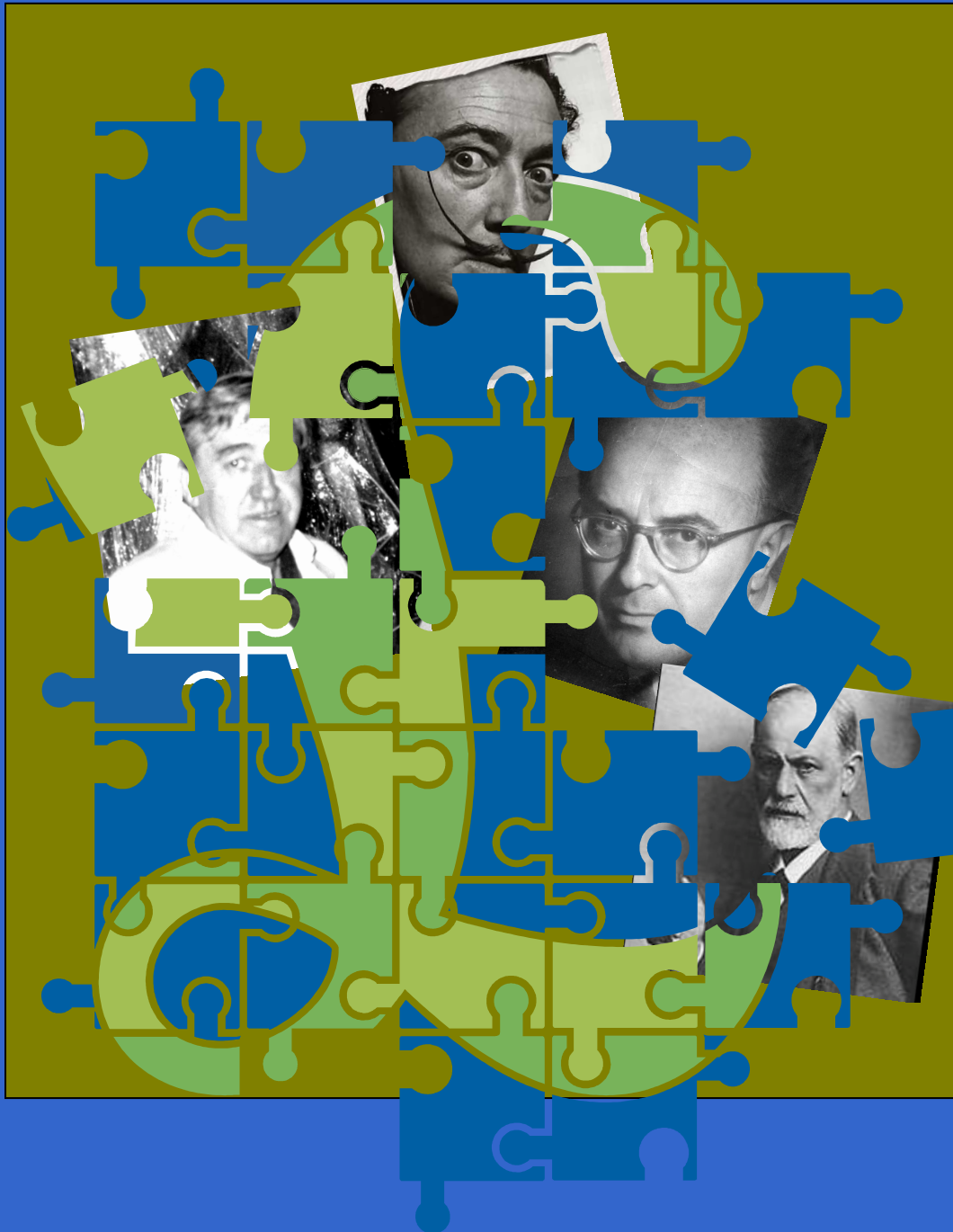


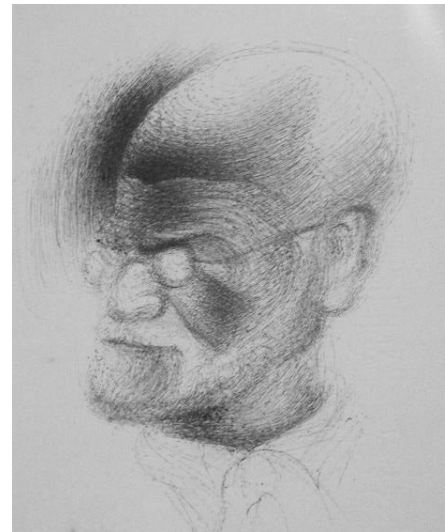
**FROM THE DREAM OF IRMA TO THE DREAM OF MIRA:
PROFESSIONAL DREAMS?**



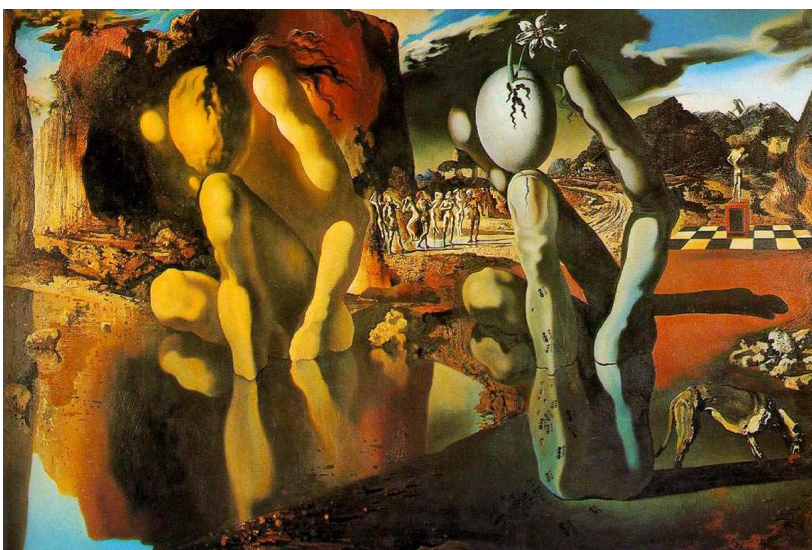
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(English Version)
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Soon a year will have gone by since that splendid Sunday morning, at the beginning of autumn, when I headed for the *Ateneu Barcelonès* just off the beginning of the “Rambla” in Barcelona. As I enjoyed the soft light and the cool morning, I carried engraved in my pupils an image and in my ears resounded some words. The image was *Freud seen by Dalí, 1938*, the triptych with which *Práctica Freudiana* from Barcelona had announced their homage to Freud on the fifties anniversary of his death; the words were the ones pronounced by Margarida Pascual two weeks before when inaugurating the exposition *Life and Work of Freud: Images*: “It would be important to elaborate the history of psychoanalysis in our country, which counts with a long tradition, has suffered the vicissitudes of our history, and also has produced important names in psychoanalysis”.



A year has passed and, as I sit down to write this essay, the images lose sharpness. To make them alive again, I extend on top of the table triptychs of 20 Maresfield Gardens in Hampstead, the house in London where Freud died, today converted into a Freud Museum. I look for photos I took from the *Propyläen* in Munich last summer; I find a postcard of Freud walking in London in 1938 and a Xerox-copy of a photo of Emma Eckstein, the famous “Irma” from the specimen dream of psychoanalysis, taken a little before being operated in Vienna by Wilhelm Fliess, from Berlin, in 1895. I use these images, small mementos, as support of the memory of what have been for me thirty years of history of personal relation with “my Freud” and “his Psychoanalysis”. “My Freud” is the one born from the familiarity with his writings —the ones produced to be published and the others— and “his Psychoanalysis” is what I have learnt from my teachers, colleagues, students and patients, and life in general during all this time.



Behind me, at arm’s length, at one end of a top shelf of the library, I have the Standard Edition completely underlined; on the other end, a good number of biographies and books on Freud, a thousand times crossed by my eyes, which I have been collecting throughout the years. I have no photo of Freud in my study; instead, in a corner —so that it won’t happen that somebody inquires— I have a little enamel reproduction of *La metamorfosis de Narciso*

(1936-1937), original painting of Dalí, actually at the Tate Gallery, donation of the Maecenas of Dalí, Edward James, who accompanied Dalí on July 19, 1938 during the interview Stephan Zweig had arranged for him with Freud.

Probably it was this painting, and not the sketch-drawing Dalí made that morning, which earned the known commentary of Freud: "It would be interesting to investigate analytically how the artist arrived to paint this picture".¹

It is not true that the history of psychoanalysis in Catalonia is still to be written; that fact is that there are many histories, perhaps even too many. Everyone, every little group, makes their own. That the content of these "histories" be more or less trustworthy is yet another question. For example, during the meetings which took place on April 26 and 27 of 1986 in the Palace of Congresses of Perpignan on La història de la psicoanàlisi als Països Catalans, organized by G.A.I.R.P.S. (Groupe d'Analyse en Institution et de Recherches en Psychologie Sociale), Dr. Tosquelles concluded a session he presided with the following declaration:

I permit myself to make good, cover, the amnesia which permits the disregard, in some way understandable, of this acting out, this aggression committed from 1936 onwards. At the same time I will pay homage to Mira and to the psychiatrists and psychoanalysts of the most diverse schools brought into our lives by the first paranoid anxieties. I say so because, in effect, Sarró, the year 1931, went to spend eight or ten days in Vienna... I don't know where he went in Vienna, but I do know that when he returned I participated in a conference of Mira and Sarró on Freud and Vienna. At that time he paid much tribute to psychoanalysis, saying that it was the beginning of life, of science, in spite that some minutes later he escaped through the sewers towards existential psychoanalysis. One has to remember that in the year 1931 Sarró was the presenter in the Córdoba Congress on Heidegger and existentialism in psychiatry. And, in short, if he went to Vienna, it is all he did, but he has not had other interventions if it wasn't to speak badly of psychoanalysis. Sarró always spoke badly of psychoanalysis and in particular after 1935 because, according to him and others who stayed there below, it was Mira and ourselves who worked for the Republican Army, and who organized the 'checas' for killing the good Spanish which were the fascists.²

It's interesting to know that, already more than sixty years ago, Mira and Sarró gave a conference on Sigmund Freud and Vienna at the Ateneu Barcelonès, and still more interesting would be to find the text of 1931 or 1932. The attitudes of Sarró towards psychoanalysis and his squabbles with Mira are *vox populi*; it's famous his *boutade*: "I would rather be known as the parricide of Freud than his student"³.

¹ Salvador Dalí was a fan of Freud's. In the Residencia de Estudiantes, a most famous students' residence in Madrid, he never stopped reading him. The surrealist revolution took this profaner of psychoanalysis to formulate a "critical paranoia", a theory which interested the young Dr. Lacan to the point that he asked him for an interview when the text appeared in *l'Âne Pourri*, in 1929 (see Roudinesco, Élisabeth. *Histoire de la Psychanalyse en France II, 1925/1985*. Seuil, Paris, 1986, p. 125): « Trying to interest him —tells Dalí himself from his interview with Freud— I explained that it was not a matter of surrealist amusement, but it was really an ambitiously scientific article and as I repeated the title I pointed it out with my finger. In front of his inexcusable indifference, my voice turned involuntarily more high pitched and more insistent. Then, without stopping to look at me with such fixity in which seem to converge all his being, Freud exclaimed to Stephan Zweig: "I have never seen a more complete specimen of Spaniard! What a fanatic! (see *Vida Secreta de Salvador Dalí* (The secret life of Salvador Dalí). Figueras, DASA, 1942, 1981)

² The Text of the Proceedings has been printed by GAIRPS: "Història de la psicoanàlisi als Països Catalans" (History of psychoanalysis in the Catalan countries). Proceedings of the Meetings 26/27 of April, 1986 (Perpignan: Buro Services. 1986, p. 9). The accusation of Tosquelles is based on the letter which the majority of psychiatrists resident in Barcelona addressed to the then President of the International Committee for the organization of Psychology Congresses, in which Mira participated since 1923, with the objective that he be eliminated from the same as the representative of Spain. These accusations could not be verified in an open process to Mira before the TOP in 1945 (see Josep María Solé I Sabater: "Psychiatry of post-war against the analytical science of Emili Mira". *Vanguardia* February 24, 1987). Curiously, Father Gemelli was the President of the first world congress of Psychology celebrated during the Franco era —the one of catholic psychotherapy and psychology organized by Dr. Juan José López Ibor en Madrid, en 1957.

³ Sarró in "Interview by M. D. Muntané", in *El medico*, January 17, 1986. Sarró's ambivalence in respect to Freud is consequence, in my opinion, of not having succeeded in analyzing himself personally with him. It seems that Freud sensed this when, excusing himself because of "lack of hours" for not accepting him in analysis, he insisted that not

Neither is it a secret that the nihilistic eclecticism of his Chair was no help at all to the development of psychoanalysis or to that of Catalan psychiatry and psychology. But nothing is lost being well educated:



R. Sarró

the commentaries about Sarró in Vienna are simply slanderous. I ignore if Dr. Sarró was in Vienna a third time in 1931 or 1932; when in fact he was there, being psychoanalyzed with more or less success by Helene Deutsch, is from 1925 to 1927. What I also know and here I give testimony of it, is that at the entrance of the library of his house Professor Sarró has a framed certificate of the *Lehrausschuss der Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung* (Training Committee of the Institute of the Psychoanalytic Association of Vienna), dated November 21, 1933, with which Dra. Helene Deutsch accredits that Dr. Ramón Sarró, of Barcelona, has been a student and has followed the course 1925-26 and part of 1926-27 profitably.⁴ The document does not seem false and neither the manuscript letter of Freud to Dr. Sarró which hangs on the side of the certificate.

I wanted to introduce with this example very near to us the question of credibility of oral and written history in psychoanalysis which so much preoccupied Freud at the end of his days, I am referring to the question of “historical truth” which is inserted in substitution of refuted reality by social repression, a question which took Freud to get stuck with the *Moses and monotheism* for more than four of the last five years of his life. For me, *Moses* is an autobiographical account of Freud's and as genuine as in fact is *Screen memories*, *Everyday psychopathology* or *Jokes*. Read this way, it converts Sigmund Freud himself into the last victim of psychoanalysis. The first one, as we now know, was the Emma Eckstein of the photography, the famous “Irma” of which Peter Gay says



Emma Eckstein

because of this he should abandon his intention of making his analysis: "Lassen Sie sich dadurch in Ihrer Absicht eine solche Analyse zu machen, und eventuell nach Wien zu kommen, nicht stören" (Letter from Freud to Sarró: 10/XI/1925. The phantom of the analysis of Victor Tausk estaba dando vueltas en el análisis de Sarró con Helene Deutsch. Neither was it easy for Sarró to overcome the narcissistic injury and the repulse of homosexual love which implied being sent by Freud to a woman! His negative transference to Helene Deutsch protected him, however, from finishing his didactic analysis the same way than Tausk. It is always better finishing an analysis confessing in public parricide phantasies than finishing it with autolysis. After all, and at a high price for Catalan psychoanalysis, the only victim of this analysis was the desire of Sarró of becoming a psychoanalyst. Could it be that the “analytic cure” had cured him of this so frequent mania between candidates of psychoanalysts?

⁴ The author has at the disposition of the readers photographic proofs taken by himself of the existence of the following document, signed and sealed in Vienna by Dra. Helene Deutsch:

LEHRAUSSCHUSS DER WIENER PSYCHOANALYTISCHEN VEREINIGUNG

Leitung: Dr. Helene Deutsch
Wien, Wollzeile 38
Telefon R 21-5-65
Wien, 21 November 1933

Sirva esta para certificar que el Dr. en Med. Ramón Sarró de Barcelona trabajó en el Lehrausschuss der Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung desde octubre de 1925 a junio de 1926, y unos meses más en el curso 1926/1927.

El Dr. Sarró se sometió a análisis con fines didácticos, por unos meses, y con provecho y dedicación siguió los cursos teóricos y los seminarios. Además, analizó dos casos bajo control durante varios meses en el Ambulatorio.

También participó activamente y con éxito en las discusiones científicas e hizo presentaciones en las sesiones de los seminarios nocturnos.

Por un acontecimiento familiar imprevisto, desgraciadamente, se vio obligado a interrumpir su formación.

Por el Instituto,
Helene Deutsch
Sello del Instituto

that she was the first colleague of Freud in the analysis of patients, something which, if true, makes her into the first Freudian analyst⁵ or, in the words of Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, into the singular most important person of the history of psychoanalysis, the first of its victims and one of the great heroines of the twentieth century.⁶

“To read History is to understand the present” is the motto of *Avenç* for selling books. George Santayana goes further when he says that “*If we don't learn from history... we will be condemned to repeat it*”. One way or another, as psychoanalysts we know which is the history never mentioned in psychoanalysis. It's as if the destiny of any Freudian group and of their journals was to be born divided... or be born for death! *Práctica Freudiana* had forgotten this in that *Homage to Freud* and could no less than suffer the consequences... It's said that you don't learn history only by reading books... But when the books are badly written they distort the facts, change one truth for another and come written with the deliberate and malicious purpose of deluding. When history is at the service of the ideological apparatus of a State, as is the educational system, or form part of the system of propaganda and of training staff and militants of a political movement (we could verify it during the Franco regime)... then what happens? In this respect we cannot say that the founders of psychoanalysis, starting with Freud himself, have given a good example. All of them together made of Freud a myth and of his apostles and evangelists a celestial choir: Klein, Bion, Meltzer, Lacan, Jones, Eitingon... o Miller. Freud made a last intent to rectify the question. To my mind, apart from assuring the future of his descendants and of psychoanalysis, if he did not abandon his place of combat, which he thought was in Vienna, and if he let himself be persuaded to exile himself in London, it was with the aim of gaining freedom for finishing the *Moses and monotheism* and dismantling the myth⁷. We also know about the bad disposition of Freud towards his biographers, that “disgraceful class of people, still unborn, destined to complain about their inclination to make an *auto de fe* of my writings”⁸. Also do we know of the “tug of the ear” he gave Fritz Wittels, the first of his followers turned biographer. In fact, on August 15, 1924, Wittels received from Freud the following commentary to a manuscript the former had sent him:

The biographer at least has to try to be as scrupulous as the interpreter, and the proverb says: Traduttore: Tradittore. I realize that the circumstances make it difficult for you to have this quality, and from there follow some omissions which give a distorted image of some facts, lead to errors without palliative, etc. This happens, for example, with what refers to cocaine, episode to which, for reasons I ignore, you attribute great importance. Apart from the problem which supposes knowing too little, there is also the one of pretending to know too much. Anybody pretending to publicly sentence the intimate feelings of a person still alive has the obligation to be very scrupulous and show himself worthy of maximum confidence.

⁵ In note 9, on page 115 of Peter Gay's *Freud, una vida de nuestro tiempo* (Freud, a life of our times) (Barcelona_ Paidós, 1989), in the commentary Emma Eckstein prácticamente had disappeared from the correspondence of Freud, but not from his life. She continued being a friend of the family and turned into a colleague; “A letter from Freud a Fliess, of December 12, 1897, reveals that she had started to psychoanalyze her own patients.”

⁶ Evidently, Masson exaggerates a little, or perhaps does not more than project in her the courage he demonstrated with his “The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory”, Farrar. Strauss and Giroux, New York, 1984. The novel of Janet Malcolm, *In the Freud Archives*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1984, explains masterly the fascinating adventure of this trained and qualified psychoanalyst who arrived at the summit of power and had all the opportunities that can have an investigator, to be curator of the Freud Archives, who risked all and lost for love of “his truth”.

⁷ Frank J. Sulloway dedicates his *Freud Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend* (Great Britain, Fontana Paperbacks, 1979) to save the person of Wilhelm Fliess scientist, assassinated systematically by the Freudian legend of Freud as pure psychologist. In a long chapter dedicated to the analysis of the “Myth of the hero in the psychoanalytic movement”, he uses with great success and much conviction the “Archetype” of Campbell: The formula of the “dangerous expedition” with three classical motives —isolation, initiation and return— applying it like “glove on hand” to the case of Freudian psychoanalysis.

⁸ See note 7

Poor Wittels, naturally, has not had access to the secret correspondence and other documents protected from public light until well into the 20th century. The *Sigmund Freud Archives* were being accumulated from the beginning of the years fifty, and are jealously guarded in the Congress Library in Washington. Ernest Jones, who did enjoy this privilege, in his monumental biography of Freud and in his own, not only ignored such recommendations but, deliberately, challenged them with maneuvers that could take him to court, trying hard, naturally, not to be caught.⁹ And this, they say, is history! If history is written that way, if in place of the real truth what is served us is a fable, what can we do if the sources at our disposal are third or fourth hand, arrive in a code or are tricked? Certainly, to learn history that way is not easy and, in general, in Freud's words, what we finish up creating are "endopsychic myths" (Or. L.78, p. 237)¹⁰, *Meschugge Psicomitologie* (C.C., p. 286). Another way, in my opinion more correct, would be to try the groupanalytic and socio-historic study of the symptoms which remained inscribed in the institutions of the cultural communities born around psychoanalysis, this is to say, a type of treatment that Freud found justified and even recommends it in *Civilization and its Discontents*, in spite of that he thinks that "...what would be the use of the most correct analysis of the social neurosis if nobody has the authority to impose this or that therapy on the group?"¹¹

When I see the profusion of acts and publicity given by the *mass media* in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Sigmund Freud's death, I cannot less than think of the horror it produced Freud "the indiscriminate flattery of the younger as well as the enmity of the older" (CC. p. 347, 2/3/1899). In consequence, I ask myself if it had not been better, more adequate, analytically implicit, if instead of so much hullabaloo, so much homage, so much "cult of personality", one simply celebrated a jubilee. A Jewish jubilee, naturally, since it is in homage of Freud. Homage, originally meant a solemn ceremony by which a man recognized his vassalage to a lord, by mosaic law; in contrast, jubilee is a public solemnity, celebrated every fifty years, to give back to the former owner the sold properties and during which the slaves recover their freedom. There is little hope that this will be the case, since such an enormous decision would oblige a major revision of the Master and the Slave not only in psychoanalysis, but in the social context of which it depends. This goes further than theoretic questioning; it means to face a practical problem of lived reality; a problem related to professional deontology and ethic of an analytic practice—a method of investigation as well as of treatment—as also to a system of teaching and of self-government, operative in the single professional group that emerged from the antique priesthood in the temple of Asclepius that dared to disown the Hippocratic oath.

⁹ Lilla Veszy-Wagner, in her "Ernest Jones, 1879-1958, The Biography of Freud", en *Psychoanalytic Pioneers* (Franz Alexander, *et. al.*, London, Basic Books Inc., 1966), explains on page 119 that Jones, for writing Freud's biography, checked carefully if the enemies of psychoanalysis of which spoke had died and how many of them were there. On a certain occasion on which she expressed her doubts to him in reference to one of them, Jones answered her annoyed by letter of December 13, 1954: "...I don't care when he died, provided to be sure that now he is completely dead, because I am slandering him seriously." Also, it seems, habitually, he consulted his lawyer to know that certain declarations could come out in print without danger that one could take him to court for slander. In those cases, he did not show any pity for the dead.

¹⁰ Can you imagine what are the endopsychic myths? They are the latest product of my mental activity. The slight internal perception of the mental apparatus of oneself provokes illusory thoughts, which naturally are projected towards outside and, characteristically, towards the future and the beyond. Immortality, retribution, and all life beyond death are no more than reflexes of the most profound of the soul (Psyche)... Psycho-mythology Meschugge Psychomythology... (Or. L. 78, p. 237). In the quotes of the correspondence of Freud with Fliess we use in this work the abbreviations of (Of.L.) when the source corresponds to *Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, drafts and notes, 1887-1902*, editada por M. Bonaparte y E. Kris, New York, Basic Books, 1954. However, with C.C. we refer to the edition of *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887-1904*, translated and edited by Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985.

¹¹ Freud S.: *Civilization and its discontents*, s/e, XIX, p. 144.

Freud, when he presented psychoanalysis to the world at the Clark University with his famous *Five Lessons*, stated:

*The interpretation of dreams (Die Traumdeutung) is in fact the royal road to the unconscious, is the most firm foundation of psychoanalysis and for everyone who works in it, the ambit in which he needs to acquire his own convictions and get his training. If one asked me how one arrives to be a psychoanalyst, I answer: Studying one's own dreams.*¹²

Freud, who always kept in high esteem his ability to interpret dreams, in 1914, on occasion of the loss of Carl Jung, had the following thoughts:

The interpretation of dreams converted itself for me in comfort and support in those first arduous years of analysis when I had to dominate the technique, the clinical phenomena and the therapy of the neurosis all at the same time. During this period I was completely isolated and in the middle of a bundle of problems and difficulties, often I was afraid to lose my bearings and also my confidence. With some patients I needed incommensurable time to prove my hypothesis, according to which the neuroses are intelligible through analysis; but the dreams of the patients—which can be seen as analogous to their symptoms—almost always confirmed my hypothesis. It was only my success in this direction that permitted me to persevere.

Clarifying as follows:

*I have learnt to deduce the capacity of understanding (the unconscious) of a psychologist by his attitude in relation to the interpretation of dreams; I observed with satisfaction that the majority of opponents to psychoanalysis avoid this field and show a notable clumsiness when trying. Soon, however, I noticed the necessity of carrying out an autoanalysis, something I did with some of my own dreams which took me to events of my infancy; even nowadays I uphold the opinion that this type of analysis is sufficient for one who is a good dreamer and not too abnormal.*¹³

And even if, in the letters to Fliess, in one of the paragraphs he confesses that autoanalysis is impossible, later he continues to refer to what he does in didactic analysis with students and colleagues as “supervision of their autoanalysis”, which explains, although does not justify, for example, the nature of the interminable analysis he sustained with princess Maria Bonaparte or the break of the ethical rules of psychoanalysis in the personal psychoanalysis of his own daughter Ana. I am sure, as to the rest, that in the autoanalysis of his own dreams Freud surely never stopped.

I am also sure that, if he saw himself forced to save only one book of all the ones written by him for posterity, *Die Traumdeutung* would have been the chosen one. Its delivery was like the *parto de los montes* (the birth of the mountains):



¹² Freud, S. (1925 (1924)): *An Autobiographical Study*, s/e, XX, p. 52.

¹³ Freud, S. (1914): *History of the psychoanalytic movement*, s/e, Vol. XIV, p. 20.

a gestation of more than four years and the moment of giving birth pretty stormy. At the end, the creature came out alright, beautiful, and the mother, Freud himself, was content although a little depressed. As he said goodbye to his natural father, Joseph Breuer, Freud could not help but exclaim: **Now I know how to interpret dreams!** So as to say “now I know how to do it by myself”. In what concerns the poor midwife-doctor, the end was more tragic: Freud finished betraying his loyal friend Wilhelm Fliess.

If reading *The Interpretation of dreams* is not easy —only an obsessive would be able to do it in one go, writing it is still less so. If it had not been for the already mentioned Wilhelm Fliess, who beyond being the midwife also was the best friend and confidant, doctor of confidence, distant Muse, phantom mentor, proofreader, literary advisor, analyst by correspondence, pocket inquisitor and only audience, in short, an *alter ego* of first order, it is doubtful that Freud would have made up his mind to start such a gigantic task; and, even so, he hardly would have been able to conclude it without his help. It is not strange, then, that having been “irremediably stuck” during one year “before the gap of psychology” and the hole left by the analyzed dream the publication of which Fliess had censured (OR. 99, 23/10/1898), when at last he overcomes the pitfall (OR. 107, 28/5/1899), he exclaims overcome by joy:

... I have sent the Screen Memories a Jena with Ziehen... The dreams suddenly are shaping up for no particular reason, but this time I am definitely sure about it. I decided that I cannot continue to conceal it and I cannot permit myself to keep the best for me alone —probably the only thing— lasting of my discoveries... So, then, that the dreams may turn into facts... Well! That the gods may put as a barrier the existing literature to frighten anybody that tries to contribute to it, I don't care any longer. The first time I got stuck. Now I will open a way even if there was nothing of value. No other work of mine has been so complete and really mine; and it is my own dunghill, and nursery, a new species mihi at the summit of everything!

As can be seen from the commentaries of August 6, 1899, moment in which his work enters the home straight, the main difficulties and “*repelús*” (inexplicable fear) which Freud felt when writing, came, on one hand, from difficulties in the theory, the famous chapter VII, the *Witch Metapsychology*, as he would say afterwards in *Analysis terminable and interminable* and, on the other, from the imperative obligation of having to revise the literature on the subject:

As always, you are right. You said exactly what I myself thought, the first chapter would put off many readers. But we can do little if it is not to say something for the record in a note in the preface... You did not want me to occupy myself with the literature in the body of the text and you were right; now you don't want that I do so at the beginning and once again you are right. You feel the same than me; the secret is that we don't want it anywhere. However, if we don't want to leave an axe in the hands of the scientists so that they decapitate us, we will have to include it somewhere. All is planned according to the model of an imaginary walk, lost without hope on erroneous paths. Afterwards, I lead the reader through a hidden gorge between mountains —my specimen dream, with its peculiarities, its details, indiscretions, bad jokes, and, suddenly, there appears a high plateau, a view, the question: And now, which way do you want to follow? (OF p. 286)¹⁴

The hidden passage, the narrow gorge to which Freud makes reference, is in the *dream of the injection of Irma*, this personal dream autoanalyzed in chapter II of *Die Traumdeutung*, which as the “prototype of dream completely analyzed” has passed into history with the name of ‘specimen dream of

¹⁴ Letter 114 of August 6, 1899, Sigmund Freud *The Origins of Psychoanalysis*, New York, Basic Books, 1954, p. 286.

psychoanalysis". It was thinking in that dream when on June 12, 1900 —this is to say, once published the *Book of Dreams*— he writes in a poetic vein of enthusiasm:

For the rest, life in Bellevue is very pleasant for all. The nights and the mornings are delicious, the scent of the acacia and jasmine have followed the one of lilac and broom, the wild roses are flowering and it seems to me as if everything, suddenly, was going to explode. Do you think that someday a marble plaque will be put on this house with the following inscription? (CC. 12/6/1900, p. 4)¹⁵

Here, on July 24, 1895 the secret of the dream was revealed to Dr. Sigmund Freud
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Even when in what follows he comments despondently: *"At the moment I can see few perspectives."*

Ninety years have gone by, a plaque indicates today the mouth of the entrance of that narrow gorge from which Freud emerged converted into a new man: "...it's the most valuable of all the discoveries I ever had the fortune of making. An insight like this cannot be offered a man by destiny more than once in a lifetime, he would comment proudly even forty years later. However, in case of going for the "imaginary walk" to which Freud invites, we will enter by a trail full of footprints left by the ones who had tried before, running the risk of losing the route or of following erroneous ways the same than those. The best, I think, is to start again, take the chart of navigation Freud had when he arrived, read the binnacle logbook which he left us and orient ourselves by the stars when night arrives... or go to sleep, since it is dreaming that Freud started to make headway.

In trying to make a halt, I realize that I changed the means of locomotion. Till now I was walking, from here on I will navigate, with all the double meaning of this verb. The royal way is traced on firm territory. Perhaps as we submerge ourselves in the deep ocean of the unconscious we discover that there one goes by sea and not by land, we become conscious that the vessels which ply the former don't leave trace. Let's read again, then, the description of the crossing which Freud left Fliess. He said: "At the beginning, the dark woods of the authors who don't see the trees". If we go over the list of authors named in the bibliography of the *Book of Dreams*, we will find that, curiously, Freud had forgotten the poets. From this we deduce that Freud ignored what had been said in this respect by ours, between others, Calderón de la Barca and Bernat Metge. And it is obvious that in that this list he could not include the ones who after Freud's death had tried to retrace his way, for example his personal doctor Max Schur or Emilio Mira López, Ángel Garma, Emilio Rodrigué and, more recently, José Sánchez Lázaro, *inter alia*. Naturally, less still would be listed the ones condemned to ostracism by the psychoanalytical Society as, for example, Trigant Burrow, from the twenties of last century or, more recently Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson. I have read thoroughly all these authors not knowing if I have learnt more from their good guesses or from their errors.

The same than Freud, I am a doctor and a psychiatrist —I don't know if so much of a psychoanalyst as he or the same way as he— but, what is more, I am groupanalyst, what means that for me the whole is not equal to the sum of its parts, and that the whole cannot be explained by analogies of what happens to the individual. This frame of reference makes that, for me, a dream always represents an intent of communication; in first place with oneself; in second place, with the person or group of persons to whom

¹⁵ "The perspectives are very meager", commented Freud in the following. In effect, almost sixty years were necessary that, finally the psychoanalytic community decided to satisfy him. The plaque was uncovered on May 6, 1976; until then the compromise consisted in putting a footnote in the *Book of Dreams*, edited, as here, within a frame.

one relates the dream; and, finally, with the whole world, and this in as much as the dream fulfills a function of cultural diffusion, in the case of becoming of public dominion, as exposed verbally or in writing. This position, as one can see, takes into account the conscious and unconscious motivation of the dream, the presence as well as the future and the past of the dreamer, and the individual dimension as well as the social one of the latter; in other words, it has to do with the nature and essence of the symbol. I shall illustrate with an image what I am trying to say.

Remember the image of *Freud as seen by Dalí* which I carried engraved in my pupil a year ago? If I wished to continue associating with this image I would have to do so forced by the morphology of the skull of Freud, according to the principle of the spiral and the snail, just as Dalí thought his drawing. But I would be going the wrong way, since, to start with, it was not this image which deserved Freud's commentary. The latter not even saw the sketch of his portrait, of which Zweig thought that it was invaded by death. If I did not know how to read, I would never have known which was and about what was the painting in question, concretely *La metamorfosis de Narciso*. Freud, not wanting to attend to the "scientific article" —written with words, verbal symbols— which Dalí offered him, found himself deprived of the only way of access possible to the analysis of the process by which Dalí had arrived at painting this picture. If one reads *Métamorphose de Narcisse*, of Salvador Dalí (Éditions Surréalistes, Paris, 1937, numbered edition of 500 copies in French and 550 in English), all is easy. Happens what has happened to me. It has given me the key for reconstructing the scenario of the landscape described by Freud in his "imaginary walk". For the moment I cannot be more explicit here and now in reference to the investigation initiated on the theme since, first of all, this is not the adequate place for it (there is not enough room) and, second, because it is necessary to use images the production and alteration of which require the permission of the *Fundación Dalí*. Anyhow, the idea that the dream is always an audiovisual production in which the icons combine and complement the words and that, on top of it, all of them have a social dimension, opens up a field of investigation, to my mind totally unknown up to the moment.

Once made these declarations of principle that allow to see from which angle I contemplate the scene, let us return to where we left Freud and, jumping over what could have happened in the gorge, let us go out with him onto the plateau, and contemplating the panorama return to the question: "... and now, which way you want to continue?"



It seems that from this crossing take off three pathways. As we know from the correspondence with Fliess, the first one he followed was the one familiar to him and the most congruent with the principles of the school of Helmholtz and his experience in the laboratory of Brücke. He chose, then, this one and ran down the mountain making a dash for the *Project of a psychology for neurologists*. He had not gone very far, a couple of weeks all in all, when he realized that, as much as by this shortcut one advanced rapidly, the path did not lead anywhere.

He sent Fliess the manuscript and forgot about the project. He started again, but this time he undertook the ascent of the mountain by an unknown way, sexuality and the traumatic theory of the neuroses. September 21, 1897, two years later, he confesses happily that he erred the way totally "...I do not believe anymore in my 'neurotica'". For the third time he starts again and, at last, with the help of the dreams, the only thing left is to proceed to his own autoanalysis from which emerges the psychoanalytic theory of the neuroses. In the end, and with the theory in hand, less than six months were necessary for him to finish this enormous work. He had covered the gap of his psychology. The dreams confirmed as well as discovered for him the role of the repressed wish in the neurosis as well as the nocturnal hallucination of the normal individuals; this is to say, in their dreams. The first step for "psychoanalysis to be proclaimed as a theory of mental processes not directly accessible to consciousness, as a profound psychology" had been made with the study of dreams, but there was still another step to be made "for psychoanalysis to be applied to almost all sciences of the spirit". This step, says Freud in his *Short Account* of 1923, is the one of the transition that goes from the mental activity of the individual human being to the psychic functions of the human communities and nations, this is to say, from individual psychology to social psychology, adding that "many and surprising analogies have forced us to this transition" (SE Vol. XIX, p. 205). This is for me the key point in which psychoanalysis is still stuck; by way of analogies we will arrive, maximum, at an explanation of "how the thing seems to be" and not of "how it really is". It's not so much a problem of method of investigation —the step from the individual to the group method— but of object of investigation. For me, here is the jump from psychoanalysis, which in the last end always is an autoanalysis between individuals, and groupanalysis, which is an analysis of the group which is within oneself, however hard the situation of *splendid isolation* may be. Equipped with these tools, what can we do? Well, the same than does the *Guardia Civil* when they come up against an insurmountable traffic jam: call the ones of the helicopter so that they can tell them where the block is that obdurate the circulation: to look at things from another perspective, is what I will do now, looking for support in a couple of old colleagues.

Freud, for his modern journey of Faustus to the underworld chose the model of Eneas of Virgil, as one can clearly see from the motto of *Die Traumdeutung*: "Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo" (Eneida, VII, p. 312: If I cannot persuade the gods of heaven, I shall move the ones from hell), even if the famous quotation is in the mouth of Juno. The authors of my wits are two old Catalans, although from different epochs. Both combine the criteria required by Freud for being able to make a good autoanalysis —be a good dreamer and not too abnormal— and both have experience. The first, is a famous dreamer who lived astride the 14th and 15th centuries, Bernat Metge (1340-1413) —between other relevant texts, author of *Medicina apropiada a tot mal* (1397; A cure appropriate for all ills) and *Lo somni* (1399). The second one is the first scientific Catalan psychiatrist and father of psychology in our country, who introduced psychoanalysis in the twenties of last century in Barcelona. He also was the first to study, practice and teaches it. I refer to Dr. Emili Mira y López (1896-1964), author between other books of *El psicoanálisis* (1926). *Los fundamentos del psicoanálisis* (1946) and *Doctrinas psicoanalíticas* (1963).

Freud always was very generous in recognizing and appreciating the work of his predecessors in the discovery of free associations as well as the interpretation of dreams. Especially when related to artists, like his compatriot, the mathematician and utopian socialist Josef Popper-Lynkeus. The latter, in 1889,

in *Phantasien eines Realisten*, tells the story of a man for whom all he dreamt had as much meaning as what he thought when awake. Mira, a laboratory scientist and pragmatic socialist, in agreement with the advice of Freud, analyzed his own dreams as well as those of his patients, this way putting the principles and methods of psychoanalysis to the laboratory test.

To be able to read Cervantes' Quijote in the original, Freud, with his companion of the *Sperlgymnasium*, Eduard Silberstein, taught himself Castilian and together they created the *Academia Castellana*. This association with Silberstein served as a precedent to the one he established later, also by correspondence, with Wilhelm Fliess. *El coloquio de los perros* (The colloquium of the dogs) serves as a model of identification for both relationships. Freud always played the role of Cipión, this is to say, the one which listens, and the other the one of Berganza, the one who talks. It would not be strange that the "coloquio" was to constitute another "criptoamnesia" as the one of the forgetting of having read, in his youth, *El arte de convertirse en escritor original en tres días* (The art of turning into an original writer in three days), de Ludwig Börne.¹⁶ We don't know if besides being familiar with the adventures of Quijote, the members of the *Academia Castellana* also knew about Segismundo de *La vida es sueño*, of Calderón de la Barca. What is sure is that they did not have knowledge of the existence of *Lo somni*, of Bernat Metge.¹⁷ Six hundred years before, in trying to save his life and recuperate the royal favors, lost at the death of the king Joan, Bernat Metge saw himself obliged to invent a dream. According to Freud, a dream is always a creative solution to satisfy simultaneously two wishes in conflict: the biological one, to continue sleeping, and the unconscious one, repressed due to objective or inter-subjective conditions of external, material or social reality. To earn one's living, save one's skin, sleep calmly, all are motives sufficiently powerful as to rob us our sleep or invite us to dream. Every prisoner dreams of escaping. Bernat Metge imprisoned did so, and writing a dream he escaped from the dungeon.



The story goes that, after the sudden death of the king Joan I, of who he was notary, royal secretary and "extraordinary ex-ambassador", he was processed and imprisoned during more than two years, together with other "bad royal advisers", accused of assassination, until he was absolved on December 7, 1398. *Lo somni* is the story of a dream which supposedly he had in prison and during it three characters appear to him: the dead king Joan I, a very beautiful youth, with a lira in his hands which happens to be Orfeo and an old man with a great bear, without eyes and a big stick in the hand, the very same Tiresias, the blind soothsayer who in the kingdom of Thebes had an important role in the tragedy of Oedipus. It is with the representative of earthly power, the armored arm of faith, with whom he will discuss the epistemology of the immortality of the soul and the essences of scientific truth. From Orfeo, who he accompanies in his descent to hell, he learns not to look back once one really accomplished what one desired. From Tiresias he learns that one cannot look badly at two serpents copulating without changing sex and, also, that the primitive scene is the one of two gods fighting for him to tell them that they are right. In his case he goes to the goddess Juno, of whom he says that she was more lustful than Jupiter, and she in turn not only takes away his eyesight but also his eyes. Jupiter in compensation grants him the gift of prophecy.

¹⁶ Freud, S. 1920: *A Note on the Prehistory of the Technique of Analysis*, s/e, XVIII, pp. 263-265.

¹⁷ Metge, Bernat: *Lo somni*, Barcelona, Edicions 62 y "La Caixa", 1980. On the Iberian Peninsula there exists a tradition of analytical interest in literary work on dreams. A classical text is one of Ángel Garna on *La Vida es Sueño*, de Calderón. (Garna, Ángel. *Los sueños*, Edit. Nova, 3 edición, B.A., 1956).

Lo somni, of Bernat Metge, is apt for a marvelous psychoanalytic study although here is not the appropriate place to carry it out. As a token, here is an illustrative dialogue which on the dilemma science-faith is motive for a discussion with the king on the immortality of the soul.

(The translation is from the original of the dream written in 14th century Catalan, which accompanies the English version in small letters.)



My Lord... To tell the truth, there is no man in the world who wants to use reason as he should, who does not of necessity grant, attending to all what you have told me, that the souls are immortal. And so I believe firmly and with this opinion I want to die.

(Senyor, E a la veritat, no és hom en lo món qui de raó vulla usar així com deu, qui necessariament no haja a atorgar, atès tot ço que m' havets dit, que les ànimes sien immortals. E així ho crec fermement, e ab aquesta opinió vull morir.)

What do you mean 'opinion'? —says the king— ... It is science certain since opinion is no more than rumor, fame or popular wind, and always presupposes something doubtful.

(Com opinió? -diu el Rei-és ciència certa, car opinió no es als sinó rumor o fama o vent popular, e tostemps pressuposa cosa dubtosa.)

Have for name, then, my Lord, science certain. I did not remember well the virtue of the word.

(Haja nom, doncs, Senyor, ciència certa. No em recordaba ben la virtut del vocable.)

Tiresias explains to him (like Fliess to Freud) the secrets of bisexuality and, what is more, how to cure yourself (in the double meaning of the Spanish/Catalan word 'sanar': to castrate and to cure) from the weakness for women who live off lies and mislead you.

Just as the good doctor, who does not look for the pleasure of the patient but for his benefit, I will proceed with you, since my job is not to say pleasurable things or flattery, but to disillusion.

(Així com lo bon metge que no guarda lo plaer del pacient, nas lo profit, usaré jo en tu, car lo meu ofici no és dir plasenteries ni llagots, sinó desenganar.)

And he finishes by recommending him the same *nosce te ipsum* that Freud adopts centuries afterwards.

Transform, then, your love, from here onwards, into service to God and in continuous study, and will you not crave to negotiate with nor serve a worldly master. Heavily you have worked for others, and occupy yourself with your own things (I don't say, however, worldly or transitory, but spiritual and lasting ones) and better yourself. Burn the bridge over which you came, so that it won't be possible for you to return.

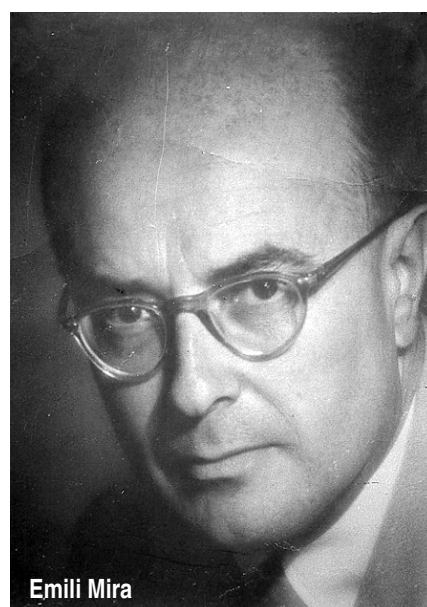
(Converteix, doncs, la tua amor d'aquí avant en servei de Déu e continuat estudi, e no t'abellesca negociar ne servir senyor terrenal. Hages assats treballat per altres, e entén en tos fets propis (no dic, però, mundanals ni transitoris, mas espirituals e perdurables), e especialment en conèixer e millorar tu mateix. Trenc la pont per on ést passat, en manera que no et sia possible retornar.

Very Freudian, is it not? We only would have to change God for Nature and we would be back to Socrates and would arrive to Goethe. The history, in real life, the same than the one of Freud, finished happily. The king *Martín el Humano* who had processed him, not only granted Bernat Metge the royal pardon, but also he asked him for a copy of *Lo somni*, in 1399, and finally, in 1402, Bernat Metge recovered his favors and was again made notary of the royal chancellery, where he enjoyed again great prestige. Freud, in turn, the earthly powers reward him for having written *Die Traumdeutung*, granting him the title of “Extraordinary Professor”, so long yearned for, and that is how he arrived to be with all the rights, although without chair in the faculty, Herr Professor Freud (C.L. 11 March, 1902, pp. 455-457).

If Bernat Metge, the same than Börne, a writer, is the precursor of psychoanalysis in Catalonia, making a jump of five-hundred years, we will come across the one who introduced it: Emili Mira.

In the middle of April, 1926, Dr. Emili Mira y López told the students of the Elementary Course on Psychoanalysis, which he gave at the Academy and Laboratory of Medical Sciences of Barcelona, the following personal dream:

I dream that I find myself in a room in front of a lunatic who is tied to a bed. When I am going to approach him, he unties himself and starts to run. I follow him and we start a wild race. In the persecution now I am not alone; an unknown man has incorporated himself, who runs at my side and shouts like a desperate. The lunatic's shirt got caught in the branch of a tree and he continues his flight with the upper half of his body naked. My companion leaves me behind and is on the point of catching the lunatic, but the latter gives him a tremendous kick of the foot and makes him fall rolling down the mountain. Finally, I find myself alone with the lunatic on the top of the mountain; he is lying, as if he was sleeping. I take a cord of silk which I have with me and I pass it around his chest; at this moment he wakes up and smiles while moving his head from one side to the other.



This was the first time in Catalonia that a doctor related and autoanalyzed, even if in a partial manner, a personal dream, publicly, following the Freudian method of dream interpretation. At other times, Mira had presented and analyzed dreams of patients at the Academy, naturally avoiding their identification for reasons of medical confidentiality. He was a public figure and Barcelona a sufficiently small town for those personalities of the drama of the dream to be easily identified. Dr. Mira was a young man of thirty years of age when he gave the conference. He was married, had a daughter, enjoyed great prestige nationally as well as internationally, as became evident later, and was destined to play a key role in the development of Catalan psychiatry¹⁸. The fact that the course was of elementary character and not only

¹⁸ Emili Mira y López (1896-1964) was a man of the laboratory, but never divorced from the clinic. In 1933, he was to be the first Chairman of Psychiatry of the Autonomous University of Catalonia. He was President of the Catalan Association of Psychiatry and Neurology, Vice-president of the Spanish Association of Neuropsychiatry and member of the Council of Psychiatry of Madrid. From 1934 to 1937 he also was professor of infantile psychopathology of the Faculty of Philosophy. He was founding member of the Spanish Society of Neuropsychiatry, which celebrated its first Assembly in Barcelona in 1926, and member of the International Committee of Psychologists. He had been designated president of the XI International Congress of Psychology which should have taken place in Madrid, in 1936, and was cancelled because of the outbreak of the civil war. In 1938 he took charge of the psychiatric services of the Republican Army in Catalonia.

addressed to specialists, because the institution where it was held also had members who were not doctors, together with the prestige and the popularity of the lecturer and the “thorny” nature of the subject, made that it attracted a numerous audience and was amply covered by the papers. That Dr. Mira, in the middle of the twenties dared to present a dream of his and associated freely under these conditions, publishing afterwards the notes in a *Monografía* which immediately appeared under the title of “*The Psychoanalysis*”¹⁹ tells as much of Mira himself as of the attitudes of the public and the doctors in Barcelona in reference to psychoanalysis.

These observations “of the man and his circumstance” are made taking into consideration certain commentaries of Freud in the twenties in reference to the interpretation of dreams. In *Some additional notes to the interpretation of dreams in general*, of 1925, he underlined that: “...it is of no use that somebody intends deliberately to interpret dreams outside of analysis. He will not succeed in escaping from the conditions of the analytic situation and, if they were his dreams that he was working on, what he would have started is an autoanalysis... This commentary does not apply to somebody who renounces to the cooperation of the dreamer, pretending to arrive to an interpretation of the dream by an intuitive *insight*. But an interpretation of this kind, without reference to the associations of the dreamer, even in the best of circumstances, is no more than a scientific virtuosity of very doubtful value.”²⁰ In 1929, Freud commented to Maxime Leroy, who asked him that he interpret the dream of Descartes in “*Olímpica*”, that to try and interpret a dream of which one does not know detailed circumstances of the real life of the dreamer and without being able to obtain from the latter the associations between the elements of the dream and the external world, as is the case of historical personalities, only can lead to poor results.²¹ Surely, Freud, in all these circumstances had well present the accusation Fliess had made him at the end of their friendship: “The reader of thoughts does no more than read in the others his own thoughts!”

These commentaries are at the same time of great theoretic and practical importance in as much as they refer, on one side, to a capital problem of non-clinical psychoanalysis, this is to say, the one of the conscious motivation of the analytic listening applied to different situations to the one where it originated—the classical cure or autoanalysis—and, on the other side, the rest of the human sciences. It has to do with the fact that the position of the analytic investigator in front of the materials he observes and interprets depends more on his “personal equation” and the theoretic framework that it includes, than on the facts themselves. I already pointed out this question in 1974, revising *Freud Living and Dying* of Max Schur, which was the first text that familiarized me with the *Dream of the Injection of Irma* and took me to make the following observation:

¹⁹ “El psicoanàlisi” (and not “La psicoanàlisi”, as is habitually said in Catalan) was published in the first volume of *Monografías Médicas*, in two sections: the Doctrinal Part, in the Year 1, no. 2, of July, 1926, and the Practical Part, in the no. 3 of the following month the same year. There is a re-edition of *Monografías Médicas*, of 1935, brought up to date and with a prologue of Mira himself, and a third one, incomplete, with only chapters 2, 3, and 4, with a prologue and an extense biographical note by Ramón Vidal-Teixidor (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1970).

²⁰ Freud, S. (1925): “The Limits to the Possibility of Interpretation”, s/e, Vol. XIX, p. 128. The editorial comment explain that this article, together with the ones of “The moral responsibility for the content of the dreams” and “The occult meaning of dreams”, were added as *Zusatzkapitel* (additional chapters) of *Die Traumdeutung* (The interpretation of dreams) in the third edition of the *Gesammelte Schriften* (Complete Writings). Since the 8th edition of the *Traumdeutung* appeared in a single volume, in 1930, these complementary chapters were left out, which neither appear in the edition of the *Gesammelte Werke* of 1942. Actually they are found, outside chronological order, in the first chapter of the *GW* of 1952. A similar problem comes up with “*Seelenbehandlung oder Psychische Behandlung*”, of 1889, which still today appears displaced, with date of 1905. Bibliographical errors as these are for me something more than accidents, they are “actos fallidos”, lapsus that express resistances of an institutional order.

²¹ Freud, S. (1929). S/E, Vol. XIX, p. 203

A psychoanalytic biographer can learn a lesson from the work of Schur: apply psychoanalysis to the writings of a man with whom one is very near is not recommendable. Psychoanalysis only serves to understand people when it is applied to the psychoanalytic situation. Schur discovered that Freud used his friend Fliess as if he was an object of transference in his autoanalysis. If instead of trying to psychoanalyze Freud, as he does in the first two sections of the book interpreting the interpersonal context of the verbal productions, Schur would have dared to trust more his contra-transferential feelings born from his experience and from his work with Freud as a doctor, surely he would have given us an image of him more clear and Schur himself could have come nearer to the truth in Conception of the Development of the Hero.²²

Once read the dream of Mira, to which I will from now on refer to as the dream of the tied lunatic, we find ourselves in an equivalent situation (and with a similar label) in which, as we said, found themselves first Freud and later Mira at the exit of the *dream of the injection of Irma*, this is to say, “and now, which direction do I want to take?” Since my excerpt of Schur much time has passed and I have thought a lot. To write it now, I would find myself before a dilemma: do we have to proceed with the reductionism proper of individual psychoanalysis trying to understand what type of neurotic was Freud (principal reason of Schur in his dispute with Jones in relation to the cardiac episode of 1894) or, instead, should we try to know through our analysis what tell us, as spokesmen, the texts, the written productions of Freud and the biographic data which we have at our disposal on the development of psychoanalysis and the scientific, social and cultural context of the epoch. Today I am more inclined towards the second proposition, for scientific reasons as well as for practical ones: the dynamic unconscious only exists in the here and now of the situation and, in consequence, the there and then interest dynamically in as much that they permit us to understand better and understand each other better in the present, this way making possible a change in view of the immediate and far future. The first path is a well-trodden path; to transit it is almost like interpreting dreams with a book of symbols in the hand. The second one implies to get out of the “Royal Path” and dare to venture into this wild wilderness... through which leads the way that goes from individual psychoanalysis to social psychoanalysis. It is to this latter task that I dedicate myself for many years now. I can say that in this occupation it is as difficult to move forward as it is to inform of the achievements attained to the ones which remain behind. In this respect, I can advance that the work of Mira is a real jewel and that to understand the connection between the dream of Irma and the dream of the tied lunatic, of which this communication only is an advance, is giving an important step.

From this perspective, and only as an example and within the limitations imposed by the space we have available, I shall permit myself to make some commentaries. Mira follows his dream explaining that the day preceding the dream he should have seen, really, a tied lunatic. But the real scene had been very different: he had given him an intravenous injection and he had untied him. The fact that in the dream he tied up the lunatic with a silk cord could be explained also because his wife was looking for a silk cord for a cushion and he accompanied her to the shop where they sold it to her. He proceeds afterwards looking for associations to different elements of the dream. Starting with the environment, he says: “I force myself to remember details of the room I dreamt of and I cannot. Only it seems that it was quite large and that it had big windows. The bedcover of the lunatic had a strange aspect, half paper and half material; with a fringe as if it was a *mantón de manila*.” Then he goes onto the characters: “The face of the lunatic is not known to me; he has blond hair, great black eyes and is very pallid. The unknown gentleman who helped me in the persecution was a pretty comical figure: short, with a belly, reddish and panting; he reminds me of Camillo de Riso (an Italian caricature). I am conscious that it is strange that he ran more than me”. Finished with these associations, he goes on to

²² Campos, Juan: Max Schur. *Freud: Living and Dying*. Book-reviews, Social Science and Medicine, Vol. 8, nº 1, January 1974, p. 68.

associate freely: "The image of the lunatic, without doubt because of the blond color of his hair, makes me think, in the first place, of the face of a foreign friend of mine (who precisely is not at all a lunatic); this face reminds me, in turn, of a face of a woman who I cannot identify: this female figure brings, however, into my thought the image of a cabaret and, suddenly, there is light in my brain: I remember that some days ago I went to the theatre to see a *revue*, in it there is a scene which goes on in a cabaret. The principal role of the scene is represented by a pretty Italian actress (E.S.) whose face just has an extraordinary similarity with the tied lunatic of the dream". And this way he continues to identify the other characters of the dream and as he does this he interprets the latent content of the action, arriving at the following conclusion: "The latent meaning" of the dream, summing up, is in consequence very clear; not because he advances on me a little in obtaining the favors of E.S., my friend will fulfill his wishes completely. In spite of that she first avoids me, in case I wanted to, it would be me who manages to possess her".



Anybody familiar with the *dream of the injection of Irma*, will without doubt be surprised about the strange similarity between the two dreams, not only in the content but also in structure. One feels something similar to the sentiment of strangeness in front of the



double described by Freud as *unheimlich*, which in Castilian as well as English is poorly translated as "the sinister". I am not the first one to notice the surprising parallelism between both dreams and neither in underlining how transparent Mira is in his communication. Sánchez Lázaro is the only author, to my knowledge, who has published on the relationship Mira-Freud.²³ Now that the gold mine has been discovered, I imagine that we will be legion to follow this pathway.

Mira relates the dream from notes and reflections written down immediately after waking up, just as Freud recommends the ones who wish to auto-analyze themselves. The first reaction I had when reading the dream was to think that it pertained to the period when Mira was preparing the class of the course, possibly a day before, something he does not mention as a rest of the day before, If this was so, it could have as much weight as the intravenous injection he administered the tied lunatic or the silk cord his wife had bought for making a cushion. In this case, Mira would have dreamt the dream of another, for which he should have been given the merit of having made still another discovery, as transcendent as the one he made in 1925 when, intending to facilitate the exploration of the unconscious, he used barbiturates, this way discovering narco-analysis.²⁴

²³ Sánchez Lázaro, J. "El psicoanálisis de Freud en la obra de Emilio Mira y López (Freud's Psychoanalysis in the work of Emilio Mira y López) (1921-1936)", Ref. Asoc. Esp. Neuropsiquiatría, Vol. VI, Nº 19, 1986, pp. 636-649.

²⁴ In "Un nuevo método de exploración del subconsciente" (A new method of exploring the unconscious) (Anales de Ciencias Médicas, Año XIX, nº 1, pp. 15-21) Mira describes three cases of analysis under the effect of barbiturates. This method achieved to have so much importance during the Second World War as the one of abreaction under hypnosis of Ernst

From the *dream of the injection of Irma*, Mira concludes: “As one can see, it is about a dream which we could call professional, by way of which Freud obtains satisfaction of his wishes to vindicate his badly hurt professional self-esteem.” This commentary has inspired me the title since it seems to fit the *dream of the tied lunatic*, be it in relation to the manifest content as well as the latent one. Professional or not, the dreams of Freud and of Mira correspond to what in the *Monograph*, in order to distinguish them from typical dreams and symbols of dreams, he qualifies as “personal” dreams; this is to say, the ones that are useful because “one can well appreciate the difference between manifest and latent content, the technique of interpretation and the part which in the dream formation corresponds to the diverse mechanisms of dream elaboration”.

Mira’s account complies not only with the objectives mentioned above but, what is more, it demonstrates the mental process he followed in the analysis. One cannot with less words, exactly 897, explain better nor more clearly a dream with sufficient merit as to pass into history as the specimen dream of psychoanalysis in Catalonia. If we concentrate on the process, something I did when working on the dream, there becomes evident the exact point of the associative chain and of analysis in which Mira runs into the famous disjunctive: it’s upon jumping from the face of the woman who he cannot identify to the one of his foreign friend, and from this one to the Italian cabaret entertainer E.S. when he exclaims: “...and suddenly a light lit up in my brain: I remember that a few days ago...”. From here on everything is a beaten path. He takes the royal pathway of Freud, all is writing as if it was dictated, the game is won, the interpretation made, the rest of the associations and conclusions (construction in analysis?) only prove what one wanted to demonstrate, this is to say, that the dream represents “evidently a dream satisfaction of my repressed libidinous desires in relation to E.S.”; and also of his sentiments of vengeance towards his friend of who he confesses to be sexually jealous. In sum, he fell into the same trap of which Freud already warned authors in 1900. Once again, instead of continuing to think originally, he dedicates himself to look for the tree which authorities in this matter were unable to see in the dark woods. Freud entangled himself with the “Psychology for neurologists” and Mira forgot to follow his pathway towards sociology for psychologists. As we will see at the end of this essay, to arrive to think for himself, the same than happened to Freud, is what was going to take him all his life and, in his case, it almost cost him his life. To follow this path would take us to talk about Catalan psychoanalysis before the war, with all the intestine fights of the little Vienna which, according to Tosquelles, was the Barcelona of 1936. I hope that someday someone who is in less hurry than me will dedicate himself to go in this direction. This would imply rendering real homage to Mira which for Catalan psychoanalysts is a pending matter and which would oblige us to study not only the *Monograph* but also his complete works. Today, here and at this moment, I shall content myself with using the knowledge I have obtained about that epoch through the study of the dream of the tied lunatic, to better understand the difficulties which without doubt made us stumble in the comparative study with the dream of the injection of Irma, a study which necessarily has to be multidisciplinary and carried out with a group approach. As examples, here are a few of these difficulties:

- 1) Besides the question if the concept of “unconscious” with which Mira operates is orthodox Freudian or not, what is more surprising is the strange similarity I pointed out before. The hypothesis according to which the dream of Freud follows the main rest of the day before from which starts the dream of Mira, is reinforced by some commentaries of Freud in relation to the dreams of Dr. Heinrich Gomperz, Jr., who was the first student presenting himself to study the method of dream interpretation: “His dreams —says Freud— constantly quote my dreams, which he afterwards forgets”. (C.L. 19/11/1899m o, 387)

Simmel during the First World War (“Psychoanalysis and the War Neuroses”, The International Psycho-Analytical Press, London Vienna New York, 1921).

- 2) Mira uses the concept of the rest diurnal in a wide sense, without restricting it to the last twenty-four hours as is the habit. This is the recourse Schur uses years later to discover the identity of the personality of Irma in real life.
- 3) Evidently, the social pressure as source of censorship operates on two levels: the one of confidentiality of one's own intimacy (or the one of others) which can reveal itself in dreams destined to be made public, on one hand; and on the other hand, the quoted "human respect" towards clients and colleagues due to the fact of dedicating oneself to an art so little serious as the one of foretelling dreams. This aspect is so important that one feels the temptation of asking if Mira spontaneously dreamt this dream or he dreamt it just as he commented. Freud complained bitterly about the "lost dream" which Fliess made him eliminate from the Book of dreams.²⁵ This is the same reason than Jung attributes to the fact that Freud was not being more explicit in reference to the personal conflict in the sexual aspect of the dream of Irma.
- 4) Mira uses the expression "proof of dreams" in the sense of "psychological test" to which dreams are submitted to prove the doctrinal hypotheses of psychoanalysis. Let us remember that this was the main motive which moved Freud to venture to interpret dreams, an activity which, beyond allowing him to make the jump from pathologic psychology to normal psychology, facilitated him being able to demonstrate the hypothesis according to which the neuroses are intelligible through analysis in a more expeditious way than with the patients.²⁶ Naturally, using dreams as proof makes that his interpretations would be suspicious of a placebo effect, to respond to suggestions of the experimenter: the famous "dreams of complacency", a question which Freud discussed, in my opinion, in a little satisfactory way in his Commentaries to the theory and practice of dreams, of the year 1923 (SE, Vol. XIX, pp. 109-121).²⁷
- 5) Mira's frankness in his personal dream is such that one starts to suspect. Sánchez Lázaro comments that in questions of sincerity Mira tops Freud himself. For example, the first time I read the dream of the tied lunatic was when I prepared myself to the already mentioned Meeting in Perpignan and the latent meaning suddenly appeared to me transparent: it was about the disputes Sarró/Mira to which Tosquelles refers. Dr. Mira, who from the beginning of the twenties was the maximum authority in psychoanalysis in Barcelona, the very moment that Biblioteca Nueva published the Complete Works of Freud and psychoanalysis was in fashion, learnt that a young doctor, inexperienced in psychiatry who had just finished university, the licensed physician Ramón Sarró, will go to Vienna to study with Professor Freud, decided to return as "Freud's disciple". With this plot, good for a novel but not so much for a working

²⁵ June 9, 1898: In a letter to Fliess, when he complained about having to eliminate the dream he had censured him, he says as follows: "Thank you very much also for your critique. I can see that you have taken on an ungrateful task. I am sufficiently reasonable as to recognize that I need your critical help because on this occasion I myself have lost the sense of shame of the author. So, this dream is condemned. However, now that the sentence has been executed, I would like to shed a tear over the dream and mourn it, since I have no hope of finding a better one to substitute it. As you know, a precise dream without any indiscretion does not happen ever. Let me know at least what was the topic you objected to and in reference to which you feared a malicious critique. Let me know, at least, if it is in relation to my anxiety, or of Marta, or of Dalles (in Yiddish "misery") or the fact that I am a man without fatherland. So that I can avoid it in what you call a substitute dream, since I cannot have dreams like this one on request".

²⁶ Freud, S. (1914): *Historia del Movimiento psicoanalítico*, S/E, Vol. XIV, p. 20.

²⁷ In effect, the techniques of the "directed dream" used by various authors in psychotherapy and the methods of "socialization of adults" or of "re-education of the super-yo" with the collective interpretation of dreams", or the methods used by the Senoi tribe of the Peninsula of Malasia "with such good results", question the argument adduced by Freud. (Favazza, Armando R. y Faheem, Ahmed Daver, "Ingenuous Healing Groups", en Kaplan, H. y Sadock, B., *Comprehensive Group Psychotherapy*, Second Edition, Williams Wilkins, New York, 1983, p. 63.

hypothesis of an historical investigation, the question was clear: Dr. Mira, in view of consecrating his position as specialist, professor in psychoanalysis, had organized his course and would publish a *Monograph* which would make headlines.²⁸ In the dream, Mira was Mira, the “Unknown Gentleman” who runs along his side was Sarró and the “naked lunatic” who gave Sarró a kick and said ‘no’, moving his head, naturally was in an emblematic fashion the very same Freud. Checking my impression with what Professor Sarró thought, the latter confirmed it; he also believed that Mira was thinking of him in his dream. However, what surprised me was that Sarró thought that Mira identified him with “*the character of the pale face and blue eyes*” which in reality in the dream of Mira was the “*lunatic with blonde hair and black eyes*”.

In front of the same dream we had, not two interpretations, but three. To Mira’s and mine was added the one of Sarró. It seems, then, to confirm my impression that the dream of Mira as well as the dream of Irma is what Freud qualified as “Dreams from above” (*Traüme von oben*)²⁹. Freud wrote the following to Maxime Leroy:

“...it is about formulations of ideas which equally could have been created in a state of wakefulness or of sleep, and they have derived their content only in some parts of mental states at a comparatively deep level. So it happens that these dreams offer principally a content which has an abstract form, poetic or symbolic. The analysis of this kind of dreams brings us, generally, to the following position: the dreamer can translate it immediately and without difficulties, since the content of the dream is very near the conscious thoughts. It can be that there remain some parts of the dream to which the dreamer does not know what to say: these are precisely the parts which belong to the unconscious and, in some way, are the most interesting ones. In the most favorable cases, we explain this unconscious part with the help of the ideas the dreamer has added. (translation and underlining are mine),³⁰

It seems that there are no three without four and Sánchez Lázaro, confusing present with past, comments:

“We cannot, for different reasons, compare here his work with the one a psychoanalyst would try to do today with this dream and these associations. But what we can do is at least value his achievements, point out some questions which today we would raise and which Mira does not arrive to ask himself. For example: Why one chooses a lunatic to represent a woman? What suggests the image of two men who take as an object of desire a lunatic man-woman? What infantile memories did these images bring up in Dr. Mira? Does psychoanalysis not talk of the identification with the “Father”? The objective of Mira in the dream is to tie the lunatic. Is there not a certain image of Freud as the man who dedicated his life to try and understand, to subdue

²⁸ In fact, I was the first registered physician with the specialty of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis of the College of Physician and Surgeons of Barcelona, upon my return from the United States in 1963. With this qualification I was contracted as Chairman of Psychiatry and Medical Psychology by the Autonomous University of Barcelona in 1968.

²⁹ It is evident that with the dream of Mira we are more fortunate than Freud with the one of Descartes. Not only do we count with the rests of the day before and with associations to the dream made by Mira immediately upon waking, but what is more, we count with a transcription, possibly taquigraphic, the way he told it to the students the following day. This idea is justified by the style of the original text which corresponds more to the style of oral discourse of a class given with notes than a written academic text elaborated for being published. Also, the tone of the discourse reflects the nature and the level of public to which “the elemental course” and the *Monografía* were addressed: medical students and general physicians. Finally, the distortions and modifications of the text of the dream of Freud which presently we will demonstrate, suggest that Mira, in class, used the notes by heart and did not contrast them afterwards with the original text destined for publication. This explains that the *Monografía* shows such spontaneity and freshness that, when read, one feels to be in class.

³⁰ Freud, Sigmund, 1929: *Some Dreams of Descartes. A Letter to Maxime Leroy*, s/e, Vol. XXI, p. 203.

and hold down lunacy? At the end of the dream, the lunatic gives himself up to Dr. Mira. The same than the hysterics of Vienna gave up their secrets to Freud?

All these questions, very interesting and well-aimed from the psychoanalytic point of view, but as Freud already pointed out, tell us more of the moment of development of psychoanalysis, the school to which the interpreter belongs and of the latter himself than of the dream and the dreamer. With an inconceivable jump considering the conceptual frame of reference of Sánchez Lázaro, he makes a Copernican turn from the individual unconscious to “social anxiety”:

But, if in the dream which Freud interpreted as a professional affirmation one can find also an erotic sense, does the erotic dream of Mira not suggest clear metaphors of the professional type? Did not Emilio Mira at that time aspire to the leadership of the Catalan psychiatry? It is to be hoped that he would not lack competitors who run alongside him. And a dream, according to Freud, represents a realization of desires. What, then, mean the sentences: “At last I find myself alone with the lunatic on the top of the mountain” [...] and “I take a silk cord which I carry with me and I put it around his chest”?

Curiously, I have the impression that Mira responds on this latter level of questions when in summing up the dream of Irma he arrives at the following conclusion: “As one can see, it’s about a dream which we could call professional by way of which Freud obtains satisfaction of his vindictive wishes in relation to his badly hurt self-esteem...” It seems, then, that Mira understood what Freud did in the dream of Irma was to calm his anxiety and pacify his bad conscience due to the lack of competence with the patient and his competitive disloyalty towards his colleagues.

In the interpretation of the dream of Mira which Sánchez Lázaro makes, I miss the same than in the one Mira makes of the dream of Freud: knowledge of the circumstances of the professional and social life of the dreamer in the moment he makes the dream.

To be sure, Mira knew nothing of the personal life of Freud, and it was impossible that he could have found any data. Sánchez Lázaro seems to be ignorant about the professional trajectory of Emilio Mira, who, at thirty years of age, was Doctor in Medicine, Director of the Psychotechnic Institute of Barcelona and *Member of the International Council of Psychology*. It was not that he sought after the leadership of Catalan psychiatry and that there were others who would have wanted to occupy this place, for example Dr. Sarró, but he was the unquestionable leader of Catalan psychiatry and, perhaps even, the Spanish one of that epoch. This was no secret for him or for anybody. What is more, in Barcelona he was the only one who practiced psychoanalysis and his colleagues sent him patients with this in mind. Being conscious of this dimension of Mira, it is not strange for a scientist and a man of the laboratory “to pass a silk cord around his chest” and that it could mean something different to, for example, use a means of register with which to examine psychoanalysis; in the end, his first paper, in 1919, was on a new model of taquistoscopio and in 1925 he had already published *A new method of exploring the unconscious*, which was on analysis under narcosis. Could it be because of this that the lunatic was “as if he was sleeping”? All this data could serve for an enchanting history about the origins of psychoanalysis in Catalonia. For the moment, I only wanted to give a sample for awaking perhaps some interest in the interpretation of dreams. At least it has served me for this and even I feel tempted to once again write down my dreams early every morning...

The Barcelona of Mira, in 1926, was pretty similar to the Vienna of Freud at the end of the eighteenth century and the professional age of one and the other, the same: about ten years of experience after having received their doctorate. What is surprising is that both dared to make public such personal and

professional intimacies and so candidly. It is not strange, then, that by empathy Mira would resonate with Freud in such a way as to help us uncover what was left occult in the *dream of Irma*. But, remembering what Freud says on the "Träume von oben", we shall pay more attention to those parts of the dream in relation to which the dreamer does not know what to say, since they belong to the unconscious and, in a certain way, are the most interesting. To facilitate the identification of "black holes" (a place of high concentration of repressed personal and social unconscious) I have developed a scheme in two columns of the account Mira gives of the dream of the injection of Irma and the original one of Freud in the Interpretation of Dreams, of which the table on the following page is ours.

Mira's Version	Freud's Version
<p>Freud sees in his house one of his former patients, Irma, in a gallery full of guests.</p>	<p>In a wide hall. Many guests, which we are receiving. Between them, Irma, who I approach immediately, to respond, to her letter and reproaching her still not having accepted my 'solution'. And I say to her: "If you still have pains, it is because you want to".</p>
<p>He leads her near a window and says to her: "If you continue to suffer it is because you want to..."</p>	<p>She answers me: "If only you knew what pains I feel now in my throat, the stomach and the abdomen! I feel oppression!"...</p>
<p>She is pallid and afraid.</p>	<p>Alarmed, I look at her carefully. She is pallid and swollen. I think that perhaps something organic had escaped me?</p>
<p>Examining the throat, of which she complains, he discovers a kind of excrescencies in the shape of nasal trumpets.</p>	<p>I make her put herself near a window and I get ready to examine her throat. At the beginning she resists herself a little, as do women who carry a dental prosthesis. I tell myself that she has no reason to. Finally she opens well her mouth, and on the right I see a big white spot and, in another place, peculiar grayish crusts, the form of which remind me of the nasal trumpets.</p>
<p>Then he calls Dr. M., who comes also pallid and limping...</p>	<p>I run to call Dr. M., who repeats and confirms my examination. I see Dr. M. different as usual: he is pallid, limps and has shaved his beard...</p>
<p>In the meanwhile appear two or three colleagues and rivals of specialty of Freud: Otto and Leopold. The latter taps Irma's chest and detects something coarse on the left side, at the base. The skin is infiltrated at the back and Dr. M. says: "It's an infection, but it has no importance; there will come dysentery and the toxin will come out."</p>	<p>My friend Otto now is standing behind her and my friend Leopold taps Irma on top of the bodice... and says: <i>There is a coarse zone here down, on the left, and a part of the skin is infiltrated, on the left shoulder</i> (something I feel the same then he, in spite of the dress. M. says: <i>There is no doubt, it's an infection. But it has no importance; there will come dysentery and the poison will be eliminated.</i>"</p>
<p>Then everybody becomes conscious that her pain comes from an injection of</p>	<p>We know, also immediately, where the infection comes from: a short time ago, when she did not feel well, our friend Otto had given her an injection of</p>
<p>propyl of TRIMETILAMINA</p>	<p>propyl, propylena... ácido propylónico... TRIMETILAMINA</p>
<p>which ...</p>	<p>(the formula of which I see printed in large characters)... One does not give an injection of this kind lightly... Surely that, on top of it, the syringe was dirty."</p>
<p>Otto had given her with a dirty syringe.</p>	

This has allowed me to make a comparative reading in which become manifest the three points which go unnoticed in the original version of Freud. Points, without doubt, which turn out to be key elements for the interpretation of the dream of the injection of Irma, of which this communication is only its Propyläum:

- 1) The first preoccupation of Freud was to be able to free himself of his original group of the laboratory of Brücke, which were the maximum representatives of the school of Helmholtz in Vienna. Naturally, to notice this one has to take into account that the dream of the injection of Irma is the first link of a chain of those sequences of dreams which Freud calls “a novel by instalments”. Mira ignores the fact that Freud reproaches Irma that she still does not accept the “solution”. Freud’s solution was analysis, while the one of Dr. M., who we now know was Joseph Breuer, was catharsis; in the dream, dysentery.
- 2) Otto and Leopold, of whom Mira says that they are colleagues and rivals of specialty of Freud, in reality, are his subordinates and disciples at the *Öffentliches Kinderkrankeninstitut*, where Freud was chief of the section of *Nervenkrankheiten* from 1886 till 1896. Otto, on top of being the one who brings the bad news in reference to Irma, was the paediatrician of the Freud family, political brother-in-law of Wilhelm Fliess, and both were intimate friends and companions of Freud when playing tarot.
- 3) It also proves to be significative that Mira omits Freud’s stammer with the preparation of *propyl, propylene... acid propyon... Trimethylamin*, with which he eliminates the entrance to “Enigma of the Trimethylamina”. This takes us to the “Project” and, from here, to the brochure *Über den Traum* where we find the following paragraph in reference to the injection with propyl, the place where we discover the sexual key to the dream: “To start with, analysis only took me to an indifferent experience which acted as a stimulus of the dream and in which amyl played a part. I was not able to justify the confusion between amyl and propyl. In the group of ideas of this same dream, however, there was a reminiscence of my first visit to Munich, where I was most impressed by the *Propyläen*. The details of the analysis made plausible that it could be the influence of this group of ideas upon the former the responsible of the displacement from amyl to propyl. Propyl was like an intermediate idea between amyl and Propyläen and this way found its entrance to the dream, in the form of a compromise, through a condensation and a displacement in the content of the dream”.

Evidently, I am not going to discover here who are the heroes and the villains of the next chapter of the novel by installments that emerged before my eyes when interpreting Mira’s interpretation of the interpretation of Freud of the *dream of the injection of Irma*, novel which, in honor of Mira, I shall give the subtitle of “The enigma of the sphinx or the myth of the origins”.

To finish, and remembering the motto chosen by *Práctica Freudiana* as subtitle of their homage: Reflections on life and on death, I shall take leave as I have started, with some words and some images. The words are from Mira, some we find at the end of his first text on psychoanalysis and others conclude his last book. The image is one of Freud in London, which I mentioned at the beginning and which sums up a whole life.

Before, however, one last commentary. When we speak about dreams, often we lose sight of the fact that with this term we can refer to a series of thoughts, images and emotions which happen during a dream as, in a figurative way and by extension, to the vain imagination of impossible things or that we believe impossible, and to hopes and projects which seem to have no probability of being realized.

Freud is sufficiently known as one who dismantles illusions; Mira, on the other hand, was able to maintain them to the end. His opinion about the future of psychoanalysis in the famous *Monograph* of 1926, once expressed his reservations about psychoanalytic doctrine, he sums it up saying:

“...this must not lead us to deny the primitive value of the psychoanalytic method. Time will do the purifying task of the results. Men will pass, and perhaps from all this vast philosophical and psychological edifice which today is being constructed nothing will be left, but the seed will; the world discovered with the help of the new method cannot disappear as by enchantment. And one day or another it will be the object of a new interpretation which gets nearer, without attaining it, to the absolute Truth, fugitive goddess of the man of Science, whose zeal in chasing her constitutes his most profound merit and the most valuable excuse he can give for his errors... Let us not fall, then, in an exaggerated optimism, but let us neither turn a deaf ear to the new voice. Facts will always be facts, and the new doctrine definitely has proven some irrefutable ones in the dark territory of psychology.

(El psicoanálisis, First edition, 1926)

The scientific *Weltanschauung* de Mira³¹, Freud could have signed it. The fundamental difference between one and the other will become evident with the passing of time and, in my opinion, is more due to discrepancies in the professional and political ideologies than to the ones of scientific order. Mira's interest in psychoanalysis, contrarily to what some psychoanalysts believe, does not finish with the *Monograph*, which he brings up to date with the second edition of 1935, since he still wrote two more books: *Fundamentos del psicoanálisis (Foundations of psychoanalysis)*, in 1943, and *Doctrinas psicoanalíticas (Psychoanalytic Doctrines)*, a last general exposition and critical evaluation of psychoanalysis, in 1963, a year before he died in his exile in Brazil, a book of which, for its interest, I shall copy textually the last paragraphs:

Medicine owes psychoanalysis its integral, global and holistic conception of man who exists unhealthily. It owes equally to modern sociology its anthropological conception, according to which it is not possible to resolve the problems of mental in-adaptation acting only upon the individual and taking him to readapt himself temporarily or definitively, to his environment, but it is also necessary to act and to fight for that this environment offer less difficulties of adaptation than the ones it now presents. Social psychiatry has nothing to be thankful for to Freud [...] but, without even intending it, psychoanalysis has contributed to saving the physician from his quality of almost veterinary of the human body to which he was reduced at the beginning of our century.

That is because we believe that in the near future the physicians will know more psychology; the psychologist, more biology; the philosophers, more anthropology and, in the end, all the

³¹ masculine pronoun used in Catalan and in Castilian, although in Catalan the feminine “la” was used at first— Mira was as far as doctrine was concerned an eclectic and, in practice an auto-didactic. He knew Freud's, Adlers and Jung's literature and methods well, he read then in the German original, and did not shy away from using one or the other, according to what the case may be. Mira never had a formal training as psychoanalyst; neither did he arrive to be a member of any psychoanalytic society. In his doctoral thesis on "Las correlaciones somáticas del trabajo mental" (Somatic correlations of mental work), defended in Madrid, en 1922, when he was only 22 years old, he tried to demonstrate “that psychic phenomena not only come accompanied by neuronal changes in the central nervous system (something already discovered in the 19th century) but that there is also a correlation between psychic processes and the activity of the vascular and vegetative systems”. His initiation in the laboratory, on one hand, comes from the biologist Turró, author of the psychology of hunger (whose obituary appears precisely in the same *Monografía* if 1926); and, on the other hand, from Don August Pi I Sunyer, chairman of Physiology at the Central University of Barcelona. This initiation was, curiously, very similar to the one of Freud in the Laboratory of Compared Anatomy, of Claus, and in the Laboratory of Physiology of Brücke.

conceptions of man actually considered as unilateral and systematic will fuse and integrate with each other in a more flexible, profound and complete vision of their radical existence. Then the psychoanalysts will stop constituting groups and establishing barriers and, also the frontier which today exists between the “man of the laboratory” and the “practical clinician” will be overcome. The differences which in the near future can be established between the professionals of medicine will not be —as now— of doctrine, but they will refer only to the field of application and to the techniques of practice. It will only be necessary then that a more rational and just social organization allow authentic team work in collaboration, not only between physicians but between professional interested in health, peace and the happiness of all human beings.

*Doctrinas psicoanalíticas, 1963*³²

That is how Mira dreamt when he was a wake. We saw how he dreamt when he was sleeping and in what way he understood the paradigmatic dream of Freud's. To understand both, we would have to have in mind some observations on dynamics and interpretation of dreams, and it would as well be necessary to remember some data on the dreamers and on the circumstances in which these dreams took place.

In my talk, contribution to the round table “Psychoanalysis today”, a year ago, I said:

I would have liked to be able to tell you, although I shall not, about four aspects of this great patient of psychoanalysis which is the psychoanalytic institution. For this purpose, I can make use of a clinical interview, of a very important dream and a diagnosis at which we arrive either when the patient is still alive or having to resign ourselves with a post-mortem like the one we are now making with Freud. Freud, before deciding definitely to stop living, on April 23, 1939, had seen death face to face on three occasions in his life. The first one, in 1894, when he had a heart infarct; the second one, in 1923, when a cancer was diagnosed and removed; and the third one, in 1931, when the cancer recurred and he knew that all that was left was to live by miracle. He came through on all three occasions thanks to a creative effort. From the first one was born Die Traumdeutung and, thanks to it, psychoanalysis. From the second one he extracted The future of an illusion and an illusion without a future; The question of lay analysis, something which had him occupied until his last moments in London. Finally, the third one, almost not coming through this time, left him with little spirits. Had it not been for the radiologist of his colleague Holz knecht, he probably would have abandoned. Even so, he decided to put his papers in order, to say good-bye to Goethe, he preoccupied himself with Das Unbehagen in der Kultur and, more than anything, dismantle the myth of the birth of the hero. Thanks to this he finished Moises and Monotheism.

And now for saying good-bye to each other, for keeping Freud, a keepsake from when he, although very old, was still alive, the image from the postcard which I commented. I don't know if we can reproduce it here. In case it was not possible, I shall describe it with words. It corresponds to the hotel where Freud stayed for a few days in August 1938, before he was admitted to the *London Clinic* for the last radical operation with Pichler. On the backside, the only thing written is *Outside the Esplanade Hotel in London, 1938*. On the front, an instant photograph in black and white of the entrance of the mentioned hotel. Freud, coming out from a car, directs himself towards the portico where there is somebody with a newspaper in his hand which seems to be Ernest Jones. By the shadows and the light of day, I would say that it is end of August and towards ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. Freud, in a light coat and

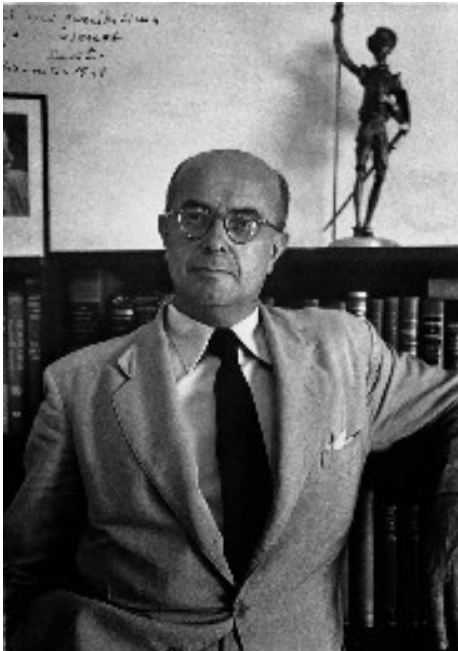
³² Copied from the prologue of the third edition of *El psicoanálisis*, por Ramón Vidal-Teixidor. Barcelona, Edicions 62, Provenza 278.

hat, without leaning on the stick he carried lightly in the hand, looks fixedly onto the wall as if he wished to read the sign. The left foot, in movement, does not touch the ground. Freud walks gently; I would not be surprised if this was his last walk. It seems that he is thinking, looking at the sign of the hotel. And I ask myself—and here comes the image— would Freud be associating the esplanade located at the exit of the pass of Irma? Did he find himself once again at the crossing of pathways asking himself: “And now, what way do I take?” Paradoxes of life. It so happens that it had been precisely in England sixty years before where, in 1875, he decided his vocation as a physician. Until he did not go to England, even being matriculated at the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna, the young Freud, when asked what he wanted to be, answered: “a natural scientist, a professor or something like that...” Upon returning, says his sister Anna, he told his father that he wanted to study medicine. Jakob, not very satisfied, countered with inconveniences, adducing that Sigmund was too tender-hearted for this profession. But he was completely decided, in spite of that in the beginning he was thinking of dedicating himself only to investigation. “I want to help people who suffer”, was his answer. Forty-eight hours after this journey to England, he wrote to his guild brother Silberstein his decision with the following words:

Last year, if they had asked me which was my utmost desire, I would have answered: a laboratory and free time; or a ship in the ocean with all the instruments a scientist needs. Now I doubt and perhaps I would say that a big hospital and a lot of money for alleviating some of the ills which suffer our bodies, or for eliminating them completely from the earth. If, therefore, I desired to have influence over many people and not over a small number of readers and scientists, then England would be the adequate country for this objective. A respected man, with the help of the press and the rich, could make miracles for alleviating physical illnesses; in the case he was sufficiently scientific as to try new methods of treatment. All these thoughts are still little clear. I stop here...

(Letter de Freud to Silberstein, 9/9/1875)





On the point of sending the proof prints of the last version of this paper, I received the notice of the act of homage of Professor Dr. Emilio Mira y López organized by the Professional Section of Psychiatrists of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Barcelona. It announced that in this act on June 21, 1991 “a first evaluation was to be made of the life and work of this illustrious psychiatrist”, by Drs. Francesc Tosquelles and Ramón Vidal-Teixidor —both disciples of Dr. Mira and comrades at arms in the Psychiatric Services of the Republican Army— and José Oriol Esteve. I understand that this act —understood as an act of reparation— was the outstanding subject or course which the community of psychiatrist of Barcelona had pending with the person of Mira, due to the calumny our ancestors helped to spread at the beginnings of the Franco era, making reference to that Mira had been the one who inspired and organized the *checas* during the Civil War.

As soon as I knew about the meeting, I wrote to the Directory congratulating them for the initiative and I decided to postpone the publication of this work until the act had been held. It was a good occasion for contrasting some of the opinions I had been constructing throughout many years of study of the life and work of Mira. I knew through Dr. Vidal-Teixidor that the daughter of Dr. Mira, Montserrat Mira Campins, lived in Barcelona since she moved in 1977 from Buenos Aires. It seemed to me that on this occasion it was important that she was present y in this sense I wrote to the President of the Section, Dr. José Clusa, suggesting that he invite her specially; also I sent him a copy of the article *La psiquiatria de postguerra contra la ciència analítica d'Emili Mira* (Post-war psychiatry against the analytical science of Emili Mira) by José María Solé I Sabaté, published in the *Vanguardia* of February 24, 1987, where the fundamentals of the mentioned defamation of Mira are clarified. I interested myself also to know which was the situation of the legacy of Mira which the family had made to the Library of the Medical Faculty, since during the Civil War for some years they had been deposited in the one of Cervera and which, luckily and definitely is now being housed in the former.

This was not the first time that we, the Catalan Psychiatrists, tried to liberate ourselves from our guilt feelings, rehabilitating the memory of Professor Mira. In fact, in June 1972, the Department of Psychiatry and of Medical Psychology of the Medical Faculty of Barcelona had dedicated a session of homage to him which, as is reviewed in the first number of the journal of that department, constituted “a real demonstration that the memory of Mira was actually still alive, shown by the massive presence of a participating and deeply moved public as well as the valuable contributions of first personalities of national psychiatry and medical psychology”. Since then, Mira, if not rehabilitated, is an author much quoted, although little read and even less studied, between other reasons because his texts, expurgated from the Catalan libraries during the Franco regime, still have not been restituted, as if the prohibition ordered against his publications during that epoch was still actual.

In the April number of 1964 which *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicotecnica* dedicated as a Monograph to his life and work, appears a homage which the Fundación Getúlio Vargas rendered Mira shortly after his death. In it is included a reproduction of a portrait of Mira and the commemorative plaque that his

Brazilian collaborators and disciples put in the aula where he used to give his courses and celebrate his seminars in the ISOP. The plaque says the following:

EMILIO MIRA Y LOPEZ 1896-1964
MORTAL PORQUE HOMEM
IMORTAL PORQUE SABIO
MAESTRO E AMIGO

To my understanding it is alright to celebrate acts in his memory but, following the suggestion of the Brazilians, the best homage to Mira, a real act of reparation, does not consist so much in remembering his life as a mortal, dedicating a street to him, putting up busts or making him a monument, but rather in continuing his teachings and his discoveries. His memory is assured, his wisdom only arrives to us and is maintained alive preserving, studying and spreading his writings. The man has died but his authorship is converted in eternal.

I realized the difficulty of giving continuity to the teachings of Mira through his written work when, in 1969, it was my turn in the “new” Autonomous University of Barcelona to take charge of the Chair of Psychiatry he had inaugurated in the UAB of “before the war”. To get hold of his writings turned into an impossible task. At times I run across a catalogue card of one of his books registered in the hell of some of our libraries... but even from there they had made them disappear. His personal library was confiscated and nobody knows where it went to. Once again, the homage of the College of Physicians and Surgeons made me think of an idea dear to me for a long time: the one of getting together a collection of complete works and sending a copy to the different libraries.

Mira’s wish to perpetuate himself through the printed letter and this way to transmit his experience and his teachings to future generations became evident in the discourses of the lecturers. Dr. Ramón Sarró, who had not been particularly invited for the occasion, and who in spite of his 93 years of age and his precarious state of health wanted to be present, made that some lines were read with which he made known the public conciliation which with Mira had taken place during the First Latin-American Congress of Psychiatry of Caracas in 1961. According to Sarró, in view of the expectation of the congress, he stood up and went to receive Mira with open arms when the latter entered by the passage way into the auditorium of the plenary session. Mira responded with a great hug which was celebrated with enormous applause by all the audience. Vidal-Teixidor, however, reminded Dr. Sarró the words of a previous interview with Mira, who during the Second International Congress of Psychiatry in 1957 had asked him to settle excusing himself as signatory of the mentioned defamatory letter. Surely you remember, I said to him, that Mira, accepting your excuses, answered you “I don’t accuse you of this. In any case this can be a demonstration of a weak character in the circumstances of the moment. Of what I do accuse you is that, during all these years, you maintained an absolute silence en what refers to my scientific work. What I do ask you, please, is from this moment onwards you publish through your journal, positively or negatively, all that I do”.

I ignore if Dr. Sarró between one and the other encounter with Mira complied with the promise that Vidal-Teixidor reminded him of, but Tosquelles in his discourse insisted on the same subject when reading the following lines referring to the Psychiatry of Sector, extracted from a contribution to a recent French congress of psychiatric caretakers:

As my teacher said, it is not a question of Psychiatry of Sector but of a true Psychiatry of Extension, something which cannot be reduced to the concept of mental illness. Emilio Mira,

speaking of psychiatry of extension... exposed a problem a priori, the one of getting the psychiatric hospital out of the rigid and dead structure of concentration camp, for what we should compromise ourselves to produce all our activities the same way than the activities of the patients and, to start with, within the very same hospital. We could not dream of ourselves escaping —fuir le champ, tocar el dos— from the psychiatric structures and empty them of their live content. The whole of this transformation of the hospital articulates itself or can be articulated, on one hand, on the part of the group of the patients, there where they are and, on the other hand, by the network, the connecting training schemes of the caring personnel, articulated around the medical library. If there is no medical library, which is the living and permanent memory of the local psychiatric aspects and of the whole world, then we cannot come out of this type of psychic rigidity... which is perpetuated in the psychiatric structures...

The respect Mira maintained for the written letter, made evident in the words of Tosquelles, also is well reflected in the anecdote that, when he went into exile to France his baggage reduced itself to an old portable typewriter from which were to come the more than twenty-eight books and hundreds of articles and conferences. The Catalan psychiatrist, we have not had even now access to these great riches. Tosquelles insisted in that the great tragedy of Mira, his great fiasco, was that he could not go on dedicating himself to psychiatry once he had left Spain. Till then, Mira had been a great innovator and precursor of future revolutions in all the ambits he touched. It is a fact little known, for example, that in 1930 he had been conducting group therapies in the style of Schilder, as is also a fact that it was this standard bearer of mental health and social psychiatry who, almost without intending it, established the first therapeutic communities. Athayde Ribero Da Silva, in his article *O Hispano-Brasileiro Mira y López* in the already mentioned Brazilian monograph, recalls the often quoted anecdote that Mira, availing himself of his influence with Companys, managed to achieve that the nuns of the Female Section of San Baudilio, of which he was the director, were able to leave Barcelona honorably without having to leave behind their habits, and adding that, in consequence, the mental hospital was left without nurses of any type of helping personnel and, how then Dr. Mira had to make do with the patients. Then a very strange thing happened: the patients organized themselves and managed to attend each other at the same time that Mira found improvised personnel in the hospital services. It is not surprising that years later, during the mentioned congress in Caracas, the one of the famous hug of Sarró, Mira's contribution was on the subject of "Possibilities of self-government in group psychotherapy". One of the things I will never be able to explain to myself is how his rich experience in war psychiatry, put together in his book *Psychiatry in War* and which he himself made known through conferences throughout the world, only served him for earning the highest honor in Psychiatry, *The Thomas William Salmon Memorial Lecture of 1943 of the New York Academy of Medicine*, but was not sufficient for the Americans to offer him, as did the English with Trueta, a place of work in which he was interested, to be able to continue investigating the subject.

My interest in Mira, which started in relation to his role as the one who introduced psychoanalysis in Catalonia, has amplified itself as I became conscious to which point the war marked in him the development of his future thinking. He said, referring to Sigmund Freud, in *Psychiatry in War*. "The first step in capturing the psychic meaning was given by a great man, who, not knowing if to call himself psychologist or psychiatrist, invented a new name: psychoanalyst. Psychoanalysis can well serve as a bridge for uniting the gap between psychology and psychiatry". Mira, psychologist as well as psychiatrist, was the one who always was building bridges over this gap and, without calling himself psychoanalyst, he achieved that his clinical science always was analytical. Many psychoanalysts believe that Mira's dedication to psychoanalysis was a passing interest, awakened by the opportunity of the publication of the Complete Work of Freud during the years twenty, and limited to the publication of *El psico-anàlisi* of *Monografies Mèdiques* in 1926, re-edited in 1935, without realizing that the first clinical paper of Mira in 1921 has precisely the title "Un senzill cas de psicoanàlisi" ("A simple case of

psychoanalysis”) or that the last book in 1963 was dedicated to *Doctrinas psicoanalíticas. Exposición y Valoración Crítica* (Psychoanalytic Doctrines. Exposition and Critical Evaluation). Forty-two years without stopping to think in psychoanalysis, almost as many as Freud himself, even if Mira did it in a different way: critically.

Mira’s contribution to the implantation of psychoanalysis, here as well as in Argentina, is less clear. He arrived to Buenos Aires in 1940, almost at the same time than Angel Garma, and arrived to be a good friend of Enrique Pichon-Rivière and of Arminda Averasturi, members of the pioneer circle of psychoanalysis in Argentina. However, it was him who, upon arrival, dictated the first course on psychotherapy at the Buenos Aires University, surely a course which would serve as a launching pad for this group. Three years later, inspired without doubt by the success of psychoanalysis in those territories, he sat down to publish *Fundamentos del psicoanálisis* (Edición Americana, Buenos Aires, 1943), a major revision of the points of view previously expounded in the *Monographs* of 1926 and 1935. The prologue of 1943 started in the following manner:

Dear reader: the work which follows is neither an exposition nor a description nor less still a dithyrambic synthesis of the enormous bibliography accumulated around the psychoanalytic movements. It is probable that every one of the followers of such tendencies judge this text as insufficient and partial and the author will be denied the merits necessary for writing it and for meriting applause. It is said, for example, that he does not belong nor follow completely — accepting the liturgy of didactic psychoanalysis— any of the psychoanalytic schools he describes. What is more, it was precisely for this reason that he did not acquire the habit of submissive veneration which so well characterizes the orthodox cultivators of these new branches of psychological sciences. Conscious of the importance of the so called “Geology of the psyche”, the author wished to conserve, in the meantime, his independence of critique. He has tried to furnish an eclectic vision of the subject, directed at making possible the integration in the field of the actual biopsicosocial conceptions of human individuality of all the really scientific data which serves to apply the different psychoanalytic techniques to the study of clinical realities. He takes credit for having attained his aim maintaining himself equidistant between the extremists, detractors and sectarians. This text has no other pretension than summarize in an objective and clear manner the fundamentals of psychoanalysis such as its proper name indicates. In these conditions, who wishes to know the subject more thoroughly will have to direct himself to the original sources or to others more extensive destined to expound in detail the doctrinal body.

It was this way how Professor Mira, first chair of psychiatry in Catalonia y of the Spanish State, understood his role in the teaching of psychoanalysis in the university. Freud did not ask for more from his colleagues in his famous text of 1919. Evidently, this view did not coincide with the conception Ángel Garma derived from the Psychoanalytic Institute of Berlín in reference to how this new science should be learnt and this is the one he transplanted to Argentina.