities could have motivated Anna, or if she may have had some other intention.

In *Der Fischer* a third-person narrator tells the story of a man fishing peacefully by the sea when a mermaid rises out of the water. She accuses him of luring her fellow sea-dwellers to their deaths and at the same time tries to lure him into the water by painting an attractive picture of life in the deep. She assures him that he would thrive there, pointing out how the sun and the moon, and even his own face, are transformed and enhanced when reflected in

the sea. Tempted by her seductive words, the fisherman edges towards the water and, finally acquiescent, he allows himself to be drawn down by the mermaid. He is never seen again.

Why did Goethe write *Der Fischer*? If he himself is to be believed, he wanted to do nothing more than express the idea of being tempted to swim by seeing water in summer (Kemmis, 2018; Dye, 1989). This claim is generally discounted by critics as disingenuous. Some scholars have interpreted the poem as Goethe's reaction to the suicide of his friend Christel von Lassberg who drowned herself shortly before it was written, a theory which is supported by a letter from Goethe to his friend Charlotte von Stein in which he described grief and water as representing both a lure and a danger.

The tale is anchored firmly in the realm of myth and countless variations have appeared in literature and folklore, starting with Ancient Greece and, closer to home, in the Norse Sagas (Kemmis, 2018). The richness of the poem's mythopoetic roots thus lends it to a wide range of interpretations. As Dye (p. 52) puts it: "[Goethe's] depiction of the encounter between fisherman and mermaid incorporates multiple legacies of form and content." However, she points out that common to almost all those stories is the idea of a female in pursuit of a man, of woman as an erotic peril.

A study of different interpretations of the poem reveals that they all display an attention to symbolism, focusing on an analysis of certain words which are generally understood to be significant in a wider traditional context. Dye highlights instances of this and demonstrates how they may be construed: for example, water as a symbol of death; mermaid as personification of the allure of water. Thus, whatever may have initially prompted Goethe to write *Der Fischer*, his literary knowledge and skill allowed him to express himself in a manner more complex, more intellectually gratifying, and more aesthetically satisfying than if he had been writing on a mere whim or to come to terms with a personal loss.

In *Der Onkel* a first-person female narrator relates how she and another female are sitting peacefully in an area of parkland when a man, described as an uncle, comes out from a bush. As does the mermaid with the fisherman, the uncle speaks to the girls in a

provocative and seductive manner. They then experience a confused sense of desire. They yield to his pull, crawl after him, and spend some time with him.

My impression is that *Der Onkel* tells the story of a personal episode in Anna's life, one which involved a sexual encounter. My reasons are set out below.

Table 6 below highlights the main semantic differences between *Der Onkel* and *Der Fischer* and reveals an unusual form of correspondence between the two poems. Rather than creating a new poem in the style of *Der Fischer* Anna appears merely to have removed some of Goethe's words and replaced them with words of her own, otherwise leaving the original intact as illustrated by the highlighted words in Table 6. The result can be considered less as pastiche and more as a literary exercise in which Anna uses the framework of *Der Fischer* as a form of Trojan Horse for the hidden transport of a story of her own.

If the poem had been intended purely as a pastiche, that is, with the purpose of celebrating or emulating an admired poet, it seems more likely that Anna would have tried to write something in the same spirit, with, for example, a ballad anchored likewise in a mythical realm and using similarly laden metaphors. It could have been an interesting literary challenge for her to compose a poem in a traditional folkloric setting but with a female rather than a male subject. She could, for example, have created a dark fairy tale with a wolf or a satyr as the mischief-maker and a more bacchanalian setting, with drunkenness and overtly libertine behaviour.

Der Onkel shows little of the symbolism apparent in *Der Fischer*. In the latter, the symbolism makes its presence felt with the first word – 'Wasser' – whose significance is discussed above. For Goethe, this word sets the scene and pervades the entire poem. The corresponding words used by Anna are 'Musik' and 'Kaffee', which seem to act as little more than background descriptors.

Table 6: *Semantic comparison of Der Fischer and Der Onkel*

<i>Der Fischer</i>	<i>Der Onkel</i>
<p>Das Wasser rauscht', das Wasser schwoll, Ein Fischer saß daran, Sah nach dem Angel ruhevoll, Kühl bis ans Herz hinan. Und wie er sitzt und wie er lauscht, Teilt sich die Flut empor: Aus dem bewegten Wasser rauscht Ein feuchtes Weib hervor.</p> <p>Sie sang zu ihm, sie sprach zu ihm: »Was lockst du meine Brut Mit Menschenwitz und Menschenlist Hinauf in Todesglut? Ach wüßtest du, wie's Fischlein ist So wohligh auf dem Grund, Du stiegst herunter, wie du bist, Und würdest erst gesund.</p> <p>Labt sich die liebe Sonne nicht, Der Mond sich nicht im Meer? Kehrt wellenatmend ihr Gesicht Nicht doppelt schöner her? Lockt dich der tiefe Himmel nicht, Das feuchtverklärte Blau? Lockt dich dein eigen Angesicht Nicht her in ew'gen Tau?«</p> <p>Das Wasser rauscht', das Wasser schwoll, Netzt' ihm den nackten Fuß; Sein Herz wuchs ihm so sehnsuchtsvoll Wie bei der Liebsten Gruß. Sie sprach zu ihm, sie sang zu ihm; Da war's um ihn geschehn; Halb zog sie ihn, halb sank er hin Und ward nicht mehr gesehn.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Die Musik rauscht, der Kaffee schwoll, 2. Wir saßen weit hintan; 3. Sah'n nach dem Parke ruhevoll, 4. Kühl bis in's Herz hinan. 5. Und wie man sitzt so und lauscht 6. Theilt sich der Busch entzwei, 7. Aus der bewegten Menge rauscht 8. Der Onkel feucht herbei. 9. Er sang zu uns, er sprach zu uns: 10. Versteckt Ihr Euch hierher? 11. So abgefeinte Weiberlist, 12. Betrügt mich nimmermehr! 13. Ach wüßtet [sic] Ihr, wie's lieblich ist 14. In schönen Parkesrund, 15. Ihr kamt herauf, so wie Ihr seid, 16. Und würdet erst gesund. 17. Labt sich denn Christ und Jude nicht 18. Am Jausentische sehr? 19. Kehrt kaffeeschlürfend jed' Gesicht 20. Nicht doppelt schöner her? 21. Lockt Euch der trübe Himmel nicht 22. Das feuchtverklärte Grau? 23. Lockt Euch manch' schieches Angesicht 24. Nicht her in ew'gen Thau? 25. Die Musik rauscht, der Kaffee schwoll, 26. Netzt uns den trock'nen Gaum; 27. Das Herz wuchs uns so sehnsuchtsvoll 28. Wie bei dem Liebsten kaum. 29. Er sprach zu uns, er sang zu uns - 30. Da war's um uns geschehen - 31. Halb zog er uns, halb krochen wir 32. War'n lang mit ihm gesehn!

Anna's tale is a more prosaic one, couched in terms whose very banality suggests that she does not want to convey any wider meaning. Her refusal to exploit the literary potential which the use of a model such as *Der Fischer* would normally offer suggests that she wants to 'stick with the facts', as if she is saying: 'This is what happened, and these were the people involved.' This raises the question: What did happen and who were the people involved?

The subjects of the poem are only identified as 'wir'. If the poem is autobiographical, as hypothesised, this suggests that 'we' are Anna herself and a friend, and we know that both are female as the man accuses them of behaving with feminine cunning ('Weiberlist'). Or perhaps there was only Anna herself. If so, why did she not write in the first-person singular? It would, after all, have been easier to use 'ich' as 'wir' required corresponding linguistic changes which must have made it more difficult to adhere to the metrical arrangement of *Der Fischer*, with its singular subject. It may be that Anna felt that the events which took place were something to be ashamed of, in which case she might have felt more comfortable presenting the story in a way which allowed her to share the blame. The man involved remains unidentified. He may not necessarily have been a relative, the term 'uncle' possibly being used merely for reasons of poetic balance, or to refer to a family friend.

The descriptive elements evoke an atmosphere of unpleasantness. The sky is cloudy and there is a damp grey mist, although this only becomes evident when the uncle appears, as if the gloominess was brought on by his appearance. The uncle himself is 'damp' ('feucht') which, although apt for a mermaid, feels rebarbative in the case of a man, and his behaviour is devious. He springs on them unexpectedly:

Theilt sich der Busch entzwei,
Aus der bewegten Menge rauscht
Der Onkel feucht herbei. (lines 6-9)

Given the correspondence between the two poems, and therefore the likely parallels between the behaviour of the uncle and that of the mermaid, it would appear that the uncle, at this point, has thoughts of dalliance in mind. His approach, like that of the mermaid, is seductively alluring. At first, the two lines "Ach wußtet Ihr, wie's lieblich ist/In schönen Parkesrund" were grammatically puzzling. When the mermaid tries to tempt the fisherman

into the water, she uses the subjunctive form of the verb, suggesting to him that *if* he knew (“Ach wüßtest du ...”) what a delightful life the fish led there, he would surely want to join them. In Anna’s poem the corresponding verb is in the indicative. I wondered if an accusation was intended, with the uncle telling the girls that they knew what they were doing when they came there, implying that they had had an ulterior motive and that whatever happened as a result would be their own fault. But the word order for this would jar. I concluded that the most likely explanation was that Anna had simply forgotten to add the umlaut in “wußtet” and on checking with the fair copy version of the poem (V2, pp. 362-363) I found that this was indeed so. The uncle then changes tack, adopting an ingratiating tone as he tries to convince the girls that they might be attracted by things normally considered unattractive.

Lockt Euch der trübe Himmel nicht
 Das feuchtverklärte Grau?
 Lockt Euch manch' schieches Angesicht
 Nicht her in ew'gen Thau? (lines 21-24)

Anna here uses the same phrase – ew’gen Thau– as Goethe. As already discussed above, the word ‘dew’ is often used in tales of seduction to avoid dealing directly with forbidden subjects and it is likely that Goethe intended both a literal meaning, with the dew being assimilated to the water of the sea, and a metaphorical one. With *Der Onkel*, the corresponding assimilation of the dew appears to be to the damp grey mist and rain-laden sky, and even to the ‘dampness’ of the uncle when he first appears. When this is coupled with the metaphorical meaning, it would seem that Anna’s use of the phrase points to an act of sexual impropriety taking place in disagreeable circumstances. Given the common element of seduction proposed for the two poems, it is therefore possible that they are based on the same event.

Events in question as cause of Anna’s illness

In *Die Jugend flieht* (V1, pp. 156-157), written in May 1868, Anna describes her state of malaise as already lasting for four years:

Vier Jahre bin ich todt im Leben
 Und lebe doch, und sterbe nicht (lines 17-18)

She associates this state of living death with the same regret over lost hopes and shattered dreams expressed in *Einst und jetzt*:

Die Jugend flieht und mit ihr flieht
Die letzte Hoffnung auch auf Glück (lines 1-2)

Und meiner Jugend schönste Traume
Sie schmückten nie ein lebend Bild (lines 7-8)

In *Die Hoffnung* (V1, pp. 29-32), written in the autumn of 1866, she thanks the Star of Hope for supporting her during two difficult years:

Zwei schwere lange Jahre
Sprachst du mit gleicher Gluth
Die Kraft mir zu bewahren,
Zu stärken meinen Muth. (lines 25-28)

During those years she has been in pain and distress:

In Schmerzen und in Kummer (line 23)

and downhearted as if her mind was shrouded in night:

Mein Geist ist mir umdunkelt
Und mich umhüllet Nacht (lines 1-2)

again recalling the pain and darkened mood of *Einst und jetzt* (line 1).

The dates of the two poems indicate that Anna's malaise started sometime in the middle of 1864, when she was sixteen. This date corresponds with the information given by Anna's daughter Henriette (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972) who reported that her mother had been normal until the age of sixteen (p. 20). The content of the two poems suggests that the malaise referred to corresponds to the transformation in physical and emotional health described in *Einst und jetzt*.

Extension of the analysis

The analysis of the two poems was then extended following the IPA guidelines given by Smith et al. (2009). From the exploratory comments and emergent themes (see tables in Appendices 1 and 2) the following superordinate themes were identified:

1. Attribution of responsibility

2. Unwillingness to be explicit
3. Feelings of personal loss

The first and second themes were common to both poems and will be the focus of the next part of the analysis. The third theme, which was found in *Einst und Jetzt* but not in *Der Onkel*, will feature in the subsequent section which is devoted to the wider experiential elements of Anna's malaise.

Theme 1: attribution of responsibility

In the earlier poem, *Einst und jetzt*, after stating that her hopes and happiness were destroyed by the events of a particular night, Anna wonders what the cause could have been. She suggests only two possibilities: blind chance or the intervention of a higher power:

War's des blinden Zufall's Tücke
Oder ein höh're Macht? (lines 7-8)

Given the way in which the story develops, it is puzzling that the only suspects proposed are abstract entities. No people are considered to have been involved, at least not of their own free will. It is as if Anna wants to absolve any human actors of responsibility.

Anna addresses the question again in the next stanza, where she appears to dialogue with herself ('poor mind').:

Dieses wirst du nie erfahren,
Armer Geist, denn du müßt irren,
Da des Lebens ew'ge Räthsel
Stets von Neuen dich verwirren. (lines 9-12)

Here she reinforces the notion that attribution of responsibility is impossible by insisting that she is simply confronted with one of life's insoluble conundrums. There seems to be a desire to exonerate any potential human suspect, whether herself or anyone else. She seems to be in a state of denial, as if protecting herself from a knowledge which she might find harmful.

The above contrasts with the language used later in the poem when Anna accuses the dew in no uncertain terms of being the cause of her ruination. She comes at it indirectly, at first referring to the dew in the third person:

Jener mörd' schöne Thau
Sollte mord'risch mich umschlingen (lines 33-34)

and then addresses it face to face, identifying it squarely as the author of her misfortune:

Grausam habt Ihr schöne Perlen
Meines Lebens Lenz verheert,
Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück
In das ärgste Leid verkehrt (lines 37-40)

It feels now as if Anna has finally found the answer to her own question but can only express it in disguise, by personifying an element of nature, one which, as discussed above, has a long history of serving as a metaphor in scenes of seduction.

Tied to the question of responsibility is the extent to which Anna perceives herself as victim. On entering the garden, she presents a picture of innocence and vulnerability. The description of herself lying supine on the grass (“Und ich leg' in wachen Traume / In das duft'ge gras mich hin”) in her thin white dress (“in dünnen weißen kleide”) calls to mind the image of a sacrificial victim lying on an altar. More precisely, she seems to present herself as a victim of duplicity. The dew, the agent of her misfortune, is accused of deception, its superficial beauty concealing its cruelty and the murderousness of its intentions. There is also the suggestion that Anna was initially attracted by this appearance of beauty, giving rise to feelings of ambivalence in her first contact with whatever the dew represented for her; it is like a wolf in sheep’s clothing.

In *Der Onkel* no recriminations are expressed by Anna yet there is a strong sense that some kind of blameworthy activity is at issue, an impression first created by the culpabilising behaviour of the uncle. His first words to the girls are confrontational:

Versteckt Ihr Euch hierher?
So abgefeimte Weiberlist, (lines 10-11)

He accuses them of hiding (“versteckt”), as if they are ‘up to something’ and reinforces this idea with two words implying cunning and female ruse (“abgefeimt”, “Weiberlist”). He orders them not to deceive him:

Betrügt mich nimmermehr! (line 12)

From the peremptory manner in which he speaks, with the imperative (“betrügt”) and the emphatic (“nimmermehr”) Anna presents the uncle as trying to make the girls believe that they have been guilty of deceitful behaviour, thus pre-empting any accusation of wrongdoing against himself.

The contrast between the inner wolf and the outer sheep in this poem is less marked than in *Einst und jetzt* where the outwardly beautiful dew is unambiguously labelled as murderous and cruel. The uncle serenades the girls like a troubadour: “Er sang zu uns, er sprach zu uns”; but this manner of approach does little to conceal the fact that he is trying, like an unscrupulous sales representative, to convince them of the attractiveness of features which might be considered repellent:

Lockt Euch manch' schieches Angesicht
Nicht her in ew'gen Thau? (lines 21-22)

At this point a second difference is found in the fair copy version in V2, where Anna has changed the ugly faces (*schieches Angesicht*) to beautiful ones (*schönes Angesicht*). Could the passage of time have wrought an ambivalence in Anna’s reactions? Ambivalence is also displayed in the last verse, where Anna appears to be subject to conflicting impulses. Her mouth which is at first dry – with nervousness? – becomes wet:

Die Musik rauscht, der Kaffee schwoll,
Netzt uns den trock'nen Gaum; (lines 25-26)

Could this be a physiological response to stimulus, with the coffee as metaphor for saliva? She acknowledges desire, but there is something not right about it; it is not the desire felt for a loved one, with the emotional dimension which that would entail, but something more rooted in the physical:

Das Herz wuchs uns so sehnsuchtsvoll
Wie bei dem Liebsten kaum. (lines 27-28)

However, there is a denial of personal agency, with the use of the passive form of the verb to specify that something happened to them:

Da war's um uns geschehen – (line 30)

Here Anna is at pains to say that they did not act; they were acted upon. But when the uncle pulls them along, they crawl after him:

Halb zog er uns, halb krochen wir (line 31)

There is a sense of complicity here, a sense of blame being shared equally with the uncle. The use of the word ‘crawl’ – on hands and knees – hints also at a sense of self-abasement, which could contribute to a sense of shame.

Theme 2: Unwillingness to be explicit

A significant feature of both poems lies in what Anna leaves unsaid. By using poetry as her medium of expression she allows herself the possibility of veiling her meaning behind the various poetic devices at her disposal. This is particularly noticeable in the two poems which appear to deal directly with the hypothesised event, and all the more so as it contrasts with the relatively infrequent use of metaphor in the rest of her oeuvre, much of which reads more like diary entries formulated in verse than true poetry.

A striking use of such a device is found in *Einst und jetzt*, when Anna points the finger of blame at what she believes to be the author of her misfortune. She does not explicitly identify this entity, nor does she specify what took place. Instead, she takes refuge in personification, naming the dew as the culprit. Up to this point in the poem, the tale has unfolded in a realistic setting, albeit one replete with symbolism. The leap into pathetic fallacy seems to detract from the reality of events, investing them almost with the character of legend. It calls to mind the mysterious traumatising experience of the eccentric Aunt Ada Doom of *Cold Comfort Farm* who had seen “something nasty in the woodshed” – something never identified, never spoken of – when she was a child (Gibbons, 1932).

The dew appears again as metaphor in *Der Onkel*. As in *Einst und jetzt*, the significance of the dew is never made explicit. In fact, *Der Onkel* in its entirety may be considered as an exercise in metaphor, with *Der Fischer* being used as a vehicle to convey Anna’s own

story. The reader is thus encouraged to infer that *Der Onkel* is infused with the character of *Der Fischer*, that character being a tale of seduction. By telling the story in this way Anna leaves the door open to the possibility of disowning it. It is as if she wants to give someone else the responsibility of uttering her own words, as if she does not want to be directly associated with them. She may even be preparing an excuse for herself in advance: ‘I was just experimenting with pastiche.’

Finally, there is the cryptic last line:

War’n lang mit ihm gesehn! (line 32)

After the build up to the climax of events, a curtain is abruptly drawn over proceedings.

There is also an awkwardness about this last line, as if it had been dictated primarily by the need to use a word rhyming with ‘geschehen’, with no regard to the meaning (after all, the girls presumably were not seen with the uncle). This awkwardness seems to characterise the entire poem, as if Anna had forced her story into Goethe’s poem, like a foot being shoe-horned into an ill-fitting shoe. Overall, there is a sense of Anna both wanting and not wanting her story to be told.

The two themes discussed above are found elsewhere in Anna’s poetry and in a manner closely entwined.

Unwillingness to be explicit

In *Müde bin ich vom Weinen* (V1, p. 197), Anna appears conflicted about her desire to speak of her distress. She longs for a friend with whom she can talk and goes as far as formulating the questions which could open the conversation:

Was ich habe? Was mich quälet?
Fraget Ihr - O fraget lieber
Was ich möchte, was mir fehlet! (lines 13-15)

before slamming the door shut again in the next line:

Niemals spricht mein Mund darüber (line 16)

Thus, she invites questions, only to say that she will never answer them.

Earlier in this poem Anna appears to point to the absence of a loved one as the cause of her pain:

Nach der Liebe nur, der einen,
Fühlt mein Herz ein mächtig Sehnen. (lines 5-6)

At first glance it would be easy to assume that Anna is referring to a romantic disappointment or perhaps lamenting the general absence of romance in her life. However, given that she states that she never speaks of her trouble (as discussed above) and as she writes freely of unrequited love in some of her other poems, the idea of romance as the cause of her secret pain can be excluded. The desire for a loved one expressed in the above lines is more likely to stem from a sense of isolation and a need for company.

Anna believes that her pain is hidden under her outward appearance which belies her inner state, and she associates this pain with her 'terrible secret' (*Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchtlich ich leide*, V1, p. 456):

Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchterlich ich leide,
Und wißet nicht, wie schrecklich mir zu Muth,
Ihr seht nur lächelnd meine Außenseite
Und nennt die Farben meiner Wangen gut.

Ihr ahnt nicht mein schreckliches Geheimniß
In dem des Schmerzes Ton durch nichts gedämpft
Ihr wißet nicht, wie zwischen Schreck u. Grauen
Mein armer Geist abmattend ewig kämpft. (lines 1-8)

The reason that Anna gives for never speaking of this terrible secret is that her heart hides it 'shyly':

Da mein Herz es scheu verhehlet (V1, p. 197, line 17)

suggesting embarrassment. The language of embarrassment continues in *Was stets ich gedichtet, das hab' ich gefühlt* (V1, p. 424) where Anna confesses that her feelings are often so searing that her heart keeps them 'shyly' hidden. She can only whisper them in the dark and then the blood rushes to her cheeks with anxious fright:

Doch ist oft mein Fühlen so glühender Art
Daß scheu es das Herz in verborg'nen bewahrt
Nur halblaut in Dunklen, da lispel ich 's so leis'
Und bange erschreckt dann die Wange so heiß (lines 3-6)

Elsewhere, she expresses herself more vehemently. In *O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele* (V1, pp. 349-350) she writes longingly of the relief it would give her if she could talk to even one person of her torment before saying that this can never happen; and again she calls on the language of embarrassment to explain her resistance. She would 'die of deep shame' if she did so:

Vor tiefer Scham muß' ich vergehen
Verrieth ich einem meine Pein! (lines 7-8)

She would blush if confronted with the prejudice of people:

Nur vor dem Vorurteil der Menschen,
Vor dem erröthet mein Gesicht. (lines 15-16)

The embarrassment seems also to be due to a sense of pudeur, associated with something so intimate that it is impossible for her even to think about it in the privacy of her own mind without recoiling.

Anna's repeated use of words related to oral communication emphasises the impossibility of *talking* about this pain:

Niemals spricht mein Mund darüber (*Müde bin ich vom Weinen*, line 16)

Verschlossen sind die Lippen mein (*O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele* (line 6))

Weil leicht von den Lippen nie Wort fällt getragen
Vom Sturm, der verwandt ihm mein Herz fühlet schlagen (*Was stets ich gedichtet, das hab' ich gefühlt*, V1, p. 424, lines 7-8)

At the same time, she appears to believe that *writing* about her pain has helped her. In *Was stets ich gedichtet, das hab' ich gefühlt* she states that what she writes corresponds to what she feels and that being able to express herself in this way has eased her pain ("Manch' schmerzliches Leiden durch Worte gekühlt"). But is she deceiving herself? If, as discussed above, she is unable to reflect, even in private, on what is troubling her without feeling tormented with embarrassment, how likely is it that she would be able to commit such thoughts to paper? We find, in fact, that even in her poems she goes no further than hinting at the cause of her distress.

In *Ohnmächtig scheint mir die Sprache* (V1, p. 238) Anna complains that her pain transcends the existing lexicon. Compared with the reality of her feelings, her efforts to put them into words are weak and paltry:

Ohnmächtig scheint mir die Sprache
 Und jeder Ausdruck schwach und klein,
 Das wahre, tief empfund'ne Leiden,
 Kann durch kein Wort geschildert sein. (lines 5-8)

A new vocabulary would have to be created:

So müßte sein ein Wort beschaffen
 Das Euch könnt' schildern meinen Schmerz. (lines 9-10)

In this poem Anna also reveals a deep need not only to express her pain but to have it heard. In the last two stanzas she uses storm similes to convey how she wants her pain to ring out and echo loudly and mightily, like thunder, far and wide:

Dem Sturm nur ähnlich muß es schallen
 Fort brausend mächtig dieses Wort!
 Dem Donner ähnlich muß' es hallen
 Fort vollend laut von Ort zu Ort.(lines 9-12)

It must have the power of lightning to strike into every warm heart:

Dem Blitze ähnlich muß' es treffen
 In jedes warme Menschenherz
 So müßte sein ein Wort beschaffen
 Das Euch könnt' schildern meinen Schmerz. (lines 13-16)

But this is her dilemma. As has already been shown, she is unable to share her pain with others. She is never able to verbalise it fully, even to herself.

Attribution of responsibility

The emphasis on embarrassment discussed above could suggest an awareness of having done something of which she should be ashamed and indeed Anna makes frequent use of the language of judgement, with terms such as 'Schuld', 'verzeihen', 'Sünde', 'gnaden' and their derivatives, particularly in the poems referencing God.

Turning again to *O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele*, it is interesting to note Anna's choice of the word 'Vorurteil' (prejudice), where we might have expected 'Urteil' (judgement). She

fears that people will judge her negatively on the basis of biased opinion and she stresses this by contrasting the reaction which she believes she would have from God. She thinks that he would know that the pain that oppresses her involves no guilt on her part, so she feels no need to shrink from him:

Denn keine Schuld ist's, die mich drücket
 Drum Gottes Nähe scheu ich nicht, (lines 13-14)

Although her claim that she is innocent in the eyes of God might seem to preclude any culpability, this belief is not unwavering. Addressing God in *Trauer* (V1, p. 56), Anna appears to assume that her suffering has been inflicted on her by God because of some wrongdoing of which she was unaware:

Herr, was hab' ich dann gethan,
 Daß ich stets so leiden muß?
 Bin mir keines argen Fehl's,
 Keiner argen Schuld bewußt. (lines 1-4)

If she has committed any sin it can only have been through childish ignorance:

Hab' ohne Wissen ich gefehlt,
 War 's in thöricht kind'schen Wehe;
 Nicht aus Liebe zu dem Bösen
 Hab' ich eine Sünd' gethan. (lines 5-8)

Overall, there is a sense of bewilderment here. Anna's confession seems not quite sincere, as if she feels that she must make some acknowledgement of wrongdoing in order to placate God and is trying to find something with which to associate guilt. Her aim seems to be to persuade God to stop her suffering, which she interprets as a form of divine punishment. Yet her claim of ignorance is disingenuous. As already demonstrated, Anna is aware of the reason she is unwilling to speak of what is troubling her, i.e., shame, which indicates that she must also be aware of the source and nature of the trouble itself.

In *Doppelt verlassen* (V1, p. 361) Anna appears to feel that she has been abandoned even by God and to attribute her abandonment by people to their perceiving this, from which – she thinks – they deduce that she must be guilty:

Wenn Gott hat verlaßen, verlassen die Menschen
 Als wär' er gefallen durch eigene Sünde,

Als wär' er so elend durch Schuld!

Bald ist dann der Arme, der doppelt Verstoß'ne
Vom Himmel u. auch von den Menschen verlassen,
Gebeuget, vernichtet durch Leid.

Denn selber der kräftigste Stamm auch, er schwanket
Wenn mächtig der Sturm ihn gewaltig umbrauset
Getroffen auch sinkt er von Blitz.

Drum müßt Ihr nicht staunen, wenn endlich die Stürme
Des Lebens gebrochen auch gänzlich die Kraft mir,
Ich weine, und klag' wie ein Kind!

But let us take a closer look at this poem. The first three stanzas are impersonal, written as if making general statements about the effects on ‘the poor wretch’ (“der Arme”) of being doubly abandoned, before culminating in the fourth stanza in a plea for an understanding of her own circumstances. Overall, the poem has the flavour of a defence counsel’s summing up in a trial. It seems here as if Anna is debating with herself, trying to convince herself of an innocence of which she is not entirely sure.

To summarise, on the basis of the themes common to both poems, Anna seems confused and conflicted in relation to responsibility for what happened to her. Embarrassment and fears of her own possible guilt prevent her from confronting events directly.

From the foregoing it appears that when Anna was aged sixteen or seventeen an event occurred which transformed her from a carefree teenager with expectations of a happy future to a deeply troubled young woman who felt that her life had been irreversibly blighted. On the basis of the analysis so far, there are reasons to suppose that this event could have been in the form of an unwelcome sexual encounter.

4.2.2. Anna’s experience of her malaise

The above analysis focuses on what appeared to be a critical event in Anna’s life. It explores the manner in which she expresses herself about the event and suggests what this manner of expression might reveal about her cognitive responses to it. I will now explore what the poems can tell us about how she experienced her malaise – a condition, or conditions, which she appears to attribute, at least in part, to the event in question.

The notion of sickness and suffering runs through the poems of Volume 1 like a leitmotif. In the 209 poems initially selected for transcription (approximately two-thirds of the total) the frequency of the following words and their derivatives is:

krank	46
Schmerz	72
Leid	70
Qual	25
Pein	11

Duden (n.d.) defines ‘krank’ as: “im körperlichen oder geistigen Wohlbefinden beeinträchtigt, gestört; physisch oder psychisch leidend, nicht gesund”. Carel (2016, chap. 1, para. 10) defines illness as: “the experience of disease, the ‘what it is like’ qualitative dimension as it is experienced and made meaningful by the ill person”. She expands this definition to include: “the experience of one’s symptoms and bodily changes, but also the experience of receiving healthcare and experiencing social attitudes towards illness and disability, pain, grappling with one’s mortality, and negotiating what may become a hostile world”. Carel distinguishes between ‘disease’, which she defines as ‘physiological dysfunction’, and ‘illness’, the individual’s experience of that dysfunction. She also extends the term illness to cover the experience of mental disorder even in cases where there is no – or no known or observable – physiological dysfunction.

I will first examine how Anna presented her malaise in terms of symptoms. Anna gives little indication of what her physical symptoms were. In only three poems in Data Set 1 does she connect her suffering directly to her body; in several more poems there is an implied link to physical discomfort; nowhere does she specify the nature of any physical distress. In fact, this vagueness about the characteristics of her ill-being conjures up the image of an ‘invalid’, a term seldom used today, typified by historical figures such as Alice James (1999) and Harriet Martineau (1844), the latter being described by Alison Winter (1995, p. 7) as “the epitome of the Victorian woman, ruled over by her reproductive system and languishing delicately on a couch”.

In the first line of *Die Seele will fort* (V1:58) Anna states unequivocally that her body is sick: “Mein Körper ist krank”

In *An* (V1, p. 165), a poem of sympathy addressed to a friend who has experienced a romantic disappointment, Anna contrasts their two situations, seemingly highlighting the physical nature of her own distress; the friend is suffering emotionally while Anna has been incapacitated by illness:

Du hast ein tiefes Leid erfahren,
Verwundet hat's dein schönes Herz;
Mich aber warf die Krankheit nieder.
Getrennt, wir beide litten Schmerz. (lines 5-8)

She continues in a more positive tone, claiming that her illness appears to be abating:

Und mir, mir winkt die Hoffnung wieder,
Ich fühl's, es weicht der Krankheit Macht, (lines 21-22)

In a short poem addressed to another friend, *An Clara B* (V1, p. 225) she thanks her for sending her flowers and apologises for being unable to visit her because of her illness, implying that some physical ailment prevents her going out:

Und wäre ich heut nicht so krank,
Käm' ich am liebsten selbst zu dir. (lines 3-4)

Elsewhere she describes herself as a ‘poor sick person’ – “mich armen Kranken” (*Lasst Nacht!*, V1, p. 246); as someone who has been ‘laid low by illness’ – “Da warf mich meine Krankheit nieder” (*An eine Dichterin*, V1, p. 226); and as someone who is prevented from taking part in normal social activities because she is ‘sick and bedridden’ - “ich lieg' krank darnieder” (*Mir ward zu grohse* [sic] *Pein*, V1, p. 190)

In *Gebet* (V1, p. 28), in which Anna addresses God, she describes feeling nothing in her heart but the pain and suffering of her body:

Nichts fühlend tief in seinem Herzen,
Als seines Körpers Pein und Schmerzen. (lines 7-8)

as if suggesting that her physical suffering prevents her feeling any emotions. Yet there is no elaboration of these bodily symptoms elsewhere in the poem which focuses rather on her feelings of despair and desire for death.

Anna refers to bodily pain again in *Die Hoffnung* (V1, p. 29) when she thanks the Star of Hope for appearing to her in response to her cries of physical distress:

Selbst wenn von des Körpers Schmerzen
 Mir erpreßt ein Klagelaut,
 Da erschienst du, hehre Hoffnung,
 Der ich mich ganz anvertraut. (lines 41-44)

In *Wohl bin ich krank, doch nicht allein an Körper* (V1, p. 442) Anna makes it clear that she views her suffering as both physical and mental:

Wohl bin ich krank, doch nicht allein an Körper
 An Geist auch krank, schwer kranken Herz u. Seele; (lines 1-2)

There is almost an air of surprise here, as if she was announcing something new, as if she had just realised that her sickness affected not only her body but also her emotions. There appears to be a desire to insist on the physicality, at least partial, of her illness without providing any specific evidence of it.

Anna's husband, Leopold, gives us a fuller picture of her physical complaints, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. There are numerous references in his diaries to Anna being in pain. Some of those pains are attributed to rheumatism, some to facial neuralgia and some to menstruation, while others are of an unspecified nature. All appear to have been of long duration, although it is not known when they first appeared. The absence of a clearer description of Anna's physical pain in her poems is puzzling, given the banal nature of the complaints described by Leopold. It could be, of course, that this very banality rendered them unpromising material for poetic treatment. Another possibility is that her physical symptoms were due to gynaecological problems which Leopold also refers to in his diaries and which appear to have been severe and longstanding. If so, it is not surprising that Anna does not mention it. Leopold mentions dysmenorrhea, severe enough for Anna to take morphine, and heavy bleeding. In 1886 she underwent a gynaecological operation for the removal of growths.

There is just one hint from Anna herself that may link to the seizures (Krämpfe) which Leopold was later to report on multiple occasions and which Freud also mentions (SoH, p. 250; GW, p.252). In *An Dr Ziegler* (V1, p. 366) she describes trying, despite her

disinclination, to participate in a merry social event and failing, being overwhelmed with anxiety. Crucially, she writes:

Als man auf's Zimmer mich getragen
 Da rauschte, statt Musik, mein Blut.
 Ich fühlte alle Pulse schlagen,
 Und schlief heut' Nacht noch weniger gut. (lines 9-12)

That she was ‘carried’ to her room suggests that she had been overcome by some physical incapacity. The setting of this poem could be significant as it was a merry social gathering with music, possibly similar to the setting of *Der Onkel* which opens to a background of music (“Die Musik rauscht...”) and of *Einst und jetzt* where she stepped out from the lively house (“aus dem regen Haus”). Did it trigger memories of ‘that event’? The accompanying sensations (rushing blood, pounding pulse) may have been a prelude to the kind of seizure which she is known to have suffered from, culminating in convulsions and unconsciousness.

Indices of specific emotional or mental ailments are similarly elusive, camouflaged by Anna’s indiscriminate use of terms which could apply equally to physical and emotional malaise.

In *Wohin!* (V1, p. 65) Anna writes:

Mich drückt ein Sehnen so sehr,
 Mein Herz ist von Thränen so schwer, (lines 7-8)

but does not reveal the nature of the longing she feels nor the reason for her heart’s tears.

In *Verzweiflung* (V1, p. 33) there is anxiousness (“Herr, ich fleh‘ aus bangem Herzen”) and also sickness and constant pain (“Krank nur sein, in ew‘gen Schmerzen”). Although the word ‘krank’ can apply to a mental state, as indicated in the Duden definition above, its use as a layman’s term is possibly more likely to be descriptive of a physical state. However, in the next line Anna describes herself as living but with death in her heart (“Lebend und den Tod im Herzen”), shifting the language back towards an emotional register.

In *Sehnsucht nach dem Tode* (V1, p. 98) Anna again expresses anxiousness and complains of being oppressed by a severe pain, but this time the pain is directly associated with emotional distress, the bleeding of her heart.

Ach, mir ist so bang', so bange,
 Und mich drückt ein arger Schmerz -
 Sag', Geschick, wie lang', wie lange
 Soll noch bluten dieses Herz? (lines 1-4)

However, the attempt to distinguish between physical and emotional states may not be a useful one. Ratcliffe (2015) challenges the distinction between somatic and psychological illness on phenomenological grounds, pointing out that experiences of somatic illness are rarely limited to bodily symptoms and, likewise, experiences of psychological illness can be accompanied by somatic sensations. Citing findings from studies based on questionnaires, Ratcliffe demonstrates the frequency with which depression, for example, is described as being accompanied by a range of bodily symptoms such as feelings of heaviness and exhaustion, general aching, headache, joint pain, pain in the chest, nausea, lack of appetite and so on. (p. 76). He then shows how, even in the simple case of something like influenza, physical illness can be accompanied by mood changes and negative feelings arising from one's changed relationship with the world. There are also organic diseases, particularly those involved with the endocrine system, such as thyroid dysfunction, which by their very nature, can give rise to both physical and psychological symptoms.

4.2.3 Findings

On completion of the analysis of Data Set 1, the following super-ordinate themes, in addition to those already discussed (Attribution of responsibility, Unwillingness to be explicit), were identified:

- Feelings of personal loss
- Like a prison
- Desire for death
- Impacted sense of self
- Relationship with a higher power

- Relationship with poetry

Super-ordinate theme: Feelings of personal loss

This super-ordinate theme was derived from three emergent themes:

- loss of personal characteristics
- loss of future potential
- loss of ability to enjoy herself.

A selection of illustrative quotes for each emergent theme is given in Table 7 below, in line with the recommendations given by Smith et al. (2009, pp. 99-100) and as exemplified by Storey (2016, pp. 75-76).

Table 7: Themes relating to personal loss

Emergent theme	Example of illustrative quote	Poem / lines
Loss of personal characteristics	Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück / In das ärgste Leid verkehrt Wohin ist mein Mut, o Gott, wohin? / Wohin mein froher mein heiterer Sinn?	<i>Einst und jetzt</i> / 39-40 <i>Wohin!</i> / 1-2
Loss of future potential	Die Jugend flieht und mit ihr flieht / Die letzte Hoffnung auch auf Glück Ich bin ein armes Vögelein, / Daß man der Flüglein hat beraubt	<i>Die Jugend flieht</i> / 1-2 <i>Klage</i> / 1-2
Loss of ability to enjoy herself	Für alles Schöne dieser Welt ganz blind, Nichts kann mich mehr freudig machen, / Nichts stimmt mich zur Lust, zum Lachen,	<i>Gebet</i> / 6 <i>Wohin!</i> / 5-6

Einst und jetzt depicts two contrasting periods in Anna's life – 'then' and 'now' – demarcated by an event which 'devastated the springtime of [her] life':

Meines Lebens Lenz verheert. (line 38)

Spring is a time when everything is beginning to flower. For Anna, it is the point in her life when she is on the threshold of the happy adult future she has been dreaming of. But this future is suddenly nipped in the bud, as if by frost in May:

Meiner Jugend Glück und hoffen
Ward gestürzt durch eine Nacht – (lines 5-6)

Lines 43-44 and 47-48 merit particular attention:

Doch des übergroßen Glückes
War ich mir noch kaum bewußt.
...
Und des übergroßen Schmerzes,
Bin ich mir zu sehr bewußt.

The first couplet, referring to the period ‘then’, hints at a great happiness which she had believed would be hers in the future but of which she was yet barely aware. In the second couplet she appears to believe this has now been removed from her reach. This echoes an earlier poem, *Trauer* (V1, p. 56), in which she reproaches God for having given her sight of sweet joys to come when in fact she was to be deprived of them. She seems to be accusing God of having tantalised her with a mirage:

Warum that's du mich erst lehren
Jene kurze, süße Freude,
Die ich künftig sollt' entbehren! (lines 26-28)

Reading the above extracts from the two poems – *Einst und jetzt* and *Trauer* – together, it seems as if Anna may have had a burgeoning awareness of romantic desire, or of the pleasures of adulthood, which somehow fell victim to the events of that night, to be replaced with pain.

The wide-ranging nature of her loss is developed both here and in other poems. There is a loss of her personal characteristics. She was robbed of her ‘health, strength and happiness’ (*Einst und jetzt*), in a comprehensive laying waste of her whole being, physical, mental and emotional. This is repeated in *Wohin!* where she laments the loss of her previous cheerfulness, strength and enthusiasm for life:

Wohin ist mein Mut, o Gott, wohin?
Wohin mein froher mein heiterer Sinn?
Wohin ist zum Leben mein Lieben,
Mir Kraft und Entsagung geblieben? (lines 1-4)

There is a loss of the opportunity for personal fulfilment, already suggested by the ‘frost in May’ image conjured up in *Einst und jetzt*. In *Trauer* she accuses God of having clipped her wings – “Da du knicktest meine Flügel” – thus robbing her of the ability to realise her potential, a metaphor which she takes up again in *Klage*, where she compares herself to a bird whose wings have been clipped, and to a flower stripped of its leaves:

Ich bin ein armes Vögelein,
 Daß man der Flüglein hat beraubt;
 Ich bin ein armes Blümelein,
 Daß man muthwillig hat entlaubt;
 Ich bin ein armes Blümelein,
 Daß früh ein böser Sturm geknickt;
 Ich bin ein armes Mägdelein,
 Daß hat ein Thränenstrom erstickt.

There is a keen sense here of the loss of ‘what might have been’. There is therefore a loss of both her previous self – her previous personal attributes – and her future self – the person she might have become if her talents and relationships had been able to develop along the lines she had previously expected.

Anna often complains of a lack of enjoyment. Whereas previously she had revelled in having a keenly developed aesthetic sense, she now finds herself unable to appreciate the beauty of the world:

Für alles Schöne dieser Welt ganz blind (*Gebet*, p. 28, line 6)

All normal sources of pleasure leave her indifferent. That this is something new for her is emphasised by her use of “nichts...mehr”:

Nichts kann mich mehr freudig machen
 Nichts stimmt mich zur Lust, zum Lachen (*Wohin!*, lines 5-6)

Und nichts auf Erden freut mich mehr (*Noch ist es Zeit*, line 6)

Its pervasive character is driven home by the repetition of words such as ‘nichts’, ‘niemals’ and ‘ganz’:

Seh' nichts, was mich erfreuet,
 Nichts, was mir wohlgefällt. (*Lasst Nacht!*, p. 246, 11-12)

Empfindend niemals eine Freud'
 Nichts kam mir recht, nichts ganz gefallen (*Ich weiss, mir ward kein Glück
 beschieden*, p. 256, 14-15)

Nichts ist, was mich in dieser Welt?
Ein wenig freut und mir gefällt, (*Nichts ist, was mich in dieser Welt*, p. 375,1-2)

The repeated use of *nichts* conveys a sense of emptiness, a total absence of anything positive in her life.

In *Verzweiflung* (p. 33) and in *Trauer* (pp. 56-58) she asks God to allow her to enjoy herself with other people, and to give her ‘a ray of pleasure’. This suggests that she may not have viewed her inability to enjoy herself as a symptom of her malaise, seeing it rather as something independent of her condition which was adding to her distress.

Anna seems to experience her losses as a form of death. In *Die Jugend Flieht* (p. 156), in which she complains about the loss of her dreams and hopes, she describes her life as a living death:

Vier Jahre bin ich todt im Leben
Und lebe doch, und sterbe nicht (lines 17-18)

In *Geschrieben an meinem 21 Geburtstag* (p. 230) she reflects sadly on both her past and her future and asks to be dressed in mourning garb.

O, Gebt ins Haar ein dunkles Band mir
Und zieht mir an ein schwarzes Kleid!
Um meine Jugend will ich trauern,
Denn mein Geburtstag, der ist heut‘. (lines 1-4)
.....
Und angstvoll blicket in die Zukunft
Und Thränen trüb umflort mein Blick (lines 15-16)

It is as if she is grieving for the loss of her ‘self’.

Superordinate theme: Like a prison

This super-ordinate theme was derived from three emergent themes:

- held captive
- oppressive environment
- her own jailer

Illustrative quotes for the emergent themes are given in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Themes for ‘like a prison’

Emergent theme	Examples of illustrative quote	Poem/lines
Held captive	Mein Körper weilet / Gefangen allhier Und in einer düstern Zelle / Lebt' ich, Wo mich in dem Gespensternetz der Schrecken / Mit Macht ein böser Geist gefangen hält	<i>Die Seele will fort</i> / 5-6 <i>Traumesdeutung</i> / 2-3 <i>Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchtlich ich leide</i> / 15-16
Oppressive environment	Aus dieses Lebens Enge Mich drücken die Mauern, die kalten. Wo dumpf die Luft, wo trüb' die Wände sind!	<i>Lebensmüde</i> / 18 <i>Es zieht mich so mächtig in's Leben hinaus</i> / 4 <i>Die Freud' verirrte sich</i> / 4
Her own jailer	So geh hinaus! Die Thüre steht ja offen! / Dein Zimmer kein verschloß'ner Kerker ist! Die Seele drückt ein namenloses Leiden / Die hilflos strebt, sich selber zu entflieh'n.	<i>Die Freud' verirrte sich</i> / 9-10 <i>Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchtlich ich leide</i> / 11-12

Anna often conveys the impression of being trapped. In *Die Seele will fort* (p. 58), where she depicts warring parts of her ‘self’, the struggle is between the body, which is ‘held captive on earth’ – “Gefangen allhier” – and the soul. Despite the expressed desire of the soul to depart for the afterlife there is an implicit recognition that it too is held captive – by the body – and that it will remain so, against its will, until bodily death:

Mein Körper ist krank,
Die Seele will fort;
Sie sucht einen andern
Weit schönern Ort.
Mein Körper weilet
Gefangen allhier:
Die Seele, die eilet
Mein Gott hin zu dir!

In *Lebensmüde* (p. 122) Anna seeks to escape from the confining conditions of her life (“dieses Lebens Enge”). The word ‘Gedränge’ which she uses to denote her situation

conjures up the idea of being crushed in a crowd, as if she is being pushed this way and that by forces beyond her control. Anna's repetitive use of certain phrases in this poem (lines 1-3 and 12-14) emphasises this feeling of trapped helplessness. With her repeated pleas to God she seems to be thumping on heaven's door, begging to be let out of her earthly life. This is underscored onomatopoeically by the thudding effect created by the flurry of words ending in "agen" and "angen" in lines 7-11.

Ich bin so müd' so müde!
 Ich möchte gerne Ruhe,
 Ich möchte gerne schlafen.
 O, wär' in süßen Frieden
 Nur einmal mir beschieden
 Der sanfte Schlummer mir!
 Was will das Herz nur sagen
 Mit seinem bangen Schlagen?
 Sein Sehnen und Verlangen,
 Sein Hoffen und sein Bangen
 Ich kann's nicht langer tragen!
 Ich bin zu müd', so müde!
 Ich möchte gerne ruh'n,
 Ich möchte gerne schlafen.
 Komm', lieber Gott, und lösche
 Mein Lebens lämpchen aus,
 Und trag' aus dem Gedränge,
 Aus dieses Lebens Enge,
 Mich in dein Friedens Haus!
 Komm', lieber Gott und lösche
 Mein Lebenslämpchen aus!

In *Es zieht mich so mächtig in's Leben hinaus* (p. 161) Anna describes a powerful urge she feels to go out into the open ("in's Freie"), to enjoy the sensory pleasures offered by nature. She prefaces this with a description of her room, the unpleasantness of which instils a fear in her.

Es zieht mich so mächtig in's Leben hinaus
 So kann ich's nicht länger aushalten
 Wie schrecklich beängstigt mein Kämmerlein mich,
 Mich drücken die Mauern, die kalten. (lines 1-4)

Its cold oppressive walls conjure up an image of a dungeon, an impression heightened by the contrast with the word 'Freie' (referring to 'the open', the outside), with its connotation of 'free'.

This same contrast is found in *Die Freud' verirrt sich* (p. 362) where Anna dialogues with herself, trying to persuade herself to leave her room and to go out into the open where others are enjoying themselves. As in the above poem, she describes her own personal environment as a place of unpleasantness: the air is dull and the walls are gloomy. She scolds herself for hanging back, telling herself that the door is open, that her room is not a locked prison (lines 9-10). But her attempt to join the others fails and she returns to her room where she finds peace and rest (lines 17-18).

Die Freude verirrt sich mit goldnen Locken,
Zu mir, ein ausgelassen, blühend Kind;
Doch bald gewahrt' sie es und floh erschrocken,
Wo dumpf die Luft, wo trüb' die Wände sind!

In's Freie sucht sich nur zu dringen
Wo sie die Jugend jubelnd mit sich zieht
Bald hört man frohes Jauchzen, Lachen, Singen -
Weh' mir! Ich möchte gar zu gerne mit!

So geh hinaus! Die Thüre steht ja offen!
Dein Zimmer kein verschloß'ner Kerker ist!
Und mich erfaßt ein glaubig neues Hoffen,
Ob man in froher Meng' den Schmerz vergißt

Ich trat' hinaus. Da plötzlich klingt das Lachen
Als greller Ton nur schmerzhaft an mein Ohr;
So wie die Andern, will auch ich es machen -
Da quellt' die Thrän' gewaltsam mir hervor.

Sie zu verbergen, eil' ich in mein Zimmer,
Und finde hier nur wieder Ruh und Rast.
Die Freud' nicht theilen, sie seh'n ist schlimmer;
Zu grell, zu schmerzlich wirkt der Contrast.

There appears to be an ambivalence in Anna's feelings about this personal space – her own room. On the one hand it is dungeon-like, while on the other it provides her with sanctuary. Yet is it a prison of her own making? She recognises that the door of her room is unlocked and the only obstacle to her leaving is her own unwillingness to do so. She is therefore her own jailer. The cold oppressive walls may be a metaphor for her own feelings of unhappiness which she believes generate a killjoy atmosphere repellent to others. The sense of relief she feels when she is back in the room may be due not only to the easing of her pain when it is no longer exacerbated by contrast with the happiness of others but also

to knowing that she is no longer imposing her own unhappiness on others and need no longer make the effort to hide her sadness.

The fullest development of this sub-theme is in *Traumesdeutung* (p. 296) Table where Anna describes and analyses a dream in which she finds herself in a prison cell.

Toll war ich im Traume heute
Und in einer düstern Zelle
Lebt' ich, meinem Grau zur Beute,
Fern von jedes Lichtes helle.

Toll war ich auf eig'ne Weise:
Einen Ausgang mir zu zwingen
Eilt' ich rastlos stets in Kreise,
Trostlos, ob dem nichtgelingen!

Meine engen Kerkenwände
Mit der Faust ich schieben wollte,
Doch zu schwach war'n meine Hände
Drum ich meinem Gotte grollte.

Hülferufend klang so schaurig
Meine eig'ne Stimme wieder,
Daß stets matt ich, müd' und traurig
Fiel erschöpft auf's Lager nieder.

Endlich, als ich bang erwachte
Aus dem Traum, der mich gequälet,
Selbst bei mir ich trübe dachte:
War es so toll, was dir gefehlet?

Lebst du nicht im engen Kreise?
Suchst du nicht dein ganzes Leben
Aus den tödltenden Geleise
Mit Gewalt heraus zu streben?

Erst, wenn du zur selbe Stelle
Kommst, von wo du ausgegangen,
Wird's in deinem Kopf erst helle,
Daß du hier hast angefangen.

War's so toll, daß jene Mauern,
Jene festen, engen Schranken,
Dich erfüllt mit kalten Schauern
Als die Grenzen der Gedanken!

The oneiric scene depicted in the first four stanzas can be understood as a metaphor for Anna's real-life situation. The gloominess of the cell in which she is confined and its restrictive walls recall the descriptions of her room in the two previous poems. There is a repetition of the suggestion already made above that her prison was perhaps of her own making when she says she is prey to her own desolation (line 3). Is she caught in a vicious circle where her excessive ruminating about her unhappiness is exacerbating that same unhappiness?

In the dream Anna engages in a repetitive series of fruitless attempts to break down the walls with brute force, unable to see that this is not a solution. The metaphorical darkness of her conditions – the gloomy cell (line 2), far from any light (line 4) – prevents her from seeing and gaining insight. She complains to God in vain and then collapses in exhaustion from the effort of trying to free herself. This behaviour echoes the cyclical litany of complaint in *Lebensmüde* discussed above which reveals a similar impotent desperation and lack of constructive action.

In her waking analysis of the dream Anna seems finally to take a clear-sighted view of her situation. She points out to herself the futility of the actions taken in the dream and blames her inability to solve her actual difficulties on a similarly self-defeating approach. She deduces that the way to find an exit is not by random attack against the confining conditions, but by looking for the original entrance. This seems to imply that Anna has realised that to resolve her problems she should identify their cause and deal with it. In the last stanza Anna compares her own thinking to the confining walls of the prison, suggesting that she sees herself as the prisoner of her own mental processes.

Traumdeutung stands out as offering what could be a moment of epiphany in Anna's experience of her malaise. Yet there is no evidence that the reflections expressed in the poem made any difference to her psychological state. Her subsequent poems continue to reveal the same distress as before.

A later poem (*Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchtlich ich leide*, p. 456) sees Anna's sense of confinement return with full force, and now the confining walls are a ghostly web of horror, her jailer an evil spirit.

Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchterlich ich leide,
 Und wißet nicht, wie schrecklich mir zu Muth,
 Ihr seht nur lächelnd meine Außenseite
 Und nennt die Farben meiner Wangen gut.

Ihr ahnt nicht mein schreckliches Geheimniß
 In dem des Schmerzes Ton durch nichts gedämpft
 Ihr wißet nicht, wie zwischen Schreck u. Grauen
 Mein armer Geist abmattend ewig kämpft

Die Wirklichkeit kann ich nicht unterscheiden
 Von meinen eig'nen grellen Phantasie'n
 Die Seele drückt ein namenloses Leiden
 Die hülflos strebt, sich selber zu entflieh'n.

Ihr lebet auf der sonn'gen grünen Erde
 Ich leb' in einer düstern Schauerwelt
 Wo mich in dem Gespensternetz der Schrecken
 Mit Macht ein böser Geist gefangen hält.

If, as the evidence of the other poems already suggests, prison walls are a metaphor for Anna's own thought processes, the evil spirit may equally be a metaphor for Anna's own mind. In fact, in lines 11-12 Anna writes that the soul, oppressed by unspeakable suffering, tries to escape from itself, suggesting that prisoner and jailer are one and the same entity. Then, turning back to re-examine the previous poems in light of this development, in an implementation of the hermeneutic circle (Smith et al., 2009, p. 28), we find that this notion is reinforced in *Die Seele will fort* where her soul is held captive by her body. Likewise, in *Lebensmüde*, the conditions which she can no longer bear, from which she begs to be freed, are the emotions expressed by the agitated beating of her heart.

The question remains as to why the insight gained from the dream had no apparent beneficial impact. The answer may be that Anna did not go far enough in her reasoning. It may have been insufficient to identify a starting point or a cause without actively engaging with it. She does not address the question of why she is in prison in the first place. In my analysis of the theme 'Attribution of responsibility' I suggested that Anna was conflicted in her emotional reactions to the putative traumatic event and that fear that she might bear some responsibility for it prevented her from dealing with the subject directly. If this is so, she may feel that she deserves to be punished and therefore has no right to escape.

Super-ordinate theme – desire for death

This super-ordinate theme was derived from three emergent themes, illustrative quotes for which are given in Table 9:

- death as means of escape
- Anna's concept of death
- death in the gift of God.

Table 9: Themes for 'desire for death'

Emergent theme	Example of illustrative quote	Poem/lines
Death as means of escape	Mein Körper ist krank, / Die Seele will fort Und trag' aus dem Gedränge, / Aus dieses Lebens Enge, D'rum muß uns der Tod ja als Lösung frommen	<i>Die Seele will fort</i> / 1-2 <i>Lebensmüde</i> / 17-18 <i>Es ringet die Seele</i> / 7
Anna's concept of death	Die Seele, die eilet / Mein Gott hin zu dir! Mich in dein Friedens Haus Ach, läg' ich im Grabe, da wär' mir so wohl,	<i>Die Seele will fort</i> / 7-8 <i>Lebensmüde</i> / 19 <i>Ach, läg' ich im Grabe</i> /1
Death as in the gift of God	Und flehte, Herr, zu dir: O laß mich sterben Komm', lieber Gott, und lösche / Mein Lebenslämpchen aus, Trotzdem ich stündlich fleh' zum Himmel / Daß er mich endlich nähm' zu sich!	<i>Gebet</i> / 4 <i>Lebensmüde</i> / 15-16 <i>Die Jugend flieht</i> / 19-20

Anna repeatedly expresses a longing for death. She sees it as offering a means of escape from her troubled earth-bound existence, as in *Die Seele will fort* where the soul strives to break free from her physical body.

Mein Körper ist krank,
Die Seele will fort;
Sie sucht einen andern
Weit schönern Ort.

She invokes death as the solution when she takes up the same theme of the body-soul conflict in *Es ringt die Seele* (p. 229).

Stets fühlt sich die Seele im Leben beklommen
Sie kann sich dem Körper nicht einen;
D'rum muß uns der Tod ja als Lösung frommen (lines 5-7)

and again in *Lebensmüde* where she sees it not just as an escape route from a disagreeable situation

Und trag' aus dem Gedränge,
Aus dieses Lebens Enge, (lines 17-18)

but also as a means of access to the peace of heaven

Mich in dein Friedens Haus! (line 19)

In *Sehnsucht nach dem Todte* Anna personifies death, describing it as beautiful and full of hope. She addresses it directly, asking it to come and rescue her from her life and thus to solve her problems.

Doch du wirst mir Antwort geben,
Schöner hoffnungsreicher Tod!
Eil', errett' mich aus dem Leben,
Komm', und löse meine Noth! (lines 9-12)

Despite Anna's depiction of death as offering a state of peace in the company of God, an alternative, and bleak, post-mortem scenario is given in *Ach, läg' ich im Grabe* (p. 336). Here she fantasises longingly about lying in the grave; she wallows in the idea of it. In the grave all would be silent and peaceful, and she would be unaware of the moaning and cawing of the ravens circling over her:

Ach, läg' ich im Grabe, da wär' mir so wohl,
Da läg' ich so stille begraben,
Und krächzten dann über dem Grabe auch hohl

Die garstigen Vögel, die Raben,
 Ich ließe sie ächzen und krächzen einher
 Ich läg' ja im Grabe und hörte nichts mehr.

In fact this poem provides a more detailed image of what death represents to her than those where it is primarily an escape route to an ill-defined paradise. Here it is the sinister sounds of the 'nasty' ravens which she is sheltered from. She is happy to let them continue to make their noises as she can no longer hear them. We may wonder what those ravens and their disagreeable sounds represent. It could be the criticism and condemnation of other people. It could even be her own negative thoughts about herself. When dead she will no longer be exposed to such things; they will no longer matter. Here death is conceptualised above all as a state of freedom from her earthly misery rather than a state of heavenly peace. It is an end to the state of disharmony in which the various components of her being are co-existing. It is therefore an escape route from the prison in which she feels she is held captive.

It is interesting to note that, despite Anna's frequently repeated desire for death, she never indicates that this is something which she considers bringing about by her own hand. In a number of the poems she begs God to intervene. In *Gebet* (p. 28) she reveals how, in her weaker moments, she had pleaded with God to let her die.

Und flehte, Herr, zu dir: O laß mich sterben. (line 4)

In *Lebensmüde* she begs God to extinguish the lamp of her life

Komm', lieber Gott, und lösche
 Mein Lebens lämpchen aus, (lines 15-16)
 Komm', lieber Gott und lösche
 Mein Lebens lämpchen aus! (lines 20-21)

In her despair, in *Verzweiflung* (P. 33) she asks God:

Mach' ein Ende meiner Noth,
 Gieb mir Leben oder Tod! (lines 2-3)

In *Die Jugend flieht* it is a constantly repeated request:

Trotzdem ich stündlich fleh' zum Himmel
 Daß er mich endlich nähm' zu sich! (lines 19-20)

But death can only come if God wills it.

Given Anna's desperation, it is puzzling that she did not at least toy with the idea of suicide, or flirt with it as something which might bring her temporary relief as a fantasy. If she subscribed to some form of Judaeo-Christian conception of an afterlife, she may have been prevented by fear. Indeed, such a fear is hinted at in *Menschenloos* (p. 302), a poem in which she expressed a pessimistic view about human life in general, saying that man is not happy and the only reason he does not kill himself is the fear that something worse awaits him in the hereafter.

Nach Gerechtigkeit und Liebe
 Sehnt des Menschen Herz sich bang
 Sehnt sich, aus der Welt zu scheiden -
 Nur die Angst hält ihn so lang.

Angst, dass ihm bereitet werde,
 Hier nach diesem Jammerthal
 Drüben noch ein ärg'res Leiden,
 Eine undenkbar Qual! (lines 13-20)

Whatever her reasons for not resorting to suicidal ideation, the fact that she did not consider availing herself of this escape route reinforces the suggestion made above that she was her own jailer.

Superordinate theme: Impacted sense of self

This superordinate theme is derived from the following emergent themes, illustrative quotes for which are given in Table 10 below:

- warring parts of her 'self'
- dismantling of her 'self'
- fragmented state of her 'self'
- lack of agency

Anna uses several terms to refer to the components of her being, some of which are interchangeable: *Körper* (physical body); *Geist* (mind, spirit); *Sinn* (mind, senses in the plural); *Kopf* (head) as metonym for mind; *Herz* (heart) in its metaphorical sense, *Phantasie* (in its senses of both mind and imagination) and *Seele* (soul). The word *Seele*, like its English equivalent, is often used to denote the spiritual part of one's being while more generally it can refer to the mind or to the metaphorical heart. Ryan (2012, p. 13)

discusses its use in poetry as “the emotional or responsive side of the speaker’s self”. It can also, as in English, represent an individual person. Throughout her poetry Anna’s use of the word *Seele* covers the full range of its possible meanings, including the spiritual one.

Table 10: Emergent themes for ‘impacted sense of self’

Emergent theme	Example of illustrative quote	Poem/lines
Warring parts of her ‘self’	Stets fühlt sich die Seele im Leben beklommen / Sie kann sich dem Körper nicht einen	<i>Es ringt die Seele</i> / 5-6
Dismantling of her ‘self’	Ich hab' verlernt zu denken, / Ich hab' verlernt zu dichten, -	<i>Verzweiflung</i> / 1-2
Fragmented state of her ‘self’	Zerstückt, zerbrochen ist mein Sinn	<i>Noch ist es Zeit</i> / 2
Lack of agency	Welch' bitte'res Loos ward mir beschieden	<i>An das Geschick</i> / 10

Warring parts of her ‘self’

Die Seele will fort, a deceptively simple poem of just eight lines, with a bouncing rhythm reminiscent of nursery rhymes, presents a succinct image of conflict, with the self as battleground between body and soul:

Mein Körper ist krank,
Die Seele will fort;
Sie sucht einen andern
Weit schönern Ort.
Mein Körper weilet
Gefangen allhier:
Die Seele, die eilet
Mein Gott hin zu dir!

Here it is clear that Anna is using the word *Seele* in a spiritual sense as she talks of the soul’s desire to free itself from its earthly confines and ‘hurry’ to God. She insists on the physicality of her illness in the first line, thus locating her malaise at least partially in her body. The soul wants to escape from the body which, as discussed in relation to the theme ‘Like a prison’, is holding it captive.

Anna refers twice to ‘my body’ and ‘the soul’ (my italics) and by so doing she appears to identify with her physical body, leaving her soul to be understood as an independent entity, belonging to neither her ‘self’ nor her body.

In a later poem (*Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchterlich ich leide*, p. 456) Anna draws attention to the disaccord between her outer self, as portrayed to the outer world by her physical body, and her inner self, as experienced by her alone:

Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchterlich ich leide,
Und wißet nicht, wie schrecklich mir zu Muth,
Ihr seht nur lächelnd meine Außenseite
Und nennt die Farben meiner Wangen gut. (lines 1-4)

Her outward appearance conveys to others a sense of well-being while on the interior her mind (“mein armer Geist”) is engaged in a constant struggle as it is buffeted by the horror and fear associated with her ‘terrible secret’.

Ihr ahnt nicht mein schreckliches Geheimniß
In dem des Schmerzes Ton durch nichts gedämpft
Ihr wißet nicht, wie zwischen Schreck u. Grauen
Mein armer Geist abmattend ewig kämpft (lines 5-8)

In the above stanza Anna writes of ‘my mind’ but in the following one, as in *Die Seele will fort*, she refers to ‘the soul’:

Die Wirklichkeit kann ich nicht unterscheiden
Von meinen eig'nen grellen Phantasie'n
Die Seele drückt ein namenloses Leiden
Die hülflos strebt, sich selber zu entflieh'n. (lines 9-12)

She thus admits to ownership of the mind while the soul remains independent. There are now two ongoing struggles: her mind is fighting a losing battle against the horrific products of her imagination while her soul is struggling to escape from itself because of the pain caused to it by those same imaginings. Anna cannot bear to live with herself. She must separate from that part of herself which is the source of her suffering.

Anna again describes a struggle between body and soul in *Es ringt die Seele*, where she distances herself still further from her ‘self’, using the definite article for both body and soul.

Es ringet die Seele und kämpfet vergebens
Sie will sich nach Oben erheben!

Jedoch ah! Die Schwere des täglichen Lebens,
 Sie hindert ihr mächtiges Streben,

Stets fühlt sich die Seele im Leben beklommen
 Sie kann sich dem Körper nicht einen;
 D'rum muß uns der Tod ja als Lösung frommen
 Nicht fürchtet darum sein Erscheinen

The soul is in a state of unease and is unable to feel at one with the body. In this poem there is no sense of identification with the feelings expressed, no ownership of either body or soul. Anna uses the personal pronoun – ‘us’ – as if what she was saying applied to everyone, despite the idiosyncratic situation described. There is a denial of her very existence, as if she is trying to will herself into annihilation.

Death is proposed as the solution, but this time there is an air of finality about it. There is no mention of a spiritual hereafter, only the cessation of earthly troubles.

Dismantling of her ‘self’

In *Verzweiflung* (p. 189) Anna describes a general dismantling of her psyche in a process for which she uses the verb *verlernen* (to forget, to unlearn). It is instructive to examine the use of this word in the following stanza:

Ich hab' verlernt zu denken,
 Ich hab' verlernt zu dichten, -
 Mein Herz hab' ich verlernet
 Zu Gott dem Herrn zu richten. (lines 1-4)

The idea conveyed in the second couplet – that she has prevailed upon her heart no longer to direct itself towards God – suggests that she intends the verb *verlernen* to be understood in the more active and deliberate sense of ‘unlearn’, to undo what she has previously learned. Reading the first stanza with this in mind, it now seems that she is curbing her own cognitive processes. There is a sense of careful purposefulness as if she is reporting on the steps taken in a laboratory procedure. At the same time, she is abandoning her reliance on two sources of support which previously provided her with comfort – her trust in God and her dependence on the writing of poetry as an outlet for her emotions – indicating a loss of faith consistent with the ‘despair’ of the title.

In the second stanza she describes a mental confusion:

Verwirrt ist so mein Geist,
Zerstücket so mein Sinn,
Daß ich oft nach muß sinnen,
Wo eigentlich ich bin. (lines 5-8)

There is a loss of identity here and the way in which the word 'wo' (where) is used suggests, not a physical location, but rather a feeling of not knowing to which part of herself the word 'I' should be attached.

Although Anna turns to God in the second half of the poem her words are now less spiritually infused than they were in *Die Seele* will fort:

O sieh mich an, mein Vater!
Erbarmungsvoll ein Ziel
Steck' endlich meinen Leiden,
Ich litt schon gar zu viel!

Doch trägst du kein Erbarmen
Willst du mein Leid nicht wenden,
So muß vor meinem Körper
Mein armer Geist hier enden. (lines 9-13)

She no longer uses the word 'Seele', restricting herself to 'Geist' and 'Sinn' in referring to her mind. As in *Es ringt die Seele*, she does not mention an afterlife.

A similar desire for a dismantling of her 'self' is found in *An das Geschick* (p. 242) where Anna addresses Fate and asks it to remove her various mental faculties as they cause her distress. She wants her mind ('Geist') to be annihilated. Her imagination, which was once a source of pleasure, is a source of torture which conjures up ghosts ('Gespenster') which torment her at night. There is now a sense of end-of-tether helplessness; Anna seems to be goading Fate into removing all those elements which make of her a sentient being, as a mouse being toyed with by a cat might beg to be killed so that it might be put out of its misery.

So nimm auch meine Phantasie!
Nimm mir mein Sinnen, nimm mein Denken
Laß' meinen Geist in Nichts versenken
Nimm sie, die einst mir Freud' verlieh.
Jetzt dienet sie mir nur zu Qualen,
Des Nachts Gespenster mir zu malen,

Den Geist mir marternd spät und früh. (lines 3-9)

There is a sense that Anna is trying to identify the malignant part of her 'self' and then detach it from the rest, just as one amputates a gangrenous limb for the health of the whole organism. Despite the confusion, there seems to be an undercurrent of purpose.

I will now return to the way in which Anna uses the definite article and possessive pronouns in relation to the various parts of her 'self' in the poems discussed above. 'Seele' is invariably associated with the definite article whereas all other components are associated with the possessive pronoun 'mein', with the exception, on one occasion, of 'dem Körper'. Anna appears thus to consider the soul as a different type of 'res cogitans' – to use the Cartesian term – from the other mental components she refers to. Furthermore, she appears to believe 1) that only the soul is transcendental and destined for an afterlife; and 2) that she has no ownership of it. Why does she make this distinction? I suggest that it is possibly a form of wishful thinking. In light of the feelings of guilt expressed by Anna this could be understood as an attempt to dissociate the immortal spiritual part of herself from the activities of her mind and body and thus enable the soul to escape the judgement of God.

Fragmented state of the 'self'

This fragmentation is emphasised by Anna's use of the word 'zerstücket', found first in *Verzweiflung* (p. 189):

Zerstücket so mein Sinn, (line 6)

The word is also found in *Noch ist es Zeit* (p. 348) where Anna explains concisely how she is different from her previous self:

Einst war ich anders, als ich bin,
Zerstückt, zerbrochen ist mein Sinn (lines 1-2)

The words 'zerstückt' and 'zerbrochen', with their emphatic prefix 'zer', suggest that her 'self' has been broken up into something more fragmentary and chaotic than the component parts of her 'self' which she describes elsewhere. It is as if they had been smashed by a wrecking ball. My feeling is that those two words encapsulate how she

experiences her distress, whereas the material in the first two categories (warring parts of her ‘self’, dismantling of her ‘self’) represent attempts *to deal* with her distress.

Lack of agency

Anna often presents herself as someone who is ‘done to’ rather than as an agent in her own right. This is most evident in poems referencing a higher power.

As already discussed in relation to the them ‘Desire for Death’, Anna, although longing for death, puts the matter in God’s hands rather than countenancing any action herself. More generally, she turns to God in the hope that her circumstances can be ameliorated by his intervention. If he does not want to let her die, then she asks that he let her recover her health (*Gebet*):

Und flehte, Herr, zu dir: O laß mich sterben. (line 4)
Jetzt fleh ich – Herr, laß mich genesen! (line 16)

In *Verzweiflung* (p. 33), where she asks God to give her either life or death, she qualifies her request by specifying the conditions which would make life tolerable for her – that she be happy and able to enjoy herself with others – and, again, those conditions can only come about if God wills it:

Herr, ich fleh‘ aus bangem Herzen:
Mach‘ ein Ende meiner Noth,
Gieb mir Leben oder Tod!
Willst du mich dem Leben geben
Ach, so lass mich glücklich sein,
Freudig mit den Anderen freu’n (lines 1-6)

In a later poem with the same title, *Verzweiflung* (p. 189), Anna still sees her future as being in the hands of God:

O sieh mich an, mein Vater!
Erbarungsvoll [sic] ein Ziel
Steck‘ endlich meinen Leiden,
Ich litt schon gar zu viel! (lines 1-4)

Anna’s repeated use of verbs in the imperative (‘laß’, ‘gieb’, ‘steck’) when addressing God highlights her perception of herself as a passive entity whose life can only be changed by external intervention.

In *Mein letztes Lied* Anna describes her impotence in a struggle against Fate – like God, a putative higher power. The futility of her efforts to defend herself is emphasised: Fate is ‘mighty’, its fist is ‘iron’, her defeat is ‘complete’.

Denn mit dem Schicksal hab' ich lang,
Dem mächtiger, gerungen.
Bis seine Hand, die eiserne,
Mich völlig hat bezwungen. (lines 3-6)

In *An das Geschick* she bemoans the bitter fate which has been ‘decided’ for her:

Welch' bitte'res Loos ward mir beschieden (line 10)

The same passive phrase – ‘mir beschieden’ – is found in the title of the poem *Ich weiss, mir ward kein Glück beschieden* (p. 256), where she complains about God’s role in her life, blaming him for inflicting suffering on her, giving with one hand and taking away with the other:

Verlang' von Gott ich Rechenschaft,
Warum er auferlegt den Schmerz mir,
Der lähmet üb'rall meine Kraft.
Warum erweckt er mir im Busen
Den Sinn, daß schönes mir gefällt
Und gab mir dienstbar nicht die Musen
Gestaltend meines Herzens Welt. (lines 6-12)

This image of herself as someone who is acted upon is also found in *An eine Dichterin* (p. 226). Here Anna depicts the creation of her ‘self’ as a process in which she appears to have played no part. She was ‘designed’ (“geschaffen”) for activity and lively enjoyment, but subsequently things were ‘decided’ (“bestimmt”) otherwise and gifts which a God had given to her were ‘taken’ (“genommen”) from her and instead she was ‘given’ suffering, as if she was a puppet manipulated by fate.

Zum Glücke war ich ganz geschaffen,
Zur Thätigkeit und regen Lust
Weil die Empfindung für das Schöne
Ein Gott gelegt in meine Brust.
Doch anders war es mir bestimmt,
Das, was mein Herz so innig liebt,
Ward mir genommen - nur gegeben
Was jedes Menschen Herz betrübt. (lines 9-16)

We find also that abstract nouns are at times personified, as if they were active participants in a relationship with her. Happiness does not allow itself to be achieved; melancholy does not allow itself to be overcome:

Doch läßt sich die Freude nicht erringen ,
Die Melancholie nicht bezwingen ((*Wohin!*, lines 16-17)

Happiness and joy avoid her:

Wenn Glück und Freud uns meiden (*Es ist ein bitt'res Leiden*, p. 152, line 3)

Suffering has chosen her:

... das Leid mich auserkor. (*Müde bin ich vom Weinen*, line 12)

But is this depiction of God and other entities as determining agents in her life perhaps only an admission of her own inability to take effective action herself? Is she offloading responsibility for her condition to a higher power or an impersonal agent because of her own sense of impotence? Or is she perhaps, more generally, trying to present herself as a being without agency who could therefore not be held responsible for any wrongdoing?

Coping strategies

Anna enters into poetic conversation with two imagined interlocutors – God and poetry, which she personifies and addresses as ‘Goddess’. Those conversations indicate that she believed that those entities provided her with support.

Relationship with God

The 19th century was a period of religious flux for the Jewish bourgeoisie in Vienna (Rose, 2008). Many were giving up the beliefs and the worship practices of their ancestors, while often retaining the traditions and their sense of Jewish identity. Others converted to Christianity, often for reasons of professional advancement. Christmas was widely celebrated, generally treated as a family occasion with a folkloric flavour. Children of secular and even traditional Jewish families would have absorbed much of the Christian culture through their education and social environment and it was not uncommon for nursemaids and governesses to take Jewish children in their care to church.

Although Anna had been brought up in a secular Jewish family, God appears frequently in her poems. She addresses him directly, muses about his nature, and refers to him as if he were an actor in the drama of her life. These poems indicate that she believed in, and had a prayerful relationship with, a deity who corresponded in general terms to the biblical God, i.e., one who intervenes in human lives, who judges us and who receives us into an afterlife.

The super-ordinate theme 'Relationship with God' is derived from the following emergent themes:

- Anna's concept of God
- God as source of support
- God as judge and controller of her fate

Illustrative quotes for each of those emergent themes are given in Table 11.

Anna's concept of God

From *Die Seele will fort*, where she describes how her soul wants to break free from her body, it would seem that Anna expected death to lead to a spiritual afterlife in the presence of God, as the host of heaven.

Die Seele, die eilet
Mein Gott hin zu dir! (lines 7-8)

The same idea is expressed in *Lebensmüde* where Anna asks God to release her from earthly life and admit her to his house of peace.

Und trag' aus dem Gedränge,
Aus dieses Lebens Enge,
Mich in dein Friedens Haus! (lines 17-18)

There are indications that the God Anna envisages corresponds to the biblical God. In two of her poems she addresses God as 'my father' (*Verzweiflung*, p. 189, line 9; *Gebet*, p. 106, line 1) and she asks for the gift of faith to believe in the God of love.

... gieb uns nur den Glauben
Daß du bist der Gott der Liebe! (*Gebet*, lines 19-20))

Anna claims on one occasion to be a Christian (“Mich, eine gute Christin”) in a poem addressed to a friend (*An C.B.*, p. 177, line 5) where she describes the comfort she derives from the sound of church bells. However, this may indicate no more than a sympathy with the values of Christianity; there is no evidence of her practising any rituals or subscribing to any dogmas.

Table 11: Themes relating to ‘relationship with God’

Theme	Example of illustrative quote	Poem/lines
Anna’s concept of God	Die Seele, die eilet / Mein Gott hin zu dir! ...gieb uns nur den Glauben / Daß du bist der Gott der Liebe!	<i>Die Seele will fort</i> / 7-8 <i>Gebet</i> , p. 106 / 19-20
God as source of support	Du hast die Seele mir gestärkt, erhoben, / Du wiesest meinen Blick nach Oben, / Du lehrtest glauben mich, vertrauen, / Auf dich allein in Kummer bauen. Auf dich allein vertrauend, / A’uf deinen Liebe bauend	<i>Gebet</i> , p. 28 / 9-12 <i>Ich knie vor dir, o Herr</i> , p. 289 / 1-2
God as judge and controller of her fate	Herr, was hab' ich dann gethan / Daß ich stets so leiden muß?	<i>Trauer</i> / 1-2

	<p>Schuldlos bin ich verdammt zu leiden / Zum Tod begnadigt nimmermehr,</p> <p>Was wir besitzen kommt von Gott / Er sendet Leid und Freuden</p>	<p><i>Gebet</i>, p. 106 / 17-18</p> <p><i>Was wir besitzen kommt von Gott</i>, p. 251 / 1-2</p>
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The wondering agnosticism which she expresses about the nature of God and about the origin and destiny of human life in *Gebet* (p. 106) seems consistent with such a non-confessional stance:

Nicht ein Stäubchen wir verstehen,
Woher's kommt und wohin's geht -
Warum will der Geist sich blähen
Unser Dasein zu begreifen?
Du, das größte aller Räthsel,
Hast von Räthseln uns umgeben;
Nichts kann unser Geist erfassen
Aus der Welt der ew'gen Wunder. (lines 9-16)

There are elements also of the kind of nature pantheism often found in the work of German Romantic poets such as Goethe and Hölderlin. In expressing her appreciation of a spring morning Anna describes how the gap between creator and creation vanishes and she experiences a feeling of cosmic unity (*Frühlingsmorgen*, p. 309):

Gefühle, die seit lang geschlummert,
Und zwischen Schöpfer und geschöpften
Verschwindet jene ries'ge Kluft.

Sanft lös sich jeder inn're Zwiespalt,
Eins fühl' ich mich mit der Natur,
Mit Allen, was da lebt und athmet,
Und Gott hoch preis, auf erd'scher Flur. (lines 13-19)

Similar feelings are expressed in *Abend Empfindung* (p. 322) where Anna contemplates the starlit sky, adduces it as proof of God's existence, and avows her devotion to him.

Jetzt, in den sternenerleuchteten Tempel
 Gottes, o führt seine Leugner!
 Kann er Gott leugnen, wenn selbst er empfindet
 Gott in den eigenen Busen?
 Herr, nur du weißt es allein, was ich fühle!
 Zählst du die Herzen der deinen,
 Ach, so vergiß nicht das Herz eines Mädchens,
 Das, am Balkone gelehnet,
 Schwelgt ein Gefühle der seligsten Träume,
 Die du ihr gütig verliehen. (lines 13-22)

The last two poems cited above are somewhat derivative and the ideas expressed in them may therefore not necessarily have been predominant in Anna's concept of God. However, their conventional style contrasts with, and serves to highlight, the personal sincerity, of those other poems in which she reveals a more intimate engagement with God.

God as source of support

A narrative arc can be detected in the poems which manifest a relationship with God. Those in which Anna addresses God directly tend to be earlier ones, while the later ones mostly refer to God in the third person, suggesting a distancing from God. There is also a difference in tone and content over time as demonstrated below.

On several occasions Anna makes explicit acknowledgement of the comfort she finds from her relationship with God, and emphasises, with the repetition of the phrase 'auf dich allein', that God is her only source of support:

Du hast die Seele mir gestärkt, erhoben,
 Du wiesest meinen Blick nach Oben,
 Du lehrtest glauben mich, vertrauen,
 Auf dich allein in Kummer bauen. (*Gebet*, p. 28, lines 9-12)

Auf dich allein vertrauend,
 Auf deinen Liebe bauend (*Ich knie vor dir, o Herr*, lines 1-2)

This is echoed implicitly in later poems where she claims that her suffering is known only to God:

Wie ich heut' Nacht gerungen hab',
Den Schmerz doch nicht bezwungen hab',
Daß weiß Gott allein!

Wie ich die Nacht hab' zugebracht,
Bis endlich war der Tag erwacht,
Das weiß nur Gott allein!

Denn süß in Schlummer rings umher
Lag Alles - ich nur litt so schwer,
Das weiß nur Gott allein!

Wie ich beim ersten Morgenstrahl
Ihn bat, zu enden mein Qual,
Das weiß nur Gott allein! (*Das weiss nur Gott allein*, lines 1-12).

She describes also the distress of which she can speak to no-one but God:

Nur Nachts, als Alles rings im Schlafe,
Hab' ich das Fenster aufgemacht
Und zu den Sternen aufgeblicket,
Es Gott geklagt, im stiller Nacht. (*O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele*, lines 9-12)

When she feels alienated from society, describing herself as something of a misfit, Anna reassures herself that the opinions of others are of no consequence as she can take refuge with God who knows her intimately:

Gott kennt mein ganzes Wesen
Und mag er d'rin nur lesen,
Ich scheu mich nicht vor ihm.

Ja, Euer Hohn nicht schaden
Kann mir, denn Gott übt Gnaden,
Zu ihm will ich ausflieh'n. (*Ich pass' nicht für die Welt*, p. 208, lines 10-15)

But ultimately, Anna feels bereft of even God's support. Without saying so directly, referring only to a hypothetical situation, she identifies with the unfortunate individual who is abandoned by God:

Wen Gott hat verlaßen, verlassen die Menschen
Als wär' er gefallen durch eigene Sünde,
Als wär' er so elend durch Schuld! (*Doppelt verlassen*, p. 361, lines 1-3)

God as judge and controller of her fate

As already discussed in relation to the theme 'Attribution of responsibility' Anna frequently uses the language of judgement, particularly in *Trauer* where she seems to be pleading her case, as if in a court of law. But, like Josef K in *The Trial* (Kafka, 1925) she is unaware of having committed any crime. She appears to hold contradictory beliefs, on the one hand asking God what she has done wrong (*Trauer*) and on the other claiming that God knows that she is that she is innocent (*O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele*).

In *Gebet* (p. 28), she confesses to giving way at times to feelings of despair:

Ach Gott, in gar zu schwachen Stunden
Hab ich Verzweiflung nur empfunden, (lines 1-2)

In an attempt to appease God, she expresses gratitude to him for his help, for giving her strength, and for teaching her to believe in him and to trust in him as her sole source of support:

Du hast die Seele mir gestärkt, erhoben,
Du wiesest meinen Blick nach Oben,
Du lehrtest glauben mich, vertrauen,
Auf dich allein in Kummer bauen. (lines 9-12)

The fact that she feels obliged to ask God's forgiveness for those periods of weakness:

Verzeih' die schwachen Stunden, die gewesen (line 13)

suggests that she views this despair as a reprehensible loss of trust in God, or at least that she believes that God will view it in this way.

But in *Trauer* she expresses resentment, reproaching God for giving her a brief glimpse of future possibilities only to remove them from her:

Ach, was ließest aus der Puppe
Froh als Schmetterling mich fliehen
Um daß frohe Lebensbilder
Nun an mir vorüberziehen!

Da du knicktest meine Flügel,
Warum that's du mich erst lehren
Jene kurze, süße Freude,
Die ich künftig sollt' entbehren! (lines 21-28)

She then begs forgiveness for her reproachful behaviour, explaining that it is only the severity of her suffering which has driven her to it:

Doch verzeih dem bittern Laute
 Der der Seele sich entringt,
 Da mich doch so arge Qual
 Zu so bittern Lauten zwingt. (lines 29-32)

As if fearing that this is not sufficient to excuse herself, she ends by assuring God that he is of the greatest importance to her and expresses a fear of losing her faith in him:

Herr, noch ist dein heiliger Namen
 Mir das höchste noch von Allen
 Weh, wenn einst auch dieser Glauben
 Sollt' vor mir zusammenfallen! (lines 33-36)

In *Ich weiss, mir ward kein Glück beschieden* (p. 256), although not addressing God directly, Anna displays an assertive attitude towards him. She demands that God explain why he has imposed on her suffering which paralyses all her strength, and complains that he has given her talents while depriving her of the ability to exploit them:

Und wirr im Kopfe, wirr in Herzen
 Verlang' von Gott ich Rechenschaft,
 Warum er auferlegt den Schmerz mir,
 Der lähmet üb'rall meine Kraft.

Warum erweckt er mir im Busen
 Den Sinn, daß schönes mir gefällt
 Und gab mir dienstbar nicht die Musen
 Gestaltend meines Herzens Welt! (lines 5-12)

Yet on another occasion Anna outlines a reasoned justification for the existence of human suffering in a poem which, compared with her others, is unusually dispassionate: *Was wir besitzen kommt von Gott*,). Here she claims that both positive and negative experiences are sent to us by God, the negative being intended as a corrective to maintain us on the straight and narrow path.

Was wir besitzen, kommt von Gott
 Er sendet Leid und Freuden.
 Wie kindisch ist's, daß wir demselben
 Stets klagen uns're Leiden.

Als gäb's zwei Götter: einen böß
 Der uns die Leiden sendet,

Daß unser Herz andächtig sich
Stets zu dem Guten wendet. (lines 1-8)

She further argues that it would therefore be unreasonable to complain to God about her suffering and asks only that God give her the strength to cope with it.

Ich weiß, mein Leid, es kommt von Gott -
Wie sollt' ich ihm's da klagen?
Ich flehe nur, daß er die Kraft
Mir gäb', es zu ertragen. (lines 9-12)

Anna seems here to be trying to talk herself into accepting her suffering on the basis that it is God's will.

Overall, Anna's relationship with God seems a conflicted one and full of contradictions. She is by turns ingratiating and accusatory, placatory and resentful. Her need to express her anger is frustrated by her fear of alienating him. She counts on him for support but ultimately feels abandoned by him. Did Anna have full faith in the existence of God as a divine being or was he merely a mental artefact - one which provided her with a conversation partner for self-talk – or a scapegoat, whom she could blame for her problems or who could account for her own lack of agency? These questions will be considered in Section 4.2.4, Discussion of Findings.

Relationship with poetry

In *Meine Retterin* (p. 258) Anna personifies poetry. She refers to it as her saviour and honours it as if it were a higher being:

Drum laß mich, Poesie, du hehre,
Hinsinken heut' zu deinen Füßen
Und in des Lebens Druck und Schwere
Als lines 37-40
hohe Retterin dich grüßen! (lines 5-8)

Anna does not specify here whether she is referring to writing poetry, reading it, or both. However, in *An eine Dichterin* (p. 226) she refers to her own poems and claims that what she writes is a true reflection of her feelings:

Im Leben hab' ich viel gelitten,
Doch auch empfunden, was ich litt!
Darum theilen sich die heft'ge Klagen
Oft stürmisch meinen Liedern mit. (lines 5-8)

She again refers to poetry as her saviour, coming to her rescue when her life was transformed by illness:

Da warf mich meine Krankheit nieder,
Dich, Kunst, beweinte ich als Todt,
Bis du mir, Poesie, erschienst,
Als Trösterin in meiner Noth. (lines 29-32)

She imagines poetry, which she now addresses as 'Goddess', exhorting her to express her trouble in words. In the next stanza she appears to be channelling the words of this imagined goddess. There is an emphasis on the need to dig down into the depths of the soul, to scour it clean of all sources of torment and an assurance that if she does so, she will find comfort.

Sing dir dein Leiden, sing's vom Herzen
Sing was dich drückt, sing was dich quält;
Denn wer aus tiefer Seele singet,
Dem hat mein Trost noch nie gefehlt. (lines 33-36)

Returning then to her own voice she appears to acknowledge the truth of this advice and to believe that it is confirmed by her own experience. In an echoing of her words to God (*Gebet*, p. 28) she claims that her relationship with poetry is her sole source of comfort:

O Göttin! Diese Worte hast du

Vergebens nicht an mich gewandt.
 Da selbst ich in den schwersten Stunden
 Den Trost allein durch dich empfand. (lines 37-40)

Anna reiterates this claim in the final stanza. She has poured her heart into her poems and derived comfort thereby:

Auch ich hab' nie mein Wort gebrochen
 Und weil ich nie ohn' heft'gen Drang
 Im Liede hab' mein Herz ergoßen
 So fühlt ich Trost stets in Gesang. (lines 41-44)

But, contrary to what she writes in lines 37-38, her efforts appear to have fallen short of success. Although Anna writes copiously about her distress, she only does so circuitously, without ever being able to speak of its source. Yes, she has expressed her feelings, but nowhere does she connect them in any specific way with what gave rise to them.

Summary

The superordinate themes identified above can be classified as in Table 12.

Table 12: Summary of superordinate themes

Category	Superordinate themes
Presentational	Attribution of responsibility Unwillingness to be explicit
Affective	Feelings of personal loss Like a prison Desire for death Impacted sense of self
Coping strategies	Relationship with a higher power Relationship with poetry

The presentational themes demonstrate how Anna chose to present her narrative, the affective themes how she experienced the events narrated and their sequelae, and the coping strategies how she sought to deal with them.

Thus far in the analysis I have employed a hermeneutics of empathy combined with a hermeneutics of questioning in the manner discussed by Smith et al. (2009, p. 36). This analysis suggests that Anna experienced a traumatic event which had a destabilising effect on her sense of self. This resulted in a negative emotional fallout in the form of loss of personal attributes and future potential which she experienced as a living death. A prominent feature of her affective state was a feeling of being imprisoned and she seemed to suspect that she was her own jailer without, however, being able to set herself free. She could see no solution other than death, for which she frequently expressed a desire.

4.2.4 Discussion of findings

In this section I employ a hermeneutics of suspicion whereby the IPA findings are placed in a wider context and considered in light of the existing literature (Smith et al., 2009, p. 112).

By her own account, Anna had been a cheerful and active child and, as an adolescent, was looking forward to the kind of bright future which a young woman of her period and social stratum might be entitled to expect. It is posited that, subsequent to a traumatic event which took place when she was around the age of sixteen, and as a direct result of it, her mood and outlook were transformed, and her mental and physical health impacted for the worse.

I have hypothesised that the traumatic event may have been one of sexual impropriety. If such was indeed the case – and given the extent of the impact which this event appears to have had on Anna – it might be assumed that she was raped or at least subjected to a violent sexual attack. However, the embarrassment, shame and guilt which Anna expresses must be considered against the socio-cultural context in which she lived.

In their autobiographical works Stefan Zweig (1964) and Arthur Schnitzler (1970), both from middle-class Jewish families living in Vienna in the second half of the 19th century, describe a society riddled with hypocrisy and double standards. Zweig (p. 60) writes of a “sticky, perfumed, sultry, unhealthy atmosphere”, where the “dishonest and unpsychological morality of secrecy and hiding hung over us like a nightmare”. He demonstrates how the elaborate and complicated dress styles, which encased a woman

“like a knight in armour” (p. 61), inhibited her every movement and concealed all traces of her female figure. At the same time, he draws attention to the way in which this excessive prudishness simply heightened awareness of, and interest in, what it was trying to conceal. “This fear of everything physical and natural dominated the whole people ... with the violence of an actual neurosis. (p. 63). Girls of good families were strictly supervised by governesses and society “took great pains that they remain innocent of all natural things” (p. 64), a state epitomised in the experience of an aunt of Zweig’s who, after her wedding, returned to her parents’ home in distress in the middle of the night: her husband was “a madman and a beast, for he had seriously attempted to undress her” (p. 65).

Society took a more realistic approach with young men, however, and it was tacitly acknowledged that they should be allowed to satisfy their needs provided they did so discreetly, and with proper care to avoid unwelcome consequences in the form of pregnancy or disease. These needs were catered for by women of the lower social classes for whom the middle-class restrictions did not apply. This is amply illustrated in the work of Arthur Schnitzler who wrote frankly both in his autobiography (Schnitzler, 1970) and in his fiction about the *süße mädels* and *demi-mondaines* who featured prominently in the male world of 19th-century Vienna.

The correspondence between Mathilde Lieben (née Schey, 1861-1940) and her cousin Marie de Rothschild (née Perugia, 1862-1937) between 1872 and 1937 reveals how these restrictions were experienced in the minds of young women of the time and manifested in their behaviour (Tillian, 2013).

Mathilde Lieben, who was Anna’s sister-in-law, appeared to have a close and intimate friendship with Marie. However, when writing about topics touching on bodily functions and sex she seems, by the standards of today, remarkably reticent. Underwear was referred to indirectly as “Inespressibles” (Tillian, p. 186) and similar circumlocution was used in speaking of menstruation. In a letter dated 1879, for example, when Mathilde was 18, she complains of lying for half the day suffering from pains “deren Ursache du erraten wirst”; elsewhere she refers coyly to being unwell “auf gewissen Gründen”, and to feeling wretched “aus gewissen Ursachen” (p. 187). When, in the same year, she recounts the difficult birthing experience of her sister-in-law, Evelina Schey, she is so embarrassed by

what she considers her own excessive frankness that she asks Marie to destroy the letter: “Ich schreibe, wie du bemerken wirst, sehr sans gêne, darauf rechnend, dass du meine Briefe entweder zerreit oder wenigstens gut aufhebst ohne sie zu zeigen.” (pp. 187-188)

If Anna shared Mathilde’s inhibitions, which is likely given their common social background, it is possible that even a slight sexual impropriety could have been experienced as a traumatising event. Although Anna may appear to have occupied a social niche which make it unlikely that she would have been subjected to any form of sexual advance we must take account of her particular social circumstances. As outlined in Chapter 1, her mother, as one of Vienna’s most famous salonnières, hosted many of the most prominent personalities of the day, both in the Palais Todesco and in their country villa in Hinterbrhl. For Theodor Gomperz, Anna’s uncle, the Villa Todesco was clearly not to his taste. He describes an almost dystopian social scene, the house being crowded with sub-human creatures, speaking French and reciting Victor Hugo:

In der Brhl war ich, ohne sehr erquickliche Eindrcke nach Hause zu bringen. Die Villa (Todesco) ist doch allzu stark bevlkert. Was weise Staatsphilosophen fr die Zukunft der Menschheit befrchten, ist dort bereits zur Wahrheit geworden, man hat nicht mehr, was die Englnder 'Ellbogenraum' nennen; wie man sich umdreht, stt man - nicht auf andre Menschen, sondern auf Calibane, Centauren, Ungetme, die franzsisch reden und Victor Hugo declamieren, wenn man ruhig plaudern oder gar schlafen will. (Holzer, 1960, p. 50)

It is possible that in this fervid atmosphere the moral boundaries described by Zweig and Schnitzler could have become, for some guests, somewhat blurred. It is also worth noting that the villa, with its constant flow of guests and its setting in extensive grounds, bears similarities to the setting of both *Einst und jetzt* and *Der Onkel*.

How Anna experienced the sequelae

Shame and guilt

Anna points the finger of blame to an external entity – represented by ‘the dew’ – for the occurrence of the posited traumatic event. She nonetheless appears beset by suspicions of her own possible guilt and feelings of overwhelming shame. Although she never describes

the situation giving rise to those feelings, the fact that they appear to lie at the core of her malaise suggests that it is the same situation as the one for which she holds ‘the dew’ responsible and which she identifies as the cause of her suffering.

From the poems discussed previously, particularly the later ones, I sensed that Anna *believed* that she was innocent, but nevertheless *felt* shame. Anna uses the word ‘shame’ only once, yet it is a word of great explanatory significance, embedded as it is in a poem which reveals why she is unable to speak of her troubles to anyone: *O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele.*

Much of the recent literature on shame relates it to the self, with Lewis (1971) and Sartre’s (1969) vignette of ‘the Other’ being widely referenced (Dolezal, 2017; Zahavi, 2015; Gyllenhammer, 2010; Tangney et al., 1996).

For Lewis, an important distinction between shame and guilt is that shame is about the self, whereas guilt is about activity of the self. The emotional impact of shame is therefore greater as it affects the individual’s self-concept and results in a loss of self-esteem. Lewis (p. 428) describes shame as a “primitive, wordless reaction” with “little cognitive content”, the experience of which is rendered more painful by the bodily arousal occasioned by the reactions of the autonomic nervous system. There can thus be a split between autonomic and cognitive states resulting in a discomfort within the self.

Sartre (1969) encapsulates his theory of shame in a famous vignette in which he asks the reader to imagine being discovered by a third person while engaging in an act of voyeurism. The voyeur then suddenly sees himself through the eyes of this person – the Other - and judges himself accordingly. The values of the Other are internalised; shame is generated by the regard of the Other.

Tangney et al., echoing both Lewis and Sartre, note the dual part played by the self in the phenomenon of shame: it “is both agent and object of observation and disapproval, as shortcomings of the defective self are exposed before an internalized observing “other”” (p. 1257). There is therefore a split in self-functioning. Tangney et al. go on to present findings from empirical studies which support the notions that shame is connected to

perceived deficiencies of one's core self, generates feelings of inferiority to others and of self-directed anger, and evokes a desire to hide.

Because of its capacity to disrupt one's relations with others, shame can impact one's need to belong and it is this need to belong which is the "fundamental driving force behind shame" (Dolezal, p. 423). Unlike the basic, non-self-conscious, culturally universal primary emotions such as joy and fear, shame is a self-conscious phenomenon and, as such, it is generated by cognitive processes involving self-reflection and a concept of self (Zahavi, 2015; Dolezal, 2017).

Parallels can be found here in the content of Anna's poems. Lewis (1971, p. 430) describes how an individual might feel that he could "'die' with shame". In *O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele* Anna writes that she would "die of deep shame" if she had to talk of the cause of that shame. She would "blush" if confronted with the prejudices of people, describing the same type of autonomic reaction highlighted by Lewis and others. Based on her clinical experience, Susan Miller (1985), cited in Zahavi (2015: note 12), recounts how the speech of a person who attempts to talk about shame might be fragmented at first as a struggle takes place between the impulse to disclose and the impulse to conceal. This calls to mind the impression given by Anna both wanting and not wanting her story to be told, as discussed in relation to the theme 'Unwillingness to be explicit'. Gyllenhammer (2010, p. 50), referencing Sartre, suggests that "'[t]he other *knows* me in a way I cannot know myself'. Could this leave one with the nagging suspicion that, although one believes oneself innocent, one may be wrong – leading to the individual entertaining a possible hypothesis of guilt with resulting feelings of shame, as I believe may have been true of Anna? Could the 'desire to hide' frequently mentioned in the literature have been at play in Anna's failure to free herself from her prison although she recognised that she was 'her own jailer'? Did she feel that in her prison, or shut away in her own room – or even in the grave – she was protected from the gaze of the Other?

With the above understanding of how shame can impact one's feelings of self-worth, damage one's self-concept, generate anger against the self, and bring about a split in self-functioning it is easy to see how Anna's sense of self could have undergone a significant destabilisation.

Basten and Touyz (2019) draw attention to the fact that the term ‘sense of self’ (SOS), although occupying a prominent place in the literature of psychology and mental health disorders, is not consistently defined. The term ‘self’ is likewise used interchangeably for different psychological constructs.

After an extensive review of the literature, Basten and Touyz propose that SOS be “defined as the subjective experiential sense of one’s self, including a sense of continuity that is based on a continuous stream of reflexive consciousness, and feelings of agency, vitality, unity, and completeness” (p. 2). On the basis of the literature surveyed, they identify six key descriptive aspects of SOS relevant to an understanding of the functioning individual: agency, continuity, coherence, completeness, authenticity, and vitality. They also present examples of subjective manifestation for both the healthy and the impaired version of each of the six aspects. Table 13 below presents items from this data correlated with extracts from Anna’s poetry which might indicate impairment of the same aspects.

In discussing the impact of a damaged SOS Basten and Touyz highlight trauma, including sexual abuse, as a key factor in causing a weakening or fragmentation of the SOS. This impairment, they suggest, then renders the individual vulnerable to subsequent psychopathology such as depression, suicidality and dissociative disorders

During the IPA analysis of Anna’s poems one of the most striking impressions which developed was that of fragmentation, a breaking up of her ‘self’. It was therefore interesting to note the repeated occurrence of such terms in the literature cited by Basten and Touyz, where fragmentation of the self appears to be a significant factor in personality dysfunction, particularly borderline personality disorder.

As my IPA analysis of Anna’s poem was based on a hermeneutics of empathy combined with a hermeneutics of questioning (Smith et al., 2009, p. 36) my findings were not influenced by the above theories regarding the sense of self and the concepts of shame and guilt, and in fact I was not acquainted with them at the time. The themes grouped under the super-ordinate theme *Impacted sense of self* were derived directly from a close reading of Anna’s own words and the grouping of the themes and the subsequent discussion were carried out on a largely intuitive basis. Nor was I familiar with the theories of borderline

personality disorder and related conditions which are the focus of Basten and Touyz's literature review.

While the aim of the foregoing analysis is not to apply a retrospective diagnosis to Anna, it seems likely, on the basis of the above discussion, that Anna's presentation of her 'self' and her malaise is one which would be familiar and broadly intelligible to psychopathology professionals and researchers today. However, any attempt at diagnostic labelling at this stage would be both epistemologically unsound and beyond the scope of the IPA study.

Table 13: Manifestations of aspects of sense of self

Aspect of SOS	Examples of subjective manifestation of impairment (Basten and Touyz, p. 5)	Extracts from Anna's poetry
Agency	Sometimes I feel like it's not me making decisions or doing things.	Welch bitte'res Loos ward mir beschieden (<i>An das Geschick</i> , line 10)
Continuity	My sense of who I am shifts depending on where I am and who I'm with.	Einst war ich anders, als ich bin / Zerstückt, zerbrochen ist mein Sinn (<i>Noch ist es Zeit</i> , lines 1-2) ...ich oft nach muß sinnen, / Wo eigentlich ich bin (<i>Verzweiflung</i> , p. 189, lines 7-8)
Coherence	When distressed, I feel as if I am falling apart	Verwirrt ist so mein Geist, / Zerstücket so mein Sinn, (<i>Verzweiflung</i> , p. 189, lines 5-6)
Completeness	I do not feel whole	Stets fühlt sich die Seele im Leben beklommen / Sie kann sich dem Körper nicht einen (<i>Es ringt die Seele</i> , lines 5-6)
Authenticity	I can feel like an actor in my life—just going through the motions	Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchterlich ich leide, / Und wißet nicht, wie schrecklich mir zu Muth, / Ihr seht nur lächelnd meine Außenseite (<i>Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchterlich ich leide</i> , lines 1-3)

Vitality	Much of the time I feel like I'm dead.	Vier Jahre bin ich todt im Leben / Und lebe doch, und sterbe nicht (<i>Die Jugend flieht</i> , lines 17-18)
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Adapted from Basten and Touyz (p. 5)

Coping strategies

Anna appears to have turned to two sources of support – a prayerful relationship with God and writing poetry. The two may, in fact, be two sides of the same coin, with both being a form of internal dialogue.

Internal dialogue can be described as a form of private speech in which an individual adopts two or more points of view, each perspective being associated with a different 'I' position (Łysiak and Puchalska-Wasył, 2019). We can see this in *Traumdeutung*, for example, where Anna describes a dream using the first person, 'ich', and then addresses herself in the second person, 'dich', to explain her understanding of the dream's meaning. A similar dialogue is found in *Die Freud*' (p. 362) where she describes finding herself in an unhappy social situation and switches from first to second person in the middle of the poem to shake herself out of her gloom by pointing out that the solution is in her own hands.

The term can also be applied to private speech with an imagined other who is objectively absent, such as a friend or significant individual in the person's social environment. Prayer can thus be considered as a form of internal dialogue, albeit one where, depending on the beliefs of the person praying, the interlocutor is objectively present (Puchalska-Wasył and Zarzycka, 2019).

Whatever the identity or ontological nature of the interlocutor, people often engage in internal dialogue in an attempt to analyse and resolve problems. Sharp (2010) argues that prayer is a type of imaginary social support interaction which can help individuals manage negative emotions. Through prayer, a deity can serve as a sounding board for the expression or mitigation of emotions such as anger and for the reflection of positive appraisals which bolster self-esteem and reduce sadness; it can facilitate reinterpretations of seemingly threatening situations and help to distract the individual from circumstances inducing negative emotions. While one can discern such hopes and intentions in Anna's

prayer poems, the narrative arc of her relationship with God, suggests that the desired effect was not obtained.

Kenneth Pargament, a leading scholar of the relationship between religious beliefs and well-being, has written extensively on the ways in which religious beliefs can provide people with various means of coping with life stressors. Pargament et al. (1988) identify three religious coping styles adopted by individuals at times of difficulty:

- self-directing, where the individual acknowledges responsibility and takes an active part in solving the problem
- deferring, where the individual remains passive and defers responsibility for the outcome to God
- collaborative, where God and the individual work together towards a solution.

The three styles thus vary on two dimensions: locus of responsibility (individual vs God) and level of activity (active vs passive).

From the poems in which Anna addresses God directly it would appear from the foregoing IPA analysis that her approach corresponds largely with the ‘deferring’ style described, which is in line with her attitude of passivity already noted.

Ladd and Spilka (2002) reference the three directions of prayer outlined by Richard Foster (1992, as cited in Ladd and Spilka, pp. 477-478) and demonstrate how they enable the individual to establish cognitive connections with the self, with other humans, and with a deity:

- inward (focusing on self-examination)
- outward (designed to strengthen human-human connections)
- upward (fostering human-divine connection)

On the basis of this model, they developed a scale designed to assess prayer in terms of the type of cognitive activity involved. Examination of Anna’s prayer poems against this scale (Appendix 3) reveal them to be primarily inward with the following items highlighted: examining myself, judging myself, misery, sadness, grieving. They also feature some

elements from the petitionary category (outward direction): asking for things I need, making personal appeals. There is evidence too of an upward direction in the poems where she expresses mystical sentiments.

Pargament et al.'s (2011, p. 56) religious coping scale, the RCOPE (Appendix 4), provides a tool against which attitudes can be assessed in more detail. This scale identifies the following five subscales of religious coping method:

1. To find meaning
2. To gain control
3. To gain comfort and closeness to God
4. To gain intimacy with others and closeness to God
5. To achieve a life transformation

Each of the subscales is associated with between three and five items. Table 14 below presents extracts from Anna's prayer poems along with RCOPE items and subscales with which they appear to be consonant.

Correspondences can be found here with the IPA analysis of Anna's prayer poems in that she appeared to think her suffering might be a punishment from God (meaning), she often begged God for help to stop her suffering (control), on occasion she expressed feelings of transcendence, and she tried to seek assurance from God while at the same time expressing frustration with him (to gain comfort and closeness to God). Again, this appears in line with her deferring style.

Thus far comparison with the existing literature has not suggested any new interpretations for the analysis of Anna's prayer poems. However, my rereading of the poems with Pargament's scale (Appendix 4) in mind brought to light what could be significant omissions. In the category of 'Coping to achieve a life transformation' no items appeared applicable to Anna. However, the item 'Religious Forgiving', which appears to refer to the individual's quest for help in forgiving others, prompted me to wonder why Anna never asks for God's help in resolving any negative feelings associated with having been wronged. It is noticeable that, despite the resentment she expresses against whatever the dew represented in *Einst und jetzt*, in neither her prayers nor her God-related thoughts does

Anna ever mention having been injured, or that someone or something else is responsible for her unhappiness. She claims repeatedly that God knows that she is not guilty but there is no sign that she wants help in dealing with recriminations against a guilty third-party. There is a disconnect in her poems between her feelings of resentment about the cause of her unhappiness as identified in *Einst und jetzt* and the way in which she complains about her unhappiness elsewhere. We might also have expected to see some sign of Anna trying to take advantage of her relationship with God to achieve a measure of ‘spiritual cleansing’ as defined in ‘Coping to gain comfort and closeness to God’, a category which could include acts of confession. Anna asks God’s forgiveness for nothing other than, on occasion, a loss of faith in God.

Table 14: Anna’s religious coping strategies vs RCOPE

<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Find Meaning</i>		Illustrative examples from Anna’s poems
Punishing God Reappraisal	Redefining the stressor as a punishment from God for the individual’s sins	Herr, was hab' ich dann gethan, / Daß ich stets so leiden muß? (<i>Trauer</i> , lines 1-2)
<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Gain Control</i>		
Pleading for Direct Intercession	Seeking control indirectly by pleading to God for a miracle or divine intercession	Jetzt fleh ich. - Herr, laß mich genesen! (<i>Gebet</i> , p. 28, line 14) Herr, ich fleh‘ aus bangem Herzen: / Mach‘ ein Ende meiner Noth, / Gieb mir Leben oder Tod! (<i>Verzweiflung</i> , p. 33, lines 1-3)
<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Gain Control and Closeness to God</i>		
Seeking Spiritual Support	Searching for comfort and reassurance through God’s love and care	Auf dich allein vertrauend, / Auf deinen Liebe bauend / Knie ich vor dir, o Herr! (<i>Ich knie vor dir, o Herr</i> , lines 1-3) Darum gieb uns nur den Glauben / Daß du bist der Gott der Liebe! (<i>Gebet</i> , p. 106, lines 19-20)
Spiritual Connection	Experiencing a sense of connectedness with forces that transcend the individual	Gefühle, die seit lang geschlummert, / Und zwischen Schöpfer und geschöpfen / Verschwindet jene ries‘ge Kluft.

		(<i>Frühlingsmorgen</i> , lines 13-15)
Spiritual Discontent	Expressing confusion and dissatisfaction with God's relationship to the individual in the stressful situation	Ach, was liebest aus der Puppe / Froh als Schmetterling mich fliehen / Um daß frohe Lebensbilder / Nun an mir vorüberziehen (<i>Trauer</i> , lines 21-24)

Adapted from Pargament et al. (2011, p. 56)

Regarding Anna's use of poetry as a coping strategy, after again reading over my IPA analysis of 'Coping Strategies', I have the impression that her relationship with poetry – which she personifies as a goddess – seems quite different from her relationship with God. There is an ease and freedom of expression in the poems addressed to Poetry, and there is no sign of the conflict, ambiguity and fear of judgement found in her poems addressed to, or about, God. There is also more of a dialogue, with Anna at times speaking as if she was channelling the goddess in a two-way communication, whereas in her prayers there is no evidence of her imagining any feedback. I would suggest that this difference between the content of Anna's internal dialogue with God, on the one hand, and with Poetry, on the other, indicates that she regarded Poetry as an imagined other who was objectively absent while God, for her, was a 'real other' who, despite the lack of response, was objectively present. Indeed, this apparent lack of response from God may have been interpreted by Anna as disapproving silence. In fact, it is only in the poems where Anna adopts different 'I' positions, as defined by Łysiak and Puchalska-Wasył (2019), that she seems to be moving towards an understanding of her situation by reasoning with herself, although seemingly to no avail.

In light of the above discussion about shame, I am left with the impression that Anna was shackled by the cultural mores of her time and place and that this manifested itself in her relationship with God, the ultimate 'Other', from whom there is no hiding

4.2.5 Reflexive interlude

This section is based on notes I made in my reflexive journal while I was carrying out the analysis of Data Set 1. The passages in quotation marks correspond to text cited verbatim from that journal. The remaining passages are paraphrases of my thinking as expressed in the journal, summarised here in the interests of coherence.

With regard to the sexual molestation hypothesis, reservations I had struggled with are outlined below.

“I’m writing this in an attempt to clarify the struggle I’m having with the analysis process. For some time, I’ve had the feeling that my thoughts are log-jammed. I’m not worried about not having enough material; it’s all there in my head, it’s just not getting out and I couldn’t understand why. I think I know now. It’s because I’m feeling very uncomfortable with the way my thoughts are going.”

“I believe that it’s almost certain that Anna was sexually molested when she was sixteen. I’ve tried to imagine what other kind of experience could traumatise her and at the same time be something which other people didn’t know about. The only type of thing I could think of was a misadventure befalling someone in her care – such as a child falling into a pond and drowning. Obviously, this wouldn’t fit the bill as it wouldn’t have been a secret. Alternatively, and this has only just occurred to me as I write this, perhaps she witnessed someone younger than herself being sexually molested, or otherwise badly treated, and felt guilty that she had done nothing about it; or perhaps she witnessed some consensual sexual activity and continued to watch in a voyeuristic kind of way. Both latter suggestions, although possible after a reading of *Einst und jetzt* would seem to be invalidated by *Der Onkel*. The most likely hypothesis remains that Anna herself was molested, if only on the balance of probabilities and the application of Occam’s Razor. Finally, the feeling of shame which Anna describes in relation to her ‘secret’ would seem to be viscerally connected with herself as a participant, however unwilling.”

From the outset I was sceptical about any sexual aetiology for hysterical symptoms. I felt that if hysteria had a psychogenic basis, it was more likely to be associated with the frustration felt by women who were deprived of the educational and professional opportunities which would have been open to them in a less restrictive society. Given Anna’s talents and intelligence, this seemed a feasible explanation. It was also an explanation which appealed to me at an empathetic level as I saw similarities with my own life course.

I was particularly sceptical about Freud's views on psychosexual development and was aware of the arguments which have been made against Freud, some of which demonstrate Freud's own inaccurate, if not downright dishonest, reporting, as discussed in, for example, Webster (1995), Crews (2017), Borch-Jacobsen (2011). When the suspicion first arose in me that there might be a sexual basis for Anna's malaise, I felt very unhappy about it. I even wondered if I had been subconsciously infected with Freud's ideas, as if my mind had been primed to see sex everywhere, even when there was none.

“As I delve more into what happened ‘that night’ I begin to have the feeling that Anna may have been ambivalent about it. In *Der Onkel*, where she describes what could be a seduction scene, she says that the uncle ‘half-pulled them while they half-crawled after him’, as if they had been complicit in his attentions.”

There are two versions of *Der Onkel*, one in V1 and the other in V2, which appears to be a fair copy of V1. Virtually all the V2 poems are the same as those in V1, with only the occasional punctuation or spelling difference. However, in *Der Onkel* a word has been changed in the following line (my italics):

V1: Lockt Euch manch' *schieches* Angesicht, Nicht her in ew'gen Thau? (Are not many *ugly* faces luring you here in the eternal dew?).

V2: Lockt Euch manch' *schönes* Angesicht, Nicht her in ew'gen Thau? (Are not many *beautiful* faces luring you here in the eternal dew?)

“Something significant must have prompted Anna to make this change in V2, especially as all the other changes appear trivial. Could it be that she wanted to introduce into the mix the idea of something attractive? The words in question were supposedly spoken by the uncle so perhaps I'm wrong here. But it suggests at least that the uncle was proposing something appealing to them. Then again, perhaps Anna made this change to disculpate herself, trying to convey that the uncle had misled them.”

I felt inhibited about discussing all this for several reasons. First, there is evidence from archival material that some family members did not want Anna's private life to be pried into. In 1980 Anna's grand-daughter Marie-Louise, who had at first engaged with Peter

Swales in his research into Anna's life, responded to letters he had addressed to her (Swales, 1980, February. 18; 1980, February 29) in the following manner:

My family, particularly the Liebens had a proper horror of all publicity, what is in German called “die Öffentlichkeit”. Nothing could have been more alien to them than a publication of their most intimate family events with all there [sic] names and their friends [sic] names mentioned, be it even two hundred years after their death. I feel I have to protect their wishes as I feel very much the same about it.
(von Motesiczky, ca.1980)

Henriette then asked Swales to provide her with written confirmation that he would not publish any of the information she had given him without her consent. She also stated that when she had first become acquainted with him and shared this information it was in the belief that he was carrying out research for the *Institut für Geschichte der Medizin* at the University of Tübingen, and not with the intention of writing a biography of Anna. However, this resistance to any biographical representation of Anna's life appears to be contradicted in a letter addressed to Henriette four years later by Dr Reina van Lier (1984, May 12), a Dutch researcher with a similar interest in Anna, who had developed a relationship with Henriette. Van Lier referred to a conversation they had had in which she and Henriette had discussed the idea of:

us making a movie together with Loosey [sic] about Franzi, Anna, Elise and Freud and Fleischl, - and you giving advises [sic] about a “Kühlofen” in Hinterbrühl, lamb chops, and I do not know what. You must know about all the possible mistakes they could make!

In the interview with Kurt Eissler (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972), Henriette revealed that Anna's grandson, Heinrich Karplus, felt strongly that no-one – not even the family – should be reading her personal papers. Heinrich was at that time in possession of the material which I subsequently found, and he was the father of Michael Karplus who gave me the material. As far as the latter is concerned, he is happy about me working with the material but I was not sure if he would like the idea of me suggesting the molestation theory. I say this merely on the basis of his reaction to me telling him that, according to Swales, Anna's son-in-law, Paul Karplus, had destroyed the diary she kept during her

treatment with Freud because it was obscene. He seemed annoyed that Swales could suggest such an idea and said that Paul Karplus had destroyed it simply because it was personal and private. I sensed that he resented the suggestion that there could have been any obscenity. I felt obliged at this point to test the waters by discussing the matter with Michael Karplus. I sent him the poems in question with no comments of my own, only asking him what he made of them. He came to much the same conclusion as myself and confirmed that he had no objection to me discussing this hypothesis in my thesis (personal communication, 2020).

As regards my suggestion that Anna may have felt ambivalent about the hypothesised molestation, I felt unwilling to explore this as I feared that it might be perceived as going against the grain of political correctness. I could see myself attracting the fury of the #MeToo movement.

There was also my own lack of empathy, as I noted in my reflexive journal. “Another stumbling block is that I find it difficult to understand how people can be so damaged by sexual abuse. I’m bewildered when I hear of people having their entire lives wrecked by such experiences. Of course, I acknowledge at an intellectual level that sexual abuse is to be deplored but I just don’t have any sense of empathy about it myself.”

Further reading on this subject in the field of Narrative Medicine only served to alienate me even more. Charon (2006, p. 65) relates the story of an 89-year-old African-American woman with a history of hypertension, breast cancer, spinal stenosis, insomnia and anxiety. She had been taking tranquillisers for years and been unwilling to talk about the cause of her anxiety. She had considered herself to be in bad health since, as she claimed, falling off a horse at the age of twelve. After being treated by Charon for about 20 years the woman confessed that she had not fallen off a horse but had been raped. She had always felt unable to tell anyone about it. According to Charon, after revealing the truth of the matter, and expressing all the associated emotions, the woman’s condition showed marked improvement. A gastroenterologist’s account (Weinberg, 1995) of a patient whose mysterious abdominal pains vanished after he devoted many hours to simply allowing her to talk to him, during which time she revealed that she had been raped, elicited equal

scepticism in me, a scepticism which was exacerbated by the fairy-tale-like style of his writing.

“Those are the kinds of story that I just find too clichéd to be believable. But I suppose this is just a sign of my inability to understand people who, to my mind, are unduly affected by sexual abuse.”

I was also aware of some kind of unidentified dragging effect on me during the analytical process, something similar to the experience of driving a car with the handbrake on. I finally recognised it for what it was when I read Ellis and Flaherty (1992) and realised that I was being unconsciously held back by the fear of having “the bare-faced cheek to believe that one can simply tell another’s story” and the “arrogance of colonizing their world view” (p. 225).

Curiously, the above doubts have made me more confident in my interpretation of the sexual molestation hypothesis as I can see that I have subjected my reasoning to cross-examination. I remain aware that it is nevertheless only a hypothesis and that it may be brought into question, or even invalidated, by findings yet to be uncovered in this study.

4.3 Analysis of Data Set 2 (1870-1873)

Before finishing my exploration of Anna’s illness narrative, I will now examine those poems in Volume 2 which were written between November 1870 and March 1873, ie, in the period after the final poem of Volume 1 was written. As already indicated, the poems from this later period reveal few of the signs of malaise apparent in previous poems. They do, however, give us a glimpse into Anna’s thoughts and feelings at a time when significant changes were taking place in her life, namely, her engagement and marriage to Leopold, and the birth of her first child. They serve also as a bridge between Anna’s own narrative and the account of their life together which we have from her husband’s diaries.

Anna became engaged to Leopold at the end of December 1870. They got married on 3 December 1871. From information about the dates of the poems and the places they were written, we see that Anna spent much of the intervening period travelling. In February, April and May she was in Rome, in May she was in Florence, and in October in Ischl.

After their marriage in December, Anna and Leopold travelled to Italy for their honeymoon. Anna was subsequently for most of the time in Vienna or the Brühl until her first child, Ilse, was born on 13 February 1873.

Many of the poems in this data set are on the subject of her feelings for Leopold, most of them being addressed to him directly. Others are mainly addressed to family members or acquaintances. Several of those written towards the end of 1870 suggest a pessimistic frame of mind, without however being charged with the extreme negative emotions of many of her earlier poems. Their style is impersonal, as if Anna was making a general statement about life, and no names or personal pronouns appear, as for example in *Nur leiden ist leben* (V2, p. 514):

Nur leiden ist leben;
Die Freuden sind eben
Wie glänzende Perlen
Mit sparsamer Hand
Gestreut auf des Lebens
Trauergewand.

4.3.1 Engagement poems

The first significant shift in Anna's outlook is found in *Am Sylvesterabend 1870* (V2, pp. 522-523), which hints at a turning point in Anna's life where she is allowing herself to hope that better days lie ahead. The first six lines, in which she looks back over the previous year, are replete with the language of death, and it is a death which is not to be mourned. Anna appears thus to be not only acknowledging a separation with the past, but willingly burying it.

Das alte Jahr ist endlich nun gestorben.
Auf seiner Leiche tritt man jubelnd her,
Sein Scheiden netzt kein Auge heut mit Thränen,
Es war ja selbst an Thränen allzuschwer. (lines 1-4)

Although expressing some trepidation about the future:

Mit Schrecken wird die ferne Zukunft nennen
Nach achtzehnhundertsiebzig blut'ges Grab! (lines 7-8)

Anna goes on to give herself, as it were, a shake:

Doch nun genug!... (line 9)

She does not yet know what the new year has in store for her, but she now has the courage to look it squarely in the face:

... Das neue Jahr tritt heute
 In uns're Mitt' in Schleiern eingehüllt.
 Gern möcht' ich seinen Schleier von ihm ziehen
 Zu sehen einmal nur sein wahres Bild. (lines 9-12)

By considering both positive and negative eventualities Anna opens the door for hope, with its transformative properties, to enter, although the fourfold repetition of the word 'vielleicht' indicates a hesitancy in this approach:

Vielleicht ist es ein neues Ungeheuer,
 Doch noch vielleicht - vielleicht auch nicht!
 Und dies Vielleicht es läßt schon zu die Hoffnung
 Mit dem verklärend wundersüßen Licht. (lines 13-16)

In the penultimate stanza Anna allows herself to get into the spirit of the season and in the final one she offers a formulaic expression of good wishes.

Doch heute Freude, ist Sylvesterabend,
 Wo Euer Antlitz uns vor Bangen schützt,
 Wo man bei Punsch und warmer Freundeslieben
 Sich Kopf und Herz berauschend gern erhitzt. (lines 17-20)

Es ist ein Abend, wo bei hellen Kerzen
 Man seinen Nächsten bringt die Wünsche dar;
 Doch nur ein Wunsch vereinigt hier die Herzen,
 Das froh für alle sei das neue Jahr! (lines 21-24)

The poem thus moves from a highly personal presentation of Anna's previously unhappy condition, through a tentative readjustment of her outlook, and finally to the kind of conventional verse which might appear on a greetings card.

Anna makes no reference to Leopold in this poem, and it is only from a later poem, *Silvesterabend* (V2, p. 567) dated 31 December 1871, that we learn that that was the day on which they became engaged. Nevertheless, it seems likely that it was the prospect of her marriage which led to the change in her feelings about the future. We have no information about the preliminaries to the engagement, nor about how well the couple knew each other; in fact, the uncertainty which Anna reveals in the fourth stanza suggests that they may not have been very well acquainted at this stage. However, an examination of the poems

written during the period of their engagement indicates that she quickly developed strong positive feelings about Leopold.

Before exploring those poems, I will first consider their textual status. It is clear from the body of Anna's poetic work that many of her poems were addressed to a friend or family member, often to accompany a gift, to convey greetings for a birthday or anniversary, or as an expression of thanks. In such cases the poem should be analysed in much the same way as a letter, with consideration given to the various factors shaping the text, such as its purpose, the relationship between the writer and the addressee, the circumstances in which it is written, and the cultural setting (Grasso, 2008; Coffey, 2014). Denzin (1997) describes the letter as the product of an interaction, having, as it were, two parents, the writer and the addressee.

It is probable that some, at least, of Anna's love poems can be described as 'Verlobungskorrespondenz', the term used by Eva Wyss (2008) in her discussion of the type of letters which were expected to be exchanged between engaged couples in German-speaking cultures in the latter part of the 19th century. Although no letters between Anna and Leopold are known to be extant, Leopold's diary entries show that Anna sent him twelve letters between mid-August 1871 and mid-October 1871, with Leopold responding to each one he received, indicating that the couple were following this practice on a frequent basis.

Leopold refers at this time to a shawl received from Anna (TB5 30.8.71), and it is likely that the poem *Gefühle, die mir treu im Herzen* (V2, p. 543), in which she writes of a shawl which she has knitted for him, accompanied it. An untitled poem *Im Bette liegend schreibe ich dir* (V2, p. 557) is titled *Mit einem Brief* in P (p. 129), suggesting that it accompanied a letter. Two more poems, written after their marriage, celebrate Leopold's birthday: *Leopold zum Geburtstage mit einem Busen-Nadel* (V2, p. 574); and later their first wedding anniversary: *Zum Leopold am Hochzeitstage* (V2, p. 581). Again, it is likely that those poems were intended to be given to Leopold.

As regards the remaining poems written during their engagement, their purpose and function is less clear, if only because it is not possible to establish whether any given poem

was to be read by Leopold or whether it was written as a form of self-talk, a private means of processing her feelings, like many of her earlier poems.

The most prominent themes in Anna's love poems are romance and transformation. Given the social constraints of the time in relation to courtship, the language used by Anna may seem overly impassioned. After all, she and Leopold would have had little opportunity to get to know each other intimately before their engagement, and shortly after that, Anna left Vienna, spending most of the next eleven months away from home. This might suggest that the more effusive of her love poems, although using second person singular pronouns, were intended only for herself. However, if we compare those poems with some of the poems which Anna addressed to friends and family members, we find a similar effusiveness, which could seem excessively sentimental to a 21st-century reader.

In *An Baronin von Stein zum Namenstage* (V2, p. 537), for example, she writes:

Dein Geist er gleicht dem Licht der Sterne,
Das hell durch jedes Dunkel bricht,
Das uns vergessen lässt die ferne,
Weil es trotz solcher Höhe Licht. (lines 5-8)

To Elise Gomperz, the wife of her uncle Théodor, she writes (P; p. 107):

Als ich dein Lied auf meinem Tische fand,
Da hat mich süße Rührung übermannt

Und innig warm drückt ich im Geiste gleich
die von dir dargebotene Freundeshand

Auch ich habe dich an deinem sanften Blick
Als weich und gut vom Herzen gleich erkannt. (lines 1-6)

The terms of endearment in Anna's poems to Leopold may therefore lie within the bounds of the idiom of the time.

The earlier love poems are somewhat conventional in their expression of affection, with clichéd terms like the 'dear arm' which presses her to the 'true heart', as when Anna looks forward with anticipation to their wedding day (*Wenn einst dein Blick, der holde*, V2, p. 539):

Wenn bräutlich einst der Schleier

Mir Stirn und Schulter schmückt
 Und wenn dein Arm so theuer
 Ans treue Herz mich drückt. (lines 5-8)

In looking back to their engagement Anna uses intoxication as a metaphor to describe the heady effect which the occasion had on her (*Du hast zum neuen Jahre*, V2, p. 540):

Es war mir starker Punsch
 Den du mir eingeschenkt
 Das du in solchen
 Mir Kopf und Herz versenkt. (lines 13-16)

The engagement ring itself stands as a metaphor for their relationship, its parts interpreted as a symbol of their love and their sense of unity, and the first link in the chain that binds them forever (*Wie schütze ich meinen kleinen Ring*, V2, p. 560):

Ein flammend Herz, ein Edelstein!
 Vergißmeinnicht in blaue
 Des Himmels, und vereinet sind
 Sie hold durch heil'gen Treue. (lines 5-8)

Du wunderbares Kleinod du,
 Da Werth'res nie sich findet;
 Der gold'nen Kette erster Ring,
 Der ewig uns verbindet. (lines 13-16)

There is little individuality in the above poems. In others, however, Anna allows her feelings freer rein, suggesting a developing infatuation with Leopold.

While spending time in Rome in April 1871 Anna confesses to wandering around in a daze, uninterested in the cultural attractions of the city; in fact, uninterested in anything which does not pertain to her love (*Halb somnambule durch Rom ich wandre*, V2, p. 545). She is indifferent to the works of art around her as her mind can dwell only on her mental image of Leopold. She grudges time spent with her female companion because it distracts her from thinking about him:

Halb somnambule durch Rom ich wandre,
 Mein Auge feucht in Thränen schwimmt,
 Empfindungslos für alles Andre,
 Das nicht zu meiner Liebe stimmt

Dem scheint der Marmor ohne Leben,
 Den lebenswarm ein Herz erfüllt;

Von Bildern bin ich rings umgeben,
Doch üb'rall seh' ich nur dein Bild.

Ein halbes Ohr kaum kann ich leihen,
Wenn meine Freundin schwärmt entzückt
Doch du mein Freund wirst mir verzeihen
Das du mein Herz so ganz berückt.

A similar obsession with Leopold, to the exclusion of all else, is found in *O welche wundersüsse Stunde* (V2, pp. 561-562):

Vergebens tracht' ich oft zu lesen,
Mein Sinn ist so von dir erfüllt,
Du hältst gefangen ganz mein Wesen,
Daß Raum nicht für ein ander Bild. (lines 9-12)

There are hints also of sensuality. She relives the feeling of his lips on hers (*Einst schweift' ich rastlos in die blaue herum*, V2, pp. 546-548);

Die Lippe fühlt noch deiner Lippe Leben (line 20)

and asks God to grant her a dream in which she and Leopold are united:

Dann bet' zu Gott ich, daß mir doch erscheine,
(Weil ich von wachen Träumen endlich ...)
Ein holder Traum im Schlaf, der uns vereine. (lines 26-28)

Embodied expressions of desire, which she finds both troubling and exciting, break through in *Der ängstliche Verstand* (V2, p.550):

Der ängstliche Verstand,
Zu dämpfen stets bemüht
Die Seele, die erbebet,
Die Wange, die erglüht.
Doch ist's vergeb'ne Mühe.
Die unbekannte Lust
Durchzuckt wie eine Flamme
Erleuchtend meine Brust.

Leopold's physical touch triggers similar embodied emotions (*Es brennt mein Herz und meine Pulse schlagen*, v2, p. 563):

Es brennt mein Herz und meine Pulse schlagen,
Legst du die Hand mir auf das Haupt, (lines 1-2)

Anna's personality becomes more apparent in several light-hearted poems. In writing of the shawl which she has knitted for Leopold (*Gefühle, die mir treu im Herzen*, V2, p. 543) she weaves her feelings into the fabric of the shawl in a poem of charming simplicity:

Gefühle, die mir treu im Herzen,
 In dem dein Bild nur einzig lebt,
 Hab' fern ich unter sehnsuchtschmerzen
 In tausend Maschen eingewebt. (lines 1-4)

and even a hint of sensuality:

Mir ist fürwahr sehr hoch zu Muth
 Das ich den Shawl darf senden
 Das er dem theuren Hals dir ruht
 Der mir so lang in Händen. (lines 13-16)

Then, in a change of register, she demonstrates her love more playfully by describing, tongue in cheek, what she is prepared to do for Leopold (*Wenn andere Herzen lieben*, V2, p. 549):

Wenn andere Herzen lieben
 Sie sich in Versen üben,
 Sie seufzen und sie dichten -
 Das thue ich mit nichten.
 Ich liebe dich weit mehr,
 Drum thu' ich, was mir schwer:
 Studier' für dich grammair

Confined to bed with a cold, and complaining that her head is as empty as an old barrel, she writes wittily (*Im Bette liegend schriebe ich dir*, p. 557):

Im Bette liegend schreib' ich dir
 Weil auf die Cur sonst kein Verlass ist.
 Die arme Nase, thränend, mir
 Vom bösen Schnupfen ewig nass ist,
 Mein Kopf so dumpf, mein Kopf so schwer,
 So hohl mir wie ein altes Fass ist.
 Wenn 's auch in Reimen komisch klingt,
 In Wahrheit es doch gar kein spass ist.

When explaining with wry humour why her return to Vienna from Ischl is delayed (*Hast du ein Telegramm dir heute erwartet*, V2, p. 564), she shows a greater sophistication of expression which highlights the relatively simplistic style of the more effusive poems:

Hast du ein Telegramm dir heute erwartet,

So bist du, Liebster, wirklich ganz entartet!
 Die Reise ist zum Glück nicht aufgehoben,
 Nur ein klein wenig wieder aufgeschoben.
 Gern sagte ich bestimmt: “auf einer Tag”;
 Doch wahrlich ich es nicht zu sagen wag’,
 Da Gott solche sträfliche Vermessenheit
 Gleich straft mit elender Unpässlichkeit.
 Die Tage sind (o der unnützen Qualen!)
 Fürwahr ein kleinlicher Begriff von Zahlen. (lines 1-10)

The most prominent feature which runs throughout the poems, and which, more than the other elements discussed above, makes of them Anna’s own, is the way in which she presents her relationship with Leopold as having transformed her life. Her frequent references to her previous malaise, although inexplicit, make sense when considered in light of what we have learned from the poems in V1.

Anna sums up this transformation in a poetic retelling of *Dornröschen* (Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, 1812), known in English as *Little Briar Rose*, and also as *Sleeping Beauty*. In this tale, a princess who has been condemned to sleep for a hundred years as the result of a spell cast upon her by a malevolent old woman, is awoken by the kiss of a noble prince. Unlike previous suitors who have been unable to penetrate the thorny hedge which has grown all around her home since she fell asleep, he manages to find his way through. They marry and live happily ever after.

Anna’s version of the story (*Dornröschen die Prinzessin war*, V2, p. 558) is clearly intended as a metaphor for her relationship with Leopold, with herself represented by the princess and Leopold by the prince. In terms of both mood and complexity this poem stands in stark contrast to *Der Onkel*, in which Anna adapted another well-known work, Goethe’s *Der Fischer*, as already discussed, to recount an autobiographical story of her own. Like *Der Fischer*, *Dornröschen* is based on earlier tales which have darker meanings – seduction in the case of *Der Fischer*, rape and cannibalism in the case of *Dornröschen*. While Anna may have exploited the original plot in *Der Onkel*, with this poem she remains with the version written for children by the Grimm Brothers for their *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (1812); in fact, she may well have been unaware of the less innocent versions.

Dornröschen, die Prinzessin war

Versenkt in bangen Schlummer
 Ihr Leben war ein Träumen nur,
 Erfüllt von schwerem Kummer.
 Die Ursach dieses Schlummer war
 Gar leicht wohl zu entdecken
 Doch hatte Niemand Muth und Kraft
 Sie aus dem Schlaf zu wecken
 Nur einem edlen Prinzen ist
 Dieß schwere Werk gelungen,
 Durch dornen und ist
 Zu ihr er eingedrungen.
 Er scheut der dornen nicht,
 An sie allein nur denkend,
 Sich lebhaft in ihr armes Bild
 Voll Mitleid ganz versenkend.
 Sie fühlt' es und schlägt die Augen auf,
 Und sieht ihn gegenüber,
 Wie sie der Liebe Zauber spürt,
 Die Ohnmacht ist vorüber.
 Sie sinkt in seinen Armen hin -
 Wie sie sich eng umfaßen!
 Da fühlen beide, daß sie nie
 Mehr von einander laßen.
 Du kennst, mein Prinz, dies Märchen....
 Es stammt aus grauen Zeiten,
 Doch mir erscheint es lebensfrisch,
 Und du weißt es wohl zu deuten.

In Anna's version of the story, the period of sleep is described rather as a time of living nightmare and it is easy to see how this might correspond with the years of malaise she experienced between 1866 and 1870. Anna does not describe the hedge surrounding the princess's home directly, but it is clearly referenced as the prince, we are told, is not deterred by its thorns. Parallels can be seen between this barrier of thorns and the subjective state of imprisonment which was a prominent part of the phenomenology of Anna's malaise as discussed in Section 4.2.3. In this poem it is implied that the barrier had prevented anyone coming to her aid, while she herself lay helpless, unable to take any action of her own initiative. On awakening and seeing the prince – the man out of all the others who has finally penetrated the barrier – the princess experiences the magic effect of love and they fall into each other's arms in an embrace destined to last for ever. In the last stanza Anna shifts from third-person narration to second-person, addressing Leopold directly. She acknowledges the fairy tale origin of her poem and credits Leopold with the ability to understand its significance.

The overall impression given by the poem is that of an emotionally immature young woman infatuated with an idealised image of the man she is engaged to. It is difficult to reconcile Anna's portrayal in the fourth stanza of a man proactively driven by compassion and empathy coming to the rescue of an emotionally distressed fiancé, significantly younger than himself, with the views expressed by Winter (1927) and Lieben (1960) as detailed in Section 1.4.1. Even more puzzling is the cryptic last line of the poem where she credits Leopold with a special ability to understand the personal significance of the fairy tale.

This fairy tale element is found elsewhere in the love poems. The dynamics of this transformation, as experienced by Anna, can be understood as follows. The agent of transformation is Leopold, whom she perceives as her saviour. The means by which the transformation takes place – as she sees it – is quasi-magical, due partly to certain ill-defined characteristics of Leopold, and partly to the amorous sensations he elicits in her. The effects of the transformation are to change Anna's mood and outlook from negative to positive, more specifically by allowing her to recover states of happiness and well-being which she had previously lost.

Looking forward to her wedding, Anna views it almost as a magical event, as if a fairy wand was to be waved over her (*Wenn einst dein Blick, der holde*, V2, p. 539):

Da plötzlich wird verschwinden
Die Bangigkeit das Leid, (lines 9-10)

and, in a moment seemingly as miraculous as the parting of the river Jordan before the Israelites, the past departs and the happiness of the present prevails (*Wie fühl' ich süß mein Herz erbeben*, V2, p. 555):

Vergangenheit tritt da zurück,
Es herrscht die Gegenwart, das Glück! (lines 11-12)

The somewhat clichéd image of Leopold as a 'knight in shining armour' coming to the rescue of a 'damsel in distress' is given more substance elsewhere as shown, for example, in the following poems.

In *Du hast zum neuen Jahre* (V2, p. 540) Anna attributes her changed perspective to her relationship with Leopold, who has taught her how to believe and hope again - ‘von neuem’ – as if returning her to a previous state:

Du hast zum neuen Jahre
 Das schönste mir bescheert
 Zu glauben und zu hoffen
 Von neuem mich gelehrt, (lines 1-4)

It is his love which has transformed her life:

Du hast durch deine Lieben
 Das Leben mir verklärt (lines 5-6)

and set her back on the path to happiness:

Daß des Sylvester-Abends
 Die Seele ewig denkt
 Und ihre Sehnsuchtsschwingen
 Zurück zur Heimath lenkt. (lines 17-20)

Anna’s use of the words ‘Heimat’ and ‘zurück’ here suggests that the path on which she set out with Leopold on New Year’s Eve was one which in some sense was taking her back to where she belonged, perhaps to a previous state of happiness, and possibly the one described in the first stanzas of *Einst und jetzt*. But we may question whether the agent here is Leopold himself, or simply Anna’s feelings about him. Given the growing infatuation which she displays during the course of her engagement, it is possible that her emotional distress was swept away by those feelings rather than being dispelled by any supportive or constructive action on the part of Leopold.

But, although the words and concepts expressed in the poems may be exaggerated and fanciful, the fact remains that Anna seems to have experienced her relationship with Leopold, at this stage in her life, as a healing one, and a powerfully healing one at that, given the degree of her previous distress. This effect may in part be explained by the sense of purpose which her impending marriage gives her, enabling her to regain a sense of peace and a zest for life (*Einst schweift’ ich rastlos in die blaue herum*, V2, pp. 546-548):

Ich habe nun ein Ziel, wofür ich lebe,
 Ein hohes Ziel, nach dem ich einzig strebe,
 Das gibt mir wieder Lebenslust und Ruhe:
 Denn dieses Ziel bist - du! (lines 29-30)

She is grateful to Leopold for relieving her of her melancholy and the gloomy horrors of loneliness (*Es brennt mein Herz und meine Pulse schlagen*, V2, p. 563):

Werd' ich dir's, Liebster, ja genügend danken,
Daß du den Trübsinn mich entwandt? (lines 9-10)

She believes love has liberated her from the shackles of her previous torment and made her illness recede (*Es ist die süße Liebe*, V2, p. 551):

Es ist die süße Liebe
Mir tief ins Herz gedrungen,
Da sind die Fesseln trübe
Der alten Qual zersprungen

In nebelhaften ferne
Versinkt der Krankheit Leiden.
Ach, deine Augensterne
Erfüllen mich mit Freuden!

Discussion

Romantic love is commonly understood to be comprised of two stages, described as

1. infatuation (or passionate) and
2. attachment (or companionate)

(Langeslag & Steenbergen, 2019; Sprecher & Regan, 1998).

The psychological state manifested in the engagement poems suggests much more than a simple return to the *status quo ante* of her childhood, of the 'einst' described in the poem *Einst und jetzt*. The upsurge in positive emotional energy Anna displays seems to correspond with the euphoria which characterises the infatuation stage of romantic love (Aron et al., 2005; Langeslag & Steenbergen, 2019;).

A number of physiological, psychological and behavioural indices are associated with this condition. They include, in addition to euphoria, intense focused attention on the beloved, obsessive thinking about him or her, emotional dependency on and craving for union with the individual, and increased energy, all of which are displayed in Anna's engagement poems. Aron et al. compare the behavioural aspects of infatuation, such as exhilaration and excessive energy, to the effects of stimulation of the neural opioid reward system, as do

Langeslag and Steenbergen, who claim that the individual is thus buffered against painful events. Again, one can see the effects of this in the transformation which took place in Anna's psychological state during her engagement year.

4.3.2 Marriage poems

The following poems are the only ones addressed to Leopold after their marriage known to be extant:

From V2:

1. *Silvesterabend 1871*(p. 567)
2. *Mit dem tanzenden Faun aus Pompeji* (p. 568)
3. *Leopold zum Geburtstage mit einer Busen-Nadel* (p. 574)
4. *Heute liess die Mum mir sagen* (p. 576)
5. *Zu Leopold am Hochzeitstage* (pp. 581-583)

In addition:

6. *Jedes Nachthemd spricht für sich* (KarpusColl, n.d.)
7. *Brief aus Nauheim an meinem Namenstage* (P, p. 132)

Items 1-5 were written between 31 January 1871 and 3 December 1872, ie, during the first year of their marriage. Items 6 and 7 are not dated.

I will discuss each of the above items individually as there is less of a common thread running through them than is the case with the engagement poems.

Honeymoon poems

Silvesterabend 1871 (V2:

Anna wrote this poem on 31 December 1871 when she and Leopold were on honeymoon in Italy, less than a month after their wedding. While there is little sign of the emotional effervescence of the engagement period, in its place we find what, on the face of it, are more promising signs for the longer-term happiness of the marriage and of Anna herself.

One senses this from the first line where Anna emphasises that *this* Sylvesterabend is not one of showy celebration but of holy stillness. The pace of the poem feels dignified, almost stately, when compared with the engagement poems, suggesting a more sober and mature Anna, a woman who is standing on solid ground, looking to the future with confidence:

Im Festgepränge nicht, in heiliger Stille
Schließt dieses Jahres wunderbarer Lauf
Und uns beglückten geht in ganzer Fülle,
Das neue Jahr gleich einer Sonne auf. (lines 1-4)

Looking back to the moment of their engagement, Anna identifies that as a turning point in her life, much in the same way as she believed the events of *Einst and jetzt* to be a few years previously. The ‘word from his mouth’ which ‘touched her ear’ was the key to releasing the ‘chain of blessings’ which ensued:

Ein Jahr ist's heut, daß um dieselbe Stunde
Mit Zaubermacht gewechselt mein Geschick.
Mein Ohr berührte ein Wort aus deinem Munde,
Und Antwort gab bejahend dir mein Blick.

Vor meinen Geist tritt lebhaft nun die Stätte,
Wie damals froh, schlägt heut des Herzens Schlag,
Denn jenes Wort zog eine ganze Kette,
Von Lebenssegen mit nach jenem Tag. (lines 5-12)

Looking back to her initial expectations of the relationship, Anna compares the uncertainty which she expressed in her poem of the previous Sylvesterabend (*Am Sylvesterabend 1870*, V2, pp. 522-523) with the sense of security she feels now as Leopold's wife:

Die damals schüchtern auf die Zukunft baute,
Ihr Glück erhoffend nicht von diesem Bund,
Steht als dein Weib vor dir, das angetraute
Ihr Glück besiegelnd fröhlich Munde auf Munde. (lines 13-16)

There is a suggestion also of sexual confidence in the final line of the poem, their union being happily sealed ‘mouth to mouth’.

Mit dem tanzenden Faun aus Pompeji:

In this poem, written at the same time as *Silvesterabend 1871*, Anna imagines a dialogue between herself and the satyr portrayed in the famous statue found in the House of the

Faun in Pompey. She imagines that if the satyr could speak, it would advise her to enter into the joys of life:

Nun, Satyr, wär' es dir die Reih', zu sprechen,
 Wärst du nicht stumm, du sprächest sicher so:
 "Von Lebensfreuden rath ich Euch zu zechen,
 Dann werdet ihr, wie ich, des Lebens froh." (lines 1-4)

He would counsel an evenness of temper, while at the same time being ready for pleasure when the opportunity presents:

“In Euere Wirthschaft geb' ich mich zu eigen,
 “Hol' in die Stadt Euch mit dem Waldeskranz,
 “Gleichmäss'ge frohe Laune da zu zeigen,
 “Den Fuss bereit zu immer munterem Tanz. (lines 5-8)

He would warn against allowing herself to become buried by cares, which make one old before one's time:

“So werdet Ihr in Sorgen nicht begraben,
 “Die vor der Zeit sonst machen matt und alt, (lines 9-10)

and, holding himself up as an example, he invites her to observe how living by this philosophy of ‘eat, drink and be merry’ for a thousand years has done him no harm:

“Doch über mich nicht tausend Jahre haben,
 “So wie Ihr seht, die leiseste Gewalt?” (lines 11-12)

Anna seems here to be giving herself permission to take advantage of the good things which life has to offer, things of which she had perhaps deprived herself during her long period of unhappiness.

Rossbacher (2004) interprets the poem as being addressed to Leopold, with Anna using the satyr as a spokesperson for herself. Focusing on the second stanza, he contrasts the Dionysian expectations aroused by the title with what he perceives as a restraint which Anna is imposing on Leopold: “jene Zensur, die sich Anna ihrem Mann gegenüber auferlegte und damit in ein eher artiges "Freut euch des Lebens!" überführte” (p. 131). Given that Rossbacher was working with the version of the poem published in P (p. 127) one can see how this interpretation came about. In P the poem is included in a group of poems, titled *An Leopold*, identified as being addressed to Leopold. The poems in P were compiled and edited after Anna's death and the inclusion of this one in that group was

probably based on a decision by the editor. There is nothing in V2 which suggests that it was addressed to Leopold and my above reading of the poem indicates rather that Anna wrote it as a form of internal dialogue. We cannot exclude Rossbacher's interpretation, however, as Leopold refers to the poem in his diary (TB 31.12.71) with the following words: "Annas Gedicht Faun". However, this shows no more than that Leopold was aware of the poem.

Jedes Nachthemd spricht für sich:

This poem, which I discovered in the form of four loose sheets in Anna's handwriting in the Karplus Collection, is undated and does not appear in either V1 or V2. I have included it for discussion in the engagement-early marriage stage of the relationship because the level of intimacy and the expressions of affection revealed in it make it likely that it was written around this time.

The poem – starting with the title alone – might seem rich in potential for analysis according to a number of different analytical frameworks. However, because of the lack of contextual information, I will restrict my analysis to what is necessarily a more superficial level than with the other poems.

In the poem, twelve nightgowns take it in turn to speak to an unnamed man. He is addressed directly only once, in the fifth stanza:

Das Fünfte rückt nun wünschend an
Gott Gnade dir o lieber Mann (lines 17-18)

The eleventh nightgown owns up to speaking on behalf of the man's wife:

Als Elfte ich verkünde dir
Den Ausspruch deiner Gattin hier (lines 41-42)

We thus have a poem of pillow talk which Anna imagines having with Leopold. There are elements of conjugal commitment:

Als Erstes gratulier ich hier
Wir schenken uns in Ehrfurcht dir
Und liebst du uns ist's nicht dein Schaden
Wir dienen bis zum letzten Faden! (lines 1-4)

promises of married happiness:

Es leget wünschend nun das Dritte
 An's Herz dir eine warme Bitte,
 Fährst in die Ärmel du hinein
 Laß Mißmuth fahren, Seelenpein. (lines 9-12)

hints of sensuality:

Das Sechste spricht zum Sechstenmal
 O Schatz aus Schätzen von Pascal
 Wir sind so weich wir sind so warm
 Der Ärmel schmiegt sich an den Arm. (lines 21-24)

and a protective attitude:

Nun wünschet dir noch No. Zehn
 Es fall auf mich nie eine Thrän!
 Dein Aug sei immer heiter - klar
 Von [Schmerz] nicht feucht noch von Catarrh (lines 37-40)

mingled with a spirit of camaraderie:

Eine wirklich freundlich gute Nacht
 Wird heut und immer dir gebracht. (lines 43-44)

The form of the poem, with Anna's voice being handed over to twelve nightgowns, prompted the idea that it could have been written during the engagement period, a time when young women of that era were often engaged in sewing or embroidering elements of their trousseaux. However, I feel it is more likely that it belongs to the honeymoon period. Overall, it has more of the maturity associated with the other honeymoon poems: there is an air of protectiveness which sounds almost maternal, the expressions of intimacy seem born of experience, and there is a companionability and playfulness which speak of a much deeper level of acquaintance between the couple.

Finally, because of the circumstances in which it was found, we must consider the possibility that the poem was not composed by Anna. It may be a poem which she came across and which she copied out because its sentiments coincided with her own at the time. Such caveats are important in the case of historical documents, especially those which exist in different forms, published and otherwise. Rossbacher (2002), for example, in discussing the poem *Nichts bleibt am Ort*, as it appears in P (p. 42) describes it as 'a thermometer of

her cooling marriage', whereas V1 reveals that it was written in 1868 (V1, p. 182), long before she was married.

However, even if *Jedes Nachthemd spricht für sich* was not one of Anna's own poems, it was clearly one with which she identified and it thus gives us one more indication that her relationship with Leopold was, for a time at least, an emotionally stabilising one.

Discussion

In the honeymoon poems there is a distinct shift in tone compared with the engagement poems. Here the indications are that, for Anna, the relationship is moving on to the attachment or companionate stage which is characterised by emotional bonding, and with feelings of happiness and security (Langeslag & Steenbergen, 2019). In both *Sylesterabend 1871* and *Jedes Nachthemd spricht für sich* we see signs that Anna perceives the relationship as building on a foundation of trust and admiration, with increasing intimacy and commitment, as is typical of this stage (Sprecher & Regan, 1998). In the internal dialogue of the third poem written during this period, *Mit dem tanzenden Faun aus Pompeji*, Anna appears to be developing a more balanced outlook and a more stable mood than any previously displayed, suggesting that her psychological condition is benefiting from the comfort and security she feels within her marriage.

Post-honeymoon poems

Leopold zum Geburtstage mit einer Busen-Nadel:

This poem, written only five months into their marriage, is strikingly different in tone from any previously addressed to Leopold. There are no longer any signs of happiness or loving attachment, but rather an underlying sense of grievance. As the poem seems rich in potential for multiple interpretations, I will first outline what is known about Anna's circumstances at the time of its writing and then discuss the content in the context of that framework.

The poem was apparently intended to accompany the gift of a ruby breastpin for Leopold's birthday on 7 May 1872. It is not clear where Anna was at the time of writing it. From Leopold's diaries we know that she travelled to a place called Kleinskal in Moravia on 1

May and his next entry refers to her return home on 11 May. However, in V2 the poem is dated “Wien 7 Mai 1872”. But wherever she was, it is clear that husband and wife were apart on Leopold’s birthday. Leopold also notes on 1 May that Anna’s period started during her outward journey. We know, as will be discussed in detail later in this study, that Anna suffered for years from serious gynaecological problems which caused her debilitating pain and which necessitated at least two operations. I therefore hypothesise that the blood of this poem refers to the product of her menstruation. I consider two hypotheses in particular:

1. If Anna and Leopold were hoping for an early pregnancy, she may be expressing disappointment at the fact that her period had arrived.
2. Anna may be using the idea of her menstrual blood as a graphic means of bringing to Leopold’s attention the distress caused by her gynaecological condition and which she feels is not being adequately addressed.

I sense an undercurrent of anger throughout the poem which I feel would chime more with the second hypothesis. To find that one is not yet pregnant after only five months of marriage, although a temporary setback, would merely postpone the realisation of hope for another month; it is unlikely to have generated the bitterness evident here.

The abrupt and confrontational first line, with its initial explosive ‘da’ and emphatic ‘ganz’ conveys a sense of grievance about being separated from Leopold, as if this had been imposed on her against her will. This is underlined by the sarcasm of the following lines – as she cannot be with him, she is sending him ‘a piece of herself’ which has been ‘ripped’ from her – in other words, causing her pain.

Da ich nicht ganz kann bei dir weilen,
 So wird doch deiner Liebe Lohn
 Ein Stück von mir sie sei gekrönet
 Mit der mir schwer entriss‘nen Kron

So lang sie mein, in ihrem Reiche
 Erhitzte sie mir toll das Blut
 Nicht grade könnt' ich's Hochmuth nennen,
 Doch wohler ist mir nun zu Muth. (lines 1-8)

There is a sense of defiance as she reveals that she is using this ‘piece of herself’ to fashion something which he will not appreciate. She thumbs her nose at the knowledge that he will be taken aback by the gift of something of which he disapproves.

Ich weiß du liebst nicht Schmuck u. Kronen,
 Dir scheint nicht weise, wer sie tragt,
 Wie kömmt's daß deine Frau dir heute
 Zu übersenden beides wagt. (lines 9-12)

Anna seems to be enjoying the fact that what has been causing her pain is now transformed into something which, although outwardly attractive, will be repugnant to Leopold. The bloody ruby ‘cheerfully’ embraces its role as adornment, ignoring the fact that it is unwelcome to the recipient.

Was bitter Schmerzen mir bereitet
 Dir fröhlich nun zur Zierde dien'
 Das rothe Blut das mir entströmet
 Für dich werd's liebster zum Rubin. (lines 13-16)

This schadenfreude continues into the final stanza where the ‘little devil’ which springs from her ‘hellish suffering’ is the bearer of her birthday wishes. We are left with the impression that the birthday greetings are being conveyed not by the loving arrows of Cupid but by poisoned darts, and that Anna herself would like to stick the breastpin not into Leopold’s lapel but into some sensitive part of his body, an impression heightened onomatopoeically by the monosyllabic thump at the beginning of each line:

Du siehst ich hatte höllenleiden
 Da draus ein Teufelchen entspringt
 Das zum Geburtstag dir mit Freuden
 Die allerbesten Wünsche bringt. (lines 17-20)

Anna is angry and she is allowing herself to express her anger in no uncertain terms. There is no repression here, no psychosomatic conversion of negative emotions.

Although I have focused on what I believe to be a gynaecological cause for Anna’s immediate distress in the above poem, it is likely that the emotions expressed in it are indicative of a wider malaise developing in her relationship with Leopold.

Heute liess die Mum mir sagen:

This poem appears to have been written at some point during the summer of 1872. There is now no anger, only a forlorn loneliness. Anna is again separated from Leopold who may be away on business or otherwise absent from home. She tells him that she has the carriage at her disposal and asks him when she might hope to see him again:

Heute liess die Mum mir sagen:
 „Willst du, liebes Kind, den Wagen?“
 Und ich war darauf so frei,
 Zu bestellen ihn um Zwei.
 Drum, mein süßer Gatte hold,
 Schreibe mir, o Leopold,
 Wann ich hoffen kann das Glück,
 Dass zu mir du kehrst zurück (lines 1-8)

She tempts him by describing the outings they could take together:

Offen ist das Belvedere,
 Döbling winkt zu jeder Zeit -
 Wurstelprater, Stadtpark heut; (lines 9-11)

Finally, she reassures him about her well-being:

Leicht wird es dir, aus all den Plänen
 Mein Befinden zu entnehmen;
 Besser ist mir heut zu Muth –
 Beinah bin ich ausgeruht! – (lines 12-15)

Throughout this poem Anna seems eager to demonstrate to Leopold that her state of health is no longer a barrier to her participating in normal social activities. Is this perhaps a sign that her illness was proving tiresome to Leopold, or at least that she believed this to be the case? Overall, there is a sense of abandonment and a desperate longing.

Zu Leopold am Hochzeitage

This poem, written to celebrate their first wedding anniversary in December 1872, comprises two parts, headed I and II.

Part I

In the first part there is a return to the exalted language which characterises the poems from the engagement period. When read at face value, the poem suggests that their marriage has

provided Anna with fulfilment and dispelled her previous anxieties. She commits herself heart and soul to Leopold:

Vor einem Jahr, da flog zu ew'gen Bund,
Die ahnungsvolle Brust dem Glücke zu
Mein Aug' berauscht, es fing an deinem Mund,
Mein Sinnen, Denken bleibt nur ewig dir! (lines 1-4)

Anna's idealised image of Leopold has been restored. She likens him to a mighty pillar of fire, a trusted leader and her guide through life. She herself has been transformed by love:

Dein Wesen gleicht der mächt'gen Feuersäule,
Die sicher selbst durch Nacht und Dunkel führt
Wohin? Nicht weiß ich's - doch daß mir zum Zeile,
Fühlt' ich, seit mich der Liebe Strahl berührt. (lines 5-8)

The reality of her union with Leopold has turned out to be even better than she had previously imagined it would be:

Die Fantasie, in skizzenhaften Tönen,
Entwarf von Lieb' u. Glück ein Zukunftsbild;
Die Wirklichkeit, sie kam, nur zu verschönen,
In's Einzeler hat sie es ausgeführt. (lines 9-12)

It is not only herself, but every aspect of her life, which has been transformed

Mir ward vom großen Glück allein nicht Kunde,
Denn auf des Kleinste fällt das gleiche Licht,
Und ausgefüllt ist reichlich jede Stunde
Denn Lieb' ist Glück - und Glück wird so zur Pflicht. (lines 13-16)

Given the negative sentiments expressed in the previous two poems discussed, we might question the sincerity of this one. Did Anna write merely what she believed would be expected of a poem celebrating the first year of a marriage? The language is, after all, somewhat clichéd. However, the same strictures might have been expected to apply in the case of *Leopold zum Geburtstage mit einer Busen-Nadel*, written to celebrate Leopold's birthday. They clearly did not. What change could there have been in Anna's life which might explain a change in her marital relationship?

At the beginning of December 1872 Anna would have been in the third trimester of her first pregnancy. According to her daughter Henriette (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972), Anna's health was relatively normal during her five pregnancies. (A possible explanation

for this observation will be discussed in Section 9.1.1.) If Henriette's claim is correct, Anna's improved condition might have brought about a positive change in her outlook and in her relationships. Henriette's claim could also explain the apparent health improvement manifested in *Heute liess die Mum mir sagen* as Anna was already pregnant when that poem was written.

Another possibility is that the prospect of imminent motherhood may have contributed to this change and indeed there are hints of this in the second part of the poem which focuses on her birthday gift to Leopold, an embroidered armchair. Here we find a tone of maternal affect coming in, one perhaps foreshadowed in the last line of Part I where Anna equates the notion of happiness with duty.

Part II

Mit einem gestickten Lehnstuhl:

Unlike the accusatory, even vindictive, words which accompanied the brooch given to Leopold for his birthday, the armchair comes with expressions of solicitude:

Gäbe es Engel, sollten sie
Diesen Sitz umschweben,
Ueber Qual und Mühsal dich
Sanft hinüberheben.
Dass du jeden Augenblick
Fröhlich kannst geniessen,
Dass dein ganzes künftiges Sein
Friedlich mög' verliessen. (lines 17-24)

Anna's desire to protect Leopold's well-being is expressed more in the voice of a parent – a fairy godmother even – than a wife:

Äußerer Einfluß, fort von hier!
Ich nur will umgeben
Dich, und süßer Liebe Glück
Bringen in dein Leben. (lines 29-32)

In the final stanza there may even be a coded message to Leopold. In describing her gift as 'indeed no chair of cares' is she perhaps protesting at the idea that she herself could be seen as a source of worry and trouble for him? It is clear from his diaries that Leopold was frequently away from home and in the previous poem discussed above – *Heute liess die*

Mum mir sagen – there is the suggestion that Anna feared that her ill-health was responsible for keeping him at a distance. Now she is assuring him that after his travels he will not find her burdensome when he returns home.

Daß nach Fahren, wenn du ruhst,
Mögst zufrieden denken:
Keinen Sorgenstuhl fürwahr
That mein Weib mir schenken. (lines 37-40)

Brief aus Nauheim an meinem Namenstage:

Unlike the other post-marriage poems discussed, this one does not appear in V2. The only version now extant is the one published in P. I have decided to include the poem in this analysis for the following reasons. The poems in P are grouped under a number of headings, one of which is *An Leopold*. Of the twelve poems in this group, eleven have corresponding V2 versions. Given that the V2 versions of those eleven P poems have all been discussed in the present study, it seems appropriate to include the twelfth P poem. Moreover, as will be revealed in the following discussion, the content of this poem makes its inclusion doubly important. It should, of course, be remembered that, like a number of the other P poems, this one may have been subjected to some modifications compared with Anna's original handwritten version.

Evidence from the poem itself indicates that Anna wrote it while being treated at the spa facility of Bad Nauheim in Germany. The fact that it does not appear in V2 points to it dating from no earlier than March 1873 as that is the date of the final poem in V2. Leopold's diaries mention two visits to Nauheim by Anna, both in 1876. The first was from 29 May to 18 June, the second, for an unspecified period, began on 6 July. As Anna states that she is writing on her name day, which would be the feast of St Anne on 26 July, it is therefore almost certain that the poem was written in July 1876.

The poem, intended as a letter to Leopold, begins with a surprising form of greeting. Contrary to the normal practice of sending name-day greetings to other people, Anna addresses those best wishes to herself.

Umstrahlt von meinem Heiligenschein,
Schreib ich dir heute mein Brieflein.
An meinem heiligen Namensfeste
Wünsch ich mir selbst der Allerbeste! (lines 1-4)

It is tempting to see this as Anna signalling to Leopold that she feels alone and abandoned. Has Leopold perhaps neglected to send her greetings in honour of her name day, and is this possibly the 'last straw' in a series of sins of neglect? It calls to mind the image of Princess Diana posing alone in front of the Taj Mahal, projecting the same sense of an innocent woman rejected, Here we have an injured Anna presenting herself with a halo round her head.

But reading further into the poem I sense a feeling of righteous anger. Anna is not looking for sympathy. She is proclaiming her virtuousness, which she believes is being neither recognised nor rewarded, and in her frustration, she has recourse to religious imagery to hammer home her point by elevating herself to a higher moral plane. She claims sainthood for herself, earned, it is implied, by her submission to the dictates of the 'Lord God of Nauheim' with whom she is in high standing. In other words, she is adhering religiously to doctors' instructions:

Es träufe auf mich nur Himmelsmanna,
Denn ich bin selbst die heilige Anna.
Du ahnst ja nicht, in welchem Rufe,
Auf welcher hocharhabenen Stufe
Der Folgsamkeit ich stehe beim
Gestrengen Herrgott von Nauheim. (lines 5-10)

Her anger is directed against Leopold. She accuses him of being a 'doubting Thomas' and of behaviour which brings the word 'pharasaical' to mind. He is a cold-hearted and unjust man. His fault here is his failure to recognise her 'martyrdom', which presumably refers to the rigours of her treatment:

Doch du, ungläubiger Thomas,
Treibst mit der Heiligkeit nur Spaß,
Kalthertziger, ungerechter Mann,
Erkennst nicht mein Martyrium an, (lines 11-14)

The last two lines indicate that Anna had been referred to Bad Nauheim by Dr Breuer, but for Anna the blame lay ultimately with Leopold because Breuer was 'your Breuer':

Das ich erkaufte nur all zu teuer
Durch die Behandlung deines Breuer. (lines 15-16)

Did she really think this, or was it perhaps that her resentment against Leopold was so great that she was driven to hold him responsible for everything that was wrong in her life?

Discussion

The above four poems were written over an extended period of time – the first two in the summer of 1872, the third in December 1872 and the fourth most probably in 1876. It would be premature, therefore, to attribute too much significance to them at this stage. However, their general tenor seems to convey growing feelings of resentment and abandonment, suggesting that the solid emotional foundation which Anna felt her marriage was providing her with during her honeymoon may have proved something of a mirage.

4.4 Summary of Anna's narrative 1866 to 1873

The foregoing analysis presents Anna's autobiographical narrative in two stages. The first presents her experience and understanding of her malaise during the years 1866 to 1870, when she was aged between nineteen and twenty-three. She depicts a happy and untroubled childhood up until the age of sixteen or seventeen, when she experienced a negative event which she believed responsible for her subsequent malaise. Although this malaise appeared to have had both psychological and physical components, she gives little indication of what the physical symptoms may have been. There are indications that the event itself may have been one of sexual impropriety. The second stage covers the course of Anna's life during her engagement and early marriage years and focuses on her relationship with her husband Leopold. From this emerges a relationship which, on Anna's side, seemed to follow a recognised pattern of initial infatuation followed by a shift to a more companionate love which was already disintegrating after no more than eighteen months, with Anna experiencing feelings of resentment and loneliness.

CHAPTER 5: LEOPOLD'S NARRATIVE

5.1 Introduction

In this section I quote extensively from Leopold von Lieben's diary of daily life – his 'Tagebuch' (TB) – and from his letters. In both cases, the handwriting is often idiosyncratic by modern standards, particularly with regard to capitalisation and spelling. The extracts are quoted as they are in the original.

Leopold kept a diary from 1848, when he was thirteen, until almost the time of his death in 1915. The present study focuses on the four volumes – TB5, TB6, TB7 and TB8 – which cover the period between December 1870, shortly before his engagement to Anna took place, and October 1900 when Anna died.

Leopold's diary style is terse. He restricts himself mainly to facts, usually expressed in a telegraphic fashion, and he gives little in the way of explanation or opinion. Meaning is sometimes obscured by haphazard punctuation. It is difficult to discern what criteria influenced his decisions about what should be included; minor details, such as the train times for the many journeys referred to, or the quality of a meal eaten, appear to rank equally with information about his wife's drug consumption or the birth of a child. He makes no reference to the engagement in his entry for the corresponding date (TB5: 31.12.70). Several social visits to the Todesco family are noted around this time but Anna herself is barely mentioned apart from one entry where she is described as being on good form at a dinner hosted by Anna's parents, the Todescos: "Diner bei Todescos. Anna sehr frisch" (TB5: 6.12.70). On the day of his marriage, he gives the barest of details: "Hochzeit ½ Uhr Josephine nach der Hochz. Franzi und Adolf. Zu hause soupir." (TB5: 3.12.71).

The general mood of his prose is relatively unvarying and he expresses almost no emotion; the tone remains the same whether he is writing about serious family issues (in particular, his wife's state of health), the weather, or movements of the stock market.

5.2 Reports on his wife's state of health

Leopold had at least some awareness of Anna's ill-health before their marriage. In the preceding months he reports both positive and negative moods. On 15 August 1871 Anna

was “heiter strahlend”, while on the following day she was “verzweifelt”. On 25 September he describes her as “wohler” and “heiter”. On 14 October she experienced “Krampf” and was “unruhig”. On the day after the wedding, when they departed for their honeymoon, Anna had “heftige Schmerzen” as well as “Krampf”, in relation to which Leopold mentions opium and chloroform. Following that she had several days of being unwell, with a “starke Anfall” at one point.

Throughout 1872 Anna’s states alternated between positive and negative. She was treated by Dr Rudolf Chrobak, a gynaecologist, and Dr Josef Breuer, a general practitioner and family friend –also the co-author of *Studies on Hysteria* - but neither the purpose nor the outcome of those consultations is given. By about the beginning of June she was pregnant.

The following symptoms appear regularly in the diaries over the next two decades:

- Seizures
- Menstrual problems
- Various pains
- Facial neuralgia
- Nervousness
- Sleep disturbances
- Cold/flu-like symptoms
- Morphine dependence

For most of the time period covered Leopold is rarely specific in his description of Anna’s various states, confining himself mostly to terms such as ‘unwohl’, ‘nervös’, ‘frisch’, ‘elend’, qualified by intensifiers such as “sehr”, “ziemlich”, “wenig” and so on. There is often nothing to indicate whether the terms refer to mood or to physical health, or to a combination of both. The text therefore presents us with a very bare account of Anna’s states. While this can be frustrating for the reader, it may nevertheless give the writing a greater credibility as it is less likely to have been affected by emotion, personal opinion or hypothesis-based interpretation. The two exceptions to this style of reporting are during a six-month period when Anna was being treated in Paris and during the years of her treatment by Freud, as will be discussed in detail below.

Anna's menstrual cycle was clearly of concern to Leopold. She suffered from menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea and amenorrhoea, and relevant dates are noted in the diaries. She was operated on twice by the gynaecologist Dr Chrobak, first in 1877 and again in 1886, when growths were removed: "Anna operirt, abschieben von Wucherungen" (TB7: 12.12.86). No diagnosis is suggested in the diaries so it is difficult to establish to what extent her gynaecological issues might have impacted her general health and mood.

It is clear from the diaries that Anna had a severe and longstanding addiction to morphine, which is first mentioned in the second year of their marriage when it was taken as an analgesic for neuralgia: "Nevralgie auf die andre Seite. Starke Injection ohne ... 2 gr. Morphin, 40 gr Chloral" (TB6: 23.6.73). In August 1876 she had recourse to morphine for menstrual pain: "Anna sehr starke P. Nimmt Morphin" (TB6: 21,8.76). For the next two decades she was taking morphine regularly, not only for its analgesic effect but also because of her craving for the drug itself. In the autumn of 1878 Leopold writes: "7 Uhr zu Anna die Morphin verlangt. Breuer macht Morphin Injection" (TB6: 7.9.78) and a month later, when Anna was very unwell and vomiting: "Anna viel unwohl. Brechen, Morphin Bedürfniß" (TB6: 17.10.78). As late as mid-1893, around the time that her treatment by Freud was terminated, Anna was dominated by her craving for morphine, unable to eat and being cared for by Red Cross nurses: "Anna ganz von Morphinbedürfniß beherrscht. Rührt sich nicht, will nichts essen. Schwester vom rotten Kreuz seit 4 Tagen" (TB7: 21.7.93). That attempts were made to wean her from morphine is evidenced by a consultation with a specialist in Berlin in 1879: "Legden in Berlin wegen Morphin consultirt" (TB: n.d.) and also a ten-day stay in Bellevue Sanatorium in 1886: "Anna zieht in Bellevue ein morphinhangen" (TB6: 13.7.86).

Although the overall impression is one of constant ill-health there were times when Anna appeared to be functioning normally and capable of enjoying life. On five occasions during their honeymoon Leopold describes his wife as 'sehr frisch' or 'ungemein frisch'. Throughout 1872 she was often 'recht frisch', 'ganz wohl', 'munter', although negative reports preponderate. This negative imbalance increases over the next ten years although on occasion she could be socially active. At times there were frequent theatre visits, attendance at balls, and other excursions.

In the autumn of 1874 Anna was at the theatre almost every evening: “Fast jeden Abend im Theater” (TB6: 16.10.74). Six days before the birth of her third child she was going out frequently: “Anna mobiler fährt viel aus” (TB6: 13.5.75). New Year’s Day 1876 found her throwing herself into the dancing at a ball: “Anna tanzt sehr viel bei Sychrofsky” (TB6: 1.1.76). Towards the end of 1879 she is reported as being very cheerful and attending the theatre regularly: “Anna recht frisch, geht oft ins Theater” (TB6: 1.12.79). Early in 1881 Leopold describes her as looking marvellous in a red wig and a lace collar: “Anna in rother Perücke Spitzenkragen sieht wunderbar aus” (TB6: 12.2.81).

Between 1873 and 1883 Anna gave birth five times. The births appear to have been straightforward and Anna was generally in good spirits around the time of the birth. She was unable to breastfeed because of insufficient milk supply.

During two distinct periods Leopold’s reporting of his wife’s illness is markedly different. The first was when Anna sought treatment in Paris and the second while she was being treated by Freud.

5.2.1 Treatment in Paris

Swales (1986) reported that Anna visited Paris to consult Jean-Martin Charcot, the French neurologist renowned for his work on hysteria, and this was confirmed by Anna’s daughter Henriette (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972). Swales estimates that the first of several visits took place in approximately 1888, the intention being for Anna to be given hypnotic treatment by Charcot. He later reported that in 1889: “Anna returned to Paris to consult yet again with Charcot” (p. 31).

From Leopold we have a much fuller, more accurate and rather different version of events. According to his diary (TB6) Anna arrived in Paris with her sister Fanny on 7 October 1882 and stayed there for some eight months. No reason for the visit is specified beforehand and nothing more troubling than usual is reported in the time leading up to the trip. This does not necessarily mean that nothing serious was going on as Leopold seems often to have been arbitrary in his reporting criteria. Moreover, there are often hiatuses, both in chronology and in the coverage of particular topics.

While it is true that Anna consulted with Charcot initially, it appears that he quickly passed her on to a colleague for treatment. Leopold reports that five days after Anna's arrival in Paris Charcot visited her in her hotel. Five days later Anna moved into the establishment of a certain Dr Keller: "Anna zieht Etabl. Dr Keller 127 rue Faubg St Honore" (TB6: 17.10.82).

Théodore Keller (1845-1898) was a well-known hydrotherapist who often had patients referred to him by Charcot (Monet & Quin, 2012) and it appears from subsequent diary entries that Anna was in Keller's care for the duration of the visit. The treatment seems to have been under Charcot's supervision as Leopold had meetings with Charcot and paid him when Anna left Paris. However, there is no mention of any therapeutic encounter between Anna and Charcot himself.

In mid-January 1883, three months after her arrival in Paris, Leopold received a letter from Anna in which she reported that she was less susceptible to fatigue and in February he heard that she was decidedly better. At the beginning of March, he received unspecified bad news about her: "Schlechte Nachrichten von Anna" (TB6: 2.3.83). Shortly after that he travelled to Paris himself and found Anna in a state worse than anything previously described.

It is at this point that Leopold's style changes. Whereas previously he had reported symptoms and states with just one or two words – a single noun or adjective, sometimes with an intensifier – he now uses more developed phrases and sometimes full sentences. As a result, we have a phenomenologically richer account as Leopold describes Anna's behaviour, gives details of the content of her mental states, and reports on what she says.

When Leopold arrived at Keller's establishment on 10 March, he found Anna lying on a divan with a cigarette in her hand and a strange demeanour. He notes that she did not rise to greet him and showed no interest in asking about her children or any other news from home. On the same day he spoke with Keller in his consulting room and later with Charcot who said 'nothing at all'. After an evening of socialising over dinner, he spent time with Anna who was complaining about a severe pain in her foot:

10 Uhr zu Anna 127 faubourg St. Honore. Anna auf dem Divan die Cigarette in der Hand, erhebt sich kaum, befremdender Empfang. Fragt nach nichts. Von den Kindern keine Rede. Dr Keller in seinem Cabinet gesprochen. 4 Uhr Prof Charcot mit Dr Debone, sagt gar nichts. Anna zur Douche. ½ 7 Uhr zu Tische Mme Keller, Dr Sauvage, junge Ignatino und sein Hofmeister. Bis 10 Uhr bei Anna. ... Anna klagt über wahnsinnig Schmerzen im Füße. (TB6: 10.3.83)

In the days following, Leopold reports that Anna's speech was confused and that she was hearing voices and having visual hallucinations.

Anna spricht confus hört immer die ... will sie fortschicken, ihr Geld geben. Abends deutliche Hallucinationen sieht ... greift nach Haaren in der Luft - sieht Personen. (TB6: 11.3.83)

Anna ganz confus hört beständig Lügen schreien, die ... Stimmen Weiber. Unter der Douche Schwindel, Schlag auf den Kopf, dann Schlaf mit einem arge Traum der sie immer verfolgt, Hautblase mit Blut, aufgeschnitten. Sie lächelt oft über ihre Ideen, ist sanft. (TB6: 12.3.83)

Her strange behaviour continued and her anxiety, which was increasing, seemed to be based on paranoid ideas about guilt and punishment. She believed she was going to be murdered, that Keller was going to be murdered and that her children were no longer alive; she believed also that she had committed a crime, was being slandered and was going to be poisoned:

Vormittag ruhig lange Briefe nach Wien bei ihr geschrieben Angstgefühl immer zunehmend man will sie umbringen oben unten Dr Keller wird umgebracht die Kinder leben nicht mehr. Arme Kinder! Eifersucht, sie habe etwas verbrechen, werde von allen verläumdet. Es ist sie nicht ... Musik war schrecklich die ist daran schuld hat sie betäubt, ganz verwirrt man will sie vergiften, sie spuckt Suppe aus Arsenik. (TB6: 14.3.83)

Ideen von Beschuldigungen (TB6: 18.3.83)

No details are given about Anna's treatment in Paris, apart from references to baths and showers being taken, and to Keller's daily visits.

Leopold met with Charcot again on 20 March, at a time when Anna's bizarre behaviour was causing him particular concern. He had found her running around in a nightdress, screaming and threatening to injure herself with a knife. However, Charcot gave him no reassurance ("sagt nichts, gibt kein Wort des Trostes"). At their next meeting on 26 March he was more positive ("sehr beruhigend"). There were three more encounters with Charcot, without any further opinion being reported in the diary.

The following appears to be a direct quote of Anna's speech, as remembered by Leopold, and reveals fears about misfortune befalling others, claims that people were talking maliciously about her, a need to ask Leopold's forgiveness, and the conviction that she will be murdered:

Den Kinder ist etwas geschehen? Ilse? Warum muß ich sterben? Mein Kopf will? Ich bin keine Gefangene. Ich muß hinunter. Dr Keller ist etwas geschehen. Es ist doch abscheulich wie man mich verläumdet ... sehe ich, ich soll den Kindern etwas gethun haben. Diese beständige Musik? Daß Dr Wanderer in einem fort schimpft. Die Leute sagen von mir alles böse. Verzeihe mir Leopold ich habe dich tief gekränkt. Bin ich in der Hoffnung? Ist nichts geschehen. Ich will sterben, wenn es sein muß lieber gleich. Gift will man mir geben. (TB6: 31.3.83)

After the Paris visit Anna's health seemed much as before, without the more extravagant symptoms (paranoid ideation, hallucinations, voice hearing) which had appeared in Paris, and Leopold returns to his previous terse style of expression. During the remainder of 1883 Anna's condition fluctuated. Despite ongoing convulsions, neuralgia and excitability, with Anna alternating between being 'wohl' and 'unwohl', there are signs that she was socially active, playing chess and painting family members.

Leopold's mistress, Molly Filtsch, makes the first of what were to become regular appearances in the summer of 1883: "Ritt mit Molly" (TB6: 15.7.83). Swales reports that Molly was a family friend who became Leopold's mistress around 1890. However, the diary entries from 1883 onwards suggest that this relationship was well established before then. A diary entry for that same summer may not be entirely coincidental: "Lecture der Hamburger Erotica" (TB 19.8.83).

According to a document enclosed with the diaries, Anna visited Paris again in the following year: “1884 Februar 2e Reisen nach Paris” (Leopold von Lieben, n.d.a.). The only mentions of this in the diaries are the following entries which show that on this occasion she was accompanied by her sister Fanny, her daughter Valla, and her son Ernst, and that on her return she was well and on good form:

Abreise Anna, Valla, Ernst mit Fanny mit dem Orient Express (TB6: 22.2.84)

Anna im Westbahnhof glücklich angekommen, sehr frisch und wohl ((TB6: 27.6.84)

The purpose of the trip is not given but as the undated document in question seems to constitute a brief chronology of Anna’s ailments and treatment it is likely that it was for further medical treatment.

A third visit to Paris, from 9 December 1888 to 13 January 1889, is reported in the diaries. Again, no details are given about the reason for the trip or what happened there and, as it is not mentioned in the loose sheets, it may not have been for therapeutic purposes. However, given that Leopold reports Anna as being unwell while she was there – “wenig wohl, schreibt selten” (TB7: 24.12.88) – and being unnaturally strange – “unheimlich fremd” (TB7: 14.1.89) – on her return, her visit is unlikely to have been for recreational purposes. She appears to have been accompanied on this trip by the same Dr Wanderer who was present during her first stay in Paris and who appears in the diaries a number of times over the years, without any further information about him being provided.

5.2.2 Treatment by Freud

We do not have exact dates for the period of Anna’s treatment by Freud. Writing to Emmeline and Minna Bernays on 21 October 1887, Freud reports that after a six-week period of very little activity he “was asked to attend a joint consultation with Chrobak at Frau L’s” (E. Freud, 1960, p. 236). Given that Chrobak was Anna’s gynaecologist it is possible that the patient referred to was Anna, Freud does not indicate whether he participated in this meeting in a purely advisory capacity or with a view to starting treatment. A letter of 26 September 1888 from Charcot to Freud reveals that Freud was

already treating her by this date and that Freud had by then become sufficiently familiar with the case to give Charcot a detailed assessment of it:

Mon cher Docteur Freud

Je vous suis très reconnaissant du travail que vous m'avez adressé concernant l'état de Mad [*sic*] de Lieben. L'analyse si délicate et si complète que vous avez fait [*sic*] des phénomènes physico-psychiques si variés et si complexes qu'elle présente montre suffisamment que vous vous êtes attaché à cette intéressante personne comme nous nous y sommes attachés nous-mêmes pendant son séjour à Paris.
(cited in Gelfand, 1988, p. 584)

Leopold (Leopold von Lieben, n.d.a) lists the years as follows:

- 1889)
- 90)
- 91) fünf Jahre Dr Freud
- 92)
- 93)

The first mention of Freud in the diaries appears shortly after Anna's return from her third visit to Paris, when she was in a state of extreme distress and experiencing a new mental state which Freud reportedly put down to 'thinking fatigue': "Neuer Kopfzustand, den Freud als Denkmüdigkeit bezeichnet. Anna steht fürchterlich aus" (TB7: 4.2.89). Freud next appears briefly two months later – "Abends meint Dr Freud es lösen sich sehr einiges zu unterdrücken" (TB7: 1.4.89) – but is not mentioned again until fourteen months after that when Leopold quotes Freud's hypothesis which he appears to understand as meaning that the reliving of previous experiences indicates that the illness is coming to an end: "Freud's Hypothese von der Wiederkehr alter Zustände als Ausklingen der Krankheit" (TB7: 23.6.90). From now on Freud appears frequently but because of the irregularity of the diary entries it is impossible to say how frequent his visits were in absolute terms.

Up until this point Anna's reported symptoms had remained the same as those manifested before her first visit to Paris. Now she appeared to take a turn for the worse. In July of the same year Freud visited Anna in the family villa in the Brühl and spent the night there.

Leopold describes Anna as being more wretched than ever, experiencing convulsion after convulsion, vomiting, sensitivity to noise and excitability: “Anna war selten so elend kömt fast gar nicht zu sich von einem Verkrampf in dem andern. Brechen, Empfindlichkeit gegen Geräusch. Reizbarkeit” (TB7: 28.7.90).

The following month, after several entries indicating that Anna continued to be in a very wretched state, Leopold reports that Anna is somewhat better, while at the same time referring to suicidal thoughts which she had expressed: “Anna abends besser. Sie habe versprochen sich in 6 Wochen umzubringen, etwas kurzer Termin. Dr Freud abends gekommen” (TB7: 9.8.90).

In September of that year Anna started to experience the kind of hallucinations she had been afflicted with in Paris. At the same time, she had episodes of speaking in verses and making dramatic speeches with eyes closed: “Anna Hallucinationen Gesichts, bedeutliches Sprechen später des Gehörs. In Versen reden, Improvisationen mit geschloßenen Augen über ein Thema” (TB7: 25.9.90). This is corroborated by Valla in letters to her sister Ilse in the same month: “Mama geht es leider jetzt wieder viel weniger gut es ist wirklich ein Jammer dass es nicht anhaltend Besser bleibt oder wird” (Valerie von Lieben, 1890, September 26).

Three days later Valla (September 29) provides Ilse with a more detailed account of Anna’s condition and describes the same kind of visual hallucinations as Leopold. Although she states that Anna’s strange mental condition is not dangerous, she herself is clearly becoming unsettled by it and is clinging to the hope that Freud’s prediction that it will last no more than two days will prove to be correct:

Mamma ist nachdem sie einige schlechte Tage hatte wieder etwas besser hat aber ganz unheimliche Zustände nicht gefährlich oder bleibend, sondern so wie alle bisheriger vorübergehend. Sie sieht Sachen in Zimmer die gar nicht existieren Köpfe, Menschen. Jeder Polster stellt etwas dar, anfangs war es mir sehr unheimlich, auch träumt sie etwas was sie dann ganz fest glaubt, haben oder sehen will. Hoffentlich bleibt wie Dr Freud wieder gesagt hat, höchstens 2 Tage.

(Appendix 5)

On the same day Leopold gives a more nuanced account to Franzi, writing only that Anna's condition fluctuates and that even on good days she is not up to writing a letter: "Können es wechseln noch immer gute und schlechte Tage, doch soll Anna auch an den bessere sich nicht anstrengen und ein Brief ist noch immer eine Aufgabe für sie" (Leopold von Lieben, 1890, September 29)

Shortly afterwards Valla (1890, October 2) reported to Ilse that both Freud and Breuer were in attendance and three days later she described an improvement: "Mama geht es wieder viel besser, gestern war sie ganz frisch frühstückte und aß mit uns" (1890, October 5).

Over the next few days Anna was showing an interest in day-to-day family affairs, issuing instructions for Valla to pass on to Ilse, who was shopping in London:

Mama trug mir auf Dir Folgendes zu schreiben ... Mama möchte gern englische Scheren haben ... Mama meint, möchte, da auch London gerade ein Land für Wasche sein soll, dass Du uns wenigstens ein Dutzend Nachthemden besorgst dies ist glaube ich keine Schwierigkeit ... Wenn Du Mama einen Schere mitbrächtest würde sie sich sehr freuen. (1890, October)

She was even well enough to go to the theatre: "Mama war gestern so wohl dass sie auch ins Theater gegangen ist" (1890, October 8)).

The following month Anna was reported to be working through memories of her time with Dr Keller in Paris. At the same time, she started to speak French, in a manner apparently beyond her own control: "Anna spricht unfreiwillig französisch ganz ohne Krampf" (TB7: 13.10.90). On the same day she recited verses about health, seemingly in French also: "Abend Declamation Versen der "Sante".” This phenomenon occurs on numerous occasions over the next three years, the language disturbance mainly involving French. At times she speaks German with difficulty, and on one occasion English.

Several references are made to Keller during this period, and in a way which suggests that Anna was preoccupied by him. At one point she confessed that in her delirium in Paris she had decided to become French for his sake. This is coupled with a statement that she

believed that she had by then finished with her compulsion to speak French, as if recognising that the two were connected: “Anna glaubt, die franz. Sprache für immer los zu sein. In unbew. Delirien in Paris fasste sie den Entschluß Keller zulieb französische zu werden” (TB7: 17.2.92). However, she was still speaking French the following year and some two years later Leopold reports that she was in a wretched state and again completely taken up with Keller: “Anna elend, wieder ganz bei Keller” (TB7: 4.4.93).

In October 1890 Anna described a hallucination in which Paris disappeared before her eyes while she was talking with her mother, adding that she had the distinct impression that this indicated that those images were over and done with, implying perhaps that memories of Paris had up until then been obsessing her: “Ganz plötzlich während eines Gesprächs mit Sophie sieht Anna Paris entschwinden. Sie hat das deutlich Bewußtsein daß es mit diesen Bildern vorüber” (TB7: 16.10.90).

Writing to Anna’s aunt Josephine six weeks later, Leopold reported the happy news that Anna was finally much better and was herself fully convinced that the difficult times were coming to an end: “Du wirst dich freuen von Anna selber endlich einen Brief zu sehen und zu hören dass es ihr endlich viel besser geht und sie selber voll vertrauen ist, die arge Zeit überstanden zu haben” (KarplusColl: 17.11.1890).

A letter sent by Josephine to Anna confirms that Anna had indeed been able to write to her aunt, giving her good news:

Ich kann es nicht verschieben, Dir auszusprechen, welche ungeheuere Freude nur der Anblick Deiner Theuere Handschrift bereitete, welche noch gesteigert wurde durch der Inhalt Deines lieben, lieben Briefes. Gottlob, ungerufen, scheint es, als wenn Deine Leidenszeit endlich vorüber wäre - Gott gabe es - Lasse Dir vom ganzen Seele für alles Liebe danken, was Du mir so während Aussprachs, und glaube mir Theuere Anna, dass ich aus allem Kraft meiner Seele in treuester, tiefster Liebe an Dir hänge. (KarplusColl: 20.11.1890)

Around the same time Anna stated that she was almost at the end of both her memory processing and her illness. She seems to link this to the verses about health which she had recited in a declamatory fashion on 13 October. She now appears to suggest that the

verses came to her in the course of a hallucinatory experience or some other kind of altered state:

Anna glaubt an 20' mit allen Residuen fertig zu sein, denkt an die Erscheinung 13' October der Versen der Gesundheit, die nach fünf mal zurückweicht. (TB7: 19.11.90)

Anna glaubt an den Abschluß ihrer Krankheit, daß nichts mehr nachkömmt. (TB7: 25.11.90)

In January 1891 Leopold summarised a conversation in which Freud confirmed his belief that Anna was suffering from memories which had not been dealt with and that he, Freud, could accelerate the process of working through them. Although Anna was understandably anxious, Freud believed that their recall, along with the opportunity to give vent to the associated feelings, would resolve them for ever:

Gespräch mit Freud, der in seiner Ansicht bestärkt ist, daß Anna nur durch die unverarbeiteten Erinnerungen leidet und er nun beschleunigen kann, daß der Wust von unausgesprochenen sich abwickle. Anna wird ganz spontan von solchen unklaren Vorstellungen beängstigt oder fühlt die entsprechenden Zustände endlich in Krampf oder Schlaf wird ihr die Situation vollkommen deutlich, steigert sich zum Affect, schreien weinen etc und daran reden, womit die Sache für immer abgethan. (TB7: 28.1.91)

Despite the optimism expressed by Leopold towards the end of 1890, the hopes of Anna's improvement turned out to be short-lived as she continued to be beset by memories and periods "ohne klarer Bewußtsein" (TB7: 26.2.91). Freud, however, was more confident than ever: "Anna immer miserabel. Hochdeutsche Sprache. Ganz von der momentanen Erinnerung absorbiert, reizbar nicht umgänglich. Gespräch mit Freud, der zuversichtlicher dann je" (TB7: 8.3.91).

Shortly after that, Freud told Leopold that he was free to propose something else: "Unterredung mit Dr Freud, der etwas sichert ist, und mir freistellt etwas anderes vorzuschlagen; er sei kein Hinderniß. Anna immer sehr elend, während zweitägiger Abwesenheit sehr eingenommen, Periode verloren, Morphin Sorgen vor 15 Jahren" (TB7:

31.3.91). Three weeks later, with Anna's condition steadily worsening, Leopold discussed the matter with Freud and Breuer who both seemed to be at a loss: "Zustand Annas immer ärger, sie kömmt zu keiner Pause, es besteht beständige eingenommenheit, Weinen, Verzweiflung, Angst, Furcht für ihren Kopf. Besprechung Breuer Freud, die sich auch nicht auskennen" (TB7: 24.4.91). The following month Anna was raving and reliving her memories of being in Paris. Freud was becoming impatient: "Anna immer französische Zustände, delirien von denen sie nichts weiß, Freud wird ungeduldig" (TB7: 12.5.91). The next day Leopold unburdened himself in a letter to Josephine, explaining that he had put off writing to her in the hope that if he waited, he would have good news to report, only to be disappointed. His frustration was exacerbated by the seeming incomprehensibility of Anna's condition:

Ich habe die Beantwortung deiner liebenswürdigen Zeilen verschoben, weil ich von einem Tage zu anderen gehofft habe dir Gutes über Anna berichten zu können. Sie selbst, und ich gestehe, ebenso ich selber, halten daran fest, dass die schwere Leidenszeit ihrem Ende sehr nahe sein aus und wenn wir uns auch alle schon einige Male getäuscht haben so sind doch manche Anzeichen, dass die schlimmsten Zustände nicht wiederkehren und Alles milder, weniger heftig auftritt. Dieser Krankheitsverlauf und Alles was dazu gehört, ist ein so eigenthümlicher, dass ich vollkommen begreife dass jeder ...stehende sich davon absolut kein Bild machen kann, und selbst Ärzte, die je an ihrer Routine und ... ebenso festhalten wie andere Sterbliche, sind leicht dabei von Schwindel und ... zu reden. Ich hoffe unser Vertrauen und Anna's Ausdauer wird auf keine zu harten Proben mehr gestellt, und das der Sommer ihr endlich Geneßung und eine erträgliche Existenz bringen wird. (KarplusColl, 13.5.1891)

Anna was now in a constant state of agitation, with hallucinations, strange speech and stories about the corpse of Polonius: "Anna in continuierlicher Aufregung. Hallucinationen, fremdartige Sprache. Geschichte von Polonius Leiche zwischen der Thürn" (TB7: 20.5.91). The following day she saw herself as a corpse, held up to the family at the mourning: "Anna sieht sich als Leiche, vorhalten der Familie bei der Trauer" (TB7: 21.5.91). Around the same time Anna appears to have been discovered procuring secret supplies of morphine and this, according to Leopold, exasperated Freud: "Morphin Entdeckung. Freud sehr disgustirt und ermüdet" (TB7: 22.5.91).

Freud then appears to have been absent for a short period, during which Leopold reported that Anna was getting on very well without him. He listened for two hours while she raved about the period February-March 1889 (just after she returned from her third visit to Paris), talking about, among other things, devils, flies, Freud and snakes: “Anna ohne Freud, es geht ganz gut, ich höre 2 Stunde ab. Zeit vom Febr Marz 1889. delirien, teufel, fliegen, Freud, schlange etc. Mein Kopf! 1/2 Stunde schöne Verse gesprochen” (TB7: 24.5.91). In the following days Anna was disorientated and her raving focused on erotic images involving animals: “Es kommen delirien bilder erotische und sinnlose Thiere Hunde Affen, ... Elefant dann Verse, Erinnerungen, Weismann, Brühl, Bufalo [*sic*] Bill, etc.” (TB7: 27.5.91). Thereafter her hallucinations lessened but her facial neuralgia reappeared.

When Freud returned he declared his intention to discontinue treatment: “Freud erklärte daß seine Behandlung zu Ende” (TB7: 2.6.91); “Unterredung mit Freud, der nicht mehr thun will” (TB7: 11.6.91). Anna’s hallucinations continued, often involving animals, but also men, and always with an erotic outcome: “Sie sieht oft Thier Affen, Vögel, Eleph. Bären, Tiger ... Hunde. Aber auch Menschen, immer mit erotischem Ausgang” (TB7: 21.6.91).

By early July things were a little better as Leopold reported to his daughter Valla. Anna was benefiting from the cooler temperature but still suffering from excitability. Although she had managed to spend half an hour talking with her uncle, Theodor Gomperz, this had brought on a bad night:

Hoffentlich leidet Ihr nicht mehr von Hitze, wenigstens hier ist es seit gestern ... abgekühlt, für Mama eine große Wohlthat. Die Letzten zwei Tage waren nicht schlecht, und nur die Reizbarkeit ist noch eine sehr große. So hat Mama sich überwunden Theod. G, eine halbe Stunde zu sprechen, und darauf eine elend Nacht zugebracht. (KarplusColl 5.7.91)

In a letter to all his children Leopold describes Anna’s condition as unchanged: “Ich will nur Großmama und Euch Nachricht von Mama's Befinden geben, der ganz unverändert bleibt. Montag wo ich zum ersten Mal in die Brühl fuhr, hatte sie gerade einen recht schlechten Tag, gestern war es passabel” (KarplusColl 8.7.91). Writing again to Josephine

later that month he expressed optimism, although acknowledging that there was still a lot to be desired:

Wie es Anna geht, weißt du je, es ist noch viel zu wünschen, aber sie ist so durchdrungen von der Empfindung vollkommen wohl zu werden und ich bin es auch, dass ihr nicht mehr viel, noch ein Paar Schritte fehlen, dass ich ziemlich hoffnungsvoll in die Zukunft bleibe. (KarplusColl 19.7.91)

while in a letter to his children it was still the same picture of bad days alternating with better days: “Mama hatte zwei schlechtern Tage, gestern Abend war sie aber wieder recht wohl” (KarplusColl 20.7.91).

Freud appears to have quickly gone back on his decision to end treatment. At the end of July, with Anna in a delirious state, he spent two-and-a-half hours with her: “Elender Abend, Anna ohnmacht - delirien Sprache etc. Dr Freud von 9-½12” (TB7: 27.7.91). Writing to Josephine at the beginning of August Leopold repeated his view that there was still much to be desired: “Leider läßt ihr Zustand noch viel zu wünschen” (KarplusColl: 1.8.91).

Anna’s language disturbance continued and in October Leopold reported that she had barely a quarter of an hour of normal speech: “Anna leidet immer mehr unter der Sprache, kaum 1/4 Stunde wo dieselbe normal” (TB7: 14.10.91). A discussion with Freud and Breuer was held but no details of either content or outcome are given: “Besprechung Dr Breuer u. Freud. Anna sehr sprachlos” (TB7: 26.10.91).

Anna’s morphine addiction was again a critical factor in her general state of health and she admitted that she was giving herself daily injections, at which point Leopold allows himself a rare expression of exasperation. Anna was very upset about his reproaches: “Geständniß daß sie täglich Injection macht. (Hundeleben, Zustand.) Breuer besucht. Anna unsinnig aufgereggt nicht über Morphin sondern über meine Worwürfe” (TB7; 25.11.91).

Their 20th wedding anniversary found Anna in a wretched state. Anna was sleeping by day and staying awake all night. Her speech and mood problems continued. Breuer was trying

to control her morphine consumption: “Befinden Annas miserabel. Breuer geht mit dem Morphin und Chloral herab. Anna schläft bei Nacht fast gar nicht, bei Tag bis 4 Uhr. Sprache zeitweilig schlecht. Fährt gar nicht aus. Enorm reizbar” (TB7: 3.12.91).

By mid-December Anna was in a state of constant delirium and extreme excitability. Her sleeping pattern remained disrupted, as did her speech: “Entsetzliche Zeit bei Anna Delirien die nicht aufhören, enorm Reizbarkeit. Schläft bis 1-2 Uhr bleibt im Bett bis 5 Uhr. Schläft wieder von 7-11 abends. In allen ermüdungszuständen französische Sprache (TB7: 16.12.91).

By this time Leopold was at his wits' end, as he explained to Josephine:

Von Tag auf Tag, von Woche auf Woche verschobe ich es dir zu schreiben weil ich dir gar zu gerne endlich eine erfreuliche oder doch tröstliche Nachricht von uns geben wollte, aber ... "menschliches Elend" hat mehr Ausdauer uns zu quälen als ich Geduld habe dir nicht zu schreiben.

Das einzige Gute was ich von Anna berichten kann ist, dass ihre Leiden nicht dieselbe Form ... halten, und die Erscheinungen sich ändern, aber die Unmöglichkeit sich ins ... zu finden, die ... Tageseintheilungen, die tiefe Verstimmung, die Reizbarkeit, die fremdartige Sprache, das Alles quält sie noch immer. (KarplusColl 23.12.91)

Despite this alarming state of affairs, Anna and her friend Julie Schlesinger managed to travel to Baden where they spent a month (TB7: 26.12.91). On her return Anna relived morphine-related memories of Paris. At the same time, Leopold makes a cryptic reference to the douche treatment she received in Keller's establishment: “Bei Anna repetition der Pariser Zustände die mit Morphin zusammenhängen. Schrecken über die douche (Keller: Entrez!)” (TB7: 6.2.92).

At the end of March, Valla reported to Ilse that Freud was visiting every day: “Mama geht es immer nicht besser. Freud kommt täglich” (1892, March 31), and a week later that their mother was suffering from severe facial pain: “Mama sehe ich jetzt meist in der Nacht, sie hat diese Tage wieder heftige Gesichtschmerzen gehabt und war dadurch recht elend (1892, 6 April). Anna continued to be unwell, with Valla seeing very little of her: “Mama

geht es nicht sehr gut. Ich sehe sie sehr wenig” (1892, April 13). In a further letter to Ilse Valla wrote that Anna was still much the same, with periods of remission which would end with the return of a cough which prevented her from sleeping: “Mama geht es immer mehr umso im Gleichen. Stundenweise ist sie wohler, bis der shreckliche Husten sich wieder einstellt und sie auch nicht schlafen last” (1892, April 16).

Despite his previous refusal to carry on, by April 1892 Freud was seeing Anna almost every day for one and a half hours. Her morphine abuse seemed to be continuing without hindrance, and she was again working through all the states she had experienced in the previous year and still speaking French:

Anna hat jetzt die Zustände des vorigen Jahres alle wieder durch zu machen, bei welchen sie dies Morphin verlangen ausgelassen, dazu kommen die Delirien die im vorigen Jahre dazugekommen eine enorm complicirte Arbeit. Sie nimmt Einspritzungen so viel sie will, fast nur Sie ist fast nie frei, beständig französisch, und macht sehr viel allein mit schreiben, und in Versen declamiren ab, trotzdem Freud fast täglich für 1½ Stunden kommt. Die Leben immer gleich gestört, schlaf von 5-1 Uhr oft viel länger. Bei Tag im Bett. Kaffe um 7 Uhr. Mittagessen um 11-1 Uhr Nachts. (TB7: 1.4.92) (see Appendix 6)

When alone, she wrote copiously. Leopold reports that she was distraught because he was speaking about ‘old stories’, in particular a ‘spectre’, which seemed to be sources of sensitivity for her: “Anna enorm reizbar, verzweifelt weil ich von den alten Geschichten gesprochen, von dem Spuck der vergehen muß” (TB7: 11.4.92).

A few months later she recited verses in French about murdering Leopold. On the same day she recited the same verses, but in German, to Freud: “Anna delirien franz. in Versen, daß die mich getödtet. Abends Wiederholung mit Dr Freud in deutschen Versen” (TB7: 16.10.92).

Anna was again experiencing pain which Leopold describes as ‘rheumatic’ and pain in the foot. She was operated on by Dr Robert Gersuny, a well-known surgeon, who had been treating her throughout 1892 for abscesses on her limbs.

The last time Freud is mentioned in the diaries is in December 1892 when Leopold writes that Anna was raving for hours at a time, either alone or with Freud. He adds that morphine injections were playing a big part: “Deliriert stundenlang allein oder mit Freud. Morphin injectionen spielen eine große Rolle” (TB7: 12.12.92).

It is likely that Freud’s involvement with the case came to an end officially at some point in 1893 as indicated in Leopold’s chronology (Leopold von Lieben, n.d.a). This is supported by a letter from Freud to his friend Wilhelm Fliess dated 27 November 1893 in which he writes: “My head misses the usual overwork since I lost Mrs von K.” (Masson, 1985, p. 61). According to Jeffrey Masson, the editor of the Freud/Fliess correspondence, Mrs. von K was Anna von Lieben (Masson, 1985, p. 62, note 7).

During the course of 1893 there was little, if any, change in Anna’s condition. In January she had recurrent problems with abscesses in her foot and arm. She had facial neuralgia, was still speaking French and was constantly raving. An incident took place in which she cut her finger while she was talking with her uncle. Later, in a hypnotic state, the idea came to her that she would like to let herself be sliced like a loaf of bread. She felt a pain in her arm and then she remembered that the coachman had hurt her arm while helping her out of a coach (TB7; 31.1.93)

In March Leopold reports what he regarded as very significant episode in which Anna recalled being mistreated by a cruel nursemaid when she was about four or five years old and attributed to this her erotic excitability, fear of dogs, of beatings, etc.

Wichtigste Episode seit 8 Tagen bei Anna: Erinnerungen an die Kathe, eine entsetzliche Kindsfrau, schrecken und Mißhandlungen im Alter von 4-5 Jahren als die Quelle der erotischen Reizung, der Angst vor Hunden, vor Schlägen etc., einer der ergreifendsten und widerlichststen Eindrücke. (TB7: 2.3.93)

There is no mention of how these memories were elicited, whether by Freud, by another doctor, or spontaneously. Anna continued with her reliving of childhood memories, was struggling with her speech, and had a cold which had been persisting for four weeks: “Anna mit Kinderzuständen und Sprache kämpfend kaum sichtbar, bis 9 oder 10

Uhr zu Bett, steht nachts auf dinirt um 12 oder ½ 1 Uhr Nachts. Noch immer starken Schnupfen seit 4 wochen.” (TB7: 22.3.93)

In July Anna was bedridden with severe pains in her limbs:

Anna mit starken Gliederschmerzen zu Bette. (TB7: 2.7.93)

Anna immer zu Bett. Weint vor Schmerzen beständig Zustände aus der Zeit des Rheumatismen 1876. (TB7: 4.7.93)

This was followed by a terrible week, with Anna scarcely ever in a clear state of mind and taking almost no nourishment. Breuer was attending twice daily: “Entsetzliche Woche Anna immer somnolent, gar nie bei klarem Bewußtsein, nimmt keine Nahrung außer Milch. Immer unbeweglicher, 4 Dienstmänner tragen sie zum Bett. ... Breuer zwei mal des Tages” (TB7: 14.7.93)

Later in the month she was feverish and overwhelmed by her craving for morphine. A nurse from the Red Cross was brought in to care for her:

Anna weniger Fieber 37.3 nach 39.3. (TB7: 16.7.93)

Fieber Anna 38.3. Bekommt Salicil. Immer ganz unklar. Abends schlaf 2-3 Stunde, darauf wesentlich besser. (TB7: 17.7.93)

Anna ganz von Morphinbedürfniß beherrscht. Rührt sich nicht, will nichts essen. Schwester vom rotten Kreuz seit 4 Tagen. (TB7: 21.7.93)

In August Anna was indescribably wretched, raving and complaining almost constantly, She was plagued with diarrhoea, her usual sleeplessness, inability to eat and the craving for morphine:

Anna unbeschreiblich elend. Fast beständig delirierend und klagend. Kann sich im Bett nicht bewegen immer auf dem Rücken. Sehr blass, Augen eingefallen. Widerwille zu essen, diarrhöhn, Schlaflosigkeit. Sehnsucht nach Morphin ... 5-6 gr in 3-4 Injectionen. (TB7: 9.8.93)

She was now being treated by two new doctors, Bettelheim and Lamedy. By the middle of the month she was somewhat better: “Bettelheim Lamedy Brühl. Anna endlich etwas besser, fängt an zu essen. Sitzt auf dem Rollstuhl. Kopf etwas freier. Die Deliriren und die wahnsinnige Reizbarkeit nimmt ab” (TB7: 13.8.93).

Flu-like symptoms continued and a respiratory crisis led to the administration of ether injections: “½ 6 Uhr früh geholt Athem Not, kalte Schweiß, kann nicht husten, enorm rascher Puls. Lammedy geholt Äther Einspritzungen. Kampher, Amoniak mit Anis. 9 Uhr erst weggefahren” (TB7: 19.8.93).

Writing to Ilse Valla Ilse described how their mother’s condition could change from one day to the next:

Mama habe ich lang nicht so wohl gesehen, wie aber gestern sie sprach gar nicht über ihre Zustände, sondern über die Tableaux, über die ---- Nelly und Marie über Toiletten, über Wanderer, deren Tochter ein --- gemacht, sie war sehr lebhaft und ihr --- gang frei.

Nun aber folgte eine schlechte Nacht. Dr Weiß war fast immer drin und Meja würde auch gerufen. Jetzt ist Mama ruhiger, es soll aber niemand hinein..... für Mama wäre es am besten, wenn niemand zu ihr hineingeht, mit dem sie darf reden muss und sich aufregt. (1893, September 25).

Anna’s symptoms eased somewhat over the next few months, under the care of the new doctors. Dr Weiss and Dr Lammedy. However, in the last entry referring to Anna in 1893, on 8 November, she was again ‘very wretched’.

5.2.3 Anna’s final years

Anna’s condition continued much as before in 1894 although no hallucinatory episodes were reported. Morphine was still problematic. In 1895 auditory hallucinations were reported twice. Throughout 1896 and 1897 there are few entries relating to Anna, possibly indicating an improvement. In 1897 there were several interventions by Dr Gersuny to treat abscesses, a common problem with morphine addicts at the site of injections (Levinstein, 1878, p. 12). In February 1898 Anna was again experiencing convulsions: “Anna wenig wohl, Lammedy kommt täglich. Alte Krämpfe bekommt täglich” (TB7 14.2.98).

For the remaining two and a half years of her life Leopold says little about Anna's health apart from vague phrases such as 'Anna recht unwohl', 'Anna leidet sehr', 'Anna ziemlich wohl'.

I leave the last word in this section to Anna herself. In a letter to her daughter Ilse just nine months before her death she wrote:

Leider kann ich dir auch heute keinen ausführlichen Brief schreiben, wie ich es so gerne gethan hatte, ich habe leider heute einen sehr nervösen kramphaften Tag, und muss mich daher sehr kurz fassen damit da nun überhängt rechtzeitig ein Lebenszeichen von mir erhellst. (1900, February 10).

Anna died of a heart attack on 31 October 1900. Right up to the end she was suffering from the convulsions which had plagued her for decades.

5.3 Summary of Leopold's narrative

An examination of Leopold's diaries and letters indicates that Anna's state of health tended to fluctuate during the three decades of their marriage. This is consistent with the impression given by the various mentions of Anna in letters written by her daughter Valla. Neither Leopold nor Valla give much information about how the ill-health manifested itself, nor do they give details of the treatment given. It is noticeable, however, that the times at which Anna experienced what appear to have been psychotic states coincided with the periods of her treatment, first by Théodore Keller in 1883 and later by Freud. Overall, Leopold's evidence points to there having been no improvement.

We may wonder what Leopold's understanding of his wife's illness was, and it seems strange that nowhere in the diaries, nor in family letters, does the word 'hysteria' occur.

The specific symptom most frequently mentioned by Leopold is 'Krampf' ('Krämpfe' in the plural). This is the term used in *Studien über Hysterie* (Freud, 1952, p. 246) to refer to hysterical convulsions. In the English version, and in particular when referring to Anna, it is translated as 'spasms' (SoH, p. 250). At times Leopold uses the term in a wider sense. Thus, at one point he reports that Anna had 'Herzkrampf' (TB6: 15.6.76). He later

describes her as having ‘Halskrampf’ (TB7: 28.1.94). In most cases he uses the term without any further elucidation. However, on several occasions he gives more detail

Krampf, heftig bewegen der Arme und Hände (TB6: 19.9.72)

Krampf drück nach abwärts (TB6: 14.11.72)

Krampf. Clonus. (TB6: 1.1.78)

The above three entries suggest that the events described correspond to the pattern associated with what were then understood to be hysterical convulsions.

Anna undoubtedly suffered also from the pain of menstrual cramps (‘Periodenkrämpfe’) but there is no sign that Leopold ever referred to her dysmenorrhea in this way. He did, however, frequently mention her menstrual difficulties which were often incapacitating and requiring morphine.

The word ‘Schmerz’ and its derivatives appear frequently, often without further description. The facial pain and the toothache which will be discussed later in Freud’s narrative appear a number of times. Apart from that, the most frequent descriptor Leopold uses for Anna’s pain is ‘rheumatic’, a term which he uses repeatedly from the early 1870s to the mid-1890s. In fact, it is puzzling to find him describing the pains in Anna’s joints (TB7: 18.4.92) and in her foot (TB7: 24.4.92) as ‘rheumatic’ when we might have expected that by that time Freud would have attributed those to a psychosomatic origin. Does Leopold’s continued use of the term indicate that he did not accept Freud’s explanation?

The other prominent feature of Leopold’s account of Anna’s illness is her morphine addiction. Although there is clear evidence of Anna’s need for an effective analgesic from an early age, her morphine consumption seems to have quickly become an illness in itself, something which Leopold appears to have understood.

It would appear then that Leopold had a grasp of at least two of the strands in his wife’s overall condition – gynaecological and morphine-related – although the potential impact of gynaecological illness on both physical and mental well-being was unlikely to have been well understood at the time. This will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

5.4 Anna's narrative through the lens of Leopold's

From the combined narratives of Anna and Leopold we now have a more comprehensive picture of Anna's pathology, and one covering a more extended period of time. Anna provides us with a first-person phenomenological account of her malaise, while Leopold gives us a picture of its outward manifestations as noted by an observer.

Leopold's references to Anna's moods – anxiety, wretchedness, weeping and so on – are consistent with the negative emotions expressed in her poems. It must be borne in mind, however, that the two narratives are not contemporaneous and that the causes of those moods were not necessarily the same over time. The only significant point of overlap in their narratives is in January 1872 when they were on honeymoon in Italy, at a time when, judging from the poems she wrote then, Anna seemed to have progressed from the excited infatuation of the engagement period to a more stable state of happy fulfilment. In a letter addressed to his friend Moritz Hartmann on 16 January Leopold is more cautious:

Die hauptsache bleibt, daß, wie du vorausgesehen, meiner frau die Ehe sehr wohl anschlägt und unser eheliches Leben bisher so normal und vergnüglich als möglich verlief. Zustände und Leiden die so viele Jahre andauerten sind nicht über Nacht zu verwischen und können nur allmählig besser wenden, aber so weit ich urtheilen kann ist alles aus guten ... (von Lieben, 1872)

Although Leopold appears to believe that marriage is, on the whole, agreeing with Anna, his somewhat guarded description of their conjugal life as progressing as normally and pleasantly 'as possible' suggests that Anna's state of health was still of some concern. However, he seems hopeful that her new lifestyle will eventually bring her long history of ailments to an end.

It is clear from Leopold's reports that Anna had ongoing gynaecological problems. There are regular references to menstrual difficulties throughout the diaries and she was operated on by the gynaecologist Rudolf Chrobak for the removal of growths. If the dysmenorrhea and menorrhagia affected Anna from puberty this may well have contributed to her malaise, both physical and emotional, which she herself describes. There are possible hints of this in a letter from her cousin Franzi in which Franzi expresses an empathic understanding for an ailment which she describes as being inflicted on them by God:

Was soll ich dir heute sagen, wo mein Herz so zum zerspringen voll ist, könnte ich bei dir sein, dich küssen und dir zu sprechen das muthig zu ertragen, was uns Gott so schwer auferlagt hat. Ach mein Kind, mein armes süßes Kind, so konnte an dir der Kelch der schweren Leiden noch nicht vorüber gehen, du mußtest ihn lernen wie Alle anderen. Lieber Schatz, ich weiß, was du jetzt leidest, weiß ich doch, was ich gelitten habe und noch leide ... Gott hat es so gewollt und es hilft nichts zu fragen, wofür wir so schweren Strafe verdient.

Du gutes Kind, sei deshalb stark und muhig [*sic*]. Mir thut es wohl jetzt offen zu dir sprechen zu können. (Franziska Wertheimstein, n.d.)

Although the letter is not dated, if my hypothesis is correct, it would indicate that Anna had just recently started to menstruate. Furthermore, it is expressed in the same kind of circumlocutory style as that adopted by Mathilde Lieben when discussing similar subjects (Tillian, 2013).

Another significant finding is Anna's addiction to morphine, referred to repeatedly in the diaries throughout the three decades of her marriage. It is not known when or why her consumption of morphine started. Leopold mentions it being taken for menstrual problems and for facial and other pains. He also indicates that the craving for morphine had become a problem in itself.

The most important sections of the diaries in terms of bringing to light significant new material are those which cover the periods of:

- Anna's first visit to Paris to receive treatment
- Freud's treatment of Anna

Until now it was believed that Anna first visited Paris for treatment in 1888 and that she was treated by Jean-Martin Charcot (Swales, 1986) whereas the new evidence shows that Anna made an eight-month visit to Paris starting in October 1882. While there she was treated by hydrotherapist Dr Théodore Keller under the supervision of Charcot. There does not appear to have been much involvement by Charcot, nor does Leopold give much indication of the kind of treatment Anna received from Keller. However, Leopold spent

some time with Anna in Paris during this visit and gives details of what appear to have been psychotic episodes, with Anna experiencing visual and auditory hallucinations and paranoid ideation. As Leopold appears to have quoted Anna directly during these episodes, we may consider the words quoted to be a first-person expression of what she was experiencing at the time.

From the brief description given by Leopold, notions of guilt and punishment featured prominently in the psychotic episodes, and in a way which seems to correspond with the fears about guilt and punishment which Anna expresses in her poems. There she feels that she must have done something wrong because God seems to be punishing her, but she does not know how she has been at fault (*Trauer*, p. 56); she feels that she has been judged and found guilty (*Doppelt verlassen*, p. 361).

In her hallucinatory ideation Anna appeared to believe that she had committed a crime. She wondered if she had killed her children and she asked Leopold's forgiveness for some unspecified offence. She thought people were talking badly of her and that she was going to be poisoned, as if she feared a judicial execution.

With this additional information we may now compare the picture we have of Anna's psychological condition with the findings of a present-day phenomenological study of possible relevance.

Rhodes, O'Neill and Nel (2018) undertook an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis with seven adults diagnosed as suffering from psychosis and with a history of sexual abuse. Participants were questioned by means of a semi-structured interview focusing on three areas: a) problems which they experienced in their lives; b) problems which they thought might relate to the abuse and whether they felt the abuse linked to their psychosis; c) effects the abuse had on them as children and when it began and ended.

Analysis of the data highlighted six main themes:

Degradation of self

The authors summarise the participants' reported experiences as suggesting feelings of shame, guilt and disgust, and loss of self-esteem.

Body-self entrapment:

Participants spoke of being ‘crippled’, of being ‘trapped’, and of being ‘dead inside’. The authors summarise the experience of the four participants who reported on this theme as a sense, in the body of the person, “of not being free, of not being able to express what might be powerful emotions and feelings”.

A sense of being different:

Participants see themselves as being isolated and different, of feeling the odd one out, of not fitting in.

Unending struggle and depression:

Participants reported ongoing struggle and difficulties, sadness and feelings of hopelessness

Psychotic condemnations and abuse:

All participants reported auditory hallucinations or paranoid states of delusional thinking, commonly involving condemnation and threats.

Perception of links to the past:

Although all participants thought the sexual abuse was a major cause of their psychosocial problems they did not generally believe it was responsible for their psychosis. In cases where the content of the hallucinations referred to the abuse, they thought that the voices were merely reacting to a situation they knew about, not that they had created by it.

For comparison with the present study, I will use the findings of my IPA study plus extracts from the diaries of Leopold. My reasons for including the latter are as follows. The poetry referenced in the IPA study only covers the years 1866 to 1870; there is no direct evidence in them of any psychotic manifestations at that time. However, from Leopold’s later reports, as outlined above, it is clear that similar manifestations occurred at a later date.

It must, of course, be borne in mind that the data were derived in a different manner (semi-structured interview vs 'found' poetry plus third-person perspective of husband); that the socio-cultural context is markedly different (early 21st-century UK vs mid-19th century Vienna); and that the journal article provides only a summary of the full study. Anna's case can therefore in no way be regarded as an eighth component of the seven-participant IPA study carried out by Rhodes et al. Despite those reservations, a degree of commonality can be found across all six of the main themes. Table 15 below presents, for each theme, illustrative quotes from Rhodes et al. and from Anna or Leopold.

Table 15: Themes from Rhodes et al. vs extracts from Anna's words

Main theme	Extracts from Rhodes et al.	Extracts from Anna/Leopold
Degradation of self	<p>I don't see why I should be treated like something that comes off of somebody's shoe.</p> <p>I was feeling that maybe I was partly to blame even though I never instigated anything.</p>	<p>Bald ist dann der Arme, der doppelt Verstoß'ne / Vom Himmel u. auch von den Menschen verlassen / Gebeuget, vernichtet durch Leid. (<i>Doppelt verlassen</i>, lines 3-6)</p> <p>Schuldlos bin ich verdammt zu leiden, / Zum Tod begnadigt nimmermehr, (<i>O hätt' ich eine einz'ge Seele</i>, lines 17-18)</p>
Body-self entrapment	<p>I mean I have a sense in my head of being trapped.</p> <p>I began gradually to feel dead inside.</p>	<p>Mein Körper weilet / Gefangen allhier: / Die Seele, die eilet / Mein Gott hin zu dir! (<i>Die Seele will fort!</i>, lines 5-6)</p> <p>Vier Jahre bin ich todt im Leben / Und lebe doch, und sterbe nicht (<i>Die Jugend flieht</i>, lines 17-18)</p>
Sense of being different	<p>I feel like I'm the odd one out.</p> <p>Like I see it, like I'm on the outside looking in...</p>	<p>Ich sah', wie alles lebt und liebet, / Und wie mein Herz allein betrübet / Muß also einsam ein. (<i>Mir ward zu grohse Pein</i>, lines 10-12)</p>

Unending struggle and depression	<p>Just you can't seem to feel happy in yourself at all. You're just down all the time and everything is a struggle.</p> <p>Broken, spiritually, mentally, emotionally.</p>	<p>Mein armer Geist abmattend ewig kämpft (<i>Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchtlich ich leide</i>)</p> <p>Die Welt scheint mir so öd und leer / Und nichts auf Erden freut mich mehr. (<i>Noch ist es Zeit</i>)</p>
Psychotic condemnation and abuse	<p>And I thought I was gonna go to prison, and that I should hang myself or put myself under a train or ...and the voices were telling me that I should do that.</p> <p>... the voices are telling me there are repercussions to follow afterwards.'</p>	<p>Warum muß ich sterben?</p> <p>Die Leute sagen von mir alles böse</p> <p>Gift will man mir geben.</p>
Perception of links to the past	When I went into psychiatric care is because of my past.	Meiner Jugend Glück und hoffen / Ward gestürzt durch eine Nacht – (<i>Einst und jetzt</i>)

With Anna's phenomenological account and Leopold's anecdotal one, we now have a firmer basis on which to speculate about the nature of Anna's illness. Although it was already known that Anna had been treated by a gynaecologist and had recourse to morphine (Swales, 1986), it is now clear that physical elements – gynaecological disease and morphinism – played a much bigger part than previously suspected.

In Leopold's reports of the content of Anna's psychotic episodes, parallels can be found with the themes of guilt and imprisonment manifest in her poems. Wider scrutiny, in light of a recent phenomenological study (Rhodes et al., 2018), tends to support my earlier conjecture of a sexual molestation as partially responsible for Anna's malaise. However, as already noted, we are still in the process of hypothesis building.

Given that Anna's psychotic episodes coincided with her periods of treatment, first by Théodore Keller and then, more markedly, by Freud, the possibility of an iatrogenic factor

must also be considered. This will therefore be the appropriate stage at which to present Freud's narrative.

CHAPTER 6: FREUD'S NARRATIVE

In this section I outline Freud's account of his treatment of Anna and the theories on which this treatment was based as presented in the following:

- *Studies on Hysteria* (1974)
- "An Autobiographical Study" (CW, pp. 3232-3267)

I follow this with a discussion of the points of divergence from, and possible convergence with, the accounts of Anna and Leopold. I then present Freud's theories about the aetiology of hysteria as outlined in three papers published originally in 1896:

- "Heredity and the aetiology of the neuroses" (CW, pp. 290-30)
- "Further remarks on the neuro-psychoses of defence" (CW, pp. 300-317)
- "The aetiology of hysteria" CW, pp. 317-339)

6.1 From Studies on Hysteria

6.1.1 The genesis of *Studies on Hysteria*

During the 1880s and early 1890s Freud worked closely with an older colleague, Dr Josef Breuer, and together they developed a theory about the aetiology of hysteria based on their treatment of patients diagnosed as suffering from this condition. The first of those patients, Bertha Pappenheim, was treated by Dr Breuer between 1880 and 1882 and his account of this case was the first to appear in their joint publication, *Studies on Hysteria* as Case 1: Fräulein Anna O. (SoH, 1974, 73-104)

According to this account Bertha suffered from a complex set of symptoms including a severe cough, 'absences' (states with a superficial resemblance to 'petit-mal' fits), hemiparesis, hemianaesthesia, and disturbances of vision, hearing and speech. Adopting an approach in line with the 'moral therapy' of the time, Breuer encouraged her to talk about her symptoms in a systematic manner, often in a hypnotic or hypnoid state. He claimed that this process enabled Bertha to reach back into her memory to identify a traumatic event, hitherto suppressed, which was the cause of the hysterical symptom; if she was then able to give expression to the associated painful emotions which had surrounded the event, the hysterical symptom was eliminated. Breuer

later discussed the case with Freud and it was from this and other, later cases that they developed the ideas which were to become the foundations of psychoanalysis.

Studies on Hysteria presents, in addition to that of Anna O, four other case studies as well as theoretical expositions by each author outlining the principles on which their therapeutic approach was based. The first chapter, “On the Psychological Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena, preliminary Communication” (pp. 53-69), the only chapter to be authored jointly, was previously published separately in 1893.

Before the 1880s hypnotic techniques were already commonly used in the treatment of various illnesses. The therapeutic agent at that time was ‘suggestion’, with the patient being put into a hypnotic trance and then told that on awakening his symptom would have disappeared. Breuer, however, claimed that the effectiveness of the procedure he had developed with Bertha stemmed rather from the patient being enabled to reactivate the memory of a painful event and then to give vent to the emotions which had been denied expression when the original event took place.

The mechanisms by which Breuer and Freud believed that hysterical symptoms manifest themselves can be summarised as follows. The energy of the strangulated emotion discharges itself into a physical symptom. In some cases, the connection is clear. They give as an example the case of a person who suppresses a painful emotion arising during a meal, which can later produce hysterical vomiting and nausea. They refer to Case 2, that of Emmy von N, who developed a hysterical symptom as a result of trying to stay silent while watching over her sick child. So determined was she not to disturb the child’s sleep that, in an act of ‘hysterical counterwill’, her tongue started to make a clicking noise which remained with her for years in the form of a verbal tic (p. 55). In other cases, the relationship between the cause and the symptom is more of a symbolic one. For example, hysterical vomiting may be the result of a feeling of moral disgust.

6.1.2 The case of Cäcilie M. (Anna von Lieben)

The case of Anna von Lieben, disguised as Cäcilie M., is referenced a number of times throughout *Studies on Hysteria* without having a full report devoted to it. Freud explains that to provide further details would run the risk of identifying her, thus breaching patient

confidentiality (p. 127n). This discretion on Freud's part is understandable given that Anna von Lieben was a member of a prominent Jewish family and one of the wealthiest women in Vienna (Swales, 1986).

Freud reports that he came to know Anna von Lieben "far more thoroughly than any of the other patients mentioned in these studies" and that he "collected from her very numerous and convincing proofs of the existence of a psychical mechanism of hysterical phenomena such as I have put forward above" (p. 127n). He tells us that from her he "gained the most instructive information on the way in which hysterical symptoms are determined. Indeed, it was the study of this remarkable case, jointly with Breuer, that led directly to the publication of our 'Preliminary Communication'" (pp.250-251). In a letter to his friend Wilhelm Fliess (Masson, 1985, p. 229) he referred to her as his "teacher" as he considered her so instrumental in the development of his thinking.

The symptoms mentioned by Freud are:

- Facial neuralgia
- Hallucinations
- Various pains
- 'Absences'
- Spasms
- Gaps in memory
- Fears of her own worthlessness

Freud's account of the case is distributed throughout *Studies on Hysteria* in a disjointed manner, in both the main text and in footnotes. I will now detail this account in the order in which the fragments appear.

In a footnote to the case of Frau Emmy von N. (p. 127n) Freud writes that for many years Anna had been in "a peculiar hysterical state" which he labels as a "hysterical psychosis for the payment of old debts". (The use of the word 'debt', which is never explained, would seem to imply some sense on Anna's part that she owed reparation for something.) The causes of these states were unknown both to herself and her entourage; Freud mentions only that she "had experienced numerous psychical

traumas". A striking feature of her condition was the existence of gaps in what was an otherwise excellent memory. One day there was an apparent breakthrough when:

[A]n old memory suddenly broke in upon her clear and tangible and with all the freshness of a new sensation. For nearly three years after this she once again lived through all the traumas of her life – long-forgotten, as they seemed to her, and some, indeed, never remembered at all – accompanied by the acutest suffering and by the return of all the symptoms she had ever had. The ‘old debts’ which were thus paid covered a period of thirty-three years and made it possible to discover the origins, often very complicated, of all her abnormal states.

Freud then details the process by which this discovery and its beneficial results were achieved. If Anna was given the opportunity to talk through the distressing memory under hypnosis, and to give vent to the associated feelings, she would be relieved of its burden and for a short time would be quite well. Subsequently, another distressing memory would be heralded by a mood which had been associated with it, eg, anxiety, irritation, despair. Anna would not be aware of the connection to the past event, attributing the mood rather to some aspect of her current environment until a hypnotic session triggered the memory in question, after which it would be worked through as described above.

In a further footnote (p. 134n2) Freud describes a type of premonitory experience which he encountered regularly with Anna. It seems that she would often remark upon not having experienced a certain ailment for a long time, and then would shortly afterwards succumb to the same ailment. He gives as an example:

If, for instance, while she was in the best of health, she said to me, ‘It’s a long time since I’ve been frightened of witches at night’, or, ‘how glad I am that I’ve not had pains in my eyes for such a long time’, I could feel sure that the following night a severe onset of her fear of witches would be making extra work for her nurse or that her next attack of pains in the eyes was on the point of beginning.

Freud interpreted this as the first sign of emergence into consciousness of an idea which is already fully present in the unconscious. At this first stage, he claims, the subject matter of a memory appears before the emotions associated with it. At the conscious level this is then processed into a feeling of satisfaction which later turns out to be

unjustified. Freud also gives Anna's view of this phenomenon. She suggested that this kind of event could be the basis of superstitions about not boasting about being happy, or about predicting doom, as it could result in the worst happening. Here Freud, who describes Anna as "a highly intelligent woman", expresses his indebtedness to her "for much help in gaining an understanding of hysterical symptoms".

The longest passage which Freud devotes to Anna's case forms part of Case 5: Fräulein Elisabeth von R., where he wishes to expand on the question of hysterical conversion, in particular by the use of symbolisation (pp. 249-255). The account of the relevant aspects of Anna's illness which he gives here can be summarised as follows.

For the previous fifteen years Anna had suffered intermittently from a severe facial neuralgia involving the second and third branches of one of the trigeminal nerves. It had so far proved resistant to the usual forms of treatment, only ceasing, seemingly of its own accord, when another symptom took its place. During one such attack Freud hypnotised Anna, "laid a very energetic prohibition on her pains" and succeeded in putting a stop to them. Given that he had been able to effect a cure by this means he began "to harbour doubts of the genuineness of the neuralgia". It would seem here that Freud was using the 'suggestion' method and it is probable that this took place at an early stage in their relationship, with Freud being called in as just one of several doctors treating her at the time.

Freud next takes up his account at a point a year later when Anna had apparently developed new pathological states, which differed from those experienced in recent years, although she remembered that they had all occurred at other times in the course of her thirty-year illness. Freud describes:

a really surprising wealth of hysterical attacks which the patient was able to assign to their right place in her past. And soon too, it was possible to follow the often highly involved trains of thought that determined the order in which these attacks occurred. They were like a series of pictures with explanatory texts. (p. 250)

As previously described above, the hysterical state would begin with a mood which she would associate with a current situation. Then, her consciousness would become

increasingly clouded and a series of hallucinations, spasms, pains and declamatory speeches would follow. This would culminate in a hallucinatory reliving of a past experience which would explain both her mood and the specific symptoms of that particular attack. Her mind then returned to its normal state and her troubles “disappeared as though by magic” (p. 250). The respite was short-lived, however, and the process would soon repeat itself, with Freud estimating that he assisted at several hundred such cycles.

As regards Freud’s interventions in these attacks, he reports: “As a rule I was sent for at the climax of the attack, induced a state of hypnosis, called up the reproduction of the traumatic experience and hastened the end of the attack by artificial means.” (p. 250)

Freud does not specify the nature of the ‘artificial means’ but Swales (1986) suggests that it may have been morphine, to which Anna had been addicted for years, and indeed there is evidence elsewhere (Moteciszky & Motesiczky, 1972) of Freud being involved in its administration.

Freud then returns to the neuralgia which he had previously treated. His stated reason for so doing was that he was curious to find out if it had had a psychological cause. It is unclear at this point whether Anna was again suffering from neuralgia – he had, after all, declared it cured – or whether he put her into a mental state which triggered the reappearance of the facial pains. He writes simply:

When I began to call up the traumatic scene, the patient saw herself back in a period of great mental irritability towards her husband. She described a conversation which she had had with him and a remark of his which she had felt as a bitter insult. Suddenly she put her hand to her cheek, gave a loud cry of pain and said: ‘It was like a slap in the face.’ With this her pain and her attack were at an end. (p. 251)

On the basis of the above, Freud classifies the neuralgia as a hysterical conversion through symbolisation. The emotion which Anna had felt, but suppressed, in response to the insult, which she had likened to a slap in the face, became transformed into an actual pain in the face.

Over the next nine days the neuralgia returned repeatedly and, according to Freud, each time the same therapeutic method brought to light scenes from the past in which Anna had been the object of insults which had then brought on an attack of facial pain. Freud classifies all those attacks as instances of symbolization. Finally, Freud takes us back to Anna's first attack of neuralgia, more than fifteen years earlier, which, although the 'ur-attack', he classifies as a conversion through simultaneity and not through symbolisation. It is not clear at this point whether Anna underwent a reliving of this past experience in the way described above. Freud writes in vague terms only: "She saw a painful sight which was accompanied by feelings of self-reproach, and this led her to force back another set of thoughts. Thus it was a case of conflict and defence." (p. 251)

Freud does not specify the nature of the painful sight, the reasons for Anna's self-reproach, or the content of the thoughts which she forced back. In fact, he justifies his reasoning by what can only be speculation on his part:

The generation of the neuralgia at that moment was only explicable on the assumption that she was suffering from slight toothache or pains in the face, and this was not improbable, since she was just then in the early months of her first pregnancy. (pp. 251-252)

As Anna's first child was born in February 1873 this would situate the solving of the neuralgia puzzle in approximately 1888.

Freud develops his argument by explaining that: "this neuralgia had become indicative of a particular psychical excitation by the usual method of conversion but that afterwards it could be set going through associative reverberations from her mental life, or symbolic conversion" (p. 252). According to Freud's reasoning, the above process of conversion may be summarised as follows: an unpleasant mental event took place coincidentally as a certain type of pain was being experienced (simultaneity); subsequently similar unpleasant mental events were accompanied by similar types of pain (symbolisation).

Anna's neuralgia appears again in a later chapter, titled "Hysterical Conversion" (pp. 279-292), authored by Josef Breuer. Discussing the mechanism of simultaneity, he describes:

the case of a woman who experienced a painful affect at a time when she was having violent toothache due to periostitis, and who thenceforward suffered from infra-orbital neuralgia whenever the affect was renewed or even recollected [pp. 249-52]. (p. 285)

The pages referenced by Breuer clearly identify this woman as Anna, and we see that what was previously a matter of speculation has now been transformed into fact.

Freud describes two further types of pain experienced by Anna which he attributes to conversion by symbolisation. A pain in her heel which prevented her walking was traced back to a time when, after being bedridden for a while in a sanatorium, she was to be taken down to the dining room for the first time and the pain started as she left the room. As she reproduced the incident with Freud, she remarked that she had been afraid that she might not “find herself on a ‘right footing’” (p. 252) with the other residents – “rechte Auftreten” in the original (GW, p. 254) – with the other residents, whereupon the pain suddenly disappeared. Although the pain had existed previously – it was one of the reasons she was bedridden – Freud maintains that the association of that pain with the particular expression used gave it a special significance which resulted in it developing into a persistent psychological pain. Because of those wider conditions Freud qualifies his analysis of the incident by suggesting that the mechanism of symbolisation is here only of secondary importance, and further admits that this is probably the general rule.

Freud then recounts an incident involving a more direct instance of symbolisation (p. 253). About thirty years previously Anna had been given a ‘piercing’ look by her grandmother who, she feared, was regarding her with suspicion. The look was so powerful that she felt it had penetrated her brain, and she had a headache for weeks after. As she told the story to Freud, the pain disappeared. A number of other such symptom-cause associations are cited, the symptoms apparently disappearing when the cause was identified.

Josef Breuer expands further on this curative process in a later chapter, “Unconscious Ideas” (pp. 300-320), where he discusses the division of mental activity occurring in hypnoid states or ‘absences’, using the case of Frau Cäcilie M. as an example. He first describes the sequence of events occurring when a hysterical symptom appeared. As

the symptom increased in intensity, Anna's mental capacity decreased, making her appear weak-minded. After being relieved of whatever troublesome memory was responsible for the symptom, either by hypnosis or by her describing and reliving the event, she would become "quiet and cheerful and free from the tormenting symptom" (p. 311). Breuer further explains that the 'absences' involved a switching between two states of consciousness – *a condition prime* and a *condition seconde* – and that the latter state expends so much energy in psychical excitation that it leaves little for conscious thought, resulting in the decrease in mental capacity already mentioned.

Freud too is at pains to emphasise Anna's intellectual qualities, adducing this as proof that hysteria, far from being associated with intellectual weakness as was often then supposed, can co-exist "with gifts of the richest and most original kind" (p. 165). He relates that she produced "some poems of great perfection" (p. 254) and was an excellent chess player, able to play two games simultaneously, demonstrating both literary talent and a capacity for coherent, logical thought.

6.2 From "An Autobiographical Study"

"An Autobiographical Study" (CW, pp. 3232-3267) focuses primarily on Freud's professional life and charts the progress of his thinking as he developed his psychoanalytic theories. He confesses that, at an early stage in his career, he was not entirely successful in his attempts at hypnosis, which he used at the time to practise the suggestion method. In 1889 he travelled to Nancy in the hope of learning from Professor Hippolyte Bernheim, who was reportedly having remarkable success with the method.

Freud relates that he was accompanied on this visit by a patient, whom he describes as follows:

[A] very highly gifted hysteric, a woman of good birth, who had been handed over to me because no one knew what to do with her. By hypnotic influence I had made it possible for her to lead a tolerable existence and I was always able to take her out of the misery of her condition. But she always relapsed again after a short time (p. 3239)

The likelihood that this patient was Anna is virtually confirmed by the fact that Leopold notes that she travelled to Nancy in 1889 to consult Bernheim (Leopold von Lieben, n.d.a).

Freud goes on to say that:

from the very first I made use of hypnosis in another manner, apart from hypnotic suggestion. I used it for questioning the patient upon the origin of his symptom, which in his waking state he could often describe only very imperfectly or not at all. (CW, p. 3239)

adding that: “[A]fter my visit to Bernheim in 1889 had taught me the limitations of hypnotic suggestion, I worked at nothing else” (CW, p. 3241). He later reports that “The practical results of the cathartic procedure were excellent” (p. 3242).

6.3 Comparison of Freud’s account of Anna’s case with the narratives of Anna and Leopold

I will now compare Freud’s account of Anna’s condition and his treatment of it, as outlined above, with the information which has been obtained from the narratives of Anna and Leopold.

6.3.1 Divergences, spurious cures and other conundrums

Freud claimed that his treatment of Anna was a remarkable success, so much so that he felt able to liken it to magic and credited her case with having a formative influence on the development of his theory, which he likewise considered a remarkable success. This stands in stark contrast to the impression given by Leopold. As has been established in Chapter 5, Leopold often expressed doubts and frustration about the lack of progress, as did Freud at times. In April 1891 Leopold reports that Freud and Breuer were ‘at a loss’ (TB7: 24.4.91), in May Freud was becoming ‘impatient’ (TB7: 12.5.91), and in June he declared that he could do no more for Anna and terminated the treatment (TB7: 2.6.91), albeit only temporarily. What makes this all the more puzzling is that during this same period Anna’s hallucinations and memories appeared to be prolific and rich in content, yet Freud does not seem to have been able to capitalise on this to help his patient progress. Although Leopold

does not reveal why the family finally decided to dispense with Freud's services in 1893, it was clearly not because Anna had recovered her health. In fact, at that point other doctors were brought in to treat her and she continued to experience ill-health for the rest of her life.

Freud makes much of Anna's facial neuralgia, using it to illustrate how he believed his posited mechanisms of symbolisation and simultaneity operated in the formation of hysterical symptoms. His elaborate description of the way in which he apparently tracked down the chains of related incidents, identified the causative events, and then eradicated the noxious effects is so dramatic that it seems scarcely credible that Leopold would have failed to be impressed by it. Yet, although Leopold mentions the facial pain a number of times, there is no reference to it being cured or even alleviated and Anna was still suffering from it in 1893, after her treatment with Freud ended.

Another cure which, if it took place as described, we might expect Leopold to have mentioned involves a pain in Anna's heel. As previously mentioned, Freud claims to have traced this back to a time when Anna was in a sanatorium abroad and feared that she might not find herself on a 'right footing' with the other residents. This could be a reference to Anna's sojourn in Théodore Keller's establishment in Paris, where, Leopold writes: "Anna klagt über wahnsinnig Schmerzen im Füße" (TB6: 10.3.83).

Again, there is no evidence from Leopold that such a cure took place. Furthermore, with regard to this incident we may wonder if it is likely that Anna would have verbalised in this way at the time of the original event. Unless she was talking to someone at the time, the idea would more probably have presented itself in the form of a wordless affect: for example, a feeling of dread at the prospect of an upcoming state of social malaise. Had she ever even formulated the expression 'rechte Auftreten' in relation to this incident before describing it to Freud?

Freud's reasoning on this supposed incident therefore seems weak, and all the more so when we consider the original German: "Damals habe sie das Furcht beherrscht, ob sie auch die "rechte Auftreten" in der fremden Gesellschaft treffen werde!" (GW, p. 248). It is true that the word 'Auftreten' has an implicit association with the word 'foot' in that one of

its definitions relates to the act of walking. However, in this particular context – if indeed Anna used the word at all – it speaks rather of an appearance or a manner of presenting oneself and does not seem to elicit the same association with the foot as Strachey’s translation suggests.

Another puzzling item is to be found in Freud’s account of Anna’s alleged fear of witches at night. This in itself seems a strange fear for an educated woman to entertain in the late 19th century and neither Anna herself nor Leopold give any indication that she ever suffered from such a fear. However, from Anna’s poems there is evidence of another type of non-human entity which caused her fear. In *An das Geschick* Anna writes of the ghost which tortures her at night, and in April 1892 Leopold writes that Anna was angry with him for speaking about old stories and the ghost which had to disappear: “Anna enorm reizbar, verzweifelt weil ich von den alten Geschichten gesprochen, von dem Spuck der vergehen muß” (TB7: 11.4.92). Could the ghosts from the time of her poems be manifested in her ideation twenty years later? Very possibly. Could Freud’s witches be a veiled reference to those same ghosts? Possibly. It might even be by a ‘Freudian slip’ on Freud’s part, given his obsessive interest in witches and the inquisitorial methods used in their trials (Duffy, 2020; Swales, 1982). But whatever the answer, there is no evidence that the role played by these entities in Anna’s pathology was noted or investigated by Freud.

6.3.2 ‘A hysterical psychosis for the payment of old debts’

Freud summarises Anna’s mental state as ‘a hysterical psychosis for the payment of old debts’ (SoH, 1974, p. 127n). The term ‘hysterical psychosis’ is a controversial one in the literature (Hollender & Hirsch, 1964; Gift et al., 1985; Auxéméry, 2016). Hollender and Hirsch (p. 1068) note that Breuer and Freud use the term in *Studies on Hysteria* without explaining what they mean by it. However, Freud lays out his understanding of the term in a document enclosed in a letter to Wilhelm Fliess, dated 24 January 1895, titled “Draft H. Paranoia” (Masson, 1985, pp. 107-112). Here he compares five forms of defence – hysteria, obsessional idea, hallucinatory confusion, paranoia, and hysterical psychosis – using parameters relating to:

- affect
- content of idea
- type of hallucination (friendly or hostile to ego, friendly or hostile to defence)

- outcome

and summarises them in tabular form (see Appendix 7).

In hysterical psychosis, according to Freud, the unwelcome ideas are not warded off; there is a failure of defence and the ideas manifest themselves in a manner hostile to the ego. With this understanding of the phrase, some parallels can be seen with both Anna's narrative and Leopold's. As demonstrated previously, feelings of guilt and shame feature prominently in Anna's experience of her malaise, while Leopold's description of Anna's auditory hallucinations in Paris reveals fears of guilt and possible punishment. The psychotic-like behaviour reported by Leopold during Anna's treatment by Freud is more varied than that exhibited in Paris yet here too there are possible signs of guilt, with Anna claiming that she had murdered Leopold (TB7: 16.10.92).

The phrase 'for the payment of old debts' could relate to Anna feeling that she owed something as reparation for some wrong-doing of which she had been guilty. However, this interpretation does not seem compatible with Freud's own interpretation of Anna's symptoms which he sees rather as being caused by wrongs done to her, as, for example, in the case of the neuralgia which he associated with an insult from her husband. Furthermore, due to the lack of explicitness in Freud's definitions, Anna's psychotic ideation could perhaps equally be covered by his term 'paranoia'.

6.4 From the 1896 papers on the aetiology of hysteria

6.4.1 Genesis of the Freud's theories on the aetiology of hysteria

In view of Freud's avowed recognition that his professional relationship with Anna had a significant influence on his thinking about the aetiology of hysteria it will be instructive to examine the ideas which he was developing around that time.

Although Freud mentions sexual trauma as a factor in the pathogenesis of hysteria a number of times in *Studies on Hysteria*, he was unable, for reasons of patient confidentiality which he explains himself (p. 1), to incorporate this to any great extent in his reflections. A further reason for reticence at this point was lack of agreement between Freud and Breuer regarding the role of sexuality in the aetiology of the psychoneuroses

(Jones, 1953, pp. 279-280). However, in “The Aetiology of Hysteria” (CW, pp. 317-339), a paper presented in April 1896 to the Society for Psychiatry and Neurology in Vienna, Freud outlined what became known as the ‘seduction theory’, a theory which has been the subject of much controversy both in its original form and in its later reincarnation as the ‘fantasy theory’ (Masson, 1984; Webster, 1995). In this paper, Freud identifies his starting point as the theory developed by Breuer during his treatment of Bertha Pappenheim (SoH, 1974). According to Breuer’s theory, as discussed above, hysterical symptoms were related to repressed memories of past painful events. Breuer believed that enabling the patient to retrieve these memories and then to express the emotions associated with them would result in a cure.

In his own development of this theory, Freud specified two conditions which must be met by a painful event for it to give rise to a hysterical symptom: it must possess the relevant suitability to act as a determinant and it must be of sufficient traumatic force. He further declared that all cases of hysteria were the result of a trauma of a sexual nature in early childhood, a finding which he claimed was based on empirical evidence from his own clinical experience of treating hysteria. “Whatever case and whatever symptom we take as our point of departure, in the end we infallibly come to the field of sexual experience”, he wrote ((pp. 323-324), claiming that: “[I]n some eighteen cases of hysteria I have been able to discover this connection in every single symptom, and, where the circumstances allowed, to confirm it by therapeutic success” (p. 324).

Freud also attributed aetiological significance to sexual experiences occurring around the time of puberty. These experiences could be traumatic in themselves, or they could be trivial. As examples of the latter, Freud cited the case of a woman whose neurosis was triggered by a boy stroking her hand and pressing his knee against her while looking at her suggestively, and of another who was similarly affected when an off-colour joke was told in her presence. Yet, according to Freud, whether serious or trivial, those incidents, occurring at this later stage in an individual’s life, are only provoking agents which trigger the hysterical symptoms associated with the original repressed infantile event. This original event may likewise be a serious act, for example, one of deliberate sexual penetration, or it could be merely an innocent stimulation of the genitals as might happen with nappy-changing, for example.

As regards the *nature* of the hysterical symptoms, this could be associated with the sensory content of the infantile experience or by more recent negative experiences which had had disproportionate effects on the patient on account of the oversensitivity generated by the early experience. Freud believed the latter type of cause to be more common. He explains the mechanism by which this operated by describing a situation in which a wife overreacts to an insult from her husband. Although the reaction may seem disproportionate, it is only the latest of an accumulation of slights to which she has overreacted over the years, at the bottom of which lies “the memory of a serious slight in childhood which has never been overcome” (p. 337).

To summarise: Freud believed at this point in his life that hysteria is caused by a traumatic genital experience in childhood, the memory of which is repressed. No repercussions are experienced until later in life, usually around the time of puberty when a sexual event reactivates the emotions associated with the earlier experience. When this occurs, these emotions are manifested in the form of physical symptoms and in a state of heightened mental sensitivity.

Freud considered his findings to be so significant that he claimed to his audience that he had discovered a “caput Nili in neuropathology” (p. 326). However, he expected that objections would be raised and made an attempt to pre-empt them. It might, he suggested, be claimed that patients were lying when they reported memories of early sexual scenes, or that they were simply imagining them. Freud dismissed such ideas on the grounds that patients did not merely describe such events but simultaneously re-experienced the associated emotions. Furthermore, they expressed indignation when informed in advance that they might encounter such memories and then disbelief when confronted with the memories supposedly recovered.

Freud also addressed the possibility that the doctor might be accused of forcing his own ideas on the patient. He countered this by stating that he had “never yet succeeded in forcing on a patient a scene I was expecting to find, in such a way that he seemed to be living through it with all the appropriate feelings” (p. 328). The litmus test here seems to be Freud’s own evaluation of the genuineness of the patient’s behaviour. A third line of defence which Freud adduced is that in two of the eighteen cases under discussion, the

findings were confirmed by third parties. Finally, Freud claimed that when all the parts of a case history were put together, from the infantile scenes to later life developments, they were found to fall perfectly into place like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle.

Freud later modified his seduction theory, stating that the sexual scenes supposedly remembered by his patients had not actually happened but were instead fantasies on their part (Masson, 1984; Gay, 1988).

6.4.2 Freud's theories compared with Leopold's and Anna's narratives

I will now consider Freud's (1896) theoretical explication of the aetiology of hysteria in light of the evidence we have obtained from the narratives of Leopold and Anna.

For Freud, two types of event are required for the generation of hysteria:

1. a traumatic event of a genital nature in early childhood, subsequently repressed from consciousness
2. a sexual event around the time of puberty which reactivates the emotions associated with the earlier experience

In both cases the event itself may be either serious or trivial. The emotions aroused at the time of the second event, which are not consciously associated with the original event, are manifested in the form of physical symptoms and/or a state of hypersensitivity.

I will first examine the content of Anna's memories and hallucinations as reported by Leopold during her treatment by Freud. Table 16 below quotes all relevant extracts and covers the period from September 1890 to April 1893.

Table 16: *Prominent items from Anna's memories and hallucinations*

Date	Memory/hallucination/relived experience/raving	Prominent items
25.9.90	Anna Hallucinationen Gesichts, bedeutliches Sprechen später des Gehörs	Unidentified face, voices
2.10.90	Anna macht Erinnerungen an Keller durch, spricht französisch.	Keller
16.10.90	Ganz plötzlich während eines Gesprächs mit Sophie sieht Anna Paris entschwinden.	Paris

18.10.90	Erinnerung an die Ankunft in Dover wo sie ausland getragen wird.	Arrival in England
10.11.90	Episode vom Tod Papa's und sein Begräbniß ist ihr gegenwärtig	Father's death
24.12.90	Anna wieder Erinnerungen an, an Franzi's Krankheit.	Franzi's illness
4.2.91	Anna Erinnerungen an Saar	Ferdinand vonSaar
12.2.91	Anna immerfort Erinnerungen, wiedersehen in Paris, Nacht bei Keller wo ich gewacht Schlüssel.....	Paris, Keller
15.2.91	Anna's Erinnerungen an Keller	Keller
16.2.91	Anna Erinnerung mein Duell mit Keller.	Keller
20.2.91	Erinnerungen an die Rückreise von Paris	Paris
22.2.91	Erinnerung an Eduards Tod.	Father's death
14.4.91	Erinnerung an Windhund	Greyhound
20.5.91	Geschichte von Polonius Leiche zwischen der Thürn	Corpse of Polonius
21.5.91	Anna sieht sich als Leiche, vorhalten der Familie bei der Trauer	Herself as a corpse
24.5.91	delirien, teufel, fliegen, Freud, schlange etc.	Devil, flies, Freud, snake
27.5.91	Es kommen delirien bilder erotische und Thiere Hunde Affen, ... Elefant dan Verse Erinnerungen, Weismann, Brühl, Bufalo [<i>sic</i>] Bill, etc	Erotic images, animals, diverse people
21.6.91	Sie sieht oft Thier Affen, Vögel, Eleph. Bären, Tigre ... Hunde. Aber auch Menschen, immer mit erotischem Ausgang	Animals, also humans, always with an erotic element
6.2.92	Bei Anna repetition der Parisen Zustände die mit Morphin zusammenhängen. Schrecken über die douche (Keller: Entrez!)	Paris, Keller, morphine
17.2.92	Anna glaubt, die franz. Sprache für immer los zu sein In Delirien in Paris fasste sie den Entschluß Keller zulieb französın zu werden.	Paris, Keller
6.3.92	Hört die Stimme vom Plafond "die Stimme ist die Spritze der"	Voice ...
18.3.92	Anna noch immer ganz in der Zeit meines Besuchs in Paris	Paris

25.3.92	Wiederholung der ärgsten Pariser Delirien aus dem März 83.	Paris
1.4.92	Anna hat jetzt die Zustände des vorigen Jahres alle wieder durch zu machen, bei welchen sie dies Morphin verlangen ausgelassen, dazu kommen die Delirien die im vorigen Jahre dazugekommen eine enorm complicité Arbeit.	Morphine
11.7.92	Erinnerung in der Nähe der Spinnerin am Kreuz.	Being near a crazy woman
12.8.92	Anna wenig wohl Schwiegermutter im Ofen todtensehe	Sees mother-in-law dead in oven
16.10.92	Anna delirien franz. in Versen, daß sie mich getödtet.	Idea that she has murdered Leopold
20.10.92	immer delirien von Paris mein Aufenthalt von 10 März bis 1 April 1883.	Paris
31.1.93	Anna schneidet sich in den Finger, läßt des Blut fließen plaudert mit Julius weiter. In der Hypnose kommt später die Idee sie möchte wie ein Brotleib sich zerschneiden lassen. Sie spürt einen Schmerz im Arm. Es kommt dann heraus daß der Kutscher beim Aussteigen aus dem Wagen ihr den Arm gepresst hat. Sie spürt ein brennen (irgendwo) sieht eine auf dem Wege im Wald vom Heiligenkreuz vor der ihr graust.	Idea that she would like to be sliced like a loaf of bread. Arm hurt by coachman. Frightening sight in the woods.
2.3.93	Wichtigste Episode seit 8 Tagen bei Anna: Erinnerungen an die Kathe, eine entsetzliche Kindsfrau, schrecken und Mißhandlungen im Alter von 4-5 Jahren als die Quelle der erotischen Reizung, der Angst vor Hunden, vor Schlägen etc., einer der ergreifendsten und widerlichststen Eindrücke	Cruel treatment by nursemaid
22.3.93	Anna mit Kinderzuständen	Childhood experiences
4.4.93	Anna elend, wieder ganz bei Keller,	Keller

From the entries listed in Table 16, Anna's most prominent concern appears to be related to her relationship with Théodore Keller, the doctor who treated her in Paris in 1883. Also prominent are the entries featuring animals and other entities, and it is noticeable that two of those entries (27.5.91 and 21.6.91) contain an erotic element. There is just one entry (2.3.93) which might possibly correspond to the kind of infantile sexual experience posited by Freud, where Anna described being cruelly treated by a horrible nursemaid when she

was four or five. Anna herself reportedly attributed to this her erotic excitability, also her fear of dogs and of being beaten. This could perhaps link to the two entries already mentioned which depicts erotic scenes with animals.

Could this have been Anna's own 'Caput Nili', which Freud claimed to have discovered in all his cases of hysteria? If so, it is almost certainly one which Freud missed as his treatment ended in either late 1892 or early 1893 as already noted. Furthermore, although Leopold describes the memory as particularly striking and moving, he does not appear to have discussed it with Freud, as he would surely have done if the latter had been involved in its production. Nor is it likely that Freud's services would have been dispensed with and other doctors brought in if the recovery of this memory had proved to be efficacious in the dramatic manner described by Freud. On the contrary, the nursemaid memory was not followed by an improvement in Anna's health which, if anything, worsened during the subsequent year.

6.5 Freud's therapeutic procedure

In the early years of his career, probably until around 1892, Freud treated his patients using a combination of hypnosis and suggestion. Thereafter he switched to a pressure technique - *Druckprozedur* – whereby he would press his hand on the patient's forehead, asking him to report on whatever images or ideas came into his head.

Freud describes the pressure technique thus:

I proceeded as follows. I placed my hand on the patient's forehead or took her head between my hands and said: 'You will think of it under the pressure of my hand. At the moment at which I relax my pressure you will see something in front of you or something will come into your head. Catch hold of it. It will be what we are looking for. – Well, what have you seen or what has occurred to you?' (pp. 173-174)

Eventually I grew so confident that, if patients answered, 'I see nothing' or 'nothing has occurred to me', I could dismiss this as an impossibility and could assure them that they had certainly become aware of what was wanted but had refused to believe that that was so and had rejected it. I told them I was ready to

repeat the procedure as often as they liked and they would see the same thing every time. I turned out to be invariably right. (SoH, p. 174)

Referring to the elicitation of the seduction scene in “The Aetiology of Hysteria”, Freud writes:

But the fact is that these patients never repeat these stories spontaneously, nor do they ever in the course of a treatment suddenly present the physician with the complete recollection of a scene of this kind. One only succeeds in awakening the psychological trace of a precocious sexual event under the most energetic pressure of the analytic procedure, and against an enormous resistance. Moreover, the memory must be extracted from them piece by piece, and while it is being awakened in their consciousness they become the prey to an emotion which it would be hard to counterfeit. (CW, p. 298)

In a later paper, “Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses”, Freud (1898) writes:

Having diagnosed a case of neurasthenic neurosis with certainty and having classified its symptoms correctly, we are in a position to translate the symptomatology into aetiology; and we may then boldly demand confirmation of our suspicions from the patient. We must not be led astray by initial denials. If we keep firmly to what we have inferred, we shall in the end conquer every resistance by emphasizing the unshakeable nature of our convictions. (CW, p. 360)

Parallels between the above techniques and the inquisitorial methods used to extract confessions from witches as described by Duffy, (2020) are clear.

6.5.1 Freud’s procedure with Anna

It is evident from Leopold’s diaries that Freud was implementing his techniques of memory recovery as he described them in “Aetiology of Hysteria” and that he (Freud) professed to believe that this would eliminate Anna’s symptoms. On two occasions Leopold reports his understanding of what Freud had said to him on the subject:

Freud’s Hypothese von der Wiederkehr alter Zustände als Ausklingen der Krankheit (TB7: 23.6.90)

Gespräch mit Freud, der in seiner Ansicht bestärkt ist, daß Anna nur durch die unverarbeiteten Erinnerungen leidet und er beschleunigen kann, daß der Wust von unausgesprochenen sich abwickle. Anna wird ganz spontan von solchen unklaren Vorstellungen beängstigt oder fühlt die entsprechenden Zustände endlich in Krampf oder Schlaf wird ihr die Situation vollkommen deutlich, steigert sich zum Affect, schreien weinen etc und davon reden, womit die Sache für immer abgethan. (TB7: 28.1.91)

This would seem to correspond largely with Freud's own description of how he proceeded with Anna, already cited on page X above:

There first came on, while the patient was in the best of health, a pathological mood with a particular colouring which she regularly misunderstood and attributed to some commonplace event of the last few hours. Then, to the accompaniment of an increasing clouding of consciousness, there followed hysterical symptoms: hallucinations, pains, spasms and long declamatory speeches. Finally, these were succeeded by the emergence in a hallucinatory form of an experience from the past which made it possible to explain her initial mood and what had determined the symptoms of her present attack. With this last piece of the attack her clarity of mind returned. Her troubles disappeared as though by magic and she felt well once again - till the next attack, half a day later. (SoH, p.134n2)

However, Leopold is merely reporting Freud's opinion of what *should* happen, whereas Freud presents the events in a way which suggests that this is what *actually* happened and that the results were successful. It should also be noted that in the case of Anna, the procedure involved the patient passing through some form of altered mental state.

From Table 16 there seems to be nothing which would support Freud's claim that he had gained from Anna "the most instructive information on the way in which hysterical symptoms are determined" (SoH, p. 250). Freud himself describes an incident with Anna which at first glance might seem to correspond closely with Leopold's report of the nursemaid memory discussed above:

One day an old memory suddenly broke in upon her clear and tangible and with all the freshness of a new sensation. For nearly three years after this she once again

lived through all the traumas of her life - long-forgotten, as they seemed to her, and some, indeed, never remembered at all - accompanied by the acutest suffering and by the return of all the symptoms she had ever had. (SoH, p. 127n)

However, this cannot refer to the same incident as, if it did indeed take place, it was followed by three more years of treatment with Freud whereas the nursemaid memory emerged in 1893.

What other explanation could there be for the appearance of such a scene in Anna's mind? The memory, as it is reported, does not seem to have been explicitly sexual, although Anna's linking of it to her erotic excitability may hint at a sexual element. The content of this memory could also link to Leopold's diary entries of 27 May 1891 and 21 June 1891 where Anna is described as hallucinating scenes with animals and various men, also with a sexual element. However, the trail then runs cold and those three entries do not in themselves provide enough information on which to base conclusions.

Now let us consider again Freud's description of his procedure. Having made a diagnosis in advance:

we may then boldly demand confirmation of our suspicions from the patient. We must not be led astray by initial denials. If we keep firmly to what we have inferred, we shall in the end conquer every resistance by emphasizing the unshakeable nature of our convictions. (CW, p. 360)

From what we know of the nature of Freud's 'suspicions', ie, sexual trauma in early childhood, perpetrated by abusers, most of whom were nursemaids, governesses and domestic servants, we can now easily imagine the kinds of idea which were being forced into the mind of Anna. Whether this mind was in a *condition seconde*, or a drug-induced state, or crazed with the frustrated desire to become well again, or even all three, with each one possibly catalysing the others, those ideas are liable to have created all manner of lurid fantasies, none of which were necessarily connected with the patient's existential reality.

I would go further at this point and suggest not only that Freud elicited false memories in Anna but also that his method of treatment aggravated her emotional and psychological state. Leopold describes a steadily deteriorating condition where she even feared for her sanity: “Zustand Annas immer ärger, sie kömmt zu keiner Pause, es besteht beständige eingenommenheit, Weinen, Verzweiflung, Angst, Furcht für ihren Kopf” (TB7: 24.4.91). We thus have a fourth element – an iatrogenic one – contributing to Anna’s distressed state.

6.5.2 Criticisms of Freud’s therapeutic techniques

Freud’s techniques have been widely criticised on the grounds that they would have rendered patients vulnerable to undue pressure by Freud himself. This effect was observed at first-hand in the early days of psychoanalysis by Swiss psychiatrist August Forel. In a letter to Dumeng Bezzola dated 21 September 1908 he writes of a situation very similar to that described by Leopold in the previous section, with the patient being completely shattered and rendered half-crazy by the interpretations forced on him:

Postscriptum: Ich habe jetzt einen Fall (durch Hypnose) in Behandlung der durch psychanalyse v. Freud u. Schule total kaputt gemacht worden ist. Aus lauter sexuellen Deutungen aller harmlosesten Dinge ist die betreffende halb toll geworden. Ich glaube es gibt eine Art Psychanalyse die mehr Komplexe erzeugt als sie solche beseitigt! (Forel & Dumeng, 1989, p. 69)

Allan Esterson (1998, p. 7) maintains that much of Freud’s clinical material “was elicited by means of a highly directive and coercive technique applied by a physician who had preconceived ideas of what he would uncover”, a claim with which it is difficult to disagree in light of the imperious language used by Freud in the extracts cited above.

Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen and Douglas Brick (1996) likewise believe that Freud “extorted confessions from [his patients] that corresponded to his expectations” (p. 16). They further claim that the *Druckprozedur* adopted by Freud was a form of hypnosis which would render patients just as susceptible to suggestion as his previous hypnotic method. This, they posit, could result in “an altered state of consciousness characterised by visual “scenes” of a hallucinatory nature, a great emotional expressivity, and an increase in ideomotor and ideo-sensorial activity” (p. 32). This would explain the impression of

verisimilitude which Freud adduced as proof that his patients were truly remembering scenes in all their original emotional intensity. For Borch-Jacobsen and Brick, patients in the hypnotic state brought on by Freud were not remembering or reliving a previous state but experiencing a new one suggested by Freud himself. Jean Schimek (1987) is of a similar opinion, suggesting that the seduction scenes could have been generated in the course of “a minor hysterical attack with both verbal and non-verbal expression” (p. 944). The consensus of opinion among the above and many other critics, such as Webster (1995) and Crews (1997), is that Freud created and implanted the ‘memories’ he hoped to ‘discover’.

Freud himself describes a scenario not dissimilar to those suggested by Borch-Jacobsen and Schimek:

If one can succeed in getting into rapport with the patient during an attack such as this of generalized clonic spasms or cataleptic rigidity, or an *attaque de sommeil* [attack of sleep] - or if, better still, one can succeed in provoking the attack under hypnosis - one finds that here, too, there is an underlying memory of the psychical trauma or series of traumas, which usually comes to our notice in a hallucinatory phase. (SoH, p. 65)

From the florid goings-on depicted by Leopold one can easily imagine how the above scenarios might have played out between Anna and Freud. Freud’s confidant, Sandor Ferenczi (1988), cited in Crews (2017, p. 273), wrote that Freud “worked passionately, devotedly, on the curing of neurotics”, and claimed that Freud would “if necessary [spend] hours lying on the floor next to a person in a hysterical crisis”. Swales (1986, p. 50) is of the belief that Freud adopted this practice with Anna. Although there is no documentary evidence of this, such behaviour would not be inconsistent with his unorthodox approach at the time, nor with his fervid pursuit of clinical evidence which would support his theories.

In short, Freud’s methods of memory elicitation can be described as exploitative in that he was taking advantage of a patient while she was in some kind of altered state, a situation which was exacerbated by Freud’s conviction that he knew in advance what he was going to ‘discover’. As such, his work is open to the same kind of criticism which has more recently been levelled at the recovered memory movement (Webster, 1995; Crews, 1997).

6.5.3 Potential for iatrogenic effects

In a review of the literature on the iatrogenic effects of psychotherapy, Boisvert and Faust (2002) highlight the way in which psychiatric labels and language may affect the client's self-perception. They show how a therapist's overreliance on a particular set of beliefs to interpret or label a client's characteristics can lead to the generation of iatrogenic symptoms.

The American Psychiatric Association (Edgerton and Campbell, 1994, cited in Boisvert and Faust, p. 245) defines iatrogenic illness as "a disorder, precipitated, aggravated or induced, by the physician's attitude, examination, comments or treatment". The most relevant issue for the present study is the question of iatrogenic symptoms which may originate from a pathology-oriented belief system held by the therapist. Boisvert and Faust draw attention to the dangers posed by therapists claiming, perhaps wrongly, to have specialised knowledge. The client is then introduced to a belief system which leads her to believe that the therapist not only knows more than she does, but possibly even more than she knows about herself. Clients in a distressed state may be particularly susceptible to accepting any proposed belief system which seems to offer a cure. Therapists, for their part, may be so committed to their own cherished beliefs that they do not consider any alternatives. Gabbard (2015) compares this attitude to the modern concept of gaslighting, in that all the client's concerns are attributed to what the therapist understands her pathology to be. While it is tempting to brand Freud's approach and procedure as gaslighting, it must be remembered that this practice, strictly speaking, is based on a malevolent intention. However, the same level of epistemic injustice would appear to be involved, and the same malign results obtained, whatever the intention of the perpetrator.

Madeline Tormoen (2019), writing from personal experience, highlights the harm which can be caused to a patient when the therapist uses pathological labels to direct the therapeutic process. In treatment with a hypnotherapist, she describes how she experienced altered states in his presence, during which she was flooded with unusual emotions and urges. This was followed, outwith the sessions, by an encroaching sense of danger, loss of confidence and a fracturing of the sense of self, leading eventually to an attempt at suicide. Natalie Simpson (2006) describes experiencing similar affects both during and after being treated by a psychoanalytically-oriented hypnotherapist.

Building on the previous discussions about Freud's account of Anna's case and the development of his thinking, I suggest that his treatment of her was based on just such a pathology-oriented belief system: namely, the belief that her symptoms were caused by a traumatic genital experience in early childhood which had been repressed. Here the pathological label applied was 'historical infantile abuse'. I further suggest that by imposing this belief system on Anna, and by the exercise of the therapeutic procedure which he had devised on the basis of those beliefs, Freud not only failed to help her, but exacerbated her condition with results similar to those described by Boisvert and Faust and by Tormoen.

CHAPTER 7: LEOPOLD'S AND ANNA'S RESPONSES TO FREUD'S TREATMENT

7.1 Leopold's (presumed) letter to Freud

At this point it is illuminating to consider what appears to be the draft of a letter prepared by Leopold regarding the status of Anna's illness and its treatment. The document, which is undated and has no addressee, is in Leopold's handwriting and was found among the KarplusColl documents (Lieben: n.d.b.). Judging by the content, it was almost certainly intended for Freud.

Leopold appears to be taking stock of the situation, outlining the negative impact which, as he sees it, the treatment is having on Anna's life and weighing this against the hoped-for results. He starts by emphasising the faith he has thus far placed in Freud's method of facilitating memory recall as a means of returning Anna to health, an aim which has been prioritised over all other considerations:

Die beständig lebendige Hoffnung, daß die Erinnerungs Zustände meiner Frau sich endlich erschöpfen würden, haben begreifliche Weise jede Rücksicht zurückgedrängt, die nicht unmittelbar zur raschesten herbeiführung dieses gehofften Resultate führte.

While reassuring Freud that he is far from abandoning hope of the treatment's efficacy, Leopold seems to fear that progress is slow and that success may still be a long way off. In view of this he feels obliged to reassess the situation and questions whether the adverse side-effects involved are justified:

Weit entfernt diese Hoffnung aufzugeben, rückt aber der Zeitpunkt in unbestimmte vielleicht ferne Zukunft und damit tritt doch die frage näher ob bei der Begrenztheit des Lebens und bei der jahrelangen dauer der krankheit es sich rechtfertigen läßt, so ausschließlich das letzte Ziel in Auge zu haben und auf den Weg und die Opfer die er verlangt, gar keine Rücksicht zu nehmen.

Leopold distinguishes between two types of adverse effect. First is Anna's unhealthy lifestyle which Leopold seems to attribute to the treatment. She overeats, takes no exercise, has a disrupted sleeping pattern, and spends the nights brooding, smoking and dreaming.

She never goes out, has no contact with the outside world and obsesses constantly about morphine which she seems to regard as her sole source of support. It is not clear why Leopold links this to the treatment as there is some overlap here with Anna's lifestyle before the intervention of Freud, particularly with regard to the morphine and the sleeplessness:

Diese Opfer sind zweierlei Natur:

Erstens die abnorme physische Existenz der kranken

Bei ausgiebiger Nahrung macht sie absolut keine Bewegung,

Sie liegt und schläft fast nur bei Tag, und bringt die Nächte brütend, rauchend, traumend zu, natürlich in voller Einsamkeit. Ihre Mahlzeiten nimmt sie hauptsächlich nach Mitternacht.

Sie kömmt gar nichts ins freie, und sieht und hört nicht von der Außenwelt. Sie denkt beständig an kleine Dosen Morphin, die allein ihr etwas zuversicht verschaffen.

The second adverse effect relates to the abnormal mental states in which Anna almost constantly finds herself, with increasingly infrequent intervals of full clarity. Here Leopold refers to the two states of consciousness which Freud himself described – the *condition prime* (normal consciousness) and the *condition seconde* (hypnoid state or 'absence'). He is concerned that the activity of the *condition seconde* – hallucinations, terrifying thoughts and moods – is spilling over into Anna's normal state in a way which is making her doubt her own reality:

Zweitens, der abnorme geistige Zustand, in dem sie mit geringen immer selteneren Pausen völliger Klarheit, sich beinahe beständig befindet. Wenn auch das zweite Bewußtsein nur in den hunderterten von Hypnose und Autohypnose ungestört auftritt, so spielt es doch fast beständig in hallucinationen, schreckgedanken oder doch Stimmungen in die Gegenwart hinein. Die Kranke weiß fast nie ob etwas klare Empfindung oder Zustand ist.

Leopold hastens to reassure Freud that Anna herself still has confidence in the treatment, that she is fully committed to it, that she understands the rationale behind it, and is prepared to put up with all the sacrifices entailed. One senses here that Leopold feels that he may have overstepped the mark and is anxious to confirm Anna's faith in Freud:

Nachdem die Kranke nun immer in erster Linie den Wunsch hat gesund zu werden, und bei einigem Einblick in die Methode wie sie geheilt werden soll, sich mit der größten Energie der Behandlung unterwirft, mit der größten Vertrauen den verheißenen Ablauf des Genesungs Processes erwartet so erträgt sie ihre entsetzliche, schreckensvolle, freudenleere, Existenz mit unbegreiflicher Resignation.

Having thus guarded Anna against any suspicion that she might be critical of Freud's method, or uncooperative with the treatment, Leopold returns to the negative impact the situation is having on family life, depriving Anna of the rewarding experience of participating in the development of her growing children. Again, he leaves Anna out of the equation by stating that she herself may not be aware of those lost opportunities, which can never be recovered. The decision to question this aspect of the treatment is his alone:

Was aber in diesen kostbaren Jahren an Erlebnissen, an Zusammenhang mit ihren herangewachsenen Kindern kurz an Lebens Inhalt unwiederbringlich verloren geht, ist auch in Anschlag zu bringen, wenn auch die kranke es heute nicht tut.

Now Leopold expresses himself more bluntly. He addresses himself directly to Freud's own defence that 'things are coming'. The 'things' referred to appear to be the memories which Freud is trying to elicit. Leopold's response to this is that those memories either lay dormant for years or manifested themselves previously in a less intolerable form than when aroused by Freud. In other words, he suggests that the cure is perhaps worse than the illness:

Allerdings höre ich immer die Einwendung: "die Dinge kommen" kommen mit großer Gewalt und überfluten das normale Bewußtsein.

Jedeß muß je doch, der durch jahrelange Übung präparierte Zustand ihrer Geistesthätigkeit diese Spontaneität künstlich erzeugt haben, dann 30 - 20 - 10 Jahre lang haben Erinnerungen geruft; oder doch in einer form sich manifestirt, die unstreitig weniger unerträglich war als die jetzige.

Finally there is a sense of impotence. Leopold describes Anna's powerlessness in the face of this *condition seconde* which irrupts into every area of her life, at any time of day or

night, and from which she cannot escape. But he also seems to be expressing an impotence of his own in the face of a situation over which he has no control:

Jede Lebensführung hört auf, wo jede Willens Einwirkung hinfällig wird. Dem Auftauchen jenes andern Bewußtseins ist meine Frau zu jeder Tags und Nachtzeit, während jeder Beschäftigung in jeder Umgebung ausgesetzt, und besetzt keine macht sich dem selben zu entziehen.

The overall tone of the letter is circumspect. When compared with the despairing exasperation which Leopold expresses in his letter to Josephine von Wertheimstein of 23 December 1891 it gives the impression of a writer striving to present a fair assessment.

Or is Leopold perhaps afraid of giving offence by appearing to doubt the competence of a medical professional? It is noticeable that he makes no direct criticism of Freud's treatment; in questioning its merits, he refers only to the personal cost involved for the patient and her family. If this is so, it is puzzling that Leopold should be reticent in expressing doubts about his wife's treatment. He was a man of significant social and professional renown, a wealthy *pater-familias* of the Viennese haute-bourgeoisie, President of the Vienna stock-exchange, and as such of superior standing to the much younger Freud who was from a modest background and still relatively unknown.

Given that the letter appears to be only an incomplete draft and is undated it is difficult to say more at this stage. Overall, however, it seems to support the hypothesis that Freud's treatment could have had an iatrogenic effect on Anna's condition.

7.2 Anna's verdict

Later in life Anna wrote a poem titled *Krankengeschichte* (P, p. 155). It is found only in the published poems, in the last section titled *Aus späteren Tagen*. Table 17 presents the poem with my own prose rendering.

Table 17: Krankengeschichte vs prose rendering

<i>Krankengeschichte</i>	Prose rendering
1. Mein Gedächtnis muß ich hassen, 2. Will mein Herz nicht ruhen lassen. 3. Wie ein Raubthier auf der Lauer, 4. Unentwegt durch Schmerz und Schauer, 5. Rüttelt's an der Gräber Schrecken,	I have to hate my memory. It won't let my heart rest. It's like a predator lying in wait for me, always there, in the pain and the shuddering, shaking up the horrors of the grave, trying to arouse what only appears to be dead.
6. Was nur scheintodt aufzuwecken. 7. Jeder Schmerz, zu früh begraben, 8. Soll noch einmal Leben haben, 9. Einmal noch den Odem trinken, 10. Um für immer zu versinken, 11. Wie Natur den Fluch ersinnt - 12. Der Gespensterzug beginnt.	Each pain which has been buried too early has to be resuscitated and take breath once more so that it can then sink forever, like the curse devised by nature – the phantom procession begins.
13. Erst erblick' ich mein Jugend, 14. Rings von Schleiern dicht verhüllt; 15. Durch die Schleier blickt das Auge 16. Dunkel, fragend, schmerzerfüllt.	I look first at my youth, shrouded all around in thick veils. My eye, dark, questioning and filled with pain, looks through the veils.
17. Ferne winken Amoretten, 18. Wecken heißer Sehnsucht Drang, 19. Doch nur schwere Leidensketten 20. Schleppt sie seufzend Jahre lang.	Cupids beckon in the distance. They arouse the urge of hot desire. But, sighing, it (the desire) only drags heavy chains of suffering for years.
21. Endlich bricht sie müde zusammen, 22. Ohnmacht schließt das Aug' ihr zu, 23. Doch im Grab noch haucht sie Flammen, 24. Störend meines Lebens Ruh'!	Finally, exhausted, it collapses. Impotence closes its eyes. But in the grave it still breathes flames, disturbing my life's peace.
*** 25. Jugend, die zu früh begraben, 26. Muß noch einmal Leben haben, 27. Einmal noch den Odem trinken, 28. Um für immer zu versinken	*** (My) youth, which was buried too early must once again come to life, once again take breath so that it may sink for ever.

The analysis of this poem must be approached with caution as there is very little contextual information. It is undated, and there is nothing to indicate whether it was written during or after Anna's treatment by Freud, nor is there any indication of her emotional state at the

time of writing. Moreover, we do not know if this published version is identical to Anna's original one. In fact, the asterisks between lines 24 and 25 may represent omitted text. My analysis will therefore be more speculative than interpretative.

Rosbacher (2003, p. 459) claims that it is impossible to know whether Anna wrote the poem before or after her experiences with Freud. However, it is highly unlikely that it was the former as the thinking of Freud seems closely entwined with Anna's own account here, with Anna expressing her story in part through that particular lens.

In view of the findings of the IPA study of Anna's poems, it is understandable that she is now expressing a hatred of her memory. She perceives it as stalking her, like a beast of prey. She is trapped by it. There is no escape. In a sense, it is her jailer and she is still in the prison conditions she described more than two decades earlier. There are further traces of her earlier poems in the ghostly procession described in line 12. This recalls *An das Geschick* (V1, p. 242) where Anna begs fate to take her mental faculties away from her as they serve only to conjure up the ghosts that lie constantly in wait for her. A similar theme is found in *Ihr ahnet nicht, wie fürchtlich ich leide* (V1, p. 456) where she writes of being trapped by a demon in a ghostly net of horror. It may also correspond with Leopold's diary entry (TB7: 11.4.92) which refers to Anna's anger against him because he spoke of 'the spectre which must disappear'.

After outlining her feelings in lines 1-6, Anna goes on to summarise her understanding of what appear to be Freud's ideas about the activation of repressed painful memories and the need to give expression to them, after which their nocivity will be obliterated (lines 7-10). But she appears to be not wholly convinced. Her use of the word 'soll' implies only that this is what *should* happen. Anna lacks the certainty which is evident in Freud's own writing on the subject.

As she ransacks her memory the first thing that comes to mind is an incident from her youth (line 13). Here she is not referring to the 'Jugend' of the earlier poems, which seemed to refer to childhood and early adolescence, but to later adolescence. Now she views this period as a time in her life which is cordoned off with thick veils, as if identifying it as a scene of crime, not only hidden but signalled as a place where something

bad had happened. Is she rejecting the Freudian belief in an early childhood trigger and going back to her own idea about what happened to her as a teenager?

Next in her memories come cupids ('Amoretten') who are beckoning enticingly. It is tempting to see a connection here between Anna's use of cupids – traditionally baby figures or prepubescent boys – as sexual lures and possibly associated with Freud's ideas about infant sexuality. Could the suggestions being made by Freud have generated in Anna fantasies about children being involved in sexual activity? Whether or not this is so, the desire and longing the cupids stir up are all too real. But those feelings have been inhibited by 'chains of suffering'. Again, we find the language of restraint and imprisonment found in earlier poems. Is Anna referring to her emotional development? Could she even be referring to her gynaecological problems which may have impacted her sexual life?

It is significant that the final four lines of the poem are almost identical to lines 7-10 which I interpreted above as a statement of Anna's understanding of Freud's thinking, about which she had some reservations. However, there are now two differences:

- 'Jeder Schmerz' is replaced by 'Jugend'. Here Anna seems to be contradicting Freud and asserting that the source of her pain lies in the events of her veil-shrouded youth as described in lines 13-16.
- 'Soll' is replaced by 'Muß'. With this change Anna seems to endorse Freud's thinking as regards therapeutic procedure.

If this is correct, then it would appear from the repetition of the quatrain that Anna accepted Freud's reasoning as regards the *need* to relive painful memories but disagreed with his *placing* of the original painful incident in early childhood, at least in her own case.

CHAPTER 8: DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE ACCOUNTS OF FREUD AND THOSE OF LEOPOLD AND ANNA

The discrepancies between Freud’s account and those of Anna and Leopold are so startling that they cannot simply be put down to the differences that normally occur when several people are asked to recall an event which they have all witnessed.

8.1 Relative reliability of the three narratives

Table 18 highlights the ways in which the written accounts of the three individuals differ.

Table 18: *Narrator vs narrative type*

Narrator	Narrative type
Anna	Confessional poems
Leopold	Diary entries written for his own reference Letters to family and friends
Freud	For publication: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Studies on Hysteria</i> • “An Autobiographical Study” • Papers on the aetiology of hysteria (1896) Not for publication: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • letters to Fliess

As previously noted, most of Anna’ confessional poems are likely to have originated in the kind of ‘hot cognition’ regarded as the basis of good IPA (Smith, 2018; Smith and Eatough, 2016). Given also that they were probably written only for herself, they are likely to have been a true reflection of her feelings about the issues addressed. As such, they correspond with what Denzin (1997, p. 25) terms “naturalistic life stories” which “can be read in their own right, or gathered to become the objects of social science study”. They are not artificially assembled, but just happen in situ. While I recognise that by dividing the original corpus of poems into selected data sets for the purpose of analysis subjected them to a degree of researcher bias, with their assembly being therefore to some extent artificial,

the IPA guidelines, and in particular the practice of reflexivity, are designed to reduce this effect to a minimum.

With Leopold's diary entries, the fact that there is almost no elaboration of his thoughts or feelings, with events being listed almost like the items on a shopping list, gives his account an air of credibility. Allport, cited in Denzin (p. 48), describes the diary as "the document of life *par excellence*, chronicling as it does the immediately contemporaneous flow of public and private events that are significant to the diarist".

A striking difference between the accounts of Anna and Leopold is that Anna's is saturated with feeling whereas Leopold's is almost devoid of the same. However, for present purposes, those are positive features as Anna's feelings, her 'lived experience', are the focus of the present study. Leopold writes almost as a detached observer (although we know that this cannot truly be the case), conveying to the reader Anna's experiences of ill-health and her states of mind in a relatively objective manner. His most extravagant expressions of emotion are 'Mein Kopf!' (TB7: 24.5.1891) and 'Hundeleben' (TB7: 25.11.1891). The sentiments expressed in Leopold's letters are given added credibility by the fact that one can see how they correspond to the items detailed in his diary entries around the same dates.

In the case of Freud's treatment of Anna as described in *Studies on Hysteria*, we have a very different situation. Firstly, Freud was writing for publication. *Studies on Hysteria* was published some five years after he started treating Anna and two years after this treatment terminated. There would therefore have been a time lapse between events and the time of writing which raises questions about the faithfulness of memory. Furthermore, given that Freud already had an existing theory in mind at the time of writing, his account could have been massaged, consciously or not, to conform with this theory. As Denzin (pp. 21-22) points out, Freud's case histories "come not in the subjective voice" but instead are "heavily overlaid with the interpretations of Freud".

8.2 Possible reasons for the discrepancies

In view of the above arguments, the evidence suggests that the lack of corroboration, particularly between the accounts of Freud and Leopold, who was reporting at the time the

treatment was taking place, is due to a misrepresentation of Anna's case by Freud. Was Freud lying? Was he deceiving himself? Or had he simply misremembered?

In working on his material for *Studies on Hysteria*, Freud was putting together an account of events which had taken place several years previously; he intended the material to provide evidence for his theory about hysteria which constituted the theme of the work; and he was working in collaboration with Dr Josef Breuer, on a subject which had been of shared interest to them both for more than ten years. One can imagine the intensity of cogitation and discussion devoted to their joint project.

One of the criteria called upon in establishing the truth of a testimony is the doctrine of "evidence against interest", the principle being that, if the content of a testimony runs counter to the testifier's interest, it is more likely to be true (Day and Radik, 2008). If the opposite of this principle holds true, applying it in Freud's case gives us grounds for suspecting that, as his claims about therapeutic success with Anna would have supported his professional interests by lending credence to his theories, they may not have been entirely veridical.

Could Freud have been affected by the phenomenon of imagination inflation, a form of memory distortion whereby the individual, by imagining that an event happened in the past, comes to believe that it *actually* happened (Goff and Roediger, 1998; Schacter et al., 2011)? Could his recall of past events have been influenced by his own view of himself in the manner discussed by Wilson and Ross (2003) who posit that an individual tends to reconstruct the past in a way which reinforces current self-views?

Given the almost complete lack of consistency between the accounts, such explanations do not seem adequate. Moreover, the time lapse between Freud's treatment of Anna and his writing about the case was relatively short, allowing little opportunity for a substantial rearranging of facts to be carried out by any unconscious processes in Freud's psyche. However, if we consider factors from Freud's biographical history, we may be able to account for the conundrum.

Many of Freud's biographers share the view that the circumstances of his birth and family upbringing were such as to inculcate in him the idea that he was destined for success (Jones, 1953; Clark, 1982; Sulloway, 1979; Webster, 1996). Whether or not his birth – in a caul, supposedly a sign of good luck – was greeted by the prophecy that his mother had brought a great man into the world, Freud himself later wrote: “Could this have been the source of my thirst for grandeur?” (cited in Clark, p. 9).

As the first child, and a male one at that, of his father's second marriage Freud was favoured by both his parents, especially his mother, a status which Freud later acknowledged: “A man who has been the indisputable favourite of his mother keeps for life the feeling of being a conqueror, that confidence of success which often induces real success” (cited in Jones, p. 6). Indeed, many have commented on the way in which the parental encouragement of his ambitions may have contributed to the development in Freud of a messianic personality, giving rise to images of himself as hero and prophet, as conquistador and fearless transgressor (Sulloway; Webster). The resulting personality traits led to what Sulloway (p. 217) describes as an “obsessional need for intellectual immortality”. Freud himself was confident at an early stage in his career that his ambitions would be realised well before he had any solid ground for believing that he would succeed. In a letter to his fiancée Martha dated 28 April 1885 he confessed to having destroyed all his scientific writing to date, explaining his action with the hubristic statement:

As for the biographers, let them worry, we have no desire to make it too easy for them. Each one of them will be right in his opinion of “The Development of the Hero” and I am already looking forward to seeing them go astray. (in E. Freud, 1961, p. 153)

8.3 Conclusion

Webster (p. 34) wonders to what extent Freud's psychological theories were generated by his compulsive need for fame. In light of the personal background described above, it is easy to imagine that Freud may have been affected by a pathological need for fame strong enough to facilitate a degree of self-deception. Ellenberger (1970, p. 477) claimed that Freud's approach was to “build a theoretical model and see how the facts fit it, in order to recast the model if necessary”. However, on the basis of the evidence from Anna and

Leopold, it appears that facts were both ignored and invented by Freud. In fact, it seems rather that it was the facts which were recast to fit the model.

CHAPTER 9: OMISSIONS FROM FREUD'S ACCOUNT

In view of what we know from both Anna and Leopold, one is struck by what appear to be significant omissions in Freud's account.

9.1 Gynaecological illness

Leopold's diaries show that Anna was dogged with menstrual problems and that this continued to be a cause for concern while she was being treated by Freud. The fact that she underwent two gynaecological operations, one in 1877 and the other in 1886, suggests that this was due to something more serious than simple dysmenorrhea or heavy bleeding. Although the latter conditions in themselves might contribute to Anna feeling physically and psychologically unwell, it is possible that she suffered from a more serious condition such as fibroids, uterine polyps or endometriosis. However, the severity of Anna's symptoms and the fact that her malaise started when she was still in her teens make the first of those two conditions less likely. Both polyps and fibroids are rarer in younger women and the associated pain is restricted to the abdominal area (Dreisler et al., 2009; Zimmerman et al., 2012), whereas endometriosis can begin with puberty and can affect the whole body.

9.1.1 Endometriosis?

Even today endometriosis can be difficult to diagnose and treat and, as yet, there is no cure (Gupta et al., 2015). The writer Hilary Mantel (2010) describes how her life was blighted for years while she was fobbed off with anti-depressants and anti-psychotics and even hospitalisation as a 'psychiatric' patient. Only when she carried out her own research and consulted doctors to discuss her findings was the diagnosis of endometriosis confirmed, at which point her condition had deteriorated to such an extent that her entire reproductive system had to be removed when she was aged only twenty-nine. Such were the stresses on her relationships and home life that they led to the breakdown of her marriage.

In a recent Guardian article (Barnett, 2020), the author recounts how she suffered for 21 years before receiving a diagnosis. Readers' comments in reply to the article speak volumes:

One of the worst experiences of my life was having a senior gynaecologist in a bloody bow tie at St George's, Tooting sweep grandly into the cubicle I was in with a cohort of students (that I had not given permission to be in attendance) while my legs were akimbo to tell me that what I was experiencing was likely all in my head. I still reserve quiet rage for the arrogance of that man. Took a further 6 years to be diagnosed, which I think makes me lucky. (Onetwosevenfivethree)

I've had endometriosis, huge fibroids and cysts on my ovaries for over 20 years. By the time of diagnosis I was told I had so much fused tissue that surgery could result in double incontinence. (StaggerLis)

A comment on the same article from a GP states:

8 years average until a diagnosis isn't necessarily a 'scandal' as you describe. Please appreciate that the job of diagnosis is very far from a black & white process. (Psamiad)

Nezhat et al. (2012), on the basis of an extensive historical survey, claim to have uncovered evidence that the majority of women diagnosed with hysteria were most likely suffering from endometriosis. They suggest, however, that the term 'endometriosis' could cover a number of related disorders. Although some of the claims of Nezhat et al. may be disputed (Benagiano et al., 2014), their study demonstrates that physicians have been aware of the severe suffering caused by gynaecological illness for centuries. Plato, writing of womb disorders, describes women suffering "the extremest anguish" and "all manner of illness beside" (cited in Nezhat et al., p. 5). In the 18th century Duff (cited in Nezhat et al., p. 27) described "women lying prostrate for days with nausea, vomiting, shivering, strangulation of the uterus, uterine contractions, convulsions, bowel and bladder symptoms, interrupted pulse, delirium, back pain, and 'an unquiet mind'". There were reports of women "in such agonizing pain that they would be bedridden and vomiting for several days" (p. 34), and of a woman who had "threatened to take her own life in her despair at looking forward to the next menstruation" (p. 38).

Knapp (1999), in a similar study, equates endometriosis with what was termed inflammation of the uterus in previous centuries, the word uterus at that time referring to

the whole uterine area. Knapp emphasises that the disease can affect almost the whole body and maintains that it can probably produce more symptoms than any other disease. In the words of Scottish physician Louis Brotherson (1776, cited in Knapp, p. 11): “In its worst stages, this disease affects the well-being of the female patient totally and adversely, her whole spirit is broken, and yet she lives in fear of still more symptoms such as further pain, the loss of consciousness and convulsions.” The German physician Carolus-Henricus Stoelzel (1797, cited in Knapp (p.13) describes women “tortured by the pain associated with this disorder, followed thereafter by a struggle with all of its other myriad symptoms”.

The fact that Anna had two gynaecological operations, at least one of which was for the removal of growths of an unspecified nature, indicates that she suffered from some form of uterine pathology rather than merely painful periods. It is also of interest that Anna was treated in 1873, 1875, 1885 and 1887 (TB6: 20.6.73; 3.7.75; 7.7.75; 14.6.85); TB7: 10.7.87) by a Dr Pollak [*sic*] or Pollack [*sic*] who was almost certainly Dr Jacob Eduard Polak (1818-1891), a well-known Austrian urologist famed for his work on the treatment of bladder calculi. (In fact, Gächter et al. note that the name is also spelled Pollak or Pollack in the literature.) If this is correct, and given that Polak was brought in to treat Anna a number of times over a period of fourteen years, it would suggest that she was suffering from the kind of wider abdominal symptoms associated with endometriosis. It seems also significant that Dr Polak was involved in discussing the advisability of the operation proposed by Dr Chrobak (TB7: 10.7.87).

There are two further factors which could point in this direction as outlined below.

Nezhat et al. state that in the case of endometriosis pregnancy can suppress symptoms temporarily. This is supported by Gupta et al. who note that patients often have low progesterone levels and that higher progesterone exposure during pregnancy is shown to protect against endometriosis. They add that estrogen-progesterone contraceptive pills, which establish a pseudo pregnancy regimen, are often used to alleviate symptoms for this reason. It is therefore interesting to note that Anna’s daughter Henriette reported that the only times her mother was well during her adult life was when she was pregnant (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972, p. 20): “Bis zu ihrem 16. Jahr war sie ganz normal. Und wie sie in der Hoffnung war, fünf mal, war sie auch ganz normal.” As noted previously, the

poems *Mittheilung* and *Zu Leopold am Hochzeitstage* provide possible evidence in support of this claim.

Evidence from Leopold's diaries covering the periods of Anna's pregnancies is inconclusive. While positive reports of her health during her first pregnancy are atypically frequent, no such pattern can be found during the other pregnancies. On the other hand, the frequency of entries which refer to Anna during those other pregnancies is relatively low; moreover, if we consider that Anna's overall condition was probably due to a multiplicity of factors, it is possible that any signs of malaise she exhibited during her pregnancies were not associated with her gynaecological pathology.

In his discussion of the symptoms of uterine myoma (fibroids) Winckel (1887, p. 410) observes: "While, at the same time, the patients are apparently strong and vigorous, it is one of their greatest sorrows that their friends seem unable to comprehend why they should complain." It is possible that Anna was expressing frustration for this very reason in *Wie herrlich sehen Sie aus!* (V1, p. 59), a poem in which she constructs a mocking conversation between herself and a group of acquaintances:

Mein allerliebste Fräulein,
Wie herrlich seh'n Sie aus!
Kein Mensch könnte sich denken,
Daß sie so lang' zu Haus!

Kein Mensch könnte errathen
Daß ernstlich krank Sie sind!
Und sind Sie es denn wirklich?
Und wären wir alle blind?

Meine schönen Damen und Herrn,
Der Himmel scheint wirklich zu scherzen;
Verleiht mir die besten Farben,
Und giebt mir die größten Schmerzen.

Ach, konnten von Schmerzen wir sterben,
So ereilte mich bald der Tod
Und es würden sich nimmer färben
Die Wangen zum Hohne mit Roth.

A similar theme may be found in *Im Ballkleid u. mit off'nem Haar* (V1, p. 408):

Im Ballkleid u. mit off'nem Haar,
Mit Rosen in der Hand,
Wer hätte dich, du armes Kind,
Du kränkliches, erkannt?

Im Ballkleid u. mit off'nem Haar,
Ein Lächeln um den Mund,
Da siehst du aus so strahlend schön
Fast blühend und gesund.

Am Morgen sind die Rosel wohl
Halb welk u. halb zerdrückt
Dein Auge ist ein anderes Aug' -
Wie trüb' und matt es blickt!

In Fieber brachtest du wohl zu
Den Rest der schönen Nacht?
Noch Schloß sich nicht dein Augelein,
Da Alles schon erwacht.

For a patient's experience and understanding of endometriosis we can do no better than turn again to Hilary Mantel's memoir (2010, pp. 191-192). She explains that in endometriosis the cells of the endometrium (the lining of the womb which is shed each month) find their way to other parts of the body:

Typically they are found in the pelvis, in the bladder and the bowel. More rarely they are found in the chest wall, the heart, the head. Wherever they are found, they obey their essential nature and bleed. Scar tissue is formed, in the body's inner spaces and small cavities. It builds up. It presses on nerves and causes pain, sometimes at distant sites. The scar tissue forms an evil stitching which attaches one organ to another. ... Endometriosis in the intestines makes you vomit and gives you pains in the gut. Pressure in the pelvis makes your back ache, your legs ache. You are too tired to move. The pain, which in the early stages invades you when you menstruate, begins to take over your whole month. Lately I had known days of my life when everything hurt, from my collarbone down to my knees. ... Along with endometriosis goes, not infrequently, a hormonal disarrangement that shows itself as a severe premenstrual syndrome.

From the above passage one can easily see how Anna's symptomatology, both physical and emotional, might correspond with the pattern described by Mantel. But whatever the label pertaining to Anna's gynaecological condition – and at this point it is impossible to determine with any certainty what that might have been – it is likely to have contributed to her overall sense of malaise.

Mantel highlights some of the obstacles which can lie in the path of diagnosis: “What was confusing was that (unless you knew about endometriosis) some of the symptoms seemed to have nothing to do with menstruation” (personal communication, March 27, 2021). But this observation applies specifically to endometriosis, with its idiosyncratic symptomatology; it does not explain Freud's failure to consider Anna's wider gynaecological status. Historical research of the kind discussed above makes it clear that the medical profession had for centuries been aware of the suffering occasioned by gynaecological disorders and the impact it could have on the quality of women's lives. Yet Freud does not appear to have recognised this as a factor in her pathology.

A possible explanation for Freud's omission of this factor is that he was so single-minded in his quest to prove the validity of his own theories that he saw no need, or was simply unwilling, to take wider considerations into account. A second possibility is that Freud, by his own admission, had relatively little experience or knowledge in matters relating to medical subjects other than the workings of the nervous system. Writing to his friend Wilhelm Fliess, he confessed: “[T]here is a gap in my medical equipment which it would be hard to close. I was able to learn just enough to become a neuropathologist” (29.8.1888, in Masson, 1985, p. 23)

Again, in discussion about one of Fliess's patients, he writes

I wish I were a “doctor,” as people say, a physician and a great healer so that I could understand such matters and would not have to leave you in strange hands in such circumstances. Unfortunately I am not a doctor, as you know. (29.8.1894, in Masson, 1985, p. 950)

9.2 Rheumatism?

In approximately one-quarter of Leopold's references to Anna's pain he qualifies it with the word 'rheumatic' or a related term. The term 'rheumatic disease' covers some 200 disorders, most of them affecting the musculoskeletal system, with inflammation and pain in the area concerned (Bruce, 2021) Although many of those disorders were unidentified until fairly recently, conditions labelled with the general term 'rheumatism' have a long history dating back to the time of Hippocrates and were already a topic of keen medical interest throughout the 19th century. (Parish, 1963).

One wonders what led Leopold to use this term. It may simply have seemed to him a convenient catch-all term to use in the absence of any other diagnosis as the various pain syndromes of 'rheumatism' are relatively common. Furthermore, if Anna did indeed suffer from endometriosis, it is possible that, as the endometrial cells can travel from the uterus to any part of the body, they may have lodged themselves in sites normally associated with rheumatic pain. Whatever the reason, yet again we have a diagnostic avenue which remained unmentioned by Freud.

9.3 Morphine addiction

By the 1870s the recent invention of the hypodermic syringe had resulted in the subcutaneous injection of morphine becoming a common treatment for a range of painful conditions, rendered all the more popular with patients because of the pleasurable side-effects and also because of the ease with which they could self-administer the drug. However, it was found that the pleasurable side-effects created a new problem in that patients would continue to take morphine in order to experience the side-effects; moreover, they experienced serious negative effects if they abstained (Levinstein, 1887; Zieger, 2005).

From Leopold's diaries we know that Anna was taking morphine from at least as early as 1873, that she continued to take it while Freud was treating her and was still doing so after his treatment ended in 1893. Leopold last mentioned it in 1898. Of the 42 mentions of morphine by Leopold, 16 are spread over the period 1873 to 1886 while the remaining 26 appear between 1891 and 1898, with the latter often indicating a seriously distressed

condition. It is possible, therefore, that Anna's addiction worsened during and after her treatment by Freud. The seriousness of Anna's morphine dependence is indicated by the fact that she was hospitalised on that account in 1886 (TB6: 13.7.86) although Leopold gives no information about the treatment she received then, nor of the outcome. From Henriette's interview with Kurt Eissler (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972) we also know that Freud was involved in the administration of morphine to Anna. According to Henriette, Freud would go into the nursery to obtain morphine from the nanny who was responsible for dispensing the drug.

Henriette also describes how water would be added to dilute Anna's morphine dose, a practice often adopted when attempting to wean patients from the drug (Obersteiner, 1880). The same therapeutic aim could account for the rumour, first reported by Swales (1986) with no source provided, that Anna lived at times only on champagne and caviar. Borch-Jacobsen (2011) puts this down to a desire to lose weight, while Appignanesi and Forrester (1993, p. 87) cite it as an example of Anna's "eccentric and domineering" habits, again with no supporting evidence for these claims. As far as the diet of champagne is concerned it is more likely to have been adopted to enable Anna to wean herself from the morphine as this was a standard prescription at the time for the treatment of morphinism (Levinstein, 1880, p. 117).

There appears to have been a degree of conflict between Anna and Freud with regard to her morphine consumption (TB7: 22.5.91) and it is probable that she was in alternate states of dependency and withdrawal, both of which would have impacted her overall condition.

Levinstein (p. 3) defines the morbid craving for morphine as "the uncontrollable desire to use morphia as a stimulant and tonic, and the diseased state of the system caused by the injudicious use of the said remedy". The symptoms of morphine abuse and withdrawal are multiple and various. They can include nausea, vomiting, lack of appetite, diarrhoea, changeable temper, disordered speech, neuralgic affections of various parts of the body, hallucinations, suicidal ideation, insomnia (Levinstein, 1880; Obersteiner, 1880).

Levinstein (p. 16) describes how the patient can experience "a state of frenzy, brought on by hallucinations and illusions of all the sensitive organs". Obersteiner (p. 453) notes that "where there is a strong predisposition to nervous disorder, the withdrawal of the drug

gives rise to intense psychological disturbances”, and that: “In the worst cases, mental disorders, frequently characterised by diverse hallucinations, but more especially of a melancholic form, with pronounced suicidal tendencies, are apt to ensue.”

Obersteiner (pp. 462-464) presents the case of Frau S which appears to have striking similarities to that of Anna. Described as “a highly intellectual lady of nervous constitution”, when the morphine was withdrawn she became very excited and often delirious. She “talked verses for hours”, had tetaniform attacks and pains in every part of her body. Periods of unconsciousness alternated with intervals of clear-headedness. She had hallucinations, attempted suicide and at times “talked utter nonsense”.

The following diary entries by Leopold, which include many of the symptoms mentioned in the previous paragraph, demonstrate how closely Anna’s condition could at times correspond to a morphine-related pathology:

Anna beständig sehr leidend Influenza und davon folgen Schlaflosigkeit, Ekel vor dem Essen, Schwäche, Verstimmung, Catarrh Nachtschweiss, Diarrhö. Hypnose nicht mehr Anna spricht immer von sterben, kann nicht bei Tisch bleiben. (TB7: 2.1.90)

Anna Hallucinationen Gesichts, bedeutliches Sprechen später des Gehörs. In Versen reden, Improvisationen mit geschlossenen Augen über ein Thema (TB7: 25.9.90)

Anna unbeschreiblich elend. Fast beständig delirierend und klagend. Kann sich im Bett nicht bewegen immer auf dem Rücken. Sehr blass, Augen eingefallen. Widerwille zu essen, Diarrhöhn, Schlaflosigkeit, Sehnsucht nach Morphin (TB7: 9.8.93)

As with her gynaecological pathology, Anna’s opiate status would undoubtedly have contributed to her condition both physically and psychologically. Here Freud had even less excuse for not being fully aware of the effects of morphinism as he had previously been closely involved in trying to wean his friend Ernst Fleischl von Marxow from morphine, to which he had become severely addicted (Webster, 1995). It is surprising also to note that Charcot, in discussing Anna’s chronic diarrhoea, ignores the possible association with

morphinism. He only offers advice on treating the symptom with silver nitrate and hyoscyamine while implicitly attributing the diarrhoea to psychological causes:

Contre cet accès de diarréé dont elle se plaint beaucoup et qui durant [*sic*] quelquefois pendant 15 jours ou trois semaines, n'y avait [*sic*] il pas lieu cependant d'essayer l'effet de quelques centigrammes de nitrate d'argent pris à l'intérieur. Que pensierez-vous également de l'ingestion de Hyosyamine prise à faible dose de temps à autre. Mais je le répète, c'est plutôt psychiquement qu'on doit agir, aussi [*sic*] que vous l'avez parfaitement compris et c'est par là qu'on peut être util dans ce cas. (letter to Freud, 26 September, 1888, cited in Gelfand, 1988, p. 584)

9.4 Re-assessment of Anna's condition in light of possible co-morbidities

Table 19 below lists the symptoms which were reported by Freud and by Leopold and indicates which of them could be associated with morphinism or endometriosis.

In light of the above discussion of comorbidities, let us look again at Freud's description of the sequence of events involved in a 'hysterical attack', or *condition seconde*:

It was most remarkable to see the way in which a hysterical state of this kind belonging to the past was reproduced. There first came on, while the patient was in the best of health, a pathological mood with a particular colouring which she regularly misunderstood and attributed to some commonplace event of the last few hours. Then, to the accompaniment of an increasing clouding of consciousness, there followed hysterical symptoms: hallucinations, pains, spasms and long declamatory speeches. Finally, these were succeeded by the emergence in a hallucinatory form of an experience from the past which made it possible to explain her initial mood and what had determined the symptoms of her present attack. With this last piece of the attack her clarity of mind returned. Her troubles disappeared as though by magic and she felt well once again - till the next attack, half a day later. (SoH, p.250)

Table 19: Symptoms vs possible co-morbidities

Experienced by Anna	Freud	Leopold	Morphinism	Endometriosis
Facial neuralgia	X	X		
Hallucinations	X	X	X	X (if cerebral endometriosis)
Various pains	X	X	X	X
'Absences'	X	X		
Convulsions	X	X	X (tetaniform attacks)	X
Gaps in memory	X		X	
Mood disturbances	X	X	X	X
Fears of her own worthlessness	X			
Disturbed sleep pattern		X	X	
Diarrhoea		X	X	X
Lack of appetite		X	X	
Vomiting		X	X	X
Irregular menstruation		X		X
Menorrhagia		X		X
Dysmenorrhea		X		X
Compulsion to speak French		X		
Obsession with Dr Keller		X		

It is difficult to reconcile this well-ordered progression of events, culminating in a satisfactory result, with either the chaotic accounts provided by Leopold or the complex background symptomatology indicated by Anna's comorbidities. Indeed, it is unlikely that Leopold would have failed to mention it in his diary or letters if such 'magical' cures had taken place

The first stage of the attack, according to Freud, was a ‘pathological mood’ which Anna associated with a recent mundane event. One wonders how this ‘pathological mood’ could have been isolated from her general emotional state which would probably have been affected by a number of other factors, particularly her morphine status at the time. It is likewise difficult to know if and to what extent her hallucinations could have been morphine induced.

Nowhere in his discussion of Anna’s case does Freud indicate that he attempted to differentiate between ‘hysterical’ symptoms and symptoms associated with either organic disease or the adverse effects of medication. What is remarkable here is that, despite his pretensions to scientific rigour (Sulloway, 1979; Sulloway, 1991; Gay, 1988), Freud makes no attempt to identify and control for variables not associated with his hysteria model.

9.5 Re-consideration of Freud’s hysteria diagnosis in light of Anna’s symptomatology

It will be useful at this point to examine the history of hysteria, both as a diagnostic label and in terms of its symptomatology.

Hysteria as a recognised medical condition dates back at least as far as the ancient Greeks and reached an apparent apogee in the 19th century, after which the diagnosis largely fell into disuse (Micale, 1989; Micale, 2000; Shorter, 1993; Stone et al., 2008). Micale attributes this apparent disappearance principally to medical advances which meant that people suffering from organic disease, such as multiple sclerosis, hormonal disorders or neurosyphilis, were being correctly diagnosed rather than being labelled ‘hysterical’. Similar advances in psychiatry resulted in a reclassification of the psychoses, leading to the emergence of a new nomenclature for psychosomatic disorders.

Throughout the centuries, the most common symptoms of hysteria were convulsive attacks resembling epileptic fits. During the 19th century the forms taken by hysterical somatization became more varied, with many patients manifesting paralysis of the limbs, Today a similar somatization syndrome is encountered in what are known as psychogenic non-epileptic seizures (PNES), also termed non-epileptic attack disorder (NEAD). PNES are seizures which resemble the tonic-clonic fits of epilepsy but are not the result of

epileptic neuronal discharges in the brain. They are currently understood to be “a dissociative response to potentially distressing internal or external stimuli” (Rawlings and Reuber, 2016, p. 100). Psychogenic non-epileptic seizures can also involve a loss of awareness, or ‘absence’, of the kind associated with the complex partial seizures of temporal lobe epilepsy. Predisposing factors can include past trauma, with many patients reporting previous experience of physical, sexual or emotional abuse (Ameneh et al., 2020; Dickinson and Looper, 2012). A study conducted by Martiros and Myers (2015) with sufferers from PNES revealed that a majority of their nineteen interviewees reported a history of abuse or trauma (sexual or emotional) and identified stress as the main triggering factor for the onset of a seizure.

Did Anna suffer from hysteria? As shown in Table 19 above, most of the symptoms which Freud describes Anna as having could be attributed to sources other than hysteria. It is noticeable also that Anna exhibited none of the types of paralysis which were so common during what has been termed ‘the century of motor hysteria’ (Shorter, 1993, p. 95) and which are typified by, for example, the hemi-paresis of Bertha Pappenheim, or the supposedly paralysed vocal cords of Ida Bauer, Freud’s ‘Dora’ (Freud, 2001, pp. 7-122). Even the convulsions, another prominent feature of historical hysteria, may have been due in Anna’s case to morphinism or endometriosis.

Setting aside this latter supposition, we are left with the possibility that Anna’s convulsions and her ‘absences’, or ‘condition seconde’ states, were indeed psychogenic in origin. Anna’s account of her late teenage years may constitute evidence of the kind of trauma described above by Rawlings and Reuber, Dickinson and Looper, and Martiros and Myers. Whether or not Anna experienced trauma of a sexual nature, the physical and emotional trauma of her gynaecological condition at menarche may have been sufficient to generate a psychosomatic reaction. It is also possible that, as discussed in Section 6.5 above, Freud’s therapeutic procedure constituted the kind of stress liable to trigger seizures in a patient already susceptible to such events.

CHAPTER 10: RETURN TO THE HERMENEUTIC CIRCLE

10.1 Reinterpretation of *Einst und Jetzt*

Having deduced that Anna's gynaecological disorder very probably played a significant role in her illness experience, I was then led to revisit my interpretation of the poem *Einst und jetzt*. As noted in my reflexive passage (Section 4.2.5), I recognised that my hypothesis that the poem represented a tale of sexual impropriety could be subject to modification depending on findings coming to light later in the course of the present study. Here it is important to remember that the overall analysis of Anna's V1 poems (Data Set 1) comprised two distinct stages. The first involved a close reading of *Einst und jetzt* and *Der Onkel*, with an emphasis on Anna's use of literary devices. The purpose of this preliminary analysis was to explore the hypothesis which had germinated during my initial processing of the poems, i.e. that Anna had experienced a traumatic event which had impacted her well-being. At this level, the analysis aimed more at identifying the *nature* of the event. The purpose of the second part of the analysis, using the full IPA methodology, was to identify *how* the event, whatever its nature, was experienced by Anna.

During my original analysis of the two poems, I had felt that the sexual impropriety theme was less obvious in *Einst und jetzt* than in *Der Onkel* and for this reason I examined several other possibilities as the cause of the abrupt change in Anna's well-being depicted in the former poem. As I was already aware – although only to a limited extent at this stage in my research - that Anna had had gynaecological problems, I considered the possibility that *Einst und jetzt* was a metaphorical depiction of menarche. I thought it feasible that, if Anna had suffered from dysmenorrhea and/or menorrhagia, this could have blighted her life both physically and emotionally. I discarded this, and the other alternative hypotheses described in Section 4.2.5 for the following reasons:

1. The use of well-known literary metaphors relating to seduction in *Einst und jetzt* were suggestive of sexual impropriety
2. This interpretation was given added weight by my reading of *Der Onkel*, which had the more obvious seduction theme.
3. This interpretation seemed compatible with the apparent psychological fallout as described by Anna.

After studying Leopold's diaries and exploring the possibility that Anna suffered from a serious gynaecological disease such as endometriosis, I now believe that *Einst und jetzt* can indeed be understood as a metaphorical recounting of her experience of menarche.

I will first address the objections which might be raised to this new hypothesis on the grounds of the three reasons listed above in support of my original interpretation.

Objection 1: Anna would not have used seduction metaphors if there had been no seduction.

It is quite feasible that Anna may have experienced her menarche as a devastation of her whole being and, as such, as a form of ravishment. If so, having recourse to metaphors commonly used to suggest seduction makes sense, and all the more so if we consider that a deflowering transforms a girl into a woman, as does the menarche. Moreover, although the locus amoenus can represent a scene of seduction or simply of romance, it is more widely understood as indicating pleasant conditions or as a mental landscape, as outlined in Section 4.2.1. The setting of the first part of the poem can then plausibly be regarded as representing no more than Anna's healthy, happy state before her periods started.

Objection 2: The molestation theory corresponded with my reading of Der Onkel.

This is not a valid objection as the fact that one of my interpretations of *Einst und jetzt* seemed compatible with my reading of *Der Onkel* does not prove that the two poems refer to the same event. However, before rejecting the hypothesis of an identical event, I examined the possibility that *Der Onkel* may also have been a poetic account of menarche. Focusing first on the title, I explored the cross-cultural history of colloquial terms for menstruation. Natalie Joffe (1948) notes that the term 'aunt' has been frequently used as a term for the menstrual period in both British and American English, in Polish and in German (eg, 'Besuch von den roten Tante'). Joffe also notes that a number of the German colloquialisms relate to male persons, eg, 'der rote König', 'Friedrich Barbarossa'. It is therefore feasible that Anna could have transformed the 'red aunt' into 'the uncle'. However, there seems to be little in the body of the poem which would support a catamenial interpretation. Although the inappropriate behaviour of the uncle could, at a stretch, be understood in the wider sense of ravishment which I outlined in my discussion

of Objection 1, and therefore as a possible metaphor for menarche, there is no indication that the events depicted in *Der Onkel* had any negative impact on Anna's well-being. In fact, as demonstrated in the IPA analysis of the two poems, only two of the three superordinate themes associated with *Einst und jetzt* were found in *Der Onkel* – 'Attribution of responsibility' and 'Unwillingness to be explicit'. The third – 'Feelings of personal loss' – was only associated with *Einst und jetzt* (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Objection 3: The findings of the phenomenological analysis are consistent with what is often found in an individual in the aftermath of sexual molestation, as noted in the discussion relating to the findings of Rhodes et al. (2018).

Examining again the themes presented in Rhodes et al. in Section 5.4, I felt that they could apply equally to people who had been adversely affected by other forms of negative experience, particularly ones which had generated feelings of shame. I put the question to John Rhodes, author of the 2018 report. In reply he expressed broad agreement with me, with only one reservation:

One area where I am not sure, is the aspect of 'disgust' and in particular, how the participants saw their bodies as 'dirty'. I have wondered if that could be unique or near unique. But that said there may be other routes to these same meanings where the body has been experienced as 'dirty' (eg if the person was physically ill, or humiliated by others?). (personal communication, 7 October 2021)

I have already hypothesised about Anna's attitude to menstruation in Section 4.2.4 where I outlined that of her sister-in-law, Mathilde Lieben. I will now develop a fuller picture of how she might have experienced her menarche and will thereby show how the experience could have given rise to the feelings of disgust, shame and guilt discussed by Rhodes et al.

In the mid-19th century, no qualitative research studies like those of today were carried out in the field of health, or indeed in any other discipline. However, in the case of the lived experience of menarche it may be possible to extrapolate from modern studies as there are elements of the experience which feature universally across cultures and across generations (Uskul, 2004; Lee, 2009). Findings from those studies reveal that most women, even in the present century, experience negative emotions about menarche, particularly shame. Janet Lee (p. 616) writes of "menarche's emotionally-laden and *shame*-filled dimensions

[emphasis in the original]” and shows how, historically, the taboos surrounding menstruation have restricted women’s lives. Although respondents who had undergone menarche more recently were found to report more positive attitudes to having their first period – as might be expected in an increasingly open socio-cultural climate – feelings of shame, humiliation, disgust, and the desire for secrecy were still widespread. Typical responses included: “I experienced such paralyzing shame”; “Oh my God, I was totally ashamed; it felt disgusting”; “the most horrifying and disgusting thing in my life” (p. 619).

One participant revealed that, on seeing her first discharge of blood: “I was stunned, almost a paralyzing shame feeling went through me” (p. 622). Subthemes connected with feelings of shame and humiliation focused on ideas of dirt and faeces, guilt associated with the soiling of clothes, and anxiety about male family members knowing. One can now see how Anna’s experience of menstruation, in the socio-cultural climate of 19th-century Vienna, might have generated feelings of shame and psychological discomfort. The resulting affective experience might well correspond to the theme labelled by Rhodes et al. as “degradation of self”.

If, moreover, Anna was already experiencing the dysmenorrhea and menorrhagia mentioned by Leopold, with the added anxiety about others becoming aware of her condition, one can see parallels between this situation and the picture conjured up by the second half of *Einst und jetzt*. Looking back to my initial analysis of *Einst und jetzt*, I find that this new interpretation deals with some obstacles which I had perhaps allowed myself to set aside too easily. In particular, I had had difficulty accepting that the lines: “Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück / In das ärgste Leid verkehrt” were the result of sexually inappropriate behaviour. Although such behaviour can have lasting harmful sequelae, I felt that the effects would be more limited in their range and perhaps have more pointers to their origin. There seems to be an emphasis here on the physicality of Anna’s malaise, with a comprehensive trashing of her physical health and strength as well as her happiness, which can more easily be associated with a gynaecological cause, be it only the shock of menarche. This could continue throughout the subsequent years of menstruation if the individual suffers regularly from dysmenorrhea and pre-menstrual tension, which are not uncommon. If, in addition, there is an ongoing gynaecological disease like endometriosis, the negative effects could be much more extensive, as described in Section 9.1.1.

This second hypothesis – menarche as the critical event – gives us a plausible explanation for Anna’s reticence and vagueness in describing her symptoms. She undoubtedly suffered from physical distress. She states, for example:

Mein Körper ist krank (p. 58)
Wohl bin ich krank, doch nicht allein in Körper (p. 442)

Nichts fühlend in seinem Herzen
Als seines Körpers Pein und Schmerzen (p. 28)

Anna’s lack of explicitness could be accounted for by the delicate nature of her condition, and also by the complex mental state resulting from hormone-induced mood changes and the negative emotions brought on by the physical pain and psychological distress caused by menstruation.

She complains about having to stay at home in bed while others are outside enjoying themselves (p. 190):

Verlanget nicht, daß ohne Klagen
Mein bitt'res Leid ich soll ertragen;
Mir ward zu große Pein!

Die Schwestern schmücken bunte Kränze
Zum frohen Fest! Im Jugendlenze
Lieg' ich zu Haus allein.

Im Mondenschein auf und nieder
Sie wandeln; ich lieg' krank darnieder
Und darf mich nicht erfreu'n

Ich sah', wie alles lebt und liebet,
Und wie mein Herz allein betrübet
Muß also einsam ein.

Mein Herz, daß einst der Hoffnung offen,
Verlernt nun hat es auch zu hoffen,
Drum staunt nicht, wenn ich wein'

In *Allein zu Haus* (p. 26) she expresses the same regrets:

Ich lieg' in meiner Kammer,
Und weine die Augen mir aus.
Wie sollt' es auch anders sein?
Die andere sind ausgegangen
In schönen Monat Mai;

Ich werde nimmer gesunder,
Das Herz bricht mir entzwei.

In *Was ich möchte* (p. 27) she sums up the incapacitating effect of her illness. After four stanzas describing how she would like to soar like a bird, dive into the sea, and roam the world over, she writes ruefully:

Statt alldem muß ich liegen
In Schmerz und ew'ger Pein,
Mich nur in Träumen wiegen,
Dieß scheint mein Loos allein!

Again, it is her body, rather than her state of mind, which is the obstacle. It is evident that Anna attributes her unhappiness to being unable to join in with the fun others are having, or to do the things which she would otherwise love to do. There is no sign, in these poems at least, that it is her unhappiness per se which is restricting her activities. The problem is rooted in her body.

Finally, if a gynaecological disorder rather than sexual molestation was the cause of Anna's malaise, this would account for the absence of any indication in her relationship with God that she sought help with forgiving any individual who had wronged her, as previously highlighted in the discussion of Anna's coping strategies.

Having explained on circumstantial grounds why I now propose Anna's menarche as the 'agent of destruction' in *Einst und Jetzt*, I will next assess the likelihood of this being compatible with *how* Anna experienced her malaise, but before doing so I will present some of my reflexive processes.

10.1.1 Reflexive interlude

Now that I am examining the poem from a new angle, I realise that my initial resistance to the seduction hypothesis in relation to *Einst und jetzt* had lingered on, even after the reflexive examination which I carried out in Section 4.2.5. The lines "Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück / In das ärgste Leid verkehrt" had stuck in my mind like a piece of grit in my shoe which could not be got rid of. I think I may have countered this resistance by telling myself that it was due to my inability to appreciate how damaging sexual molestation can be. At the same time, my mind seems more open to empathising with the

idea of a gynaecological disorder as partly responsible for Anna's malaise. This may be because I suffered from dysmenorrhea myself and my family environment was one in which anything to do with menstruation was shrouded in shame and embarrassment.

My understanding of shame as a lived experience, particularly the connection between the felt experience and the initiating cause, has been expanded by my theoretical exploration of the topic, as outlined in Section 4.2.4, which led in turn to a kind of personal epiphany. Throughout my adult life I have been affected in some circumstances by certain negative psychological states. Although I thought I knew the cause of those states I could not understand why the feelings which arose in me took the form which they did in terms of my behaviour and embodied reactions. I would feel as if my clothes had suddenly been ripped off; that I needed to cover myself up, hide myself, say nothing, reveal nothing of myself. At times this would be accompanied by increased heart rate and a feeling of mental and physical rigidity. Reading Lewis (1971) and others on the phenomenology of shame, especially the embodied manifestations, I recognised that the patterns those researchers described corresponded with my own feelings and bodily sensations. Around the same time, and quite by coincidence, I discovered circumstances about my life history of which I had previously been unaware but whose consequences I recognised as constituting a more powerful and a more obvious cause for my feelings of shame than my previous understanding of them had been.

This personal revelation has been influential in my rethinking of my hypothesis relating to Anna's malaise. How, if I was proposing a new cause for Anna's feeling of shame, could I square this with the findings of my IPA analysis? Would not a different cause result in a different pattern of emotional reaction? Reflecting now on my own recent experiences, I concluded that there need not necessarily be any identifying element in the felt experience of shame which would link it to the causative source. I began to ponder about shame, wondering if it could be imagined metaphorically as a river into which run multiple tributaries, with each tributary losing its identity once it is in the river. In other words, I saw shame as a kind of amorphous free-floating feeling. More recently I experienced a more puzzling sense of shame. After the election for the Scottish Parliament, I was disappointed that the narrow majority won by the Independence parties was not much greater than it was. This disappointment seemed to translate itself into a feeling of shame

about being Scottish. This shame might appear to be simply the inverse of pride in one's nationality, and as such a natural reaction to having, in my view, failed as a nation. But I have never felt any sense of pride in being Scottish. My nationality is simply a fact, a matter of birth and genetic inheritance like the colour of my eyes. This made me wonder if, once an individual has already developed a strong feeling of shame, this could carve out, as it were, a pathway in the psyche, so that subsequent emotional responses to adverse events would be more inclined to follow this same route.

I posed these questions in an email discussion with Professor Luna Dolezal, leader of the Shame and Medicine Project (2021). Dolezal agreed overall with my perceptions of shame, stating that "its cause and its effect often remain obscure to the person experiencing it" and that "experiences in early life can lead to a state of chronic shame, leading to the individual becoming more shame-prone and with shame becoming connected to one's whole life course rather than to a specific event or incident" (personal communication, May 10, 2021). I now feel more confident in maintaining that Anna's posited feeling of shame could be linked either with menarche or with sexual impropriety, or with both, without the feeling, in and of itself, giving any indication of the cause.

In this section I have shown how the reflexive process has played a dynamic part in gaining new insight into the phenomenology of shame generally and into my own ongoing experience of the phenomenon, which in turn has given me a wider perspective from which to examine Anna's.

My reflexive approach here corresponds closely with that of deSales Turner (2003) who documented her own reflexive processes while she was carrying out a phenomenological study on hope as experienced by a sample of Australian youth. Referring to the hermeneutic circle, Turner illustrates how she herself functions as part of the research 'whole' as the stories of the young people are being filtered through her understanding. She demonstrates also how her immersion in the study changed her own thoughts about hope, and how, by drawing these thoughts into the analytical process, she was able to test emerging ideas and develop new insights.

Finlay (2002) distinguishes between reflection and reflexivity, both of which play a role in qualitative research, and places them at opposite ends of a spectrum. Reflection involves thinking about something and is a more distanced process, while “reflexivity taps into a more immediate, continuing, dynamic, and subjective self-awareness” (pp. 532-533). The previous reflexive passages in this study focus more on assessing my existing preconceptions and world views and controlling their influence on my interpretative activity. As such, they might be placed somewhere in the middle of Finlay’s continuum. I believe that the reflexive work undertaken in this section has gone to a deeper level of intersubjective dynamics, tending towards what Finlay describes as “[being] aware of experiencing a world and mov[ing] back and forward in a kind of dialect between experience and awareness” (p. 533).

10.1.2 Conclusion

Feelings of shame are one of the most salient features in the IPA analysis of Anna’s poems, as they are in the menarche studies cited above. It is therefore feasible that Anna’s sense of shame was related to menarche.

The question which has been addressed in this section is: Are the initial IPA findings about Anna’s shame consistent with menarche as the source of this feeling rather than with sexual impropriety. I believe, on the basis of the reflexive discussion, that both interpretations are justifiable as the essence of the lived experience of shame would be much the same in both cases. However, after closer examination of the physical dimensions of Anna’s distress I now incline more towards the menarche interpretation for *Einst und jetzt*.

10.2 Reinterpretation of *Der Onkel*

As already noted, my original interpretation of *Einst und jetzt* had been supported by my reading of *Der Onkel*. Was it possible that my interpretation of *Dr Onkel* had been similarly influenced, with the two interpretations catalysing each other as they developed?

My reinterpretation of *Einst und jetzt* suggests that the principal actors in the two narratives – represented by ‘the dew’ in *Einst und jetzt* and ‘the uncle’ in *Der Onkel* – were of a

different nature. This observation is further supported by the difference in affective tone between the poems: *Einst und jetzt* is saturated with pain and resentment whereas *Der Onkel* seems dispassionate, almost devoid of emotion. In *Einst und jetzt* Anna reflects on the far-reaching impact which the event in question had on her whole life whereas in *Der Onkel* she presents what appears to be an isolated incident, hermetically enclosed within a capsule in time.

At this point, an alternative interpretation was proposed to me by a native German who had read *Der Onkel* as a parody of *Der Fischer* rather than, as I saw it, a rather inadequate attempt at pastiche. Being grounded in German-language culture from childhood, she was aware that *Der Fischer* had long figured large in the popular imagination and readily lent itself to different literary treatments. The poem had struck her as ‘extremely funny’, a feature which had escaped me. She also pointed out that the ‘awkwardness’ of the entire poem, which I had described as like a foot being shoe-horned into an ill-fitting shoe, is the kind of feature to be found in a parody, as is the contrast between the banality of Anna’s wording and the exalted nature of Goethe’s. She suggested that, from this perspective, *Der Onkel* could be read as a mocking account of a tedious social occasion from which Anna and a friend had fled, following which they had some innocent fun in the park with an uncle.

Consideration of this new perspective, formed by someone whose cultural horizon (in the Gadamerian sense) was not only different from mine but also closer to Anna’s, led to a readjustment of my own horizon. As I re-examined the poem through this new lens, I felt that the parody interpretation could be a valid one. Moreover, it would explain why *Der Onkel* has none of the negative sentiments found in *Einst und jetzt* and why it stands out from the other poems in Data Sets 1 and 2 as having a very singular character of its own. On further reflection, I realised that similar traits appear in a number of poems not included in the IPA study, giving us a wider view of Anna’s personality. There is evidence of caustic humour in her poems about spa life, for example. In *Morgeneur in Franzensbad* (P, p. 92) she writes scathingly about the dietary regime imposed on her, finishing with the lines:

Mit Zartgefühl und Schweigen
Erwähne ich nicht hier,

Wozu man nach dem Frühstück
Gebraucht das Sackpapier.

In *Ein Abend auf Kaltbad* (V1, p.443) she makes fun of her fellow residents. The British, for example, are summed up in the following lines:

Erkennt man Albions Kinder gleich,
Und weil sie ewig lesen.

Die Damen nur; die Herren nicht;
Die spielen schon zwölf Stunden,
Sie haben hier zu ihrem Glück
Ein Spiel gefunden.

Da hört man nur: Klingling - Klingling!
Die Münz' fällt in ein Loch da
Sie spielen schon Morgens früh
Und spielen Abends noch da.

With *Brühler Souper* (P, p. 84) Anna sends up her own family – a melange of nouveau riche and high society – in a poem described by Rossbacher (2003, p. 116) as humorous:

Die Schwester schneidet Gesichter
In ewig übler Laune,
Die Jüngste zuckt verächtlich
Darob die dunkle Braue.
Der Harry phantasirt,
Doch weist ihm gleich zurück
Der Gattin strenger Blick
Die Mutter wischt die Stirne
Und hört mit halbem Ohr,
Der Vater schreit dazwischen:
Was geht denn wieder vor?!
Der Mesko peroriert
Von schöner Frauen Liebe,
die Valla, dieser Schosell,
Giebt den Franzosen Hiebe,
Der Bruder gravitatisch
Isst still in seiner Weise -
Doch all unästhetisch
Verschlingen Hausen Reis.

As on my first exposure to *Der Onkel*, I had found *Brühler Souper* odd, even slightly unpleasant. Was my sense of humour at fault?

10.2.1 Reflexive interlude

Although my earlier reasoning had pointed towards a scene of seduction, I had remained troubled by what I perceived as the sheer idiosyncratic oddness of *Der Onkel*. As with my reservations about *Einst und tetzt*, it constituted another persistent stone in my shoe. The parody explanation could deal with this; the remaining obstacle was the question of humour. I did not see anything funny about *Der Onkel*. I could at best see that it was possibly a heavy-handed attempt at humour but if so, for me, it fell flat. I then recalled a culture-shock experience I had when I saw the following (Figure 5) in a confectionery shop in Vienna:

Figure 5: Chocolate culture shock



Perplexed and slightly appalled, I posted the image on Facebook, along with a comment expressing my bewilderment. To my surprise, a German friend told me that it fitted perfectly with a certain brand of German humour. While I recognise that 19th-century Austrian humour is possibly very different from the German today, this observation prompted me to consider that my own criteria for humour had perhaps been impeding my understanding of *Der Onkel*. Studying the poem again from this wider perspective, I see that the parody explanation can be justified.

10.2.2 Conclusion

Using only an imported literary framework for the analysis of *Der Onkel*, a persuasive argument could be built for either of the two interpretations suggested – a seduction

scenario presented in pastiche form, or a social escapade dressed up in parody. However, the poem can now be re-evaluated in light of the information discovered in the course of this thesis, taking into account the findings from the wider corpus of Anna's writing and the biographical data gleaned from Leopold. On this basis I believe the parody interpretation to be the more convincing one.

CHAPTER 11: ANNA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH DR THÉODORE KELLER

A theme which appears repeatedly, and which seems to preoccupy Anna, relates to her visits to Paris and her relationship with Dr Théodore Keller.

11.1 An extraordinary rapport

Swales (1986, p. 50) claims that, according to family descendants there was an extraordinary rapport between Anna and Freud, “some extraordinary intensity of mutual ‘infatuation’”. There is no evidence of this from Leopold, nor from the Eissler interview where Henriette (Mrs M.), replying to a question put to her by Marie-Louise (Y.W.), indicated that Anna’s feelings about Freud depended largely on how freely he was dispensing morphine to her (Moteciszky & Motesiczky, 1972, p. 8):

Y.W.: Aber ob Deine Mutter den Freud gern gehabt hat, Erinnerst Du Dich, oder hast Du keine Ahnung?

Mrs. M.: Na sie hat immer Morphin wollen von ihm. Und wenn er ihr gegeben hat, genug, hat sie ihn wahrscheinlich gern gehabt, und wenn nicht ...

This statement by Henriette may have been influenced by personal bias as she also claimed that Anna’s children all hated Freud, believing that he did their mother no good (p. 4):

Mrs. M.: Wir haben ihn alle gehasst.

Dr. E.: Ja? Warum das?

Mrs. M.: - Meine Schwestern. Die haben immer gesagt, “Der tut ihr nicht gut”.

As Henriette, who was born in 1882, was very young at the time she is unlikely to have been fully aware of the situation between her mother and Freud, or able to understand its complexities. However, the opinions she voiced in the interview with Eissler tend to undermine Swales’ belief about an ‘extraordinary rapport’ between Anna and Freud, based on information from family descendants. As the only family descendant with whom Swales appears to have communicated on the subject is Marie-Louise, who would have been aware of Henriette’s views, his claim remains unsubstantiated.

The evidence we now have, however, indicates that there may well have been an ‘extraordinary rapport’ between Anna and Théodore Keller. As shown in Table 16 above, which details the content of Anna’s memories and hallucinations during the period of her treatment by Freud, Freud himself appears only once, with his name merely being included in a list of words, along with ‘devil’, ‘flies’ and ‘snake’ (TB7: 24.5.91)). There is no contextualisation for this entry, nor indeed anything here or elsewhere in the diaries to suggest that Freud was a significant figure in Anna’s fantasies. The name of Keller, on the other hand, appears seven times in the same table, along with nine references to Anna’s stay in Paris. In fact, this relationship is by far the most prominent single theme occurring during the time span of Table 16.

During this same period, Anna suffered from an intermittent aphasia in German when she would speak only in French, as Leopold reports on numerous occasions between October 1890 and March 1893. In fact, it is interesting to note that Leopold’s first mention of Anna speaking French coincides with his first use of the word ‘Erinnerungen’ in relation to Anna, when he describes her going through her memories of Keller: “Anna macht Erinnerungen an Keller durch, spricht französisch” (TB7: 2.10.90). Anna herself attributes this phenomenon to a desire to become French for the sake of Keller: “Anna glaubt, die franz. Sprache für immer los zu sein. In unbew. Delirien in Paris fasste sie den Entschluß Keller zulieb französine zu werden” (TB7: 17.2.92).

In February 1891 Anna was reminiscing constantly about Keller: “Immerfort Erinnerungen, wiedersehen in Paris” (TB7: 12.2.91). A year later she was wholly absorbed in reliving scenes which had taken place in Paris:

Bei Anna repetition der Pariser Zustände die mit Morphin zusammenhängen.
Schrecken über die douche (Keller: Entrez!) (TB7: 6.2.92)

Anna noch immer ganz in der Zeit meines Besuchs in Paris (TB7: 18.3.92)

Wiederholung der ärgsten Pariser Delirien aus dem März 83. (TB7: 25.3.92)

When Keller last appeared in 1893 Anna was still totally taken up with him: “Anna elend, wieder ganz bei Keller” (TB7: 4.4.93).

The extent to which Anna was absorbed in thoughts of Keller is emphasised by phrases such as ‘immerfort’, ‘noch immer ganz’, ‘wieder ganz’, ‘repetition’ and ‘Wiederholung’. These memories are constant and repetitive, and indicative of obsession.

Although memories of her relationship with Keller clearly featured prominently in Anna’s behaviour, Freud makes no mention of it. However, on the basis of the above evidence, it seems likely that Anna was experiencing a condition of the kind described by Freud himself in *The Dynamics of Transference* (CW, pp. 1945-1953). In this paper Freud discusses the intense feelings which a patient can develop when they redirect what he believed to be unresolved feelings from a problematic primary relationship onto the person of their therapist in a phenomenon known as ‘transference’. The transference feelings can be unrelated in both nature and degree to the actual relationship between patient and therapist, with the intensity of the feelings being a function of the degree of neurosis. Although transference is most often associated in the public imagination with psychoanalysis, Freud points out that it can occur to an equal extent in other life situations, therapeutic or not, and he notes that transference of ‘the greatest intensity’, ‘extending to nothing less than mental bondage’, can be observed in institutions where patients are treated non-analytically (CW, p. 1948).

In fact, Freud was not the first person to observe the unusual form of rapport which could develop between individuals and persons treating them or guiding them. Ellenberger (1970) shows how the history of ‘rapport’, the term used from the time of the hypnotist Anton Mesmer in the late 18th century, goes back even further, being manifest in relationships between confessor and penitent and even between exorcist and possessed. He notes also that Freud’s contemporary, the psychologist Pierre Janet, wrote on the subject in the 1880s and 1890s. In Janet’s view, the individual’s feelings for the therapist were a combination of “erotic passion, filial or maternal love, and other feelings in which there was always a certain kind of love” coupled with a “need to be directed” (cited in Ellenberger, p. 154).

Ever since Freud first wrote of it, the phenomenon of transference has featured prominently in the literature relating to psychoanalysis and other forms of therapy. The psychoanalyst Margaret Little (1960) has written extensively about transference on the

basis of both her professional experience and her experience as an analysand, when she experienced several psychological breakdowns. In writing of the psychotic transference, Little describes how the patient seeks to establish a state of “total identity with the analyst, and of undifferentiatedness from him” (p. 377).

Such a state is graphically instantiated by Alexander (1995, p. 6) who writes of her relationship with a practitioner of neuro-linguistic programming in the following terms:

During the 166 and a half hours a week when I was not with her, I thought about her constantly. The rest of my life was dwarfed into insignificance...

“Relationship” was no longer an adequate word to describe what bound us together. In my mind, I was transported into another world where I existed in a state of rhapsodic communication with Marion. We did nothing, we said nothing, we just were.

While the transference feelings generated in the therapy relationship can be conducive to a positive outcome, they can also have a negative impact, not only on the progress of the therapy itself but on the patient’s life in general (Bates, 2005; Sands, 2000; France, 1988; Devereux, 2016).

Devereux discusses the clichéd trope of people ‘falling in love’ with their therapist, and, like Freud, links this phenomenon to unmet emotional needs in childhood. The resulting feelings can have an erotic element, but the transference is usually ‘idealising’ in that the patient projects onto the therapist the desired qualities not found in their early carers. This idealising transference can become so intense that it becomes an obsession, taking over the individual’s mental and social life to the exclusion of all else, a state which Devereux labels as adverse idealising transference (AIT). Devereux describes how people in the grip of AIT can feel disempowered. They liken its effects to those of “a powerful mood-enhancing drug, a religious experience or an addiction” and use adjectives such as ‘hypnotic’, ‘magical’ and ‘sublime’ (para. 10). They can feel in thrall to the therapist to such an extent that they lose interest in family and other relationships. Matheson (2008), cited in Devereux (para. 12), states:

I cannot over-emphasize the devastating effect all this had on my husband and children. I think they could not recognise the person they had known – a family-

orientated wife and mother. It was as if an alien had invaded my being and I was speaking and behaving in ways that were just not me. It is difficult after these years to understand the intensity of my feelings for him and the total subjugation of my will to his.

Ann France (1988), writing of her own experience, felt that her reality lay wholly in her therapy sessions, with “real life” being experienced only as an intrusion, and that the transference unleashed in her “powerful forces of the unconscious” which overwhelmed both herself and her therapist.

Rosemary Dinnage (1988) presents the case of Harriet who describes how she practically hated her children when they were sick because it meant she had to cancel her sessions with her therapist and how for years she avoided relationships with men because he could be “the only person in her life” p. 130).

‘Zoe’, cited in Simpson (2003), complains: “I have been beating myself up about the fact that it’s been a whole year and I am still obsessed with it all” (p. 197).

One can see in the above quotations echoes of Anna being ‘ganz bei Keller’.

It is interesting to note also that Rosie Alexander (1995), a native English speaker being treated by a French therapist in Paris, describes an experience very similar to the linguistic identification with Keller observed in Anna. On returning to France after a couple of weeks out of the country, she writes:

I experienced a great gush of relief at being able to talk in French, the language in which I’d communicated with Luc and which, by virtue of this, had become my ‘mother tongue’ – a language of comforting, familiar and euphonious sounds. (p. 130)

11.2 Anna’s treatment by Dr Théodore Keller

I will now explore the kind of treatment which Anna is likely to have undergone in the care of Théodore Keller. Leopold says very little about this, noting only that she was being given frequent showers.

11.2.1 Who was Théodore Keller?

Articles from the contemporary French press reveal that Théodore Keller (1845-1898) was a figure of some prominence, both socially and professionally (Delpit, 1987); Lauzanne, 1903). He was a close friend of French statesman Leon Gambetta and was a leading figure on what we might now term the ‘alternative medicine’ scene in the latter part of the 19th century, where he benefited from having patients addressed to him by the renowned Jean-Martin Charcot (Monet & Quinn, 2012; Baruch, 1910). Delmas (1885, pp. 62-63) praises an innovative hydratic device invented by Keller:

Keller a imaginé, dans sa belle installation des Champs-Élysées, un appareil fort ingénieux, pour l'emploi *distinct* de douches en jet à *fortes* et à *basses* pressions à l'aide de robinets d'arrêts commandés, distinctement, par des réservoirs *étagés*.

As well as hydrotherapy, Keller's establishment provided suspension treatments for tabes dorsalis and the like (Tatu and Bogousslavsky, 2021) and was frequented by, among other notables, Alphonse Daudet who later wrote about his experiences there in *La Doulou* (1930).

11.2.2 The hydrotherapy practices of Théodore Keller

Hydrotherapy, with its myriad techniques, was popular in the 19th century and was used to treat a wide variety of physical and nervous ailments (Scoutetten, 1843; Bottentuit 1858; Dujardin-Beaumetz, 1888). Bathing and drinking the waters were the primary modes of delivery, particularly in spa centres located around mineral springs where the composition of the water was considered beneficial to patients. Other methods included mud baths, wrapping in wet sheets, inhalation of vapours, and sprays. Scoutetten details eleven categories of delivery mode, one of which was the douche which could be applied to the whole body (douche descendante), to specific parts of it, or to the genital/anal area (douche ascendante or pelvic douche).

In his discussion of the treatment of hysteria, which he describes as “une maladie plus pénible que dangereuse”, Bottentuit (p. 119) notes a close connection between this condition and menstrual disorders. The hydropathic measures he recommends are “la douche froide générale, comme agent le plus puissant de tonicité” and “douche partielle

pour régulariser la menstruation” (p. 120). Dujardin-Beaumetz (p. 132) emphasises the care which must be taken in applying the vaginal douche for uterine complaints. The procedure requires an experienced practitioner to avoid possible pain and haemorrhage, and the application should not be too powerful or prolonged.

As Keller’s establishment was situated in central Paris, the range of hydropathic measures would be more limited than those found in spas located in the vicinity of thermal or mineral springs. It would therefore be more likely to concentrate on techniques such as the douche which did not require these special facilities, and in fact we have evidence of this from Keller himself in the form of three letters, all addressed to unnamed colleagues.

In a letter dated 6 August (sine anno) Keller describes the way in which patients were processed on their arrival for the douche treatment:

Mon cher confrère

Je pense que vous voulez parler du temps que les dames passent dans le salon de réception pour attendre qu’il y ait une cabine libre et qu’elles puissent prendre leur douche. Ceci dépend beaucoup de la saison et de l’heure. Je fais tout ce que je peux en principe pour diminuer ce temps.

...

Comme je donne la plupart des douches moi-même j’évite la perte de temps souvent considérable que l’on met à transmettre à la doucheuse les indications. Enfin je tache d’espacer les malades à des heures un peu différentes. Grace à cela j’arrive à ce que l’on n’attende généralement pas plus que 10 à 15 minutes. (Waller Ms fr-04856)

In a letter dated 1 July 1884, Keller describes a woman whom he has treated for dyspnea, vertigo and spasms of the diaphragm by directing the douche at the appropriate body areas.

Mon cher confrère

Voici une malade fort intéressante que M. Charcot m’a confiée il y a un mois pour une hydrothérapie. ... M. Charcot est d’avis que la malade se rende à spa pour continuer sa cure sous votre direction.

Madame ... est atteinte depuis sept ans de dyspnée excessivement pénible. A cette dyspnée s'est ajouté depuis trois ans un état vertigineux très complexe que la malade vous décrira et détail et qui se produit sous différentes influences ... Enfin Madame M. a des spasmes diaphragmatiques qui la prennent dans les mêmes conditions que la vertige ...

Je donne a Madame M. la douche froide ... en commençant par les pieds pour éviter un trop grand saisissement du coté des voies respiratoires. Je fais ... pour les mêmes raisons, mouillés préalablement le front et la poitrine. Durée de la douche environ 10 secondes. (Waller Ms fr-04854)

In a third letter, dated 20 July 1890, Keller introduces one of his clients to a doctor in a spa where she is to be given further treatment. He explains that Madame Arnous is extremely sensitive to the douche and that she reacts badly if it is applied too forcefully. If, however, it is applied gently for only a few seconds at a time, it has a beneficial effect on her.

Mon cher confrère

Vous aurez en même temps que cette lettre la visite d'une de mes clientes Madame Arnous à qui le Dr son médecin d'ordinaire a conseillé une cure à spa sous votre direction. Comme j'ai douché Madame Arnous depuis plusieurs années, je me permets de vous écrire un petit mot à son sujet au cas où vous la soumettriez a l'hydrothérapie pendant la cure de spa. Madame Arnous est extrêmement sensible a l'action des douches et ... les operations les plus douces que j'ai toujours dû procéder chez elle au risque de la rendre réellement souffrante chaque fois que pour une raison ou une autre j'ai voulu forcer la note un tant soit peu. Au contraire, en m'en à des douches de 4 à 5 secondes de durée et très légères j'ai toujours fait beaucoup de bien à Madame Arnous. Je me permets donc de vous donner le résultat de mon expérience pour vous en faire bénéficier vous-même et vous éviter des déboires que vous pourriez avoir ainsi que je les ai eus moi-même si vous ne connaissiez pas cette susceptibilité tout à fait particulière. (Waller Ms fr-04855)

The above letters suggest that a good proportion of Keller's patients were female, that he generally carried out the procedure himself and that he commonly used the douche. They also indicate that Keller's treatments were in line with those described by Scoutetten,

Bottentuit and Dujardin-Beaumetz. Given the preponderance of women seeking hydropathic treatment for gynaecological disorders, or because they had been diagnosed as suffering from hysteria, the *douche ascendante* would have been used, among other modes of delivery, such as those described in the letter of 1 July 1884.

11.2.3 Exploration of Anna's experiences with Théodore Keller

With this new information in mind, I now turn back to Table 16 where it is noted that Anna, in a hallucinatory state, expressed fears about the *douche*, and that Keller was somehow connected with this: “Schrecken über die *douche* (Keller: Entrez!)” (TB7: 6.2.92). A later entry contains what could possibly be a further hallucination relating to the *douche*: “Hört die Stimme vom Plafond ‘die Stimme ist die Spritze der ...’” (TB7: 6.3.92). Although the common meaning of ‘Spritze’ is ‘syringe’ or ‘injection’, it can also mean ‘hose’ or ‘sprayer’. Duden (n.d.) gives as one of the definitions: “Endstück eines Schlauchs, durch das der austretende Wasserstrahl reguliert wird; Strahlrohr”. However, given Anna’s longstanding morphinism, it is also possible that the ‘Spritze’ referred to was a syringe.

In light of this new information, I will now re-examine Leopold’s diary entries covering the period of Leopold’s visit to Paris in 1883. When Leopold arrived in Paris, where Anna had been treated by Keller for the past five months, he found her in a strange state (“befremdend Empfang”), showing no interest in him or in receiving news of the children (TB6: 10.3.83; TB6: 11.3.83)– a sign that her preoccupations were directed elsewhere. It was during Leopold’s visit that manifestations of a psychotic nature appeared in the diaries for the first time, with auditory and visual hallucinations and paranoid ideation, as presented in Chapter 5. Anna also reported experiencing some kind of altered state in which she felt that she was dreaming and that reality no longer existed for her: “1 Uhr nach dem Frühstück bewußtsein ‘daß sie träume, daß alles nicht mehr sei’” (TB6: 15.3.83). She appeared to be living in a world of her own: “Sehr verwirrt, lässt alle Fragen ohne Antwort oder aus...” (TB6: 13.3.83).

Although Leopold mentions the *douche* several times, he does so in terms too vague to allow any inferences to be drawn as regards the modality of its use. Ellenberger (1970, p. 244) notes in relation to the Weir Mitchell cure, which incorporated massage, that much of

its therapeutic success could be ascribed to the “strong psychological rapport” between the patient and the masseur. Massage therapist Ben Benjamin (2009) highlights the imbalance of power which exists in any therapeutic treatment or indeed in any professional helping relationship. The professional is an authority figure in a caring role and as a result the client is liable to transfer into this relationship elements of an early childhood relationship along with associated unresolved emotional needs. Benjamin sees massage therapy as particularly open to the transference phenomenon because the caregiving touch of massage may be experienced as reminiscent of parental nurturing in babyhood and may thus trigger regression. In the case of a client who is unable to cope with those feelings the transference can then become the dominant reality.

Reports from both patients and practitioners of hydrotherapy indicate that individuals often experienced strong feelings of physical and mental wellbeing during and after it. In his diary recounting a month taking the waters at Malvern, R.J. Lane (1851,) writes that after the douche patients often “declare that they feel as much elation and buoyancy of spirits, as if they had been drinking champagne” (p. 230). Abigail May (1800), cited in Maines (1999, p. 78) writes of her experiences at Ballston Spa in New York where she underwent hydropathic treatment for what was probably cancer. She reports that after the first shock, she “scream’d merrily” and “felt finely for two hours” afterwards. Pope (1909), a strong advocate of the douche as both a powerful therapeutic tool and a “pleasant experience”, notes that it “sets the tissues in a vibration impossible to describe; experienced, it is never forgotten” (p. 181).

At this point I was led to consider the theory developed by Rachel Maines (1999), namely, that doctors used vulvar massage, with the hand, the vibrator or the pelvic douche, to trigger a ‘hysterical paroxysm’ in patients believed to be suffering from hysteria. This theory has now been comprehensively discredited, despite having gained wide currency over the past two decades, and most notably in a credulous academia (Liebermann and Schatzberg, 2018). My own research revealed that nothing of the like was to be found in the various 19th-century works on hydrotherapy which I consulted. Furthermore, on following up some of the citations in Maines, I found that they had been used in a tendentious manner and that, when read in their original context, they created a quite different impression. In the case of Abigail May, for example, her journal reveals that she

had “screamed merrily” not when subjected to the pelvic douche but when taking an overhead douche in the company of her mother (cited in Chambers, 1994, p. 10). However, it is not impossible that the application of the pelvic douche may have led to pleasurable sensations of a sexual nature being experienced inadvertently by the recipient.

As a recipient of douche treatment, Anna would have been in a therapeutic relationship of close physical intimacy with Keller, one similar to that described by Benjamin (2009) and liable to generate the same affective phenomena. If, moreover, she experienced the kind of pleasurable reactions reported by other women as cited above, it is easy to understand that powerful feelings may have been evoked in her in Keller’s regard.

CHAPTER 12: RETROSPECTIVE DIAGNOSIS

In my concluding statement in Section 4.2.5, *Reflexive Interlude*, I expressed the opinion that any attempt at diagnostic labelling would be unjustifiable at that stage. In view of the new information which has come to light in the later part of my study, in particular from Leopold's diary entries, I believe that a retrospective diagnosis can now be proposed.

12.1 Rationale

The question of whether or not retrospective diagnosis is a legitimate academic activity is a controversial one (Karenberg, 2009, Muramoto, 2014)). However, as Karenberg points out, criticisms are, on the whole, directed at physicians, who often seem to indulge in little more than speculation about nosological labels, whereas medical historians and historiographers take a more structured approach, adopting an appropriate interpretative methodology, using primary sources and taking account of historical context

A contemporary medical diagnosis generally involves an iterative process of hypothesis construction, with adjustments being made to the original hypothesis as new evidence comes to light, producing a probabilistic judgement rather than an apodictic one (Muramoto 2014, p. 6). The manner in which a diagnosis is derived corresponds therefore with the methods adopted in Bayesian reasoning, which enables a new hypothesis ('posterior' hypothesis), formulated on the basis of new evidence, to be judged as more or less likely than the original one ('prior' hypothesis). The Bayesian judgement is therefore based on the question of plausibility.

Originally a statistical method of logical inference, Bayesian reasoning is widely used in quantitative research, particularly in the social sciences and medicine, to calculate the probability of a new hypothesis being true. However, it can also be used in qualitative research, with numerical values being replaced by evaluations based on a comparative 'more or less likely' basis (Day and Radick, 2008; Fairfield and Charman, 2018).

Muramoto maintains that the above approach can also be applied in the case of a retrospective diagnosis. However, he advocates that, in the absence of the clinical diagnostic techniques and pathological examinations available for contemporary cases, the

aim of a retrospective diagnosis should be to identify a syndrome rather than a specific disease.

12.2 Retrospective diagnosis of Anna's malaise

In justifying a retrospective diagnosis, I compare two sets of diagnoses on the basis of Bayesian reasoning:

- Freud's diagnosis ('prior' hypothesis)
- retrospective diagnosis ('posterior' hypothesis)

12.2.1 Freud's diagnosis

Freud maintained that all Anna's symptoms were psychosomatic, caused by 'hysteria'. As the new evidence which has come to light shows, Freud's account is undermined by the fact that it is largely contradicted by Leopold's account. This lack of corroboration reduces confidence in Freud's professional competence and integrity, thereby casting doubt on his medical pronouncements.

Freud's understanding of hysteria was based on his own theory about the aetiology of the condition, which in turn was linked to the procedure he had devised to treat and cure it. The fact that he did not cure Anna undermines his overall argument.

Freud fails to take account of many of the seventeen symptoms listed in Table 19. In particular, he ignores the signs of gynaecological disease and morphinism of which he must have been aware. His diagnosis of hysteria is therefore singularly lacking in explanatory power.

Two of the symptoms listed in Table 19 – convulsions and absences – may have been of psychosomatic origin as discussed in Section 9.4. If so, they could provide some partial support for Freud's diagnosis. This possibility will be explored further in the next section.

12.2.2 Retrospective diagnosis derived from the present study

The retrospective diagnosis is formed from the findings of the present study and comprises four distinct, yet related, hypotheses:

- Using the terminology advocated by Muramoto, I postulate that Anna's symptoms were principally due to "a clinical syndrome similar to or consistent with" endometriosis (H1)
- Her symptomatology was extended, and her overall condition exacerbated, by addiction to morphine, originally taken as an analgesic (H2)
- The exacerbation of her psychological condition manifested during her treatment by both Freud and Théodore Keller was at least partly of iatrogenic origin (H3)
- The convulsions described by Leopold and Freud – if they were not caused by morphinism or cerebral endometriosis – may have been due to what are now known as psychogenic non-epileptic seizures, the contemporary term for states of non-somatic origin which have much in common with those associated with hysteria in the 19th century (H4).

As demonstrated by the arguments presented throughout this study, this fourfold diagnosis was arrived at through the type of Bayesian process of hypothesis construction and revision described by Muramoto. The diagnosis not only explains symptoms which Freud either ignores or imputes to hysteria, it also possesses an internal consistency and explanatory power, namely: if Anna suffered from the kind of gynaecological disorder postulated, this would explain why she suffered from the types of pain and other dysfunction described by Leopold, why she experienced depressed moods, and why she became a chronic morphinist.

The plausibility of H1 is supported first by Leopold's descriptions of Anna's gynaecological symptoms and of her treatment by the gynaecologist Rudolf Chrobak. Its plausibility is then increased by the findings of the more recent gynaecological literature as discussed in Section 9.1.1. Gupta et al. (2015) estimate that 6-10% of women are affected by endometriosis and cite the American Society of Reproductive Medicine which reports it as the cause in 20% of cases of pelvic pain (p. 3). The information we have about the nature and extent of Anna's symptoms would seem therefore to place her in a population with an above-average probability of suffering from endometriosis or a similar syndrome.

H2 likewise explains symptoms which Freud either ignores or imputes to hysteria and it is compatible with H1.

With regard to H3, it is difficult to disentangle the various forces which may have been at play in Anna's mind while she was being treated by both Freud and Keller. However, I believe that the arguments developed first in Section 6.5.1, Freud's therapeutic procedure with Anna, and then in Chapter 11, Anna's relationship with Théodore Keller, provide plausible support for an iatrogenic element in both instances

In the case of H4, it is impossible to know whether Anna's convulsions and absence states had an organic cause. If they did not, it seems that they may well have corresponded with the kind of dissociative states described by Rawlings and Reuber (2016), as discussed in Section 9.5 above, which in turn have elements in common with those described by Freud. If contemporary thinking about psychogenic non-epileptic seizures - that they are caused by physical, sexual or emotional abuse – is correct, we can see how the dissociative states in Anna could be linked to the negative experience(s) of her late teenage years. There is, however, no indication that they had their origin in Anna's early childhood.

Overall, the findings of this study weaken the plausibility of Freud's diagnosis and provide substantial support for the four hypotheses comprising the retrospective diagnosis.

12.3 Conclusion

It is highly probable that Anna suffered primarily from a clinical syndrome similar to or consistent with endometriosis. It is equally probable that she experienced convulsions and abnormal mental states which may have resulted from traumatic experience(s) in adolescence. It is likely that her mental condition was aggravated by iatrogenic elements of her medical treatment by Freud and Théodore Keller. It is virtually certain that she suffered from severe and chronic morphinism.

If the speculation that Anna's convulsions and absence states were caused by adolescent trauma is correct, there may then be a limited degree of overlap between the retrospective diagnosis and Freud's diagnosis, but only with respect to the symptoms considered in H4.

CHAPTER 13: CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The foregoing presents a three-stranded account of the illness and treatment of one of Freud's patients, combining the narratives of the patient herself, her husband, and Freud. As such, the present study is likely to be the first of its kind. In this section I compare the findings with other significant writings from the historiography of psychoanalysis:

- A recent examination of medical reports on the Bertha Pappenheim ('Anna O') case
- Seven autobiographical accounts by patients treated by Freud
- The Kurt Eissler interviews
- Anna von Lieben in recent literature

13.1 The Bertha Pappenheim case

The most notable in-depth investigation of a case from the early history of psychoanalysis is that relating to Bertha Pappenheim ('Anna O'), first by Henri Ellenberger (1972) and then by Albrecht Hirschmüller (1989). It will be useful to examine the literature on this case as it is based on new primary material authored by Bertha's physicians and not intended for publication.

Ellenberger, who had discovered that Bertha was hospitalised in Bellevue Sanatorium Kreuzlingen after being treated by Breuer, obtained from the clinic's archives a report written by Breuer in 1882 as a summary of her illness and treatment thus far, plus a follow-up report by a clinic doctor, Dr Laupus. Hirschmüller subsequently found further case material, and also family correspondence, from the same source. Of particular interest is the 1882 report (Hirschmüller, pp. 276-290), parts of which are almost identical to sentences in *Studies on Hysteria* while others provide new or different data (Ellenberger, p. 274; Hirschmüller, p. 96). Ellenberger believes that the published report of 1895 was based on the 1882 report which was not compiled from daily notes but written from memory. It is clear from this new evidence – as both Ellenberger and Hirschmüller agree – that the patient had not been cured by Breuer, a fact acknowledged even by Freud's official biographer Ernest Jones (1953). This casts doubt on the veracity of *Studies on Hysteria* as a whole.

Dr Laupus' report (Hirschmüller, pp. 290-292) focuses mainly on Bertha's somatic symptoms, primarily neuralgia, and the medications administered to address those. Here it is interesting to observe that Bertha had not only been taking increasing doses of morphine but, when she was admitted, she was described as being addicted to the drug. In a letter to Binswanger in June 1882 Breuer admits that Bertha had been taking morphine and chloral daily. He confesses that "a considerable degree of responsibility apparently rests with me" (Hirschmüller, pp. 293-294). This raises further doubts about the medical competence of both Freud and Breuer, the latter being closely involved in the treatment of Anna von Lieben. Why, a decade later, were they seemingly so oblivious to the impact of morphinism on her condition?

13.2 The Freud patients

13.2.1 Sergei Pankejeff

A multi-stranded account with some parallels to Anna's is to be found in the literature relating to Freud's patient Sergei Pankejeff (1886-1879), popularly known as 'the Wolf Man'. Pankejeff, a wealthy Russian émigré suffering from a chronic depressive illness, was treated by Freud for four years, from 1910 to 1914, and subsequently for a four-month period in 1920.

Pankejeff was the subject of one of Freud's most famous case studies, *History of an Infantile Neurosis* (CW pp. 2735-2821). Key elements of Freud's interpretation were derived from a dream about wolves which Pankejeff had at the age of four which, according to Freud, had its origin in Pankejeff having seen his parents engage in coitus when he was aged between one and two. In contrast to the fragmentary nature of his writing about Anna von Lieben, Freud's case study of Pankejeff is long, detailed and, insofar as it is structured around his own theory of infantile sexuality, coherent. However, even at around 50,000 words, Freud states that the study only presents a partial account of the patient's illness, treatment and recovery.

In addition to Freud's report, we have two autobiographical narratives by Pankejeff himself in which he recounts his biographical history, his depressive illness and his relationship with Freud, *The Memoirs of the Wolf-Man* (Pankejeff, 1989a) and *My*

Recollections of Sigmund Freud (1989b), both of which appeared in an edited volume, *The Wolf-Man and Sigmund Freud* (Gardiner, 1989), first published in 1971. Further autobiographical material, including his opinions on his experience with Freud, is found in a series of interviews with the Austrian journalist Karin Obholzer which he gave towards the end of his life (Obholzer, 1982). As well as that, we have accounts of his case written by later analysts and writers who engaged with Pankejeff both professionally and on a personal basis (Brunswick, 1928; Gardiner, 1989).

From Pankejeff's two narratives there is little which, at first glance, might cause us to question Freud's account or his claim that Pankejeff had been cured. At the same time, there is little overall which would corroborate Freud's description of the treatment and its outcome. Both observations may be explained by the fact that his psychoanalytic treatment is scarcely mentioned in the first narrative, while the second focuses mainly on Pankejeff's impressions of the person of Freud and the analytic setting, without any discussion of his own subjective experience or of the interpretations offered by Freud. For Freud, the focus was on questions of infantile sexuality, while Pankejeff's primary themes are of mourning and loss.

It is clear that Pankejeff was quickly enchanted with Freud, seeing in him a saviour and describing him in admiring terms (1989b):

Freud's appearance was such as to win my confidence immediately. (p. 137)

At my first meeting with Freud I had the feeling of encountering a great personality. (p. 137)

After the first few hours with Freud, I felt that I had at last found what I had so long been seeking (p. 138)

He appeared dazzled by what he considered to be Freud's intellectual achievements: "It was a revelation to me to hear the fundamental concepts of a completely new science of the human psyche, from the mouth of its founder" (p. 138). He was clearly flattered by the impression he had of being a collaborator in this great work: "I can only say that in my analysis with Freud I felt myself less as a patient than as a co-worker, the younger comrade of an experienced explorer setting out to study a new, recently discovered land" (p. 140).

At the time of writing, Pankejeff still seemed to be absolutely convinced of Freud's intellectual probity:

[A]s is well known, he was never afraid to revise his theories, insofar as this seemed to him called for by his practice, that is, through observation and experience. In justification he could cite the fact that even such an exact science as physics proceeds in the same way, adjusting its theories to the specific state of empirical research. The same was true of Freud in regard to the detailed work of therapy. If one of his hypotheses was not confirmed by the associations and dreams of the patient, he dropped it immediately. (p.144)

After reading Pankejeff's adulatory, - we might even say 'star-struck' - impressions of Freud, it is not surprising to find him confessing to being in a transference condition, one rendered all the stronger by "the attractive power of [Freud's] personality" (p. 141).

At the end of his four years with Freud, Pankejeff believed himself to be cured: "Now this period was over, and I was filled with the heartening feeling that, in spite of all the difficulties, I had persevered with Freud and could now leave Vienna a healthy man" (p. 149). However, he gives little information on how this cure came about and, in fact, he remained in a state of psychological distress, dependent on analytic and other, quasi-therapeutic relationships, for the rest of his life (Gardiner 1989; Obholzer, 1982). Muriel Gardiner, the prime mover behind both the writing and the publication of Pankejeff's autobiographical material, was an American student of psychoanalysis, living in Vienna, who befriended Pankejeff and facilitated his contact with other members of the analytic community. Because of his status as Freud's most famous patient, and his willingness to engage on the subject of his illness and treatment, Pankejeff became something of a 'poster boy' for the psychoanalytic establishment, who supported him in various analytic and other types of caring relationships, thus fostering the kind of transference state already manifested in his relationship with Freud.

After his second period of analysis with Freud, Pankejeff entered into treatment with psychoanalyst Ruth Mack Brunswick, who was herself in analysis with Freud. At the time, Pankejeff was suffering acute psychological distress because of imagined disfigurements involving his nose and his teeth. The extent of his despair is described by Brunswick

(1928) who notes that “he now seemed plunged into a situation which neither he nor the analysis could cope with” (p. 290).

Brunswick diagnoses Pankejeff as suffering from a typical case of hypochondriacal paranoia which she attributes to his transference to Freud being incompletely resolved. In defence of Freud, she claims that his analysis of Pankejeff was successful in that all unconscious material had been brought to light. In her view, an “insufficient living-through of the transference itself” had allowed a remnant to survive, becoming “the basis for a new form of an old illness” (p. 266). She further excuses Freud on the basis that:

It is one thing for the analyst to consider a case complete, and another for the patient to do so. As analysts we may be in full possession of the historic facts of the illness, but we cannot know how much living-through (*durcharbeiten*) the patient requires for his cure. (p. 304)

Brunswick, who was working strictly in accordance with her understanding of Freud’s thinking, reports her belief that this final remnant of transference was satisfactorily resolved during Pankejeff’s treatment with herself.

During the last decade of his life, Pankejeff was befriended by the Austrian journalist Karin Obholzer and agreed to take part in an extensive series of interviews with her (Obholzer, 1982). In those he expresses a more equivocal, at times even negative, view of Freud and psychoanalysis. He still claims that: “Freud was a genius, there’s no denying it” (p. 26) but qualifies this with: “Even though much isn’t true, it was a splendid achievement” (p. 26). Reading between the lines here, one gets the impression that Pankejeff considers psychoanalysis to be a work of intellectual fiction rather than a procedure which can be put to practical use.

In his conversations with Obholzer, Pankejeff reflects on the role transference played in his relationship with Freud:

[H]e succeeded in bringing about a total transference to himself. (p. 31)

Well, actually, I worshipped him. That’s because of Father. Father disappointed me because he preferred Sister. (p. 32)

He also acknowledges the potential dangers of transference:

Too strong a transference ends with your transferring to individuals who replace Freud, as it were, and with your believing them uncritically. And that happened to me, to a degree. So transference is a dangerous thing.’ (p. 31)

The bad thing about an analyst is that one clutches on to him, ... one moves back into childhood and experiences everything as a child because of transference (p. 173)

and recognises it as an element in his other relationships, even with Gardiner, who was not his analyst: “I also transferred to [Gardiner], and transference is dangerous” (p. 46).

As regards Freud’s interpretation of the famous wolf dream, Pankejeff (p. 35) dismisses it trenchantly: ‘In my story, what was explained by dreams? Nothing, as far as I can see’, and describes it as ‘terribly farfetched’. Crucially, Pankejeff rejects the primal scene proposed to him by Freud on the basis of his interpretation of that dream - his alleged observation of his parents’ coitus when he was a baby. He labels the primal scene as no more than a construct and claims: ‘I have never been able to remember anything of that sort’ (p. 36). This undermines Brunswick’s claim that he had not sufficiently ‘lived through’ the primal scene with Freud but had managed to do so with her.

Finally, Pankejeff delivers his overall verdict on his relationship with psychoanalysis:

In reality, the whole thing looks like a catastrophe. I am in the same state as when I first came to Freud. (pp. 171-172)

In a word there isn’t much one can say for psychoanalysis. (p. 172)

In assessing the value of the above three versions of Pankejeff’s narrative it must be remembered that they were all produced with an intent to publish, and all three were produced decades after the events reported, raising questions about how well the events were remembered. The first two accounts were written while Pankejeff was very probably in a state of positive transference, with respect to both Freud and other members of the psychoanalytic establishment who supported him. It is also likely that he was influenced by

the desires of the latter group to avoid anything which would cast psychoanalysis in a negative light. These positive influences would have been further reinforced by his own desire to maintain his status as a person of importance to the history of psychoanalysis. The more equivocal narrative found in Obholzer was produced at a time when the above influences would no longer have been so strong. At this stage in his life, Pankejeff may have been experiencing a disillusionment, resulting in a resentful cynicism.

13.2.2 Anna Guggenbuhl

A rather different type of account is found in *Mon analyse avec le Professeur Freud* (Koellreuter, 2010), which presents and discusses the diary entries made by Swiss psychiatrist Anna Guggenbuhl during her four-month analysis with Freud in 1921. Guggenbuhl's diary was almost certainly not intended for publication and in fact it was only found some years after her death by family members who had previously been unaware of it.

The diary appears to have been written concurrently with the analysis. The entries consist mainly of descriptions of dreams which Guggenbuhl recounted to Freud, plus extracts from conversations between the two. The objective was ostensibly specific, the analysis being undertaken mainly to help Guggenbuhl come to a decision about her relationship with a man to whom she had been engaged for seven years. It seems to have been successful in achieving this aim given that, on its completion, Guggenbuhl returned to Switzerland and broke off the engagement.

13.2.3 'The Americans'

A number of other individuals are known to have published accounts of their own experience of being treated by Freud. Five of those have been the subject of book-length analysis, first by Beate Losher and Peter Newton, *Unorthodox Freud: The View from the Couch* (Larsen, 1998), and more recently by Ana Tzur Mahalel (2020).

Both works cited discuss the following memoirs:

- *Fragments of an analysis with Sigmund Freud* by Joseph Wortis (1954)
- *Diary of my analysis with Sigmund Freud* by Smiley Blanton (1971)

- *My analysis with Freud: reminiscences* by Abram Kardiner (1977)
- *An American psychiatrist in Vienna, 1935-1937, and his Sigmund Freud* by John Dorsey (1976)
- *Tribute to Freud* by Hilda Doolittle (1974)

All the above were American and were treated by Freud during the latter part of his life, in the 1920s and 1930s. All, apart from the poet Hilda Doolittle, were psychiatrists whose objective in being analysed by Freud was not to be cured of an existing pathology, but to discover more about the theory and practice of psychoanalysis; Doolittle was principally motivated by the need to resolve an ongoing writing block. All five were thus far removed from the Viennese women popularly perceived as typical analysands of [Freud] (Larsen, p. 229).

Given their focus on the person of Freud and his methods, the above works do not constitute illness narratives but should be seen rather as memoirs of encounters with Freud *qua* psychoanalyst. Some were based on diaries written at the time of treatment and subsequently edited, while others were written from memory long after the analysis ended. The fact that they were written with publication in view means that we should approach them with the kind of reservations normally applicable to such testaments. Hilary Mantel, in discussing her own memoir of illness and treatment, *Giving up the Ghost* (2010), distinguishes between “the text – literary artefact” and “what really happened”. She notes that the two must differ:

because a memoir is both more and less than a self-penned case history. There has to be shape and selection. The account can't be complete and shouldn't be. It has to inform, but it also has to work as a piece of writing. (personal communication, March 27, 2021)

When considered alongside the above works, the present study expands the existing auto/biographical historiography of psychoanalytic patients. Firstly, it extends it backwards in time. The period covered in the works described above begins in 1910, when Freud started treating Serge Pankejeff, and continues through the 1920s and 1930s until almost the end of Freud's life in 1939. Secondly, it provides it with an added dimension. In the

private confessional poems of Anna von Lieben we have a snapshot-like capturing of her feelings at the time she was experiencing them. A similar claim can be made for her husband's more factual observations of her illness and treatment. The immediacy of the writing thus contrasts strongly with the more contrived works produced for publication years after events.

13.3 The Eissler interviews

One of the most notable of the efforts to fill out the biographies of some of the historical patients of psychoanalysis is to be found in the work of Kurt Eissler who established the Freud Archives in the Library of Congress in Washington. Eissler undertook to track down and interview as many as possible of Freud's patients or their family members and acquaintances. Interviews were obtained from patients such as Serge Pankejeff and Herbert Graf ('Little Hans'), and from the associates of patients such as Ida Bauer ('Dora') and Emma Eckstein.

Access to the Freud Archive was restricted for decades, giving rise to suspicions that its guardians feared that to open it might damage Freud's reputation and indeed such suspicions have proved in some cases to be well-founded. According to Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen (2011), Herbert Graf complained to Eissler that on reading Freud's history of 'Little Hans' he found it to be shocking and a theft of his identity (p. 105). Adele Jeiteles, mother of Arthur Koestler, who consulted Freud for a nervous tic, claimed to Eissler that she and her friends did not take Freud seriously but were nevertheless titillated by his beliefs about the sexual origins of the neuroses (p. 54).

In a blog post celebrating the digitalisation of the Sigmund Freud Papers, Louis Rose (2017), executive director of the Sigmund Freud Archives, spoke of the opportunities thus opened up for the development of "more finely grained interpretations and insights regarding Freud's work, the psychoanalytic movement, and the historical times that confronted them". Yet we may question the validity of some of the information on which those interpretations and insights would be based.

For my own research I obtained from the Freud Archives the transcript of the interview which Eissler conducted with Anna's daughter, Henriette, and grand-daughter, Marie-

Louise (Moteciszky & Motesiczky, 1972). As I read through it, I had the impression that it was disjointed in parts and strangely unbalanced in terms of subject content. Overall, there is relatively little about Anna's illness and her treatment by Freud. On the other hand, there is much talk about mundane aspects of family life, such as the living arrangements of the extended family, Henriette's nanny and governess, and a childhood flirtation which the young Henriette had with the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal. When Anna is being discussed the subject never seems to be explored in any depth and at times there is an abrupt change of topic, leaving the reader frustrated at what appears to have been a squandered opportunity for finding out more. When I shared these impressions with Anna's great-grandson, Dr Michael Karplus, who had maintained a close relationship with both Henriette and Marie-Louise, he was not surprised (personal communication, November, 2018). According to Dr Karplus, Henriette had been unwilling to do the interview because of the family's negative feelings about Freud. He believed that she may have been pressurised into it, possibly by Marie-Louise, and is of the opinion that the transcript I obtained is a redacted version of what was said.

13.4 Anna von Lieben in the recent literature

Prior to this study the little that was known, or believed, about Anna von Lieben's personal and inner life was derived from the writings of Freud and the research carried out by Peter Swales. The literature on her case generally focuses on psychological interpretations and often paints her in unflattering terms.

In an article discussing a selected group of Freud's early patients, Lazarus Vogel (1994) claims that their cases are compatible with a diagnosis of Borderline Personality Disorder. In describing such patients, he calls upon the words of psychiatrist Michael Stone (1988):

In lay language we are likely to describe borderline patients as unreasonable, moody, fickle, demanding, clingy, cranky and hostile. These are all *personality* adjectives. They translate into unstable relationships, inordinate anger and affective instability. (cited in Vogel, p. 99)

In the same article Vogel notes that "Anna von Lieben fits neatly into the borderline frame" (p. 98).

Ronald Lee (1999), who describes Anna as “the *borderline* [emphasis added] patient Freud saw for three years”, attributes her condition to being forced in infancy to function as a selfobject for a parent. In support of this theory, he cites Swales’ unsubstantiated claim that that there was some extraordinary form of mutual infatuation between Anna and Freud, a rapport which Lee interprets as a re-experiencing of the infantile bond.

It is no surprise to find other, more superficial, comments in the literature based on the same misinformation and misunderstanding. With little else to speculate about, commentators have latched onto a few biographical items alleged by Swales (1986) which have caused eyebrows to raise: Anna’s habit of breakfasting on lamb cutlets, delivered every day from Vienna to her country villa; of living at times on nothing but champagne and caviar; of obliging stores to stay open late so that she could shop outside the normal hours. The description of Anna’s habits as “eccentric and domineering” (Appignanesi and Forrester, 1993, p.87) is based on such details and is a common one.

The degree to which those details can be tendentiously overblown is exemplified by Frederick Crews’ description of Anna’s late-night shopping: “Upon her command, shopkeepers would reopen after closing time so that she could ransack their shelves in one glorious burst of spending” (2017, p. 281). The original version of this story is related by Anna’s daughter Henriette who, in explaining why her mother was often late for dinner, says merely that she was ‘immer in Geschäfte und furchtbar viel zusammengekauft, was gar kein’ Sinn gehabt hat” (Motesiczky & Motesiczky, 1972, p. 21)

Crews is contemptuously dismissive of Anna’s condition, writing that: “For originality, oddness, and imperiousness of behavior, however, no-one could match Anna von Lieben” (p. 281). Referring to what he calls Anna’s “brainstorms”, Crews claims that “Lieben was a spoiled, willful, histrionic tyrant whose self-absorption and self-pity were underwritten by her wealth” and concludes that “she was more in need of something constructive to do than she was of therapy, which only provided a stage for her long-running theatrics” (p. 288). Although Crews acknowledges that Anna suffered from a gynaecological disorder, he does not take this into account as a significant factor; he even completes the sentence in a way which suggests that she herself was responsible for all the other factors: “In her

adolescence Anna had contracted an unspecified ‘female illness,’ *to which she soon began adding other debilities* [emphasis added]” (p. 282).

Borch-Jacobsen (2015) writes in a similarly caustic vein:

[Freud] vit désormais au rythme des crises et des caprices de sa cliente. Deux fois par jour, qu'il pleuve ou qu'il vente, on l'appelle au Palais Lieben-Auspitz pour calmer les nerfs de Madame. Il faut alors sauter dans une calèche, monter dare-dare au premier étage du palais – le fastueux *Nobelétage* – et apaiser l'enième attaque d'Anna. (p.160)

He reports that on her death in 1900 she was “*toujours aussi folle et insupportable*” (p. 166).

It is difficult to resist the suspicion that such personal criticisms are not only *ad hominem* but, specifically, ‘*ad mulierem*’.

The above discussion of related scholarship highlights the original aspects of the research outlined in this thesis, in particular its analysis of relatively unadulterated first-person phenomenological accounts. It also demonstrates the need for such perspectives to be foregrounded in order to counterbalance partisan and self-serving narratives, and misguided opinions based on misinformation and misrepresentation.

13.5 Potential for future research

There is still much to be learned about the ill-health of Anna von Lieben. I suggest that this could be pursued, in the manner of Ellenberger and Hirschmuller, by exploring archival material authored by her gynaecologist Rudolf Chrobak and her hydrotherapist Théodore Keller. The qualitative methodology used in this study could also be applied to other persons of interest in the field of medical history. In Anna’s wider family alone, several of her relatives, such as Josephine von Wertheimstein, Theodor Gomperz and Helene Lieben, all of whom suffered from psychological malaise, wrote confessional material which would be amenable to this type of research.

The parallels between Anna's impacted sense of self and the corresponding findings of the study (Basten & Touyz, 2019) tentatively proposed in Section (Shame and guilt), demonstrate the potential for a new phenomenological research methodology designed specifically for transhistorical populations. This type of research would be facilitated by the many internet outlets which enable publication of first-person illness experiences in the form of blogs, contributions to websites and social media platforms. While a study of this nature is beyond the scope of this thesis, a preliminary survey of online endometriosis sources suggests that it would yield promising results. The themes seen in the following poem – 'like a prison', embarrassment, depression, isolation, lack of understanding, despair – echo much of Anna's experience and are found repeatedly in other contemporary sources.

I feel trapped, my body is a prison
 But this pain isn't newly arisen
 For years I've been battling this disease
 This sickness that brings me to my knees
 My heat pad, my pjs, my bed
 Waiting for the monthly bloodshed
 The embarrassment, the depression, the isolation
 That has no cessation
 One option is to take my chance at motherhood away
 What a huge price to pay
 This disease of our womanhood
 That we get told is a falsehood
 We get told this is normal, or it's all in your head
 While we are writhing, crying in bed
 But somehow we find the strength inside
 The despair we manage to hide
 We battle through everyday
 Somehow we find a way
 We are strong headed conquerors
 Us amazing endo warriors (Endometriosis Resolved Support, 2020)

CHAPTER 14: CONCLUSIONS

I will now summarise the findings of this study in terms of the answers they provide to each of the research questions previously formulated:

1. How did Anna von Lieben experience her malaise?
2. How do the diary entries and letters of Anna's husband contribute to an understanding of Anna's malaise?
3. What new light do the findings of 1 and 2 above throw on:
 - i. Freud's reporting of Anna's case?
 - ii. Freud's theorisation about the aetiology of hysteria?

These findings are based on analysis of the new data which has come to light during the course of the study, namely:

- Anna's pattern of physical and emotional states in adolescence and early adulthood
- Her negative experience(s) in adolescence
- the extent of her gynaecological distress
- the extent of, and likely reasons for, her morphinism
- her interactions with two of her principal physicians (Sigmund Freud and Théodore Keller)
- the pattern and chronology of her psychotic disturbances
- the absence of any significant or lasting improvement in her health

How did Anna von Lieben experience her malaise?

In her autobiographical poetry written between the ages of nineteen and twenty-six, Anna expresses her first-person perspective of her illness, her relationships, and her state of mind, as she experienced them at that time. The qualitative analysis of poems written between 1866 and 1869 reveals a young woman in considerable distress, both physically and psychologically. While she gives no indication of the nature of her physical symptoms there seems little doubt that her suffering at that stage in her life had a physical dimension.

Anna professed to be aware of the cause of her malaise, describing the impact it had on her life in the poem *Einst und jetzt* but without specifically identifying that cause. Preliminary analysis suggested that it may have been an incident of sexual impropriety, a hypothesis which was bolstered by the analysis of a second poem, *Der Onkel*, which seemed to point even more explicitly in that direction. Further analysis focusing on *how* Anna experienced her trauma indicated that it had destabilised her sense of self, with the loss of her personal attributes and future potential which she described as both a living death and a form of imprisonment. Feelings of shame and guilt featured prominently.

Analysis of later poems, written during the period of her engagement to Leopold and the start of their marriage, indicated that this relationship initially had a beneficial effect on Anna's state of mind, enabling her to look forward to a positive future. However, this was relatively short-lived, after which disappointment and loneliness set in.

As regards her treatment by Freud, the content of Anna's poem *Krankengeschichte* hints at a guarded acceptance of Freud's therapeutic procedure but a possible rejection of his ideas about the cause of her malaise.

How do the diary entries and letters of Anna's husband contribute to an understanding of Anna's illness?

Leopold's description of Anna's symptoms, the information he provides about her menstrual difficulties and her morphine consumption, and the details he gives of her treatment by the various doctors involved in her care open up new dimensions of her case history, allowing us a much clearer view of her condition and also of her own and her family's responses to her medical treatment. This enables us to construct, with a fair degree of confidence, a number of hypotheses about the nature of her disease and her overall malaise.

A re-reading of Anna's poems in light of the information subsequently gained from Leopold's diaries supports the hypothesis that Anna suffered throughout her adult life from a serious gynaecological disease exhibiting symptoms similar to those of endometriosis. Further re-reading of the poems in light of this hypothesis led me to reconsider my original hypothesis that an incident of sexual impropriety was the cause of Anna's malaise and to

propose that her experience of menarche was more likely to have been the principal cause. There are also strong indications that her overall psychological condition was exacerbated by iatrogenic elements of her treatment by both Freud and Théodore Keller.

What new light do the findings throw on Freud's reporting of Anna's case and his theorisation about the aetiology of hysteria?

The observations made by Leopold in his diaries and letters during Freud's treatment of Anna contradict Freud's account of satisfactory therapeutic progress culminating in a cure. They also highlight Freud's failure to investigate Anna's co-morbidities and to take account of the impact of her morphinism on her physical and psychological condition.

As regards the aetiology of her condition, evidence from Leopold throughout the three decades of their marriage points convincingly to organic disease rather than somatisation as the main cause of her illness.

There is also evidence to suggest that, in addition to her organic disease, Anna may have suffered from an illness similar to what would now be termed psychogenic non-epileptic seizures. If so, there are some grounds to link this with earlier trauma.

Examination of the themes prominent in Anna's autopathographical writing, combined with Leopold's reports on the content of her psychotic states suggests some tenuous links with Freud's claims of Anna being in a state of 'hysterical psychosis for the payment of old debts'.

There seems nothing, in either Anna's narrative or Leopold's, to support the proposition that Anna's case was an instructive one for Freud in terms of contributing to his theory-building.

As yet, the historiography of personal psychoanalytic experience is sparsely populated. The present study not only expands the existing corpus, it also illustrates how qualitative research can be combined with historical methods to bring to life the narratives of those who can no longer bear witness *viva voce*. At a more personal level, it rehabilitates the

reputation of a woman who has been not only widely misunderstood but grossly traduced in the literature.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Analytical table for *Einst und jetzt*

Superordinate themes:

Attribution of responsibility

Unwillingness to be explicit

Feelings of personal loss

Emergent themes	Einst und jetzt	Exploratory comments
Loss of happiness	<p>Einst konnt' ich noch selig träumen Wie ich könnte glücklich sein; Jetzt kann ich nur einsam weinen In dem stillen Kammerlein.</p>	<p>Contrast in mood between then and now. Title emphasises this. Previous happiness. Daydreams about future happiness. Expectation that her happiness would continue. Present sadness. Present loneliness.</p>
<p>Loss of happiness Loss of expected future Question of agency</p>	<p>Meiner Jugend Glück und hoffen Ward gestürzt durch eine Nacht - War's des blinden Zufall's Tücke Oder ein höh're Macht?</p>	<p>Significance of event of one specific night. Shattering of her hopes and happiness.</p> <p>Cause? <u>The possibilities speculated (Fate, or a higher power) seem at odds with the rest of the poem. The possibilities suggested attribute event to some outside agency, not her own or another person's.</u> Higher power = more elevated? Or supernatural but malign?</p>

<p>Disclaiming responsibility</p> <p>Desire to exonerate.</p> <p>Self-protection</p> <p>Moment of great significance</p> <p>Innocence</p>	<p>Dieses wirst du nie erfahren, Armer Geist, denn du müßt irren, Da des Lebens ew'ge Räthsel Stets von Neuen dich verwirren.</p> <p>Doch gar lieblich war die Nacht, Hell des Firmament erglänzte, Als ich vor die Schwelle trat, Selber mir das Haupt bekränzte.</p> <p>Und in dünnen weißen kleide</p>	<p><u>Looking to attach blame. Significance of what is not mentioned. No human mentioned as being involved so no human is blamed.</u></p> <p>Who is she addressing? Her own mind? <u>Dialoguing with self.</u></p> <p>Not possible to know the answer (to the question in the previous stanza). <u>Life as something constantly confusing so she can't be expected to know the answer Perhaps she doesn't want to know the answer. Protecting herself from harmful knowledge. Denial. Desire to exonerate (herself or anyone else involved).</u></p> <p>Loveliness of surroundings.</p> <p><u>Significance of garland? Ritualistic. As if taking part in a ceremony. As if it was a moment loaded with significance.</u></p> <p><i>Metaphorical significance of crossing threshold.</i></p> <p><u>Contrast between brightness and darkness. White dress – innocence, virginity. Thin dress – little protection. Vulnerability. Thin white dress seems unusually scant for 19th century, more like a nightdress.</u></p>
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<p>Vulnerability</p> <p>Happy and carefree state of mind</p> <p>Insouciance</p> <p>Vulnerability</p>	<p>Eilt' ich aus dem regen Haus In's Geheimnisvolle dunkel Jener schönen Nacht hinaus.</p> <p>Milde schien der Mond hernieder, Träumerisch die Blumen nickten Wie von hellen Thau umgeben Aus den dunklen gras sie blickten.</p> <p>Schöne bunte Lieder zogen Freundlich mir durch meinen Sinn, Und ich legt' in wachen Traume In das duft'ge gras mich hin</p>	<p><u>Mysterious darkness: harbouring something unknown, something not understood. Fearlessness of hurrying into this mysterious darkness.</u> She 'hurried' – why the hurry? Was she expecting something? Or hurrying away from something? Probably not the latter because she was in a good mood. <u>As if eager to embrace life. Or eager to meet someone? Sense of anticipation. Was she expecting to make a discovery in the mysterious darkness? And then she got more than she bargained for?</u></p> <p>Contrast between brightness and darkness. Bright dew and dark grass. Dreaminess. Benevolent and unthreatening atmosphere.</p> <p>Idyllic description of outdoor setting. <u>Locus amoenus – landscape of the mind (Evet 1970)</u></p> <p>Carefree. Relaxed. Unsuspecting.</p> <p>Daydreaming happily. Scented grass.</p> <p><u>Like Iphigenia lying on the altar, ready to be sacrificed.</u></p>
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<p>Moment of change Sense of finality</p>	<p>Friede war in der Natur, Friede war in meiner Brust - Ach, es war der letzte Friede, Ach, es war die letzte Lust!</p>	<p><i>Emphasis through repetition of words (Friede) and phrases (Ach, es war ... letzte...).</i> Her last moment of peace. Her last moment of pleasure. Pinpointing exact time.</p>
<p>Victim of deception Cause of her future unhappiness</p>	<p>Jener mörd' schöne Thau Sollte mord'risch mich umschlingen, Nur der Thränen Bote werden Die mir künft'ge Tage bringen.</p>	<p><u>Dew as agent of death. Herself as victim. Dew as metaphor for tears to come. Oxymoronic juxtaposition of mörd' schöne, emphasising contrast between beauty of dew and its murderous actions. So was the event somehow superficially attractive? Did she feel ambivalent? Romantic or sexual connotation of umschlingen.</u></p>
<p>Feelings of ambivalence Victim of deception Extinguishing of her potential</p>	<p>Grausam habt Ihr schöne Perlen Meines Lebens Lenz verheert, Mir Gesundheit, Kraft und Glück In das ärgste Leid verkehrt.</p>	<p><i>Extended metaphor of dew. Dew as treacherous. Its treacherous embrace.</i> Dew as ravisher. Dew as both beautiful and cruel, again drawing attention to its negative and positive characteristics – superficially attractive. <u>Wolf in sheep's clothing – so it is deceptive. Springtime – when everything is just beginning to flower. Destroyed, as if by frost</u></p>

Appendix 2: Analytical table for *Der Onkel*

Superordinate themes:

Attribution of responsibility

Unwillingness to be explicit

Emergent themes	<i>Der Onkel</i>	Exploratory comments
<p>Conflicted feelings about telling the story</p>	<p>Die Musik rauscht, der Kaffee schwoll, Wir saßen weit hintan; Sah'n nach dem Parke ruhevoll, Kühl bis in's Herz hinan. Und wie man sitzt so und lauscht Theilt sich der Busch entzwei, Aus der bewegten Menge rauscht Der Onkel feucht herbei.</p>	<p>'Kaffee' –sits oddly in the poem If it was a social event, wouldn't wine or beer be more appropriate? Perhaps wanting to identify the occasion more clearly, eg, an afternoon garden party. Or is 'Kaffee' being used as a metaphor, representing something else?</p> <p><u>Hiding behind the words of Goethe.</u> She hasn't written a new poem, simply replaced some of the words of an existing one with words of her own. <u>As if trying to give the impression that these aren't her words, they're Goethe's.</u> <u>Smuggling her own words into Goethe's poem.</u> <u>Using it as a Trojan horse for her own story.</u> <u>As if putting her own words into someone else's mouth.</u> <u>Trying to shift the responsibility of telling her story from herself.</u> <u>Getting someone else to speak for her.</u> <u>Preparing an excuse for herself in advance, eg, 'I was just experimenting with pastiche.'</u> <u>Both wanting and not wanting the story to be told.</u></p> <p>The uncle burst out from the bush. Springing on them unexpectedly. <u>So he had tried to hide his approach to them.</u></p>
<p>Trying to speak about something difficult</p>		
<p>Unwillingness to be explicit</p>		
<p>Deviousness of uncle</p>		
<p>Uncle behaving like Goethe's mermaid</p>		
<p>Impression of factuality</p>		

<p>Deviousness of uncle</p> <p>Bullying behaviour of uncle</p> <p>Blame-shifting behaviour of uncle</p> <p>Seductive behaviour of uncle</p> <p>Manipulative</p>	<p>Er sang zu uns, er sprach zu uns: Versteckt Ihr Euch hierher? So abgefeinte Weiberlist, Betrügt mich nimmermehr! Ach wußtet Ihr, wie's lieblich ist In schönen Parkesrund Ihr kamt herauf, so wie Ihr sind,</p>	<p><i>'feucht', an unpleasant word. Like 'moist' to which many people report an aversion. My association with the Scottish word 'feech', so possibly it seems to me negative in a way not intended. 'feucht' – damp with sweat? <u>Physically repulsive. Damp from hiding in bush? Damp from dew in a metaphorical sense?</u></i></p> <p>The uncle's actions are presented as being comparable with those of Goethe's mermaid. Contrast between Goethe's mermaid (mythical) and the uncle (a person). So rooting the poem firmly in reality. <u>So comparison with mermaid highlights factual nature of the poem.</u></p> <p>Serenading them. <u>Contrast between uncle's charm offensive and his accusations.</u> He sang to them like the mermaid, ie, <u>luring them to danger</u>. Did she already suspect danger? Or is it with hindsight that she now sees the danger was there?</p> <p>Accusing them of something reprehensible: hiding, cunning feminine wiles. Ordering them not to deceive him. <u>Implicit suggestion that they are trying to deceive. Diverting blame from himself. Something not yet defined is their fault. Blaming them in advance. Seducing them while shifting responsibility to them.</u></p> <p>,wußtet' (indicative) – the corresponding word in Goethe is ,wüßtest'. The mermaid says: <i>If you knew....</i>, the uncle says: You knew...., <u>as if continuing to accuse them: you knew what you</u></p>
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<p>Cajoling with smooth-talk</p> <p>Creation of a locus horribilis</p> <p>Unwillingness to be explicit</p>	<p>Und würdet erst gesund.</p> <p>Labt sich denn Christ und Jude nicht Am Jausentische sehr? Kehrt kaffeeschlürfend jed' Gesicht Nicht doppelt schöner her? Lockt Euch der trübe Himmel nicht Das feuchtverklärte Grau? Lockt Euch manch' schieches Angesicht Nicht her in ew'gen Thau?</p>	<p>were doing when you came here. <u>Implication that they had an ulterior motive for being there. Implication that whatever happens it will be what the girls wanted.</u> Or is it a spelling mistake? Did she intend to write 'wüßtet'?</p> <p>Significance of Christian and Jew eating at the tea table? It doesn't seem to carry any metaphorical significance as reflection of the sun and moon in the water does in Goethe.</p> <p>Clouded sky. Damp greyness of sky. <i>feuchtverklärt</i> – ,<i>transfigured by the water</i>' (Gray: 1966, 105.) '<i>locken</i>' – <i>connotation of tempting, luring.</i> <u>Suggestion that they might be tempted by ugly faces. Suggestion that they might be attracted by things which would normally be considered repellent. Harvey Weinstein! Trying to persuade them that the unattractive is attractive. Like a sales rep giving the hard sell.</u></p> <p>What does the <i>ew'gen Thau</i> represent here? There is no water as in Goethe. Perhaps it links back to the dew in <i>Einst und jetzt</i>, where it is used as a metaphor for the agent of her destruction. Perhaps it links also to the dampness of the uncle in the first verse above. Was</p>
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<p>Subject to conflicting impulses</p> <p>Victims of hard sell</p> <p>Ambivalent feelings</p> <p>Acceptance of share of blame</p> <p>Unwillingness to be explicit</p>	<p>Die Musik rauscht, der Kaffee schwoll, Netzt uns den trock'nen Gaum; Das Herz wuchs uns so sehnsuchtsvoll Wie bei dem Liebsten kaum. Er sprach zu uns, er sang zu uns - Da war's um uns geschehen - Halb zog er uns, halb krochen wir War'n lang mit ihm gesehn!</p>	<p>he sweaty? Perhaps it links also to the coffee. Dew as metaphor in tales of seduction and murder, to avoid taboo or sensitive subjects, (Toelken, 1955)</p> <p><u>Developing atmosphere of unpleasantness. Air of menace.</u> <u>Depicting a locus <i>horribilis</i> in contrast to the <i>locus amoenus</i> of <i>Einst und jetzt</i>.</u></p> <p>Mouths at first dry (with fright?), now wet. <u>Saliva flow?</u> <u>Physiological response to stimulus? Kaffee as metaphor for increased bodily secretions?</u></p> <p><u>Desire, but something not right about it, not the kind of desire felt for a loved one. Physical desire without love or romance.</u></p> <p>'It happened to us' – <u>lack of agency</u></p> <p><u>Reluctant complicity. 'krochen' – crawling, as if abased. Perhaps prompted by curiosity? Halb-halb, shared responsibility. As if she has accepted uncle's attribution of blame.</u></p> <p><u>Awkwardness of last line.</u> They presumably weren't seen with him. <u>As if the words had been chosen because of need to use something which rhymed with 'geschehen'.</u> Typical of the poem as a whole – as if her story had to be forced into Goethe's poem, like a foot being shoe-horned into an ill-fitting shoe. <u>Is this deliberate, a</u></p>
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Impression of factuality		<u>means of emphasising that this isn't a literary work, that it's a true story?</u>
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Appendix 3: Prayer Thoughts Scale (Ladd and Spilka, 2002, p. 480)**Inward Scales**

Examination

0.85 examining myself

0.73 evaluating my inner life

0.65 devoting myself

0.63 committing

0.49 judging myself

Tears

0.77 misery

0.76 sadness

0.56 grieving

Upward Scales

Sacramental

0.91 engaging rituals

0.75 exploring sacraments

0.63 connecting with traditions

Rest

0.78 quietude

0.76 silence

0.64 stillness

0.56 private experiences

Outward Scales

Radical

0.73 seeking to be revolutionary

0.63 boldness

0.61 radical approaching

0.57 assertiveness

Suffering

0.84 agonizing with others

0.63 accepting the pain of others

0.62 carrying the distress of people

Intercession

0.82 asking for help for other people

0.74 seeking assistance for others

0.70 searching on behalf of someone else

Petition

0.84 asking for things I need

0.67 making personal appeals

0.67 asking that physical needs be met

0.53 requesting material things

**Appendix 4: RCOPE Subscales and Definitions of Religious Coping Methods
(Pargament et al., 2011: Table 1, p. 56)**

<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Find Meaning</i>	
Benevolent Religious Reappraisal	Redefining the stressor through religion as benevolent and potentially beneficial
Punishing God Reappraisal	Redefining the stressor as a punishment from God for the individual's sins
Demonic Reappraisal	Redefining the stressor as an act of the Devil
Reappraisal of God's Powers	Redefining God's power to influence the stressful situation
<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Gain Control</i>	
Collaborative Religious Coping	Seeking control through a problem solving partnership with God.
Active Religious Surrender	An active giving up of control to God in coping
Passive Religious Deferral	Passive waiting for God to control the situation
Pleading for Direct Intercession	Seeking control indirectly by pleading to God for a miracle or divine intercession
Self-Directing Religious Coping	Seeking control directly through individual initiative rather than help from God
<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Gain Control and Closeness to God</i>	
Seeking Spiritual Support	Searching for comfort and reassurance through God's love and care
Religious Focus	Engaging in religious activities to shift focus from the stressor
Religious Purification	Searching for spiritual cleansing through religious actions
Spiritual Connection	Experiencing a sense of connectedness with forces that transcend the individual
Spiritual Discontent	Expressing confusion and dissatisfaction with God's relationship to the individual in the stressful situation
Marking Religious Boundaries	Clearly demarcating acceptable from unacceptable religious behavior and remaining within religious boundaries
<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Gain Intimacy with Others and Closeness to God</i>	
Seeking Support from Clergy or Members	Searching for comfort and reassurance through the love and care of congregation members and clergy
Religious Helping	Attempting to provide spiritual support and comfort to others
Interpersonal Religious Discontent	Expressing confusion and dissatisfaction with the relationship of clergy or congregation members to the individual in the stressful situation
<i>Religious Methods of Coping to Achieve a Life Transformation</i>	

Seeking Religious Direction	Looking to religion for assistance in finding a new direction for living when the old one may no longer be viable
Religious Conversion	Looking to religion for a radical change in life
Religious Forgiving	Looking to religion for help in shifting to a state of peace from the anger, hurt and fear associated with an offense

Appendix 5: Letter from Valerie von Lieben to Ilse von Lieben, 29 September 1890, pp. 2-3

Entzücken darüber. Gestern war ich
mit den Huber Karolus 1. Uhr in
der Ausstellung und habe mich auch
angesehen ohne mich umgesehen
mir waren bei den Maschinen und
in der Naturde, alles sehr interessant.
Eben habe ich Frau Schlegel's
das fahrt ergründen, die ist jetzt spart.
Ulma ist nachdem sie einige schlechte
Tage hatte wieder etwas besser hat den
ganz unheimliche Zustände mit gefühlt
oder bleibt, sondern es wie alle die
hergeen vorübergehend. Sie sieht
sich in Jener sie gar nicht existieren

Köpfe, Menschen. Jeder hätte das
kan, anfangs war es mir sehr unheimlich
auch träumt sie das was sie dann ganz
fest glaubt. haben oder sehen will.
huffend bleibt wie I. Freud wieder gesagt
hat, höchstens 2 Tage.
Abends bin ich immer mit Ulma herge
ganz ruhig zum Lesen und gute genug
verrückt spät schlafen gestern wurde
es wieder 2 1/2, und so fast jeden Tag
Sie und I. Hoffen gestern bei uns
es war sehr f. - - - Nachmittag war
ich mit I. Hoffen beim perser Ballack ganz
interessant er zeigte mir eine Zeichnung
die der Galvan von ihm machte.

Appendix 7: Freud's five forms of defence (Masson, 1985, p. 111)

SUMMARY

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	Affect	Content of idea	Hallucination	Outcome
Hysteria	dealt with by conversion	absent from consciousness	----	Unstable defense with satisfactory gain
Obsessional idea	retained	absent from consciousness substitute found	----	Permanent defense without gain
Hallucinatory confusion	absent	absent	friendly to ego friendly to defense	Permanent defense with brilliant gain
Paranoia	retained	retained projected out	hostile to ego friendly to defense	Permanent defense without gain
Hysterical psychosis	dominates consciousness	dominates consciousness	hostile to ego hostile to defense	Failure of defense

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