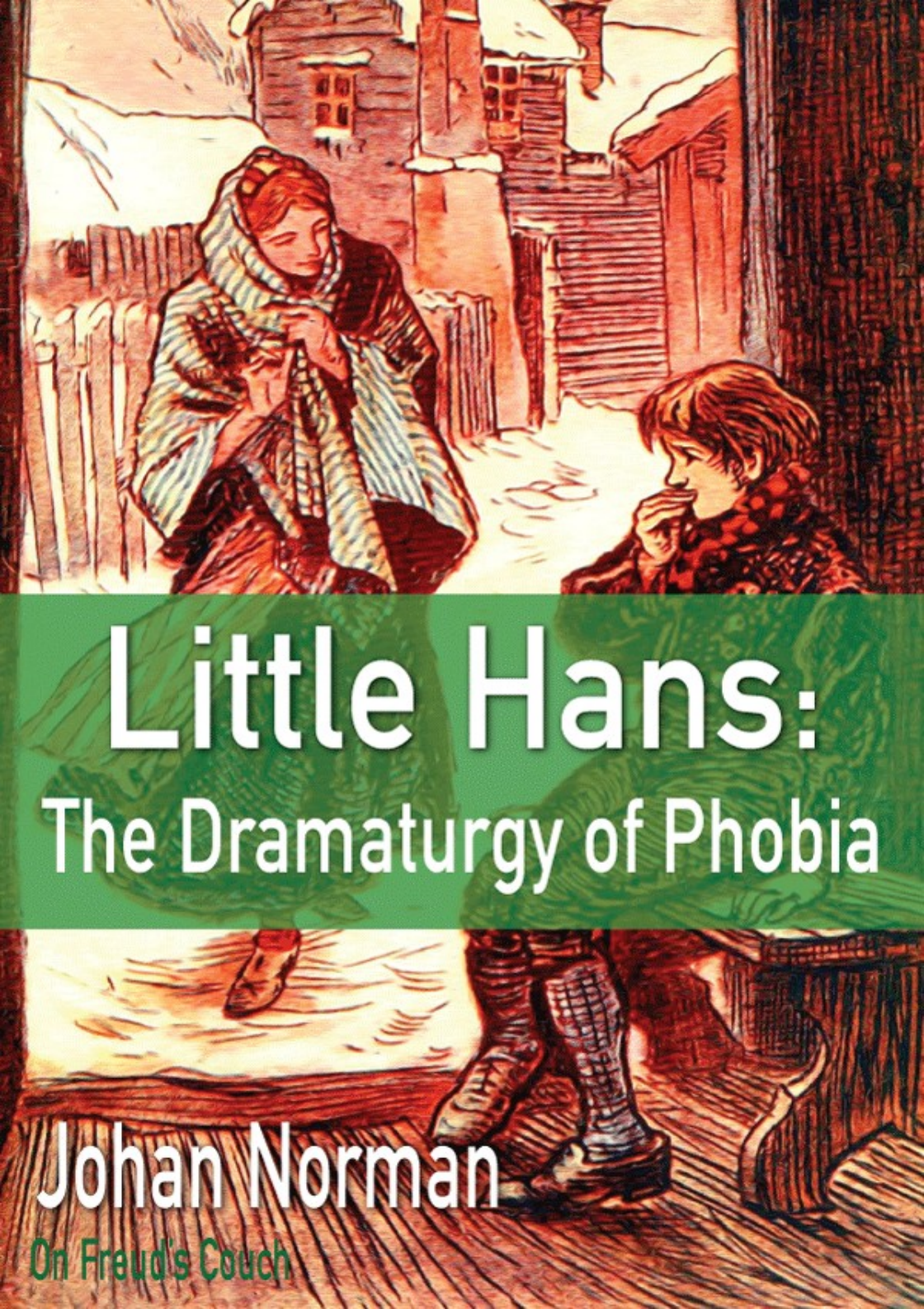

Little Hans:
The Dramaturgy of Phobia

Johan Norman

On Freud's Couch

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Illustrations

"Little Hans": Drawing by Little Hans' father. Roda Rummet Publishers, 1983.

"Dr. Grafs copyrighted design for a television opera theater." *Opera News*, Volume 36, Number 14, 1972.

Little Hans: The Dramaturgy of Phobia

Johan Norman

I had just returned home from a conference and was beginning to think about what I might say to you about Freud's case history of Little Hans. My thoughts kept returning to my experiences during the conference. I had given a lecture on child analysis, and an analyst, Dr. Jezzy Cohen from Israel, made his contribution to the discussion in the form of a letter he had received from my child analysand in which she requested that he ask me about a few things I had written that she had not understood. What a meeting this turned out to be! We ask our questions from different points of departure, thereby creating a web. By shifting our own positions we discover nuances that give the picture more depth

and intensity, making it possible for us to understand *Analysis of Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy*. Written by Sigmund Freud and published in 1909, this is a 150-page-long case history including the subsequent discussion. I have asked myself the question: How might I shift some positions in order to provide you with something new and worthwhile from this extensive but familiar material?

Little Hans, Child Analysand/Herbert Graf, Director

But then it happened: a letter from New York. "Dear Dr. Johan Norman," it began. I looked at once at the sender's name: Herbert Graf, written on the letterhead of the Metropolitan Opera.

> Dear Dr. Johan Norman,
>
> Through a friend of the family, a Dr. Cohen, I heard that you are a child psychoanalyst and that you and Dr. Cohen have corresponded about an interesting case of a child. When I heard that just at present you were deeply involved with Sigmund Freud, especially with

his case history, “Little Hans,” I decided to write to you. I have always tried to avoid publicity as one of Freud’s “interesting cases,” but lately I have been thinking that you might help me find answers to a few questions I have asked myself many times. I am getting on in years—I was born in 1903. It was not until I was 19 years old, in 1922, that I became aware that I had been in psychoanalysis as a child. There was an article by Freud in my father’s work room. When I looked at it I suddenly recognized some names and towns to which Freud had not given fictitious names. I knew that when I was little I had been afraid of horses and I now realized that the article was about me. Elated, I telephoned Freud and introduced myself as “Little Hans.” Freud invited me to his home and was friendly and happy to see me. He said that he could not wish for a better defence for his theories than meeting the happy, healthy 19-year-old I had become.

Confirming someone’s theories was not my main goal but I have realized that Freud had been greatly criticized for having exposed a child to the psychoanalytical method. He was relieved to see that I was healthy and felt fine. My father had told me a great deal about this man with whom he had become acquainted in

1900, the same year that Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams*. My father was then 25 years of age, a prominent music critic and music journalist in Vienna. He had heard of psychoanalysis through a woman who had been treated by Freud, and if I am not mistaken it was my mother-to-be who was his patient at that time. What made a strong impression on my father was that the entire treatment was based on nothing more than questions and answers; he was attracted by the artistic features of the study of the unconscious. Freud and my father became friends. Distinguished composers and artists often gathered in our home. On my third birthday, Freud arrived with a present, a rocking horse!

For many years my father took part in the Wednesday meetings of The Vienna Psychoanalytic Society where Freud gathered around him his first circle of students. In that connection Freud had encouraged the participants to collect observations of child sexuality and that was why my father began to write down his observations of me.

Well, the rest is clear from Freud's book but naturally I have always wondered about Freud's obvious relief when he saw me so healthy and

happy. Is it true that psychoanalytical treatment of a child is dangerous? Is psychoanalysis dangerous for the child, for the analyst, for the father or the mother? A couple of years after my analysis, my father broke with Freud and later my parents were divorced.

I have worked all my life with opera, primarily as a director. My sister and I built a toy theater where we put on real plays. When I was 16 years old I spent a summer in Berlin and practically lived at the city's theaters. When I returned to Vienna and school I put on "Julius Caesar" in the gym. I dreamed of becoming an opera director! When I was 22 years old I had a chance to put on an opera—"The Marriage of Figaro"! I knew the score by heart. Since then I have worked as an opera director. I don't think I have ever really understood where I got this irresistible attraction to dramatic staging.

I have, of course, read Freud's book about me but it is only occasionally that I have flashes of recognition which indicate that it is about me. I remember that I was afraid of horses when I was little but no matter how much I read I can not understand what the horse means. Was it my father or was it my mother?

"Little Hans," child analysand/Herbert Graf, director

> PS: I enclose an interview with me published in *Opera News* a few years ago.

My first reply to Herbert Graf was brief.

> Dear Herbert Graf!
>
> I am pleased to have this more personal contact with you. I will shortly, at the end of September, meet with psychoanalyst colleagues and other members of the city's intelligentsia to discuss your case. Thereafter I will send you a more detailed reply.
>
> Johan Norman[1]

Anyone who is involved with a child knows how preoccupied one can be with the thought of what the child will be as an adult. There is extraordinary excitement in the question: What will this person be like? Implicit: What form will his talents and assets take in matters of work and love, and what effect will his weak points and fixations have on the final compromise of which adulthood is made up?

I approach the material on Little Hans from the end—who he was, Little Hans, as an adult, opera director Herbert Graf. The interview with Herbert Graf in *Opera News* bears the headline "Memoirs of an Invisible Man—Herbert Graf Recalls a Half Century in the Theater" (Rizzo 1972). When I called the music radio's library to get some information, the comment was, "Oh, yes, the great Herbert Graf." It appears that he was a very famous opera director who had been engaged as a director at the Metropolitan for 25 years; he had worked with Bruno Walther and Arthuro Toscanini, among others. When he was only 16, he had more or less taken up residence at the Vienna opera; his father was a music journalist and always had free tickets. The visual composition was generally so bad that he either followed along with the score or closed his eyes and saw pictures of ideal productions in his head. He dreamed of becoming an opera director, a job that did not even exist at that time. Even the

simplest productions switched on his pictures of imaginary performances, which he then tried to put on with his little sister, first as puppet shows and later with schoolmates. In his graduation year, 1921, the school yearbook contains the following under the heading “Folly of the Year”: “Herbert Graf wants to be an opera director.”

Graf began as an opera singer since there were plenty of jobs for singers in the more than 100 opera theaters in German-speaking Europe. But after only a year he was commissioned to produce *The Marriage of Figaro*. He directed the whole performance without even having to glance at the score. In his inner picture world, both the music and the stage set were already in place. The visual force of the interpretation was a major theme for Herbert Graf. He wrote three books on opera and built an opera stage where performances for an audience could be recorded with the help of a whole battery of

invisible cameras, which from different angles could register what was going on on the stage without neither the audience nor the actors being disturbed. It is not to arouse interest in the art of opera that I mention this, but because we may get an idea of some of the qualities of the person Little Hans became as an adult. In the 1972 article "Memoirs of an Invisible Man" there are pictures of Herbert Grafs design for an opera studio and of himself on a visit to New York that same year. This was the year before his death. Herbert Graf died in 1973, at the age of 70. My effort to start a correspondence with him came 20 years too late.

Anyone who himself remembers what it was like to be a child knows how preoccupied a child is by the thought of what will happen to him when he grows up. No child can know what it will be like to be an adult; he exists, it might be said, without perspective. On the other hand, every adult has had

the experience of being a child, carrying with him this inner child and his effort to remove himself from this lack of perspective. Thus every adult person lives in several generations at the same time. The generations telescope into each other. Little Hans may have become opera director Herbert Graf because dramatic staging had an irresistible attraction for him when he was still a child. When he was only 5 years old, he had already staged and directed an intricate production. We call it his "phobia."

Little Hans, Aged 3, and the Question of "Wiwimacher"

The first observations the father reported to Freud were made when Little Hans was not yet 3 years old. Hans was an alert, cheerful, well-behaved boy with a very lively interest in his penis, which he called "Wiwimacher," a word that can be translated as "widdler"— what one urinates with.

That Hans was not alone in this interest is self-evident: his father, Max Graf, had met Freud frequently over a period of 6 years and had participated in the Wednesday meetings, and at this time Freud's most recent work, the monumental *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie (Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality)*, published in 1905, had just come into circulation. In this volume Freud outlined his sexual theory, based on psychoanalysis with adults. The aim of the observations was to collect material that might elucidate the relevance of these theories to children. Father Max was enthusiastic, if somewhat ambivalent. He knew stenography and so was able to record a dialogue:

> *Hans:* "Mamma, have you got a widdler too?"
>
> *Mamma:* "Of course. Why?"
>
> *Hans:* "I was only just thinking." [Freud 1909a, p. 7]

Childhood is the time when the big questions are asked, and Hans was trying to figure out existential concepts. What signs distinguish animate beings from inanimate matter? Yes, dogs and horses have a penis/widdler but chairs and tables do not. When at the same age he saw a cow being milked he quite logically remarks, “Oh, look! There’s milk coming out of its widdler!” In his thoughts Little Hans is close to the unconscious, adopting the primary process method of putting the breast on a par with the penis, an equality that also includes faeces and children. This 3-year-old philosopher, writes Freud, had “by a process of careful induction arrived at the general proposition that every animate object, in contradistinction to inanimate ones, possesses a widdler. His mother had confirmed him in this conviction by giving him corroborative information in regard to persons inaccessible to his own observations” (1909a, p. 11).

Encountering this active disinformation in the text composed of the father's notes is very strange. It will seem inconsistent to the reader that on the one hand the parents have agreed to allow the boy to grow up expressing himself freely without their using scare methods and at the same time they distort the truth and threaten him. When he masturbates, his mother says, '"If you do that, I shall send for Dr. A. to cut off your widdler. And then what'll you widdle with?' Hans: 'With my bottom'" (1909a, p. 7). Freud calls what his mother says to Hans a castration threat but it seems not to have had any immediate effect on Hans. He maintains the same research enthusiasm as before.

We can imagine the scene: the father, writing to Freud of his observations, sometimes openly laments his wife's behavior. Freud's spirit pervades the scene: father, son, and Freud—while the mother herself never gets a chance to speak. Naturally the

father makes a selection of what he observes and reports on; this is why these observations, and later on the analysis, encroach on the family's balance. Something not consciously intended comes to light. It is often like this in child analysis but in this case, since it was the father himself who was the analyst, there was no one who could help the family.

When Hans is 3½ years old, in October 1906, there is a great event in his life: his little sister is born. He is sleeping in his bed in his parents' room.

> At five in the morning labor began, and Hans's bed was moved into the next room. He woke up there at seven, and, hearing his mother groaning, asked: "Why's Mummy coughing?" Then, after a pause, "The stork's coming today for certain".… He saw the doctor's bag in the front hall and asked: "What's that?" "A bag," was the reply. Upon which he declared with conviction: "The stork's coming today".… He was then called into the bedroom. He did not look at his mother, however, but at the basins and other vessels, filled with blood and water, that were still standing about the room. Pointing

> to the blood-stained bed-pan, he observed in a surprised voice: "But blood doesn't come out of *my* widdler". . . . [H]e meets everything he sees with a very suspicious and intent look. [Freud 1909a, p. 10]

One of the great mysteries of childhood is the question of how children come into this world, and Hans accepted the stork mythology as an appropriate evasion. It goes against his common sense, but it is practical. What he is now confronted with, when Hanna is born, is a mystery he is unable to solve. When his sister is 1 week old, Hans is watching while she is given a bath. He says, "But her widdler's still quite small," adding by way of consolation, 'When she grows up it'll get bigger all right." Freud adds in an almost despairing footnote, "One might well feel horrified at such signs of the premature decay of a child's intellect. Why was it that these young enquirers did not report what they really saw—namely, that there was no widdler there?" (1909a, p. 11). In his commentary Freud

points out that "the untrustworthiness of the assertions of children is due to the predominance of their imagination, just as the untrustworthiness of the assertions of grown-up people is due to the predominance of their prejudices" (1909a, p. 102). We can understand that it is a predominance of imagination that makes Hans deny what he sees and a predominance of prejudice that makes his parents repress reality.

Hans, however, is still extremely eager to learn and sexually curious. He asks his father if he has a penis, and his father says he has, upon which Hans remarks that he has never seen it when his father was undressing. In the same way his attention turns to his mother. The following scene is played:

> Another time he was looking on intently while his mother undressed before going to bed. "What are you staring like that for?" she asked.
>
> *Hans:* "I was only looking to see if you'd got a widdler too."

> *Mother:* "Of course. Didn't you know that?"
>
> *Hans:* "No. I thought you were so big you'd have a widdler like a horse." [1909a, p. 9]

This is the formula that rescues Hans: It is true that there are animate beings who only have a little widdler/penis but the reason for that is that they are so small; when they grow their widdler/ penis will get bigger.

Thus in several places in the text we can find evidence that his mother plays word games with Hans: Certainly she has a "Wiwimacher," something to urinate with. The word "Wiwimacher" contains the obscurity that characterize people's relation to the sex organ and sexuality. 'Wee-wee" is a child's word for urine. *Macher* originates in *machen,* which means 'to make.' 'Wiwimacher" has the literal meaning "wee-wee maker," but the word stands for the little boy's penis. It is as if the mother mixes up the meanings, not taking seriously the fact that

‘Wiwimacher” in the German language and for Hans means a boy’s penis. Why does she mix up the meanings and why does she seem not to understand what the word stands for? Who is this mother? We do not know much more about her than that she has been in analysis with Freud.

He writes: Hans’s “beautiful mother fell ill with a neurosis as a result of a conflict during her girlhood. I was able to be of assistance to her at the time, and this had in fact been the beginning of my connection with Hans’s parents” (1909a, p. 141).

In a discussion during Freud’s Wednesday meeting on May 12, 1909, in which father Max Graf participated, one of the members advanced the opinion that “undeniably, mistakes were made in his education, and these were indeed responsible for his neurosis.” The object of the criticism was the absence of sexual enlightenment, and the stork myth, in particular, describing how children come into the

world was regarded as downright injurious. They also said that the feeling of shame had been cultivated (*Minutes*, Vol II, p. 232, 12 May 1909). During these Wednesday meetings the discussions of sexuality were often exhaustive and frank, and one can only imagine the enormous difficulties Little Hans's father faced, since he himself had not been in analysis. Father Graf offered this opinion: "Little Hans's illness developed on the basis of his strong sexual predisposition which awoke a premature need for love; this in turn became too strongly linked with his parents." Father Graf made an effort to defend himself against the criticism that he had failed to give Hans sexual enlightenment by saying that the boy, now 6, more and more often asked his father questions about sexuality. He would eventually answer them. Freud then interrupts the discussion, saying, "Not *that* many mistakes were made and those that did occur did not have *that* much to do with the neurosis. The boy should only have been

refused permission to accompany his mother to the toilet. For the rest, neurosis is essentially a matter of constitution" (p. 235). And Freud adds that it was the aggressive impulses against his mother that resulted in Little Hans's neurosis (p. 236).

This discussion, then, took place in 1909. It was a small group, generally not more than ten participants, and the discussion often touched on the fundamental importance of sexuality. The abstract reasoning models developed at that time were based on the instinct theory, which defines the trouble people have with handling their instincts and explains how instinct energy is transformed into anxiety. This was the first anxiety theory and it was also tangibly present in Little Hans's analysis. What was almost completely lacking, however, although it was vaguely included in the concept "constitution," was the whole pregenital development area, that which deals with the earliest development of the

connection between the instincts and the objects of which the basic pattern of inner object relations is composed. It is impossible to guess what the mother is trying to do when she says that she has a "Wiwimacher." But Little Hans probably interprets it to mean that his mother is refusing to listen to what is worrying him; he expresses this when he says in connection with the birth of his little sister, "Blood doesn't come out of *my* widdler." One of a mother's chief functions is to be emotionally accessible to the child and willing to get to know the child's emotional experience. For this Bion (1984, 1988a,b) uses the expression *containing function:* being able to find room in one's own self for what the child is not able to bear, quite simply to be a mind where the unendurable can be known and digested in order to be returned to the child later in a metabolized and detoxified form. This function seems to have failed sometimes in the interaction between Little Hans and his mother. The result for Little Hans was that

the mental space available for him to contain disturbing feelings and fantasies shrank. He was unable to identify with his mother's corresponding space, and his feelings therefore became difficult to integrate. Our insights into this type of interaction and communication have been developing steadily since the 1920s, and many important contributions have come from Melanie Klein and others—from her, theories concerning the paranoid-schizoid and the depressive position (1975), from Winnicott the concept of the *holding function* and the *good enough mother* (1971), and from Bion the theory of the containing link.

Lovesick Little Hans

Little Hans has other preoccupations besides investigating the significance of his "Wiwimacher," including the area of sexual instinct and the differences between the sexes. He is also much occupied with what might be called love affairs with

other children. In the summer of 1906 he had been in Gmunden where he played all day with the landlord's children. A little while after his return to Vienna he begins to fantasize that he is playing with his friends, and he goes on with this for hours. After Hanna's birth he begins to call two of the little girls "his children." In Vienna playmates are scarce in the winter; the few he meets become, regardless of sex, the objects of his love. The following summer the family is back in Gmunden, and Hans swears his love to many of his playmates, hugging and kissing them. Freud's amused comment is: "Little Hans seems to be a positive paragon of all the vices!" (1909a, p. 15).

That same summer:

> Hans, four and a quarter. This morning Hans was given his usual daily bath by his mother and afterwards dried and powdered. As his mother was powdering around his penis and taking care not to touch it, Hans said: "Why don't you put your finger there?"

Mother: "Because that'd be piggish."

Hans: "What's that? Piggish? Why?"

Mother: "Because it's not proper."

Hans (laughing): "But it's great fun." [1909a, p. 19]

This undisguised seduction attempt is, of course, an example of what Father Graf had in mind when he said that Little Hans had an unusually strong sexual disposition. But suddenly something new occurs here, which stands in marked contrast to Hans's former cheerful humor. Two days later Little Hans tells his father the following dream:

Someone said: "Who wants to come to me?"

Then someone said: "I do."

Then he had to make him widdle. [1909a, p. 19]

The dream is distorted, so we can not immediately understand its meaning. The dream censor has worked efficiently and repression has begun. His father tries to interpret the dream. It is related to a

game of “forfeits” children play, in which someone asks: “Whose is this forfeit in my hand?” Someone answers: “It’s mine.” Then it is decided what he or she must do, for example, give someone else a kiss or a box on the ear. But in the dream someone must make him widdle. His father translates: It is Berta and Olga, two of his playmates, whom Hans wants to come to him and make him widdle. The year before he thought that one of the girls was looking on while he was urinating; he enjoyed showing himself. But there is still another connection. When Hans goes for walks and needs to urinate his father helps him to unbutton his trousers and take his penis out. This had happened the day before Hans had his dream but for the first time Hans had asked that they go behind the house so that no one would see him. Thus the dream is a masturbation fantasy. With penis in hand he is asking himself if it is his mother, Olga and Berta, or his father who will rouse his desire.

Even that summer in Gmunden, Hans had often been uneasy when he had had to go to bed at night. He had a frightening thought: Suppose Mummy were to go away? Then he would not have a Mummy any more. He was often allowed to get into his mother's bed.

The following autumn when Hans was 4½ years old, there are no reports and therefore we do not know what happened.

Little Hans Becomes Afraid of Horses

But in January 1908 Freud receives a letter: "My dear Professor, I am sending you a little more about Hans—but this time, I am sorry to say, material for a case history. ... I shall venture to call upon you tomorrow … but in the meantime ... I enclose a written record of the material available." Little Hans is afraid a horse on the street will bite him, and he refuses to go out. In the evening he is in low spirits.

His father, of course, is worried, hastening to try and find explanations. It must be his mother's fault! Or has Hans perhaps seen an exhibitionist?

Freud's comment on this point is of fundamental importance. First he writes, *"It is not in the least our business to 'understand' a case at once: this is only possible at a later stage, when we have received enough impressions of it"* (1909a, p. 22). Two elements in this commentary are essential. It is made clear with emphasis that the starting point is not that we understand but, on the contrary, that we do not understand. Implicit: People are mysterious and it is our own apathy and anxiety in the face of the unknown that sometimes makes us say that "we understand," even when we do not. Freud returns to this theme in his conclusion: "For the rest, our young investigator has merely come somewhat early upon the discovery that all knowledge is patchwork, and that each step forward leaves an unsolved

residue behind" (1909a, p. 100). Psychoanalysis is thus a method that creates knowledge by gathering enough impressions. Freud's use of the word *Eindrücke* is crucial; he does not use words like *material, information,* or *data*. In other words, impressions are exchanged between analyst and analysand, and it is out of this common matrix that the thoughts and questions grow, which, when they are formulated, may lead to understanding and knowledge.

Freud's next reminder is: "*For the present we will suspend our judgment and give our impartial attention to everything that there is to observe*" (1909a, p. 22). The analysand's free associating has its counterpart in the analyst's evenly suspended attention. This is a basic principle of every analysis, that is, that the meaning behind what is presented as "significant" or "crucial" cannot be understood until all the details of the story are taken into account,

often those which are found on the periphery of attention.

These comments already include two of the basic elements of the psychoanalytical method as Freud afterwards came to develop it in his technical writings.

Little Hans is now 4¾ years old and it is one of the first days of January 1908. He is crying in the morning because he has had an anxiety dream. He tells his mother, "When I was asleep I thought you were gone and I had no Mummy to coax with" (Hans's expression for *caress)*. A day later he comes into his mother's bed early in the morning and says, "Do you know what Aunt M. said? She said: 'He has got a dear little thingummy.'" Four weeks earlier this had really happened. By his little boast Hans is now trying to reassure himself of his mother's interest; he is trying to seduce her. There is no doubt that Hans is very fond of his mother, an old, familiar theme in

the family. Freud comments that "his affection for his mother must therefore have become enormously intensified. This was the fundamental phenomenon in his condition." Freud's anxiety theory at this point can be summarized in the concept that it is unsatisfied longing that is transformed into anxiety.

A few days later Hans is out walking with his nursemaid when he begins to cry on the street. He definitely wants to go home. He wants to "coax" with his Mummy. In the evening he is anxious, cries, and can not be separated from his mother. What might now be supposed is that Little Hans really longs for his mother so much that he does not want to be away from her. The next day Hans and his mother are to go out together to Schonbrunn, where he always likes going. He begins to cry and does not want to go. He is frightened. At last he goes anyway, but with great anxiety. On the way home he says, "I was afraid a horse would bite me." In the evening he

is unhappy and says, crying, “I know I shall have to go for a walk again tomorrow.” And later: “The horse’ll come into the room.”

Why does Hans choose a horse as the threatening figure in his psychic life? He has always looked at horses with interest. They have a large penis and he has thought that his mother should have a big penis like a horse since she is so big. Might the horse be a substitute for his mother? But what is the meaning of Hans’s fear that a horse will come into his room? Freud asks rhetorically whether this is to be regarded as a small child’s foolish fear, answering his own question: “A neurosis never says foolish things, any more than a dream. When we cannot understand something, we always fall back on abuse. An excellent way of making a task lighter” (1909a, p. 27).

A Puzzling Start for the Analysis

Then there follows a passage in the text that is rather strange. Freud indicates that the therapy has begun.

> I arranged with Hans's father that he should tell the boy that all this business about horses was a piece of nonsense and nothing more. The truth was, his father was to say, that he was very fond of his mother and wanted to be taken into her bed. The reason he was afraid of horses now was that he had taken so much interest in their widdlers. He himself had not noticed that it was not right to be so very much preoccupied with widdlers, even with his own, and he was quite right in thinking this. [1909a, p. 28]

What can Freud have been thinking? We clearly get the impression that Freud is siding with the masturbation opponents of his day. But this was not the case, for his basic thesis is this: 'The fact is that sexual excitation changes into anxiety." And Freud writes, 'That the child was getting pleasure for himself by masturbating does not by any means explain his anxiety; on the contrary, it makes it more

problematical than ever" (1909a, p. 27). It is repression that is the solution to the riddle. Freud continues, "His affection for his mother must therefore have become enormously intensified. This was the fundamental phenomenon in his condition. ... It was this increased affection for his mother which turned suddenly into anxiety—which, as we should say, succumbed to repression" (1909a, p. 25). Freud seems to making an effort to prevail upon Hans with one stroke to get rid of his repression. By an interpretation that links Hans's fear of horses to a desire to creep into Hans's mother's bed, Freud is trying to divert the fear of the horse to Hans's mother and his love for her, a love that, however, he is supposed to stop stimulating by masturbation. He should also receive sexual enlightenment. Since his libido is allied to the desire to see his mother's penis he must be informed that there is not any penis to see; perhaps then he can give up this libidinal goal. Freud's intention was thus not that the parents

should try to wean Little Hans away from masturbating but that is the way it was interpreted—the whole family joined forces on this single point—and it was the masturbation habit that hereafter played the leading role in the future course of events.

Several months passed before another report reached Freud. After Hans had received his so-called enlightenment there was some degree of improvement. He was no longer afraid to go out but his fear of horses had been transformed into to a compulsion to look at them. He says, "I have to look at horses, and then I'm frightened." After an attack of influenza that kept him in bed for two weeks, he could not be induced to go out. In passing it is mentioned that he has had to stay indoors for another week because he has had his tonsils out. It is improbable that this surgery would have passed by without influencing the continued development of

his neurosis considering the load of castration anxiety Hans was carrying.

We have now come to March 1, 1908. His father tries to explain that horses do not bite. "Hans: 'But white horses bite. There's a white horse at Gmunden that bites. If you hold your finger to it it bites.'" This is the first time the scary horses he mentions are white, and it is conceivable that this is a symbolized version of the tonsillitis operation where the white color of the operation room cloths has been shifted to the horses (Slap 1961). Hans tells a story from Gmunden where a father warned his daughter, "Don't put your finger to the white horse or it'll bite you." Whereupon the following dialogue ensues: Hans's father says, "'I say, it strikes me that it isn't a horse you mean, but a widdler, that one mustn't put a hand to.' Hans: 'But a widdler doesn't bite.' Father: 'Perhaps it does, though.'" His father has a real problem when it comes to understanding Hans.

The difficulty is connected to his father having bound himself to a preconceived idea, that it is masturbation that is to be combated, and his father fixing on the exterior act and behavior more than on the psychic reality.

The next day, when Hans is once again afraid, his father says, "This nonsense of yours" (that is how he speaks of his phobia) "will get better if you go for more walks. It's so bad now because you haven't been able to go out because you were ill." Hans answers, "Oh, no, it's so bad because I still put my hand to my widdler every night."

Hans's resistance is cunning. By accepting his father's explanation that the problem is his masturbatory behavior—an explanation that, of course, is based on his father's not understanding what is going on—Hans succeeds in avoiding insight into and interpretations of another psychic reality.

He can now retain his wishes and fantasies unaltered.

His father's untiring battle against masturbation continues. A few weeks later Hans says that he does not put his hand to his penis any more. "Father: 'But you still want to.' Hans: 'Yes, I do. But warning's not doing, and doing's not wanting!' Father: 'Well, to prevent your wanting to, this evening you're going to have a bag to sleep in'" (1909a, p. 31).

We should not forget two aspects of this. The first is that Max Graf was a writer who did research in the field of music. He followed the discussions of the Wednesday group, but otherwise he lacked experience with psychoanalysis. As far as I know he had not been in analysis himself, which meant that his own fantasies, wishes, and conflicts were not worked through and were present all the time in Hans's analysis as "blind spots." Anyone who has worked with child psychoanalysis knows with what

force the child bombards the analyst with unintegrated, pregenital affects, which can waken a resonance in the analyst. As we see things today, this is one of the most important elements in the work of psychoanalysis, but it is based on the assumption that the analyst does not ward off his own inner psychic world.

The second aspect has to do with the social and cultural environment. At this time *Der Struwwelpeter* (Hoffman 1845) and Schreber reigned supreme. The prevalent idea about children was that children degenerate if they are not disciplined. *Der Struwwelpeter* was a children's book with an enormous circulation. Full of references to bodily assaults that would take place if the child behaved improperly, it seems strange and brutal to our generation. The same was true of Dr. Schreber, who during this period published several books in which he developed a whole world of

notions and a system for bringing up children, which included a great deal of control: control of behavior, control of posture, control of everything the child did—as if he were a plant that had to be pruned.[2] Against the background of the widely held ideas of this time it was natural for Little Hans's parents to center their efforts on the battle against masturbation.

The next morning Hans, in a fright, comes in to his parents, who wonder what the matter is. Hans says, "I put my finger to my widdler just a very little. I saw Mummy quite naked in her chemise, and she let me see her widdler. I showed Grete"—this is his little friend from Gmunden—"what Mummy was doing, and showed her my widdler. Then I took my hand away from my widdler quick." This was, of course, a masturbation fantasy; the bag he slept in seems scarcely to have hindered him from sexual desires.

Hans and his father continue their conversation concerning sex differences. Hans repeats his formula: Everyone has a widdler and it gets bigger as one gets bigger—and it is "fixed in." He is dissatisfied with the size of his penis, but more significant is the addendum: it's fixed in.

Freud's comment on this is of fundamental importance: Afterwards, *nachträglich,* his mother's castration threat has become psychically effective. More than a year earlier his mother had told Hans, when he was playing with his penis, "If you do that, I shall send for Dr. A. to cut off your widdler! " On this first occasion Hans seemed unmoved. At that time it was obvious to him that everyone had a penis. But now this opinion seemed untenable; there were living beings without a penis; as a matter of fact, women had no penis. If so, it would not be so incredible that his penis could be taken away, making him into a woman! Freud introduces the

concept “castration complex” to designate this universal phenomenon, which has its origin in the child’s confusion over the anatomical difference between men and women, characterized by the presence or the absence of a penis.

Hans and His Father on a Visit to Freud

Hans is still afraid of horses and he is unhappy and full of anxiety. The analysis has taken on the sterile character of a cross-examination. His father asks Freud if he can come to the consulting hour with Little Hans. His father asked Hans if he wanted to go with him: ‘“Will you come with me on Monday to see the Professor, who can take away your nonsense for you?’—Hans: ‘No.’” His father bribes Hans by saying that Freud has a pretty little girl whom Hans can play with, and with that promise Hans gladly consents to go.

It is March 30, 1908. Father and son visit Freud.

Freud writes:

> I already knew the funny little fellow, and with all his self-assurance he was yet so amiable that I had always been glad to see him…. His father opened [the consultation] by remarking that, in spite of all the pieces of enlightenment we had given Hans, his fear of horses had not yet diminished. We were also forced to confess that the connections between the horses he was afraid of and the affectionate feelings towards his mother which had been revealed were by no means abundant. Certain details which I now learnt—to the effect that he was particularly bothered by what horses wear in front of their eyes and by the black round their mouths—were certainly not to be explained from what we knew. But as I saw the two of them sitting in front of me and at the same time heard Hans's description of his anxiety-horses, a further piece of the solution shot through my mind, and a piece which I could well understand might escape his father. I asked Hans jokingly whether his horses wore eyeglasses, to which he replied that they did not. I then asked him whether his father wore eyeglasses, to which, against all the evidence, he once more said no.

> Finally I asked him whether by "the black round the mouth" he meant a moustache. Freud interprets for Little Hans, "He was afraid of his father, precisely because he was so fond of his mother. It must be, I told him, that he thought his father was angry with him on that account; but this was not so, his father was fond of him in spite of it." [1909a, p. 41]

Suddenly the sterile cross-examination atmosphere has disappeared, and Freud gives us a beautiful demonstration of a fragment of a psychoanalytical process. I would describe this process in the following way: Freud obviously likes Little Hans, and the story activates the analytical instrument in Freud.[3] A mental space is established where all the impressions, affects, and thoughts, from inside and outside, meet. How did Freud hit on that business with the eye-glasses and moustache? I can imagine the following: In the immediate situation Freud is receiving varying impressions, both verbal and non-verbal, conscious and even unconscious, causing vibrations within himself and

creating a resonance that actualizes the 5-year-old boy that Freud himself had once been. I can imagine that at the periphery of his attention, fragments of visual memory emerge (the memory of his mother naked, death wishes directed against his younger brother, his ambivalent relation to his father), and these visual images, affects, and thoughts are made up of the impressions coming from within, which in the analytical mental space meet the impressions from the outside world. Suddenly Freud discovers that Hans's father has. something in front of his eyes —his glasses—and something black around his mouth—his moustache. When an analyst works, a temporary re-organization of his psyche occurs, meaning that a mental space is activated that gives way to an accumulation of impressions, emotional resonance, and free-flowing thoughts. I call this activated mental space the "psychoanalyst's instrument," analogous to a musician's instrument, whose resonance starts when the string is touched.

The analyst is "touched" by the analysand, during the course of his involvement receiving a number of impressions, *Eindrüche,* which arouse an affective resonance and produce thoughts. The analyst gets *food for thought* and by this process the matrix and the capacity for understanding are created in the analyst out of which interpretations can be formulated that are relevant for interaction here and now.

After the interpretation of Hans's fear of his father, Freud says to Hans: "Long before he was in the world I had known that a little Hans would come who would be so fond of his mother that he would be bound to feel afraid of his father because of it." The father interrupts and asks Hans, '"But why do you think I'm angry with you? Have I ever scolded you or hit you?' Hans: 'Oh yes! You have hit me.'" His father protests, "'That's not true. When was it, anyhow?' Hans: 'This morning.' And his father

recollected that Hans had quite unexpectedly butted his head into his stomach, so that he had given him as it were a reflex blow with his hand." It was now clear to them both that Hans had a hostility toward his father and perhaps also a need to be punished for it. Freud writes that Little Hans "was afraid of his father because he himself nourished jealous and hostile wishes against him. ... By enlightening Hans on this subject I had cleared away his most powerful resistance against allowing his unconscious thoughts to be made conscious" (1909a, p. 123).

Both Little Hans and His Phobia Pluck Up Courage

Now the analysis picked up speed. The divided feelings for his father were plain to be seen. Hans's father found it difficult to keep up with the analysis —Hans is in charge. "Hans says wonderingly, 'Why did you tell me I'm fond of Mummy and that's why I'm frightened, when I'm fond of you?"' (1909a, p.

44). That he is fond of his mother is not a problem for Hans; the problem arises because Hans feels hostility toward his father in his role as rival to his mother, but at the same time he likes his father very much. His father has previously been quick to find explanations, but now the situation is more trying for him because now it is a matter of understanding rather than explaining. Hans often comes into his father early in the morning to check that he is there. He says, "When you're away, I'm afraid you're not coming home." Hans finds himself in great conflict. He is very fond of his father, is afraid *for* him, and therefore does not want him to disappear. But at the same time is afraid *of* him because of his hostile wishes based on the fact that he himself would like to be the father.

The days after the visit to Freud are eventful. Hans is clearer concerning what it is about horses that frightens him. He is especially afraid when

horses are pulling carts and when the carts drive in or out of the courtyard to the warehouse opposite their own house. He says, “I’m afraid the horses will fall down when the cart turns.”

Freud comments, “Not only the patient but his phobia too had plucked up courage and was venturing to show itself’ (1909a, p. 47). This statement may sound odd. That the patient has plucked up courage sounds all right, but that the phobia as well should have done so sounds a little strange. In Freud’s time there was in Vienna an author named Karl Kraus, a satirist who constantly heckled Freud. One of Karl Kraus’s aphorisms was: “Psychoanalysis is the mental illness which it thinks it is the remedy for” (Kraus 1993). Well, is psychoanalysis dangerous; is it a mental illness? Freud comments, ‘The analyst thus finds himself in the position, curious for a doctor, of coming to the help of a disease, and of procuring it its due of

attention…. The fact is that you must catch your thief before you can hang him, and that it requires some expenditure of labor to get securely hold of the pathological structures at the destruction of which the treatment is aimed" (1909a, p. 124).

Hans now gives detailed but incomprehensible descriptions of a game he is planning to play with the carts. He wants so much to get over to the loading dock at the warehouse where he imagines that he can load and unload boxes. But he is afraid of the game as he imagines it. His father asks, '"Then why are you afraid?'" Hans: "'I don't know. But the Professor'll know.'" Freud remarks to himself: "The Professor only knows that the game which Hans intended to play with the loaded carts must have stood in the relation of a symbolic substitute to some other wish as to which he had so far uttered no word" (1909a, p. 48).

What then is the wish that may take shape in this fantasy game: Boxes to be loaded and unloaded from carts? It soon turns out that the carts that are part of the fantasy are not just any carts. The carts are to be heavily loaded. They will be furniture vans. What is frightening is that a horse dragging a heavy cart may fall down. As a matter of fact, Hans saw a horse, a very big, fat horse, dragging a heavy van, and it fell down. He had been terribly frightened and it was then the "nonsense"—the phobia—began. "Father: 'But the nonsense was that you thought a horse would bite you. And now you say you were afraid a horse would fall down.' Hans: 'Fall down and bite.'" He was especially frightened because the horse made such "a row with its feet"—Hans lay down on the ground and showed how the horse kicked. His father wonders if the horse was dead. Yes, Hans saw that it was dead. At first he looks serious but then laughs. No, it wasn't at all dead. He only said it as a joke.

The Vision and the Lure of Dramatic Staging

The special quality in the phobia is that the conflict is created and staged as a fear of an external object: the horse, the carts, the boxes, the fall, and the preoccupation with the penis. Each time it is a matter of an object that can be observed with the eye. Hans uses his vision, and he charges his glance. Visual representations and a charged vision are especially important to hysterics, and we know that among the multitude of hysterical symptoms, hysterical blindness is common. Sometimes Hans leaves off looking but from time to time he is completely absorbed in intensively gazing at something in the distance. From his window on the fourth floor he has a good view of the warehouse where the horses come and go with their carts, where they load and unload boxes. All this goes on regardless of whether Hans notices it or not. It is a fragment of an external reality that follows its own logic and has its own rationale. Hans makes use of

this external reality, providing it with a completely new significance: he gives it a symbolic meaning.

A symbol consists of two elements, one visible, often called the symbol, and one hidden, the symbolized. The Greek word *symbolon* signified the totality, which, split in two in another situation or time, could confirm its affinity by fitting together. Interpretation also works like this when it establishes the relation between the manifest and the latent, when it simply creates a context of meaning.

We view our dreams and fantasies by means of an inner vision; the dream is a picture language where the eyes also play a part. When frightening fantasies come into view in Little Hans's inner eye, he tries to protect his internal mental space by repressing his fantasies out of his consciousness. The repressed fantasies and wishes return to the unconscious and there become the object of what we call the primary process, that is, they are subject to

condensation and displacement, processes that are also characteristic elements of the work of dreams. Since Hans's vision is so strongly charged, he has a rich storehouse of perceptions at his disposal and some of these observations will be used as carriers of the repressed wishes and fantasies. He replaces his inner vision with an outer one.

In the case history of Little Hans there is a sketch drawn by his father of the scene on the street below his house where Little Hans sees the warehouse, the horses, the wagons, and the boxes on the other side of the street (1909a, p. 46).

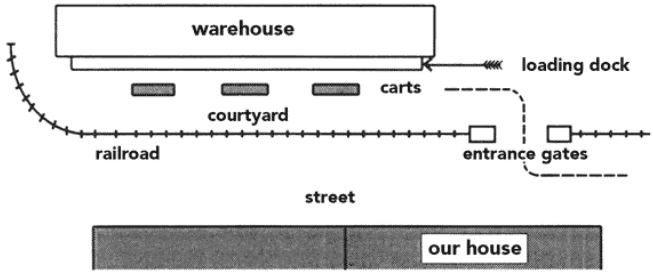

Figure 4-1. From his house Little Hans has a view of the warehouse premises.

Herbert Graf designed an opera house interior that he thought might be the ideal opera hall (Rizzo 1972). It would make it possible for invisible cameras to view the stage from every possible angle without disturbing the audience or the actors.

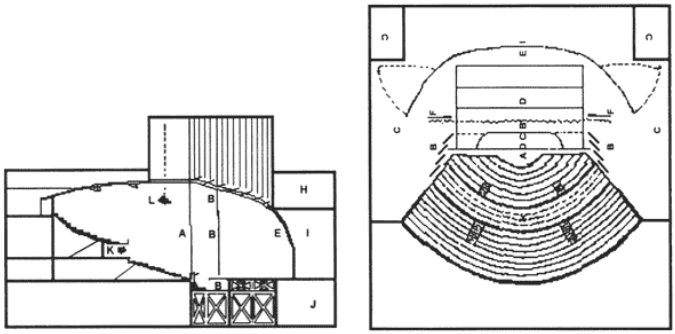

Figure 4-2. Opera house interior designed by Herbert Graf, with a bank of cameras on Level K. that reach every angle of the stage (Rizzo 1972).

Both of these sketches have a similar structure:

The Observer:	Little Hans/Herbert Graf
sees:	directs his eye/a bank of cameras
everything:	excellent view/cameras from every possible angle
in the outside world:	the warehouse/the stage

without disturbing those around him:	his parents/the audience
without disturbing the performers:	horses, carts, boxes/actors
so that an internal drama:	Little Hans's unconscious fantasies/ Herbert Graf's internal image of scores and direction
can be staged:	stories of horses, carts, boxes/the play

Herbert Graf was a pioneer of the modernistic of opera productions. An important element in, and a source of inspiration for, modernism was the concept that people had hidden sides linked to their unconscious and their drives, something with which Little Hans had become well acquainted during the designing of the dramaturgy of his own childhood phobia. When Little Hans is creating the elaborate dramaturgy for his phobia, it is probably Herbert Graf, the opera director to be, whom we already see at work.

Perhaps the result of this charged vision was the irresistible lure of the dramatic presentation for Herbert Graf. Another factor in this was surely that Father Graf was a professional viewer, an observer and judge. In a 1972 interview Herbert Graf said of his father: "[H]e was an extraordinary man, the most extraordinary I've ever known.… He was a formidable scholar of literature and esthetics—equally at home in philosophy and science and quite capable of talking mathematics with Einstein" (Rizzo 1972, p. 25). His father was obviously greatly idealized. The son, Herbert, often got his father's free tickets to the opera, and we may ask ourselves whether his father may have been present as an inside observer of the "ideal production" that Little Hans saw in his inner eye and later produced. Herbert Graf says, "I am not a brilliant opera director, a Reinhardt or a Zeffirelli. I am the son of a professor, a serious worker." Perhaps the idealized father retained his number one place—it was

impossible to depose him. There might be something in the analysis of Little Hans that points the way to this quality in Herbert Graf, director.

The interpretation Father Graf at this time was working from (we are now back in the year 1908 when Hans was 5 years old) was as follows: When Little Hans saw the horse fall down he had a wish that his father would also fall down dead, a wish that made him afraid since he was fond of his father and he feared his father's revenge. He plays horses, neighs, trots about, falls down, kicks about with his feet, runs up to his father and bites him. In his play, instead of being afraid, he now stages a drama with himself as the active one. In many of the various games that Hans stages he now includes the "row" with his feet. His father consults the professor, who wants to know something about this row with his feet; now both Hans and his father remember. When Hans was very little and was to be put on his potty,

he sometimes refused to stop playing, stamped his feet, and even threw himself on the ground. What we find out now is that Hans, and as a matter of fact his father as well, have had constipation problems. As a result he has had to have enemas and had been put on a diet. Just recently he has been constipated.

The anal theme is in the pipeline. His mother has been shopping and shows her husband a pair of yellow underpants. When Hans sees them the following scene ensues: Hans says, "Ugh," throws himself on the ground, and spits. This scene is repeated several times on later occasions when he again sees the underpants. Once again, dramaturgy in action, but what is he playing? By degrees his father succeeds in understanding that this is the way Hans reacts to the strong desire he experienced when he was with his mother in the toilet and there saw her having a movement. She says that he pestered her until she let him—children are all like that.

The Father–Analyst's Blind Spots

Something, however, causes the pace of the analysis to slow down. Instead of involving himself in the process, his father engages Little Hans in a consideration of various details of Hans's fantasies and games, as if these details were the object, and the behavior that was to be understood were separate from the context of meaning constituting the essence of his play. The analysis again takes on the character of an interrogation. It is obviously a big problem for Hans's father that he himself has never had the chance to work through his own psychic conflicts. He seems to have difficulty with any material that has to do with the anal and the homosexual, and it is an inescapable fact that he either becomes defensive or, contrariwise, is too much interested.

When the analyst himself becomes defensive it is difficult for the analysand to go further, and this was the case with Little Hans. The negative oedipal

situation containing both the boy's wish to be the object of his father's love, and hate and jealousy in his relation with his mother was never analyzed. Little Hans retains his idealization of his father, and this implies that its antithesis also remains, that is, a masochistic element (Frankiel 1991, 1992). Freud mentions that Hans played a game that consisted of "first hitting his father on the hand and then affectionately kissing the same hand" (1909a, p. 42).

Freud expresses regret that the description of the analysis is beginning to be a little tedious. And maybe it is just a question of the well-known phenomenon that the anal theme arouses either ribaldry or unwholesome boredom. The father is now in his element; he cross-questions Hans, and at last Freud seems to be really irritated. He writes, "At this point I must put in a few words. Hans's father was asking too many questions, and was pressing the inquiry along his own lines instead of allowing the

little boy to express his thoughts. For this reason the analysis began to be obscure and uncertain." Freud consoles the reader, "I can only advise those of my readers who have not as yet themselves conducted an analysis not to try to understand everything at once, but to give a kind of unbiased attention to every point that arises and to await further developments" (1909a, p. 64).

The situation is now becoming more and more complicated, not only because of the father's confusing influence but, primarily, because of the development of Hans's fantasies. He now begins to fantasize about faeces. He has been constipated and is afraid to go to the toilet. This means that his stomach is heavy, the same thing he sees happening outside his window where all the boxes loaded on the carts make them so heavy that the horses may fall down. This frightens Hans. Everything now begins to be about defecation. Horses make a lot of

noise when they defecate, just like his own movement when it falls down into the potty, and meat balls are like faeces.

Since Little Hans has not been able to understand the difference between man and woman or received any help from his parents to understand it, the mystery of where children come from remains unsolved for him. Freud uses the experiences from his work with Little Hans in an article on the sexual theories of children (1908b). There he writes that since the existence of the mother's vagina is ignored, there is in the child's world of imagination only one passage for the baby to take out of his mother's stomach: through the anal opening. The baby must come out in the same way as the faeces. Small children have a great appreciation of their anal products, which makes it possible for them to allow faeces and the child to be linked together. For Little Hans the child theme derives from the faeces theme.

Hans Establishes the Distinction between Inner and Outer Reality

When Hans approaches the child theme, his death wishes come quite clearly out into the open. He is afraid to sit in the bathtub when he bathes; he wants to stand because he is afraid his mother will let go of him so that his head will go under the surface. His father interprets: When he was watching his mother giving Hanna her bath he wished his mother would let go of Hanna so that she would sink. The day after: Hans says that he thought to himself that Hanna was out on the balcony and fell down off it. Hans thinks it would be better if Hanna were not there. He suggests that the stork be paid not to bring any more babies out of the big box where babies are.

Now it ought to be added that Hans is no longer afraid of either horses or carts; that fear disappeared when he took over the conduct of the analysis and began to work actively with it himself. Hans and his

father again have a dialogue about Hans's feelings for his little sister:

Father: "…when Mummy was giving her her bath, if only she'd let go, Hanna would fall into the water…"

Hans (taking him up): "…and die."

Father: "And then you'd be alone with Mummy. A good boy doesn't wish that sort of thing, though."

Hans: "But he may THINK it."

Father: "But that isn't good."

Hans: "If he thinks it, it IS good all the same, because you can write it to the Professor."

In his commentary Freud sides whole-heartedly with Hans: "Well done, little Hans! I could wish for no better understanding of psychoanalysis from any grown-up" (1909a, p. 72).

This is an extremely important moment. Hans manifests his capacity to keep an inner space for impressions and wishes, ideas and fantasies, hate

and love, a place for the meeting I call the analytic space, where the inner world can meet the outer reality. The mental space has the character of a transitional area, in Winnicott's sense, between Hans himself and his own fantasies, ideas, and wishes, a space for consideration and reflection. Now he no longer needs to stage productions in the outer world.

How a Child is Born: About Stork Boxes and Eggs

When Hans notices that he is successful in managing both his own fantasies and his father, he gets braver and now he describes in detail how Hanna traveled with them in the stork box to Gmunden the year before she was born. One day when he and his father come home, there is a box standing in the hall and a long conversation ensues: "Hans says: 'Hanna travelled with us to Gmunden in a box like that.… We got a big box and it was full of babies; they sat in the bath'" (1909a, p. 69). Hans

embroiders his story about how Hanna traveled in the box, rode on the horse, and could walk. His father protests, saying that Hanna was not alive at that time. "Father: 'But Hanna's only been at Gmunden once.' Hans: 'No. She's been twice. Yes, that's it. I can remember quite well. Ask Mummy, she'll tell you soon enough.'"

It is obvious that Hans is now joking with his father who in lying about the stork has given Hans so many problems. He is retaliating because the truth has been hidden from him. But at the same time Hans is saying that his parents' secretiveness has not prevented him from understanding that Hanna was in Mummy's box, that is, in his mother's womb, and that Hans is afraid that his mother will get pregnant again and have more children.

This fantastic story reminds me of Carlo Ginzburg's book (1976), *The Cheese and the Worms*. This 16th-century Italian freethinker tries to

understand how the Creation came about and finds it difficult to restrict himself to the orthodoxy of the Church. When he is pressed during the Inquisition, he tries to give an example. If cheese is placed under a glass bell, the cheese after a while is full of worms despite the fact that both the cheese and the bell were clean at the start. The worms were created in the cheese. Like the Church, Father Graf has his orthodoxy, but Hans cannot and will not be restricted to that. The stork story is untenable. He knew that his mother was pregnant long before the birth. This tallies with the experience we child analysts have had. Children often know much more about their parents than they can or want to admit.

Hans is still a little concerned about how his father will react to his increased frankness. He confesses to his father: “When a cart stands there, I’m afraid I shall tease the horses and they’ll fall down and make a row with their feet.” He thinks of

teasing them by shouting something unkind at them, or whipping them. “Hans: ‘Once I really did it. Once I had the whip and whipped the horse, and it fell down and made a row with its feet.’” A long interrogation ensues, ending with, “What I’ve told you isn’t the least true.” And then he fantasizes that he is beating his mother with the carpet beater. This sadistic element is directed partly toward his father, whom he wants to get out of the way, partly against his mother, but in her case it is associated more with a sadistically tinged intercourse fantasy. He shared his parents’ bedroom until he was 4 years old and can scarcely have avoided seeing his parents making love, something which children usually perceive as violent and upsetting. Even if the child has not seen the sexual act, it creates a fantasy that contains the realization that his parents are physically involved with each other. This primal fantasy is built up gradually with various elements that characterize the

child's fantasies about his parents and their relationship.

Hans himself is now eager to move the analysis forward and he wants to know what different things mean. Now that his sadistic wishes have come to light it is easier for him to declare that all kinds of heavy carts—horse-drawn buses, furniture vans, coal carts— are all stork box carts, that is, pregnant women. His mother will be fully loaded if a child begins to grow in her stomach.

One day Hans is playing with an India-rubber doll he calls Grete. It had a hole where a little tin squeaker had originally been attached. He pushes in a penknife and pulls the doll's legs apart to let the knife fall out. In their talk Hans and his father get on to the subject of how chickens are born and his father explains that hens lay eggs and that chickens come out of the eggs. Hans laughs; he liked what his father had told him. Hans says to his father:

> "At Gmunden you laid an egg in the grass, and all at once a chicken came hopping out. ... I know it for certain. Because Mummy said so."

Father: "I'll ask Mummy if that's true."

Hans: "It isn't true a bit. But *I* once laid an egg, and a chicken came hopping out. ... In Gmunden I lay down in the grass— no, I knelt down—and the children didn't look on at me, and all at once in the morning I said: "Look for it, children; I laid an egg yesterday." And all at once they looked, and all at once they saw an egg, and out of it there came a little Hans." [1909a, p. 85]

A very pleasant fantasy about how children are born. His parents are extremely reluctant to give Hans any sensible sexual information, which adds to the confusion. One might think that it would be easy for us modern, enlightened people to dismiss Hans's problem as typical of the times—Dear me, that turn-of-the-century Vienna and its dread of sex, its fainting, hysterical ladies!—But the amazing thing is that I encountered exactly this fantasy—that children come from eggs—in a well-informed little boy

whom I had in analysis recently. Children have multiple reasons for avoiding the thought of what really happens. Hans himself laughs in relief at the thought of his egg theory.

The Little Oedipus

Hans's wish to be married to his mother has been established beyond all doubt. But his father and his function are in the way (Frankiel 1991). He fantasizes being together with his mother but is disturbed by not understanding his father's role and by doubts about whether he himself can have children. Every night he takes his doll Grete to bed and he plays and talks with his "children." Freud remarks, 'There is no necessity on this account to assume in Hans the presence of a feminine strain of desire for having children. It was with his mother that Hans had his most blissful experience as a child, and he was now repeating them, and himself playing the active part, which was thus necessarily that of

mother." His father asks why he is talking about his children. Hans answers: "Why? Because I should so like to have children; but I don't ever want it; I shouldn't like to have them." Freud's comment: "This startling contradiction was one between fantasy and reality, between wishing and having. Hans knew that in reality he was a child and that the other children would only be in his way; but in fantasy he was a mother and wanted children with whom he could repeat the endearments that he had himself experienced" (1909a, p. 93). The boy's identification with the maternal does not indicate homosexuality, but here as previously the question associated with identification is ignored, that is, the question of what role his father would have if Hans wanted to have children. Thus we get an inkling of the negative oedipal situation that implies homosexuality.

But the strongest emotion Hans has is love of his mother and the wish to take his father's place. At the same time he both fears and cares for his father. When he is playing with his fantasy children, his father says,

> "Hullo, are your children still alive? You know quite well a boy can't have any children."

Hans: "I know. I was their Mummy before, now I'm their Daddy."

Father: "And who's the children's Mummy?"

Hans: "Why, Mummy, and you're their Granddaddy."

Father: "So then you'd like to be as big as me, and be married to Mummy, and then you'd like her to have children."

Hans: "Yes, that's what I'd like, and then my Lainz Grandmummy [his father's mother] will be their Grannie."

Freud comments: "Things were moving towards a satisfactory conclusion. The little Oedipus had found a happier solution than that prescribed by destiny. Instead of putting his father out of the way, he had

granted him the same happiness that he desired himself: he made him a grandfather and married him to his own mother, too" (1909a, p. 96).

What Does the Horse Mean?

Now in conclusion we will briefly consider Herbert Graf s question about the significance of the horse. As we have seen, the horse has many meanings, and therefore the question cannot receive an unambiguous answer.

The horse sometimes has a large penis like his father's, which Hans will get when he is big.

The horse sometimes has a visible penis and urinates in a gush, which gives Hans the desire to watch it.

The horse sometimes has no visible penis and is therefore worrisome.

The horse will bite Hans; a father has warned his little girl that a horse can bite her finger/his penis, which means castration.

Castration: his mother's threat takes effect now, afterwards, *nachträglich,* by the finger and the penis being put together, as in masturbation.

The horse will fall down and be dead; his father is his rival for his mother; Hans has death wishes toward his father.

The horse will fall down and kick his feet; Hans kicked his feet when he had to leave his faeces in the potty, and faeces are equivalent to a child.

The horse has a fat stomach similar to Hans's mother's during pregnancy; Hans wants to be pregnant himself, which results in his constipation.

The horse has something black around his mouth and something in front of his eyes, and these are like the moustache and the eyeglasses his father wears. This is frightening because of Hans's hostility toward his father.

This list is naturally not complete but we understand enough to realize how usable the horse was.

Condensation Dissolves in Meandering Stories

In order to be able to understand how the idea of the horse worked, we need to employ the concept of condensation. Condensation means that a single idea represents several association chains at the intersection of which the condensation is localized. This idea is charged with the sum of the charges originating from each of the association chains. The unconscious works this way both in dreams and in fantasy. For Hans the horse is such a condensed idea. If we assume that the horse represents several different association chains originating, we see that the horse, as a condensed idea, is "brief, meagre and laconic in comparison to the range and wealth of the dream thoughts" (1900, p. 279). The goal of the analysis may be said to evoke out of the condensation point (the horse) all the stories contained in the association chains. There is a confusing variety of stories but what is remarkable is that afterwards the stories, as they are told, appear to

hang together in an idea connection in which only a few questions are essential.

Displacement Ceases When the Analytical Space is Established

Finally we may ask this question: Why did Little Hans transfer his conflicts to ideas so far from himself; why this displacement? I would like to test some ideas about that. We know that Hans was a very curious child who directed his thirst for knowledge to the outside world; he looked, compared, pondered, and fantasized. At the start he had no difficulty containing the reflections he made, but the space shrank when painful feelings and conflicts intruded. He began to be afraid of the wishes and fantasies he was discovering within himself, and his fear was accentuated because his mother sometimes did not seem to be prepared to receive his unease and because he so often had another observer who was making notes and perhaps

magnifying his inner vision. His father was more than an observer; he was also the one to whom certain problematical thoughts applied, for example, the one dealing with Hans's wish that his father should be gone, indeed, even dead. Hans then repressed his wishes and fantasies, utilized his visual talent, and associated these half-unconscious sight impressions with those which had been repressed, giving his external reality a symbolic meaning that was completely private. He exchanged his inner vision for an outer one. Through the analytical process, the repression was removed and the displacement was altered, with the result that Hans introduced new details into his stage set and into the dramaturgy of his phobia. This made it possible to understand the unconscious meaning. Through analysis Hans recaptures the inner space, and this makes the phobia unnecessary; he reclaims a space where fantasies, feelings, and thoughts have room to

meet the outer perception without needing to hide behind it.

The Intelligence of the Unconscious

Now if I had tried to formulate an answer to the letter of Herbert Graf, alias Little Hans, what could I have said about what the horse and carts really meant? I hope that I have been able to make the point that the answer would necessarily have been long and complicated. But we can expect something else! Man's unconscious contains a prodigious intelligence, which can be used to create—and some of that creativity is used for the mental constructions we call symptoms and psychic disturbances. The task of psychoanalysis is to unravel the stories that intersect each other in these condensations. Stories are inevitably long and meandering when they are told, and still they never get to the point.

Notes:

1. This information has been taken from Graf 1942, Lebrecht 1987, Regitz 1972, Rizzo 1972.

2. This influential pedagogue, Dr. Schreber, was the father of the Dr. Schreber about whom Freud wrote his study of paranoia (1911) and with whom we can become better acquainted in Lars Sjögren's chapter of this book.

3. The analytical instrument is an expression which I use to designate the way in which the analyst's psyche functions in the work of analysis. I have developed this further in my 1994 article.

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