

I: "In what book?"

Hans: "In the picture-book." (I made him fetch his first picture-book. In it was a picture of a stork's nest with storks, on a red chimney. This was the box. Curiously enough, on the same page there was also a picture of a horse being shod.¹ Hans had transferred the babies into the box, as they were not to be seen in the nest.)

I: "And what did the stork do with her?"

Hans: "Then the stork brought Hanna here. In his beak.

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 308

¹ [In view of what follows presently it may be worth remarking that the German word for 'shod' (*'beschlagen'*) differs in only a single letter from that for 'beaten' (*'gescklagen'*).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 73 -

You know, the stork that's at Schönbrunn, and that bit the umbrella." (A reminiscence of an episode at Schönbrunn.)

I: "Did you see how the stork brought Hanna?"

Hans: "Why, I was still asleep, you know. A stork can never bring a little girl or a little boy in the morning."

I: "Why?"

Hans: "He can't. A stork can't do it. Do you know why? So that people shan't see. And then, all at once, in the morning, there's a little girl there."¹

I: "But, all the same, you were curious at the time to know how the stork did it?"

Hans: "Oh yes."

I: "What did Hanna look like when she came?"

Hans (hypocritically): "All white and lovely. So pretty."

I: "But when you saw her the first time you didn't like her."

Hans: "Oh, I did; very much!"

I: "You were surprised that she was so small, though."

Hans: "Yes."

I: "How small was she?"

Hans: "Like a baby stork."

I: "like what else? Like a lumf, perhaps?"

Hans: "Oh no. A lumf's much bigger ... a bit smaller than Hanna, really."

I had predicted to his father that it would be possible to trace back Hans's phobia to thoughts and wishes occasioned by the birth of his baby sister. But I had omitted to point out that according to the sexual theory of children a baby is a 'lumf', so that Hans's path would lie through the excremental

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 308

¹ There is no need to find fault with Hans's inconsistencies. In the previous conversation his disbelief in the stork had emerged from his unconscious and had been coupled with the exasperation he felt against his father for making so many mysteries. But he had now become calmer and was answering his father's questions with official thoughts in which he had worked out glosses upon the many difficulties involved in the stork hypothesis.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 74 -

complex. It was owing to this neglect on my part that the progress of the case became temporarily obscured. Now that the matter had been cleared up, Hans's father attempted to examine the boy a second time upon this important point.

The next day, 'I got Hans to repeat what he had told me yesterday. He said: "Hanna travelled to Gmunden in the big box, and Mummy travelled in the railway carriage, and Hanna travelled in the luggage train with the box; and then when we got to

Gmunden Mummy and I lifted Hanna out and put her on the horse. The coachman sat up in front, and Hanna had the old whip” (the whip he had last year) “and whipped the horse and kept on saying ‘Gee-up’, and it was such fun, and the coachman whipped too.—The coachman didn’t whip at all, because Hanna had the whip.—The coachman had the reins—Hanna had the reins too.” (On each occasion we drove in a carriage from the station to the house. Hans was here trying to reconcile fact and fancy.) “At Gmunden we lifted Hanna down from the horse, and she walked up the steps by herself.” (Last year, when Hanna was at Gmunden, she was eight months old. The year before that—and Hans’s phantasy evidently related to that time—his mother had been five months gone with child when we arrived at Gmunden.)

‘I: “Last year Hanna was there.”

‘Hans: “Last year she drove in the carriage; but the year before that, when she was living with us ...”

‘I: “Was she with us already then?”

‘Hans: “Yes. You were always there; you used always to go in the boat with me, and Anna was our servant.”

‘I: “But that wasn’t last year. Hanna wasn’t alive then.”

‘Hans: “Yes, she was alive then. Even while she was still travelling in the box she could run about and she could say

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 309

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 75 -

‘Anna.’.” (She has only been able to do so for the last four months.)

‘I: “But she wasn’t with us at all then.”

‘Hans: “Oh yes, she was; she was with the stork.”

‘I: “How old is she, then?”

‘Hans: “She’ll be two years old in the autumn. Hanna was there, you know she was.”

‘I: “And when was she with the stork in the stork-box?”

‘Hans: “A long time before she travelled in the box, a very long time.”

‘I: “How long has Hanna been able to walk, then? When she was at Gmunden she couldn’t walk yet.”

‘Hans: “Not last year; but other times she could.”

‘I: “But Hanna’s only been at Gmunden once.”

‘Hans: “No. She’s been twice. Yes, that’s it. I can remember quite well. Ask Mummy, she’ll tell you soon enough.”

‘I: “It’s not true, all the same.”

‘Hans: “Yes, it is true. When she was at Gmunden the first time she could walk and ride, and later on she had to be carried.—No. It was only later on that she rode, and last year she had to be carried.”

‘I: “But it’s only quite a short time that she’s been walking. At Gmunden she couldn’t walk”.

‘Hans: “Yes. Just you write it down. I can remember quite well.—Why are you laughing?”

‘I: “Because you’re a fraud; because you know quite well that Hanna’s only been at Gmunden once.”

‘Hans: “No, that isn’t true. The first time she rode on the hor...and the second time ...” (He showed signs of evident uncertainty.)

‘I: “Perhaps the horse was Mummy?”

‘Hans: “No, a real horse in a fly.”

‘I: “But we used always to have a carriage with two horses.”

‘Hans: “Well, then, it was a carriage and pair.”

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 311

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 76 -

I: “What did Hanna eat inside the box?”

Hans: “They put in bread-and-butter for her, and herring, and radishes” (the sort of thing we used to have for supper at Gmunden), “and as Hanna went along she buttered her bread-and-butter and ate fifty meals.”

I: “Didn't Hanna scream?”

Hans: “No.”

I: “What did she do, then?”

Hans: “Sat quite still inside.”

I: “Didn't she push about?”

Hans: “No, she kept on eating all the time and didn't stir once. She drank up two big mugs of coffee—by the morning it was all gone, and she left the bits behind in the box, the leaves of the two radishes and a knife for cutting the radishes. She gobbled everything up like a hare: one minute and it was all finished. It *was* a joke. Hanna and I really travelled together in the box; I slept the whole night in the box.” (We did in fact, two years ago, make the journey to Gmunden by night.) “And Mummy travelled in the railway carriage. And we kept on eating all the time when we were driving in the carriage, too; it *was* jolly.—She didn't ride on a horse at all ...” (he now became undecided, for he knew that we had driven with two horses) “... she sat in the carriage. Yes, that's how it was, but Hanna and I drove quite by ourselves ... Mummy rode on the horse, and Karoline” (our maid last year) “on the other ... I say, what I'm telling you isn't a bit true.”

I: “What isn't true?”

Hans: “None of it is. I say, let's put Hanna and me in the box¹ and I'll widdle into the box. I'll just widdle into my knickers; I don't care a bit; there's nothing at all shameful in it. I say, that isn't a joke, you know; but it's great fun, though.”

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 312

¹ ‘The box standing in the front hall which we had taken to Gmunden as luggage.’

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 77 -

‘Then he told me the story of how the stork came—the same story as yesterday, except that he left out the part about the stork taking his hat when he went away.

I: “Where did the stork keep his latch-key?”

Hans: “In his pocket.”

I: “And where's the stork's pocket?”

Hans: “In his beak.”

I: “It's in his beak! I've never seen a stork yet with a key in his beak.”

Hans: “How else could he have got in? How did the stork come in at the door, then? No, it isn't true; I just made a mistake. The stork rang at the front door and some one let him in.”

I: “And how did he ring?”

Hans: “He rang the bell.”

I: “How did he do that?”

Hans: “He took his beak and pressed on it with his beak.”

I: “And did he shut the door again?”

Hans: “No, a maid shut it. She was up already, you see, and opened the door for him and shut it.”

I: “Where does the stork live?”

Hans: “Where? In the box where he keeps the little girls. At Schönbrunn, perhaps.”

I: “I've never seen a box at Schönbrunn.”

Hans: “It must be farther off, then.—Do you know how the stork opens the box? He takes his beak—the box has got a key, too—he takes his beak, lifts up one” (i.e. one-half of the beak) “and unlocks it like this.” (He demonstrated the process on the lock of the writing-table.) “There's a handle on it too.”

I: “Isn't a little girl like that too heavy for him?”

'Hans: "Oh no."

'I: "I say, doesn't a bus look like a stork-box?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "And a furniture-waggon?"

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 313

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 78 -

'Hans: "And a scallywaggon" ("scallywag"—a term of abuse for naughty children) "too."

'April 17th. Yesterday Hans carried out his long-premeditated scheme of going across into the courtyard opposite. He would not do it to-day, as there was a cart standing at the loading dock exactly opposite the entrance gates. "When a cart stands there," he said to me, "I'm afraid *I shall tease the horses* and they'll fall down and make a row with their feet."

'I: "How does one tease horses?"

'Hans: When you're cross with them you tease them, and when you shout 'Gee-up'.'¹

'I: "Have you ever teased horses?"

'Hans: "Yes, quite often. I'm *afraid* I shall do it, but I don't *really*."

'I: "Did you ever tease horses at Gmunden?"

'Hans: "No."

'I: "But you like teasing them?"

'Hans: "Oh yes, very much."

'I: "Would you like to whip them?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "Would you like to beat the horses as Mummy beats Hanna? You like that too, you know."

'Hans: "It doesn't do the horses any harm when they're beaten." (I said this to him once to mitigate his fear of seeing horses whipped.) "Once I really did it. Once I had the whip, and whipped the horse, and it fell down and made a row with its feet."

'I: "When?"

'Hans: "At Gmunden."

'I: "A real horse? Harnessed to a cart?"

'Hans: "It wasn't in the cart."

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 314

¹ 'Hans has often been very much terrified when drivers beat their horses and shout "Gee-up".'

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 79 -

'I: "Where was it, then?"

'Hans: "I just held it so that it shouldn't run away." (Of course all this sounded most improbable.)

'I: "Where was that?"

'Hans: "Near the trough."

'I: "Who let you? Had the coachman left the horse standing there?"

'Hans: "It was just a horse from the stables."

'I: "How did it get to the trough?"

'Hans: "I took it there."

'I: "Where from? Out of the stables?"

Hans: "I took it out because I wanted to beat it."
I: "Was there no one in the stables?"
Hans: "Oh yes, Loisl." (The coachman at Gmunden.)
I: "Did he let you?"
Hans: "I talked nicely to him, and he said I might do it."
I: "What did you say to him?"
Hans: "Could I take the horse and whip it and shout at it. And he said 'Yes'."
I: "Did you whip it a lot?"
Hans: "*What I've told you isn't the least true.*"
I: "How much of it's true?"
Hans: "None of it's true; I only told it you for fun."
I: "You never took a horse out of the stables?"
Hans: "Oh no."
I: "But you wanted to."
Hans: "Oh yes, wanted to. I've thought it to myself."
I: "At Gmunden?"
Hans: "No, only here. I thought it in the morning when I was quite undressed; no, in the morning in bed."
I: "Why did you never tell me about it?"
Hans: "I didn't think of it."
I: "You thought it to yourself because you saw it in the street."
Hans: "Yes."

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 315

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 80 -

I: "Which would you really like to beat? Mummy, Hanna, or me?"
Hans: "Mummy."
I: "Why?"
Hans: "I should just like to beat her."
I: "When did you ever see any one beating their Mummy?"
Hans: "I've never seen any one do it, never in all my life."
I: "And yet you'd just like to do it. How would you like to set about it?"
Hans: "With a carpet-beater." (His mother often threatens to beat him with the carpet-beater.)
 I was obliged to break off the conversation for to-day.
 'In the street Hans explained to me that buses, furniture-vans, and coal-carts were stork-box carts.'
 That is to say, pregnant women. Hans's access of sadism immediately before cannot be unconnected with the present theme.
 'April 21st. This morning Hans said that he had thought as follows: "There was a train at Lainz and I travelled with my Lainz Grandmummy to the Hauptzollamt station. You hadn't got down from the bridge yet, and the second train was already at St. Veit.¹ When you came down, the train was there already, and we got in."
 '(Hans was at Lainz yesterday. In order to get on to the departure platform one has to cross a bridge. From the platform one can see along the line as far as St. Veit station. The whole thing is a trifle obscure. Hans's original thought had no doubt been that he had gone off by the first train, which I had missed, and that then a second train had come in

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 316

¹ [Unter St. Veit: one station farther away from Vienna than Lainz. Owing to the straightness of the line, a traveller waiting on the platform at Lainz for a train to Vienna can see it approaching all the way from Unter St. Veit and even beyond.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 81 -

from Unter St. Veit and that I had gone after him in it. But he had distorted a part of this runaway phantasy, so that he said finally: "Both of us only got away by the second train."

'This phantasy is related to the last one [p. 65], which was not interpreted, and according to which we took too long to put on our clothes in the station at Gmunden, so that the train carried us on.)

'Afternoon, in front of the house. Hans suddenly ran indoors as a carriage with two horses came along. I could see nothing unusual about it, and asked him what was wrong. "The horses are so proud," he said, "that I'm afraid they'll fall down." (The coachman was reining the horses in tight, so that they were trotting with short steps and holding their heads high. In fact their action *was* "proud".)

'I asked him who it really was that was so proud.

'*He*: "You are, when I come into bed with Mummy."

'*I*: "So you want me to fall down?"

'*Hans*: "Yes. You've got to be naked" (meaning "barefoot", as Fritzl had been) "and knock up against a stone and bleed, and then I'll be able to be alone with Mummy for a little bit at all events. When you come up into our flat I'll be able to run away quick so that you don't see."

'*I*: "Can you remember who it was that knocked up against the stone?"

'*He*: "Yes, Fritzl."

'*I*: "When Fritzl fell down, what did you think?"¹

'*He*: "That *you* should hit the stone and tumble down."

'*I*: "So you'd like to go to Mummy?"

'*He*: "Yes."

'*I*: "What do I really scold you for?"

'*He*: "I don't know." (!!)

'*I*: "Why?"

'*He*: "Because you're cross."

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 317

¹ So that in fact Fritzl *did* fall down—which he at one time denied. [See p. 59.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 82 -

'*I*: "But that's not true."

'*Hans*: "Yes, it *is* true. You're cross. I know you are. It must be true."

'Evidently, therefore, my explanation that only *little* boys come into bed with their Mummies and that *big* ones sleep in their own beds had not impressed him very much.

'I suspect that his desire to "tease" the horse, i.e. to beat it and shout at it, does not apply to his mother, as he pretended, but to me. No doubt he only put her forward because he was unwilling to admit the alternative to me. For the last few days he has been particularly affectionate to me.'

Speaking with the air of superiority which is so easily acquired after the event, we may correct Hans's father, and explain that the boy's wish to 'tease' the horse had two constituents; it was compounded of an obscure sadistic desire for his mother and of a clear impulse for revenge against his father. The latter could not be reproduced until the former's turn had come to emerge in connection with the pregnancy complex. In the process of the formation of a phobia from the unconscious thoughts underlying it, condensation takes place; and for that reason the course of the analysis can never follow that of the development of the neurosis.

'April 22nd. This morning Hans again thought something to himself: "A street-boy was riding on a truck, and the guard

came and undressed the boy quite naked and made him stand there till next morning, and in the morning the boy gave the guard 50,000 florins so that he could go on riding on the truck.”

‘(The Nordbahn [Northern Railway] runs past opposite our house. In a siding there stood a trolley on which Hans once saw a street-boy riding. He wanted to do so too; but I told him it was not allowed, and that if he did the guard would be after him. A second element in this phantasy is Hans's repressed wish to be naked.)’

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 318

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 83 -

It has been noticeable for some time that Hans's imagination was being coloured by images derived from traffic, and was advancing systematically from horses, which draw vehicles, to railways. In the same way a railway-phobia eventually becomes associated with every street-phobia.¹

‘At lunch-time I was told that Hans *had been playing all the morning with an india-rubber doll which he called Grete*. [Cf. p. 32.] *He had pushed a small penknife in through the opening to which the little tin squeaker had originally been attached, and had then torn the doll's legs apart so as to let the knife drop out. He had said to the nurse-maid, pointing between the doll's legs: “Look, there's its widdler!”*

‘I: “What was it you were playing at with your doll to-day?”

‘Hans: “I tore its legs apart. Do you know why? Because there was a knife inside it belonging to Mummy. I put it in at the place where the button² squeaks, and then I tore apart its legs and it came out there.”

‘I: “Why did you tear its legs apart? So that you could see its widdler?”

‘He: “Its widdler was there before; I could have seen it anyhow.”

‘I: “What did you put the knife in for?”

‘He: “I don't know.”

‘I: “Well, what does the knife look like?”

‘He brought it to me.

‘I: “Did you think it was a baby, perhaps?”

‘He: “No, I didn't think anything at all; but I believe the stork got a baby once—or some one.”

‘I “When?”

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 319

¹ 1 [This characteristic of phobias is discussed below on p. 125.]

² 2 [‘*Der Knopf*.’ So in the first edition. In all subsequent ones ‘*der Kopf*’ (‘the head’). This latter is almost certainly wrong: see below, p. 130, where the hole is described as being ‘in the body.’]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 84 -

‘He: “Once. I heard so—or didn't I hear it at all?—or did I say it wrong?”

‘I: “What does ‘say it wrong’ mean?”

‘He: “That it's not true.”

‘I: “Everything one says is a bit true.”

‘He: “Well, yes, a little bit.”

‘I (after changing the subject): “How do you think chickens are born?”

‘He: “The stork just makes them grow; the stork makes chickens grow—no, God does.”

‘I explained to him that chickens lay eggs, and that out of the eggs there come other chickens.

‘Hans laughed.

‘I: “Why do you laugh?”

‘He: “Because I like what you've told me.”

'He said he had seen it happen already.

'I: "Where?"

'Hans: "You did it."

'I: "Where did I lay an egg?"

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

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

'Hans: "It isn't true a bit. But *I* once laid an egg, and a chicken came hopping out."

'I: "Where?"

'Hans: "At Gmunden I lay down in the grass—no, I knelt down—and the children didn't look on at me, and all at once in the morning I said: 'Look for it, children; I laid an egg yesterday.' And all at once they looked, and all at once they saw an egg, and out of it there came a little Hans. Well, what are you laughing for? Mummy didn't know about it, and Karoline didn't know, because no one was looking on, and all at once I laid an egg, and all at once it

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page **320**

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 85 -

was there. Really and truly. Daddy, when does a chicken grow out of an egg? When it's left alone? Must it be eaten?"

'I explained the matter to him.

'Hans: "All right, let's leave it with the hen; then a chicken'll grow. Let's pack it up in the box and let's take it to Gmunden."

As his parents still hesitated to give him the information which was already long overdue, little Hans had by a bold stroke taken the conduct of the analysis into his own hands. By means of a brilliant symptomatic act, "*Look!*" he had said to them, "*this is how I imagine that a birth takes place.*" What he had told the maid-servant about the meaning of his game with the doll had been insincere; to his father he explicitly denied that he had only wanted to see its widdler. After his father had told him, as a kind of payment on account, how chickens come out of eggs, Hans gave a combined expression to his dissatisfaction, his mistrust, and his superior knowledge in a charming piece of persiflage, which culminated with his last words in an unmistakable allusion to his sister's birth.

'I: "What were you playing at with your doll?"

'Hans: "I said 'Grete' to her."

'I: "Why?"

'Hans: "Because I said 'Grete' to her."

'I: "How did you play?"

'Hans: "I just looked after her like a real baby."

'I: "Would you like to have a little girl?"

'Hans: "Oh yes. Why not? I should like to have one, but Mummy mustn't have one; I don't like that."

(He has often expressed this view before. He is afraid of losing still more of his position if a third child arrives.)

'I: "But only women have children."

'Hans: "I'm going to have a little girl."

'I: "Where will you get her, then?"

'Hans: "Why, from the stork. *He takes the little girl out*, and all at once the little girl lays an egg, and out of the egg there

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page **321**

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

comes another Hanna—another Hanna. Out of Hanna there comes another Hanna. No, *one* Hanna comes out.”

‘I: “You'd like to have a little girl.”

‘Hans: “Yes, next year *Fm* going to have one, and she'll be called Hanna too.”

‘I: “But why isn't Mummy to have a little girl?”

‘Hans: “Because *I* want to have a little girl for once.”

‘I: “But you can't have a little girl.”

‘Hans: “Oh yes, boys have girls and girls have boys.”¹

‘I: “Boys don't have children. Only women, only Mummies have children.”

‘Hans: “But why shouldn't I?”

‘I: “Because God's arranged it like that.”

‘Hans: “But why don't *you* have one? Oh yes, you'll have one all right. Just you wait.”

‘I: “I shall have to wait some time.”

‘Hans: “But I belong to you.”

‘I: “But Mummy brought you into the world. So you belong to Mummy and me.”

‘Hans: “Does Hanna belong to me or to Mummy?”

‘I: “To Mummy.”

‘Hans: “No, to me. *Why not to me and Mummy?*”

‘I: “Hanna belongs to me, Mummy, and you.”

‘Hans: “There you are, you see.””

So long as the child is in ignorance of the female genitals, there is naturally a vital gap in his comprehension of sexual matters.

‘On April 24th my wife and I enlightened Hans up to a certain point: we told him that children grow inside their Mummy, and are then brought into the world by being pressed out of her like a “lump”, and that this involves a great deal of pain.

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 322

¹ Here is another bit of infantile sexual theory with an unsuspected meaning.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

‘In the afternoon we went out in front of the house. There was a visible improvement in his state. He ran after carts, and the only thing that betrayed a remaining trace of his anxiety was the fact that he did not venture away from the neighbourhood of the street-door and could not be induced to go for any considerable walk.

‘On April 25th Hans butted me in the stomach with his head, as he has already done once before [p. 42]. I asked him if he was a goat.

““Yes,” he said, “a ram.” I enquired where he had seen a ram.

‘He: “At Gmunden: Fritzl had one.” (Fritzl had a real lamb to play with.)

‘I: “You must tell me about the lamb. What did it do?”

‘Hans: “You know, Fräulein Mizzi” (a school-mistress who lived in the house) “used always to put Hanna on the lamb, but it couldn't stand up then and it couldn't butt. If you went up to it it used to butt, because it had horns. Fritzl used to lead it on a string and tie it to a tree. He always tied it to a tree.”

‘I: “Did the lamb butt you?”

‘Hans: “It jumped up at me; Fritzl took me up to it once.... I went up to it once and didn't know, and all at once it jumped up at me. It was such fun—I wasn't frightened.”

‘This was certainly untrue.

‘I: “Are you fond of Daddy?”

‘Hans: “Oh yes.”

I: “Or perhaps not.”

Hans was playing with a little toy horse. At that moment the horse fell down, and Hans shouted out: “The horse has fallen down! Look what a row it’s making!”

I: “You’re a little vexed with Daddy because Mummy’s fond of him.”

Hans: “No.”

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 323

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 88 -

I: “Then why do you always cry whenever Mummy gives me a kiss? It’s because you’re jealous.”

Hans: “Jealous, yes.”

I: “You’d like to be Daddy yourself.”

Hans: “Oh yes.”

I: “What would you like to do if you were Daddy?”

Hans: “And you were Hans? I’d like to take you to Lainz every Sunday—no, every week-day too. If I were Daddy I’d be ever so nice and good.”

I: “But what would you like to do with Mummy?”

Hans: “Take her to Lainz, too.”

I: “And what besides?”

Hans: “Nothing.”

I: “Then why were you jealous?”

Hans: “I don’t know.”

I: “Were you jealous at Gmunden, too?”

Hans: “Not at Gmunden.” (This is not true.) “At Gmunden I had my own things. I had a garden at Gmunden and children too.”

I: “Can you remember how the cow got a calf?”

Hans: “Oh yes. It came in a cart.” (No doubt he had been told this at Gmunden; another attack on the stork theory.) “And another cow pressed it out of its behind.” (This was already the fruit of his enlightenment, which he was trying to bring into harmony with the cart theory.)

I: “It isn’t true that it came in a cart; it came out of the cow in the cow-shed.”

Hans disputed this, saying that he had seen the cart in the morning. I pointed out to him that he had probably been told this about the calf having come in a cart. In the end he admitted this, and said: “Most likely Berta told me, or not—or perhaps it was the landlord. He was there and it was at night, so it *is* true after all, what I’ve been telling you—or it seems to me nobody told me; I thought it to myself in the night.”

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 324

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 89 -

“Unless I am mistaken, the calf was taken away in a cart; hence the confusion.

I: “Why didn’t you think it was the stork that brought it?”

Hans: “I didn’t want to think that.”

I: “But you thought the stork brought Hanna?”

Hans: “In the morning” (of the confinement) “I thought so.—I say, Daddy, was Herr Reisenbichler” (our landlord) “there when the calf came out of the cow?”¹

I: “I don’t know. Do you think he was?”

Hans: “I think so.... Daddy, have you noticed now and then that horses have something black on their

mouths?"

'I: "I've noticed it now and then in the street at Gmunden."²

'I: "Did you often get into bed with Mummy at Gmunden?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "And you used to think to yourself you were Daddy?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "And then you felt afraid of Daddy?"

'Hans: "*You know everything; I didn't know anything.*"

'I: "When Fritzl fell down you thought: 'If only Daddy would fall down like that!' And when the lamb butted you you thought: 'If only it would butt Daddy!' Can you remember the funeral at Gmunden?" (The first funeral that Hans had seen. He often recalls it, and it is no doubt a screen memory.)

'Hans: "Yes. What about it?"

'I: "You thought then that if only Daddy were to die you'd be Daddy."

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "What carts are you still afraid of?"

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 325

¹ Hans, having good reason to mistrust information given him by grown-up people, was considering whether the landlord might not be more trustworthy than his father.

² The train of thought is as follows. For a long time his father had refused to believe what he said about there being something black on horses' mouths, but finally it had been verified [p. 69].

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 90 -

'Hans: "All of them."

'I: "You know that's not true."

'Hans: 'I'm not afraid of carriages and pair or cabs with one horse. I'm afraid of buses and luggage-carts, but only when they're loaded up, not when they're empty. When there's one horse and the cart's loaded full up, then I'm afraid; but when there are two horses and it's loaded full up, then I'm not afraid.'

'I: "Are you afraid of buses because there are so many people inside?"

'Hans: "Because there's so much luggage on the top."

'I: "When Mummy was having Hanna, was she loaded full up too?"

'Hans: "Mummy'll be loaded full up again when she has another one, when another one begins to grow, when another one's inside her."

'I: "And you'd like that?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "You said you didn't want Mummy to have another baby."

'Hans: "Well, then she won't be loaded up again. Mummy said if Mummy didn't want one, God didn't want one either. If Mummy doesn't want one she won't have one." (Hans naturally asked yesterday if there were any more babies inside Mummy. I told him not, and said that if God did not wish it none would grow inside her.)

'Hans: "But Mummy told me if *she* didn't want it no more'd grow, and you say *it* God doesn't want it."

'So I told him it was as I had said, upon which he observed: "You were there, though, weren't you? You know better, for certain." He then proceeded to cross-question his mother, and she reconciled the two statements by declaring that if she didn't want it God didn't want it either.¹

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 326

¹ *Ce que femme veut Dieu veut*. But Hans, with his usual acumen, had once more put his finger upon a most serious problem. [It

seems likely that the whole passage from the words 'Hans naturally asked yesterday ...' down to '... God didn't want it either' should be in brackets, and that it is all a report of what had happened the day before. When Freud was consulted on this point by the translators (in 1923), he agreed that this was probably so, but preferred to have the text left unaltered, since it was a transcript of Hans's father's report.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 91 -

I: "It seems to me that, all the same, you do wish Mummy would have a baby."

Hans: "But I don't want it to happen."

I: "But you wish for it?"

Hans: "Oh yes, wish."

I: "Do you know why you wish for it? It's because you'd like to be Daddy."

Hans: "Yes....How does it work?"

I: "How does what work?"

Hans: "You say Daddies don't have babies; so how does it work, my wanting to be Daddy?"

I: "You'd like to be Daddy and married to Mummy; you'd like to be as big as me and have a moustache; and you'd like Mummy to have a baby."

Hans: "And, Daddy, when I'm married I'll only have one if I want to, when I'm married to Mummy, and if I don't want a baby, God won't want it either, when I'm married."

I: "Would you like to be married to Mummy?"

Hans: "Oh yes."

It is easy to see that Hans's enjoyment of his phantasy was interfered with by his uncertainty as to the part played by fathers and by his doubts as to whether the begetting of children would be under his control.

'On the evening of the same day, as Hans was being put to bed, he said to me: "I say, d'you know what I'm going to do now? Now I'm going to talk to Grete till ten o'clock; she's in bed with me. My children are always in bed with me. Can you tell me why that is?"—As he was very sleepy already, I

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 327

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 92 -

promised him that we should write it down next day, and he went to sleep.

'I have already noticed in earlier records that since Hans's return from Gmunden he has constantly been having phantasies about "his children" [e.g. p. 13], has carried on conversations with them, and so on.¹

'So on April 26th I asked him why he was always thinking of his children.

Hans: "Why? Because I should so like to have children; but I don't ever want it; I shouldn't like to have them."²

I: "Have you always imagined that Berta and Olga and the rest were your children?"

Hans: "Yes. Franzl, and Fritzl, and Paul too" (his playmates at Lainz), "and Lodi." This is an invented girl's name, that of his favourite child, whom he speaks of most often—I may here emphasize the fact that the figure of Lodi is not an invention of the last few days, but existed before the date of his receiving the latest piece of enlightenment (April 24th).

I: "Who is Lodi? Is she at Gmunden?"

Hans: "No."

I: "Is there a Lodi?"

Hans: "Yes, I know her."

I: "Who is she, then?"

Hans: "The one I've got here."

I: "What does she look like?"

Hans: “Look like? Black eyes, black hair.... I met her

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 328

¹ There is no necessity on this account to assume in Hans the presence of a feminine strain of desire for having children. It was with his mother that Hans had had his most blissful experience as a child, and he was now repeating them, and himself playing the active part, which was thus necessarily that of mother.

² This startling contradiction was one between phantasy and reality, between wishing and having. Hans knew that in reality he was a child and that the other children would only be in his way; but in phantasy he was a mother and wanted children with whom he could repeat the endearments that he had himself experienced.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 93 -

once with Married!” (at Gmunden) “as I was going into the town.”

‘When I went into the matter it turned out that this was an invention.’¹

I: “So you thought you were their Mummy?”

Hans: “And really I *was* their Mummy.”

I: “What did you do with your children?”

Hans: “I had them to sleep with me, the girls and the boys.”

I: “Every day?”

Hans: “Why, of course.”

I: “Did you talk to them?”

Hans: “When I couldn't get all the children into the bed, I put some of the children on the sofa, and some in the pram, and if there were still some left over I took them up to the attic and put them in the box, and if there were any more I put them in the other box.”

I: “So the stork-baby-boxes were in the attic?”

Hans: “Yes.”

I: “When did you get your children? Was Hanna alive already?”

Hans: “Yes, she had been a long time.”

I: “But who did you think you'd got the children from?”

Hans: “*Why, from me.*”²

I: “But at that time you hadn't any idea that children came from some one.”

Hans: “I thought the stork had brought them.” (Clearly a lie and an evasion.)³

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 329

¹ It is possible, however, that Hans had exalted into his ideal some one whom he had met casually at Gmunden. The colour of this ideal's eyes and hair, by the way, was copied from his mother.

² Hans could not help answering from the auto-erotic point of view.

³ They were the children of his phantasy, that is to say, of his masturbation.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 94 -

I: “You had Grete in bed with you yesterday, but you know quite well that boys can't have children.”

Hans: “Well, yes. But I believe they can, all the same.”

I: “How did you hit upon the name Lodi? No girl's called that. Lotti, perhaps?”

Hans: “Oh no, Lodi. I don't know; but it's a beautiful name, all the same.”

I (jokingly): “Perhaps you mean a Schokolodi?”¹

'Hans (promptly): "No, a Saffalodi,² ... because I like eating sausages so much, and salami³ too."

'I: "I say, doesn't a Saffalodi look like a lumf?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "Well, what does a lumf look like?"

'Hans: "Black. You know" (pointing at my eyebrows and moustache), "like this and like this."

'I: "And what else? Round like a Saffaladi?"

'Hans: "Yes."

'I: "When you sat on the chamber and a lumf came, did you think to yourself you were having a baby?"

'Hans (laughing): "Yes. Even at—Street, and here as well."

'I: "You know when the bus-horses fell down? [Cf. p. 49 ff.] The bus looked like a baby-box, and when the black horse fell down it was just like ..."

'Hans (taking me up): "... like having a baby."

'I: "And what did you think when it made a row with its feet?"

'Hans: "Oh, when I don't want to sit on the chamber and would rather play, then I make a row like this with my feet." [Cf. p. 54.] (He stamped his feet.)

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 330

¹ ['Schokolade' is the German for 'chocolate'.]

² "Saffaladi" means "Zervelatwurst" ["saveloy", a kind of sausage]. My wife is fond of relating how her aunt always calls it "Soflilodi". Hans may have heard this.'

³ [Another kind of sausage.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 95 -

'This was why he was so much interested in the question whether people *liked* or *did not like* having children.

'All day long to-day Hans has been playing at loading and unloading packing-cases; he said he wished he could have a toy waggon and boxes of that kind to play with. What used most to interest him in the courtyard of the Customs House opposite was the loading and unloading of the carts. And he used to be frightened most when a cart had been loaded up and was on the point of driving off. "The horses'll fall down,"¹ he used to say [p. 46]. He used to call the doors of the Head Customs House shed "holes" (e.g. the first hole, second hole, third hole, etc.). But now, instead of "hole", he says "behind-hole".

'The anxiety has almost completely disappeared, except that he likes to remain in the neighbourhood of the house, so as to have a line of retreat in case he is frightened. But he never takes flight into the house now, but stops in the street all the time. As we know, his illness began with his turning back in tears while he was out for a walk; and when he was obliged to go for a second walk he only went as far as the Hauptzollamt station on the Stadtbahn, from which our house can still be seen. At the time of my wife's confinement he was of course kept away from her; and his present anxiety, which prevents him from leaving the neighbourhood of the house, is in reality the longing for her which he felt then.

'April 30th. Seeing Hans playing with his imaginary children again, "Hullo," I said to him, "are your children still alive? You know quite well a boy can't have any children."

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

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 331

¹ Do we not use the word '*niederkommen*' [literally, 'to come down'] when a woman is delivered?

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 96 -

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

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

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

'Hans: "Yes, that's what I'd like, and then my Lainz Grandmummy" (my mother) "will be their Grannie."

Things were moving towards a satisfactory conclusion. The little Oedipus had found a happier solution than that prescribed by destiny. Instead of putting his father out of the way, he had granted him the same happiness that he desired himself: he made him a grandfather and married *him* to his own mother too.

'On May 1st Hans came to me at lunch-time and said: "D'you know what? Let's write something down for the Professor."

'I: "Well, and what shall it be?"

'Hans: "This morning I was in the W.G. with all my children. First I did lumf and widdled, and they looked on. Then I put them on the seat and they widdled and did lumf, and I wiped their behinds with paper. D'you know why? Because I'd so much like to have children; then I'd do everything for them—take them to the W.G., clean their behinds, and do everything one does with children."

After the admission afforded by this phantasy, it will scarcely be possible to dispute the fact that in Hans's mind there was pleasure attached to the excretory functions.

'In the afternoon he ventured into the Stadtpark for the first time. As it is the First of May, no doubt there was less traffic than usual, but still quite enough to have frightened him up to now. He was very proud of his achievement, and after tea I was obliged to go with him to the Stadtpark once again. On the way we met a bus; Hans pointed it out to me, saying: "Look! a stork-box cart!" If he goes with me to the

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 332

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 97 -

Stadtpark again to-morrow, as we have planned, we shall really be able to regard his illness as cured.

'On May 2nd Hans came to me in the morning. "I say," he said, "I thought something to-day." At first he had forgotten it; but later on he related what follows, though with signs of considerable resistance: "*The plumber came; and first he took away my behind with a pair of pincers, and then gave me another, and then the same with my widdler.*" He said: "Let me see your behind!" and I had to turn round, and he took it away; and then he said: "Let me see your widdler!"

Hans's father grasped the nature of this wishful phantasy, and did not hesitate a moment as to the only interpretation it could bear.

'I: "He gave you a *bigger* widdler and a *bigger* behind."

'Hans: "Yes."

'I "Like Daddy's; because you'd like to be Daddy."

'Hans: "Yes, and I'd like to have a moustache like yours and hairs like yours." (He pointed to the hairs on my chest.)

'In the light of this, we may review the interpretation of Hans's earlier phantasy to the effect that the plumber had come and unscrewed the bath and had stuck a borer into his stomach [p. 65]. The big bath meant a "behind", the borer or screwdriver was (as was explained at the time) a widdler.¹ The two phantasies are identical. Moreover, a new

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 333

¹ Perhaps, too, the word 'borer' ['*Bohrer*'] was not chosen without regard for its connection with 'born' ['*geboren*'] and 'birth' ['*Geburt*']. If so, the child could have made no distinction between 'bored' ['*gebohrt*'] and 'born' ['*geboren*']. I accept this suggestion, made by an experienced fellow-worker, but I am not in a position to say whether we have before us here a deep and universal connection between the two ideas or merely the employment of a verbal coincidence peculiar to German [and English]. Prometheus (Pramantha), the creator of man, is also etymologically 'the borer'. (Cf. Abraham, *Traum und Mythos*, 1909.)

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 98 -

light is thrown upon Hans's fear of the big bath. (This, by the way, has already diminished.) He dislikes his "behind" being too small for the big bath.'

In the course of the next few days Hans's mother wrote to me more than once to express her joy at the little boy's recovery.

A week later came a postscript from Hans's father.

'My dear Professor, I should like to make the following additions to Hans's case history:

- (1) 'The remission after he had been given his first piece of enlightenment was not so complete as I may have represented it [pp. 28-9]. It is true that Hans went for walks; but only under compulsion and in a state of great anxiety. Once he went with me as far as the Hauptzollamt station, from which our house can still be seen, but could not be induced to go any farther.
- (2) 'As regards "raspberry syrup" and "a gun for shooting with" [p. 38]. Hans is given raspberry syrup when he is constipated. He also frequently confuses the words "shooting" and "shitting".¹
- (3) 'Hans was about four years old when he was moved out of our bedroom into a room of his own.
- (4) 'A trace of his disorder still persists, though it is no longer in the shape of fear but only in that of the normal instinct for asking questions. The questions are mostly concerned with what things are made of (trams, machines, etc.), who makes things, etc. Most of his questions are characterized by the fact that Hans asks them although he has already answered them himself. He only wants to make sure. Once when he had tired me out with his questions and I had said to him: "Do you think I can answer every question you ask?" he replied: "Well, I thought as you knew that about the / horse you'd know this too."

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 334

¹ [In German 'schiessen' and 'scheissen']

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 99 -

- (5) 'Hans only refers to his illness now as a matter of past history—" at the time when I had my nonsense".
- (6) 'An unsolved residue remains behind; for Hans keeps cudgelling his brains to discover what a father has to do with his child, since it is the mother who brings it into the world. This can be seen from his questions, as, for instance: "I belong to *you*, too, don't I?" (meaning, not only to his mother). It is not clear to him in what way he belongs to me. On the other hand, I have no direct evidence of his having, as you suppose, overheard his parents in the act of intercourse.
- (7) 'In presenting the case one ought perhaps to insist upon the violence of his anxiety. Otherwise it might be said that the boy would have gone out for walks soon enough if he had been given a sound thrashing.'

In conclusion let me add these words. With Hans's last phantasy the anxiety which arose from his castration complex was also overcome, and his painful expectations were given a happier turn. Yes, the Doctor [see pp. 7-8] (the plumber) *did* come, he *did* take away his penis,—but only to give him a bigger one in exchange for it. For the rest, our young investigator has merely come somewhat early upon the discovery that all knowledge is patchwork, and that each step forward leaves an unsolved residue behind.

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 335

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 100 -

III Discussion

I SHALL now proceed to examine this observation of the development and resolution of a phobia in a boy under five years of age, and I shall have to do so from three points of view. In the first place I shall consider how far it supports the assertions which I put forward in my *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905d). Secondly, I shall consider to what extent it can contribute towards our understanding of this very frequent form of disorder. And thirdly, I shall consider whether it can be made to shed any light upon the mental life of children or to afford any criticism of our educational aims.

(I)

My impression is that the picture of a child's sexual life presented in this observation of little Hans agrees very well with the account I gave of it (basing my views upon psychoanalytic examinations of adults) in my *Three Essays*. But before

going into the details of this agreement I must deal with two objections which will be raised against my making use of the present analysis for this purpose. The first objection is to the effect that Hans was not a normal child, but (as events—the illness itself, in fact—showed) had a predisposition to neurosis, and was a young ‘degenerate’; it would be illegitimate, therefore, to apply to other, normal children conclusions which might perhaps be true of him. I shall postpone consideration of this objection, since it only limits the value of the observation, and does not completely nullify it. According to the second and more uncompromising objection, an analysis of a child conducted by his father, who went

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 336

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 101 -

to work instilled with *my* theoretical views and infected with *my* prejudices, must be entirely devoid of any objective worth. A child, it will be said, is necessarily highly suggestible, and in regard to no one, perhaps, more than to his own father; he will allow anything to be forced upon him, out of gratitude to his father for taking so much notice of him; none of his assertions can have any evidential value, and everything he produces in the way of associations, phantasies, and dreams will naturally take the direction into which they are being urged by every possible means. Once more, in short, the whole thing is simply ‘suggestion’—the only difference being that in the case of a child it can be unmasked much more easily than in that of an adult.

A singular thing, I can remember, when I first began to meddle in the conflict of scientific opinions twenty-two years ago, with what derision the older generation of neurologists and psychiatrists of those days received assertions about suggestion and its effects.¹ Since then the situation has fundamentally changed. The former aversion has been converted into an only too ready acceptance; and this has happened not only as a consequence of the impression which the work of Liébeault and Bernheim and their pupils could not fail to create in the course of these two decades, but also because it has since been discovered how great an economy of thought can be effected by the use of the catchword ‘suggestion’. Nobody knows and nobody cares what suggestion is, where it comes from, or when it arises,—it is enough that everything awkward in the region of psychology can be labelled ‘suggestion’. I do not share the view which is at present fashionable that assertions made by children are invariably arbitrary and untrustworthy. The arbitrary has no existence in mental life. The untrustworthiness of the assertions of children is due to the predominance of their imagination, just as the untrust-worthiness

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 337

¹ [Cf. the similar remarks at the end of the *Introductory Lectures* (1916-17), *Standard Edition*, 16, 462.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 102 -

worthiness of the assertions of grown-up people is due to the predominance of their prejudices. For the rest, even children do not lie without a reason, and on the whole they are more inclined to a love of truth than are their elders. If we were to reject little Hans's statements root and branch we should certainly be doing him a grave injustice. On the contrary, we can quite clearly distinguish from one another the occasions on which he was falsifying the facts or keeping them back under the compelling force of a resistance, the occasions on which, being undecided himself, he agreed with his father (so that what he said must not be taken as evidence), and the occasions on which, freed from every pressure, he burst into a flood of information about what was really going on inside him and about things which until then no one but himself had known. Statements made by adults offer no greater certainty. It is a regrettable fact that no account of a psychoanalysis can reproduce the impressions received by the analyst as he conducts it, and that a final sense of conviction can never be obtained from reading about it but only from directly experiencing it. But this disability attaches in an equal degree to analyses of adults.

Little Hans is described by his parents as a cheerful, straightforward child, and so he should have been, considering the education given him by his parents, which consisted essentially in the omission of our usual educational sins. So long as he was able to carry on his researches in a state of happy *naïveté*, without a suspicion of the conflicts which were soon to arise out of them, he kept nothing back; and the observations made during the period before the phobia admit of no doubt or demur. It was with the outbreak of the illness and during the analysis that discrepancies began to make their appearance between what he said and what he thought; and this was partly because unconscious material, which he was unable to master all at once, was forcing itself upon him, and partly because the content of his thoughts provoked

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 338

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 103 -

reservations on account of his relation to his parents. It is my unbiassed opinion that these difficulties, too, turned out no greater than in many analyses of adults.

It is true that during the analysis Hans had to be told many things that he could not say himself, that he had to be presented with thoughts which he had so far shown no signs of possessing, and that his attention had to be turned in the direction from which his father was expecting something to come. This detracts from the evidential value of the analysis; but the procedure is the same in every case. For a psychoanalysis is not an impartial scientific investigation, but a therapeutic measure. Its essence is not to prove anything, but merely to alter something. In a psycho-analysis the physician always gives his patient (sometimes to a greater and sometimes to a less extent) the conscious anticipatory ideas by the help of which he is put in a position to recognize and to grasp the unconscious material. For there are some patients who need more of such assistance and some who need less; but there are none who get through without some of it. Slight disorders may perhaps be brought to an end by the subject's unaided efforts, but never a neurosis—a thing which has set itself up against the ego as an element alien to it. To get the better of such an element another person must be brought in, and in so far as that other person can be of assistance the neurosis will be curable. If it is in the very nature of any neurosis to turn away from the 'other person'—and this seems to be one of the characteristics of the states grouped together under the name of dementia praecox—then for that very reason such a state will be incurable by any efforts of ours. It is true that a child, on account of the small development of his intellectual systems, requires especially energetic assistance. But, after all, the information which the physician gives his patient is itself derived in its turn from analytical experience; and indeed it is sufficiently convincing if, at the cost of this intervention by the physician, we are

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 339

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 104 -

enabled to discover the structure of the pathogenic material and simultaneously to dissipate it.

And yet, even during the analysis, the small patient gave evidence of enough independence to acquit him upon the charge of 'suggestion'. Like all other children, he applied his childish sexual theories to the material before him without having received any encouragement to do so. These theories are extremely remote from the adult mind. Indeed, in this instance I actually omitted to warn Hans's father that the boy would be bound to approach the subject of childbirth by way of the excretory complex. This negligence on my part, though it led to an obscure phase in the analysis, was nevertheless the means of producing a good piece of evidence of the genuineness and independence of Hans's mental processes. He suddenly became occupied with 'lumf' [p. 54 ff.], without his father, who is supposed to have been practising suggestion upon him, having the least idea how he had arrived at that subject or what was going to come of it. Nor can his father be saddled with any responsibility for the production of the two plumber phantasies [pp. 65 and 98], which arose out of Hans's early acquired 'castration complex'. And I must here confess that, out of theoretical interest, I entirely concealed from Hans's father my expectation that there would turn out to be some such connection, so as not to interfere with the value of a piece of evidence such as does not often come within one's grasp.

If I went more deeply into the details of the analysis I could produce plenty more evidence of Hans's independence of 'suggestion'; but I shall break off the discussion of this preliminary objection at this point. I am aware that even with this analysis I shall not succeed in convincing any one who will not let himself be convinced, and I shall proceed with my discussion of the case for the benefit of those readers who are already convinced of the objective reality of unconscious pathogenic material. And I do this with the agreeable

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 340

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 105 -

assurance that the number of such readers is steadily increasing.

The first trait in little Hans which can be regarded as part of his sexual life was a quite peculiarly lively interest in his 'widdler'—an organ deriving its name from that one of its two functions which, scarcely the less important of the two, is not to be eluded in the nursery. This interest aroused in him the spirit of enquiry, and he thus discovered that the presence or

absence of a widdler made it possible to differentiate between animate and inanimate objects [p. 9]. He assumed that all animate objects were like himself, and possessed this important bodily organ; he observed that it was present in the larger animals, suspected that this was so too in both his parents, and was not deterred by the evidence of his own eyes from authenticating the fact in his new-born sister [p. 11]. One might almost say that it would have been too shattering a blow to his '*Weltanschauung*' if he had had to make up his mind to forgo the presence of this organ in a being similar to him; it would have been as though it were being torn away from himself. It was probably on this account that a threat of his mother's [pp. 7-8], which was concerned precisely with the loss of his widdler, was hastily dismissed from his thoughts and only succeeded in making its effects apparent at a later period. The reason for his mother's intervention had been that he used to like giving himself feelings of pleasure by touching his member: the little boy had begun to practise the commonest—and most normal—form of auto-erotic sexual activity.

The pleasure which a person takes in his own sexual organ may become associated with scopophilia (or sexual pleasure in looking) in its active and passive forms, in a manner which has been very aptly described by Alfred Adler (1908) as 'confluence of instincts'. So little Hans began to try to get a sight of other people's widdlers; his sexual curiosity developed, and

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 340

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 106 -

at the same time he liked to exhibit his own widdler. One of his dreams, dating from the beginning of his period of repression, expressed a wish that one of his little girl friends should assist him in widdling, that is, that she should share the spectacle [p. 19]. The dream shows, therefore, that up till then this wish had subsisted unrepressed, and later information confirmed the fact that he had been in the habit of gratifying it. The active side of his sexual scopophilia soon became associated in him with a definite theme. He repeatedly expressed both to his father and his mother his regret that he had never yet seen their widdlers; and it was probably the need for *making a comparison* which impelled him to do this. The ego is always the standard by which one measures the external world; one learns to understand it by means of a constant comparison with oneself. Hans had observed that large animals had widdlers that were correspondingly larger than his; he consequently suspected that the same was true of his parents, and was anxious to make sure of this. His mother, he thought, must certainly have a widdler 'like a horse'. He was then prepared with the comforting reflection that his widdler would grow with him. It was as though the child's wish to be bigger had been concentrated on his genitals.

Thus in little Hans's sexual constitution the genital zone was from the outset the one among his erotogenic zones which afforded him the most intense pleasure. The only other similar pleasure of which he gave evidence was excretory pleasure, the pleasure attached to the orifices through which micturition and evacuation of the bowels are effected. In his final phantasy of bliss, with which his illness was overcome, he imagined he had children, whom he took to the W.G., whom he made to widdle, whose behinds he wiped—for whom, in short, he did 'everything one can do with children' [p. 97]; it therefore seems impossible to avoid the assumption that during the period when he himself had been looked

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 341

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 107 -

after as an infant these same performances had been the source of pleasurable sensations for him. He had obtained this pleasure from his erotogenic zones with the help of the person who had looked after him—his mother, in fact; and thus the pleasure already pointed the way to object-choice. But it is just possible that at a still earlier date he had been in the habit of giving himself this pleasure auto-erotically—that he had been one of those children who like retaining their excreta till they can derive a voluptuous sensation from their evacuation. I say no more than that it is possible, because the matter was not cleared up in the analysis; the 'making a row with the legs' (kicking about), of which he was so much frightened later on, points in that direction. But in any case these sources of pleasure had no particularly striking importance with Hans, as they so often have with other children. He early became clean in his habits, and neither bed-wetting nor diurnal incontinence played any part during his first years; no trace was observed in him of any inclination to play with his excrement, a propensity which is so revolting in adults, and which commonly makes its reappearance at the termination of processes of psychical involution.

At this juncture it is as well to emphasize at once the fact that during his phobia there was an unmistakable repression of these two well-developed components of his sexual activity. He was ashamed of micturating before other people, accused

himself of putting his finger to his widdler, made efforts to give up masturbating, and showed disgust at 'lumpf' and 'widdle' and everything that reminded him of them. In his phantasy of looking after his children he undid this latter repression.

A sexual constitution like that of little Hans does not appear to carry with it a predisposition to the development either of perversions or of their negative (we will limit ourselves to a consideration of hysteria).¹ As far as my experience goes (and

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 342

¹ [See the paragraphs on 'Neurosis and Perversion' at the end of Section 4 of the first of Freud's Three Essays (1905d; *Standard Ed.*, 7, 165).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 108 -

there is still a real need for speaking with caution on this point) the innate constitution of hysterics—that this is also true of perverts is almost self-evident—is marked by the genital zone being relatively less prominent than the other erotogenic zones. But we must expressly except from this rule one particular 'aberration' of sexual life. In those who later become homosexuals we meet with the same predominance in infancy of the genital zone (and especially of the penis) as in normal persons.¹ Indeed it is the high esteem felt by the homosexual for the male organ which decides his fate. In his childhood he chooses women as his sexual object, so long as he assumes that they too possess what in his eyes is an indispensable part of the body; when he becomes convinced that women have deceived him in this particular, they cease to be acceptable to him as a sexual object. He cannot forgo a penis in any one who is to attract him to sexual intercourse; and if circumstances are favourable he will fix his libido upon the 'woman with a penis', a youth of feminine appearance. Homosexuals, then, are persons who, owing to the erotogenic importance of their own genitals, cannot do without a similar feature in their sexual object. In the course of their development from auto-erotism to object-love, they have remained fixated at a point between the two—a point which is closer to auto-erotism.²

There is absolutely no justification for distinguishing a special homosexual instinct. What constitutes a homosexual is a peculiarity not in his instinctual life but in his choice of

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 343

¹ As my expectations led me to suppose, and as Sadger's observations [e.g. 1908 and 1909] have shown, all such people pass through an amphigenic phase in childhood.

² [The 'woman with a penis' had been previously mentioned in Freud's paper on '*The Sexual Theories of Children*' (1908c). For a summary of his views on male homosexuality see the paragraph on the Sexual 'Object of Inverts' in Section 1 (A) of the first of the *Three Essays* (1905d), and especially the long footnote added in the course of the successive editions of that book (*Standard Ed.*, 7, 144-7).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 109 -

an object. Let me recall what I have said in my *Three Essays* to the effect that we have mistakenly imagined the bond between instinct and object in sexual life as being more intimate than it really is.¹ A homosexual may have normal instincts, but he is unable to disengage them from a class of objects denned by a particular determinant. And in his childhood, since at that period this determinant is taken for granted as being of universal application, he is able to behave like little Hans, who showed his affection to little boys and girls indiscriminately, and once described his friend Fritzl as 'the girl he was fondest of' [p. 16]. Hans was a homosexual (as all children may very well be), quite consistently with the fact, which must always be kept in mind, that *he was acquainted with only one kind of genital organ*—a genital organ like his own.²

In his subsequent development, however, it was not to homosexuality that our young libertine proceeded, but to an energetic masculinity with traits of polygamy; he knew how to vary his behaviour, too, with his varying feminine objects—audaciously aggressive in one case, languishing and bashful in another. His affection had moved from his mother on to other objects of love, but at a time when there was a scarcity of these it returned to her, only to break down in a neurosis. It was not until this happened that it became evident to what a pitch of intensity his love for his mother had developed and through what vicissitudes it had passed. The sexual aim which he pursued with his girl playmates, of sleeping with them, had originated in relation to his mother. It was expressed in words which might be retained in maturity,

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 344

¹ [Freud, 1905d, *Standard Ed.*, 7, 47-148.]

² (*Footnote added* 1923:) I have subsequently (1923e) drawn attention to the fact that the period of sexual development which our little patient was passing through is universally characterized by acquaintance with only *one* sort of genital organ, namely, the male one. In contrast to the later period of maturity, this period is marked not by a *genital* primacy but by a primacy of the *phallus*.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 110 -

though they would then bear a richer connotation.¹ The boy had found his way to object-love in the usual manner from the care he had received when he was an infant; and a new pleasure had now become the most important for him—that of sleeping beside his mother. I should like to emphasize the importance of pleasure derived from cutaneous contact as a component in this new aim of Hans's, which, according to the nomenclature (artificial to my mind) of Moll, would have to be described as satisfaction of the instinct of contrectation [Moll (1898). Cf. *Standard Edition*, 7, 169 n. 2.].

In his attitude towards his father and mother Hans confirms in the most concrete and uncompromising manner what I have said in my *Interpretation of Dreams* [1900a, in Section D (β) of Chapter V; *Standard Ed.*, 4, 248 ff.] and in my *Three Essays* [1905d, *Standard Ed.*, 7, 222 ff.] with regard to the sexual relations of a child to his parents. Hans really was a little Oedipus who wanted to have his father 'out of the way', to get rid of him, so that he might be alone with his beautiful mother and sleep with her. This wish had originated during his summer holidays, when the alternating presence and absence of his father had drawn Hans's attention to the condition upon which depended the intimacy with his mother which he longed for. At that time the form taken by the wish had been merely that his father should 'go away' and at a later stage it became possible for his fear of being bitten by a white horse to attach itself directly on to this form of the wish, owing to a chance impression which he received at the moment of some one else's departure.² But

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 345

¹ [The German '*bei jemandem schlafen*', is used, like the English 'to sleep with someone' (or the equivalent 'to lie with'), in the sense of 'to copulate with'.]

² [In the editions before 1924 this read 'at the moment of the departure of another father'. The original account of the episode on p. 29 (as also the reference to it on p. 45) seemed, however, to imply that it was only Lizzi who was going away. Hence the correction and the similar one on p. 119.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 111 -

subsequently (probably not until they had moved back to Vienna, where his father's absences were no longer to be reckoned on) the wish had taken the form that his father should be *permanently* away—that he should be 'dead'. The fear which sprang from this death-wish against his father, and which may thus be said to have had a normal motive, formed the chief obstacle to the analysis until it was removed during the conversation in my consulting-room [p. 42].¹

But Hans was not by any means a bad character; he was not even one of those children who at his age still give free play to the propensity towards cruelty and violence which is a constituent of human nature. On the contrary, he had an unusually kind-hearted and affectionate disposition; his father reported that the transformation of aggressive tendencies into feelings of pity took place in him at a very early age. Long before the phobia he had become uneasy when he saw the horses in a merry-go-round being beaten; and he was never unmoved if any one wept in his presence. At one stage in the analysis a piece of suppressed sadism made its appearance in a particular context:² but it was *suppressed* sadism, and we shall presently have to discover from the context what it stood for and what it was meant to replace. And Hans deeply loved the father against whom he cherished these death-wishes; and while his intellect demurred to such a contradiction,³ he could not help demonstrating the fact of its existence, by hitting his father and immediately afterwards kissing the place he had hit [p. 42 n.].

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 346

¹ It is quite certain that Hans's two associations, 'rasberrysyrup' and 'a gun for shooting people dead with' [p. 38], must have had more than one set of determinants. They probably had just as much to do with his hatred of his father as with his constipation complex. His father, who himself guessed the latter connection [p. 99], also suggested that 'raspberry syrup' might be related to 'blood'.

² His wanting to beat and tease horses [p. 79].

³ See the critical question he addressed to his father (p. 44).

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 112 -

We ourselves, too, must guard against making a difficulty of such a contradiction. The emotional life of man is in general made up of pairs of contraries such as these.¹ Indeed, if it were not so, repressions and neuroses would perhaps never come about. In the adult these pairs of contrary emotions do not as a rule become simultaneously conscious except at the climaxes of passionate love; at other times they usually go on suppressing each other until one of them succeeds in keeping the other altogether out of sight. But in children they can exist peaceably side by side for quite a considerable time.

The most important influence upon the course of Hans's psychosexual development was the birth of a baby sister when he was three and a half years old. That event accentuated his relations to his parents and gave him some insoluble problems to think about; and later, as he watched the way in which the infant was looked after, the memory-traces of his own earliest experiences of pleasure were revived in him. This influence, too, is a typical one: in an unexpectedly large number of life-histories, normal as well as pathological, we find ourselves obliged to take as our starting-point an outburst of sexual pleasure and sexual curiosity connected, like this one, with the birth of the next child. Hans's behaviour towards the new arrival was just what I have described in *The Interpretation of Dreams* [1900a, in Section D (β) of Chapter V; *Standard Ed.*, 4, 250 f.]. In his fever a few days later he betrayed how little he liked the addition to the family [p. 11]. Affection for his sister might come later,² but his first attitude

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 347

Das heisst, ich bin kein ausgeklugelt Buch.

Ich bin ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch.

C. F. Meyer, *Huttens letzte Tage*, [xxvi, 'Homo Sum'].

[In fact, I am no clever work of fiction;

I am a man, with all his contradiction.

¹ The same lines are quoted in a letter to Fliess of February 19, 1899 (Freud, 1950a, Letter 105).]

² Cf. his plans of what he would do when his sister was old enough to speak (p. 73).

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 113 -

was hostility. From that time forward fear that yet another baby might arrive found a place among his conscious thoughts. In the neurosis, his hostility, already suppressed, was represented by a special fear—a fear of the bath [p. 66]. In the analysis he gave undisguised expression to his death-wish against his sister, and was not content with allusions which required supplementing by his father. His inner conscience did not consider this wish so wicked as the analogous one against his father; but it is clear that in his unconscious he treated both persons in the same way, because they both took his mummy away from him, and interfered with his being alone with her.

Moreover, this event and the feelings that were revived by it gave a new direction to his wishes. In his triumphant final phantasy [pp. 96-7] he summed up all of his erotic wishes, both those derived from his auto-erotic phase and those connected with his object-love. In that phantasy he was married to his beautiful mother and had innumerable children whom he could look after in his own way.

(II)

One day while Hans was in the street he was seized with an attack of anxiety. He could not yet say what it was he was afraid of; but at the very beginning of this anxiety-state he betrayed to his father his motive for being ill, the gain from illness.¹ He wanted to stay with his mother and to coax with her; his recollection that he had also been separated from her at the time of the baby's birth may also, as his father suggests [p. 96], have contributed to his longing. It soon became evident that his anxiety was no longer reconvertible into longing; he was afraid even when his mother went with him. In the meantime indications appeared of what it was to which his libido (now changed into anxiety)

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 347

¹ [A full discussion of the advantages derived from being ill will be found in Lecture XXIV of Freud's *Introductory Lectures* (1916-17).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 114 -

had become attached. He gave expression to the quite specific fear that a white horse would bite him.

Disorders of this kind are called 'phobias', and we *might* classify Hans's case as an agoraphobia if it were not for the fact that it is a characteristic of that complaint that the locomotion of which the patient is otherwise incapable can always be easily performed when he is accompanied by some specially selected person—in the last resort, by the physician. Hans's phobia did not fulfil this condition; it soon ceased having any relation to the question of locomotion and became more and more clearly concentrated upon horses. In the early days of his illness, when the anxiety was at its highest pitch, he expressed a fear that 'the horse'll come into the room' [p. 24], and it was this that helped me so much towards understanding his condition.

In the classificatory system of the neuroses no definite position has hitherto been assigned to 'phobias'. It seems certain that they should only be regarded as syndromes which may form part of various neuroses and that we need not rank them as an independent pathological process. For phobias of the kind to which little Hans's belongs, and which are in fact the most common, the name of 'anxiety-hysteria' seems to me not inappropriate; I suggested the term to Dr. W. Stekel when he was undertaking a description of neurotic anxiety-states,¹ and I hope it will come into general use. It finds its justification in the similarity between the psychological structure of these phobias and that of hysteria—a similarity which is complete except upon a single point. That point, however, is a decisive one and well adapted for purposes of differentiation. For in anxiety-hysteria the libido which has been liberated from the pathogenic material by repression is not *converted* (that is, diverted from the mental sphere into a somatic innervation), but is set free in the shape of *anxiety*. In

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 348

¹ *Nervöse Angstzustände und ihre Behandlung*, 1908. [Freud wrote a preface for the first edition of this work (1908f).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 115 -

the clinical cases that we meet with, this 'anxiety-hysteria' may be combined with 'conversion-hysteria' in any proportion. There exist cases of pure conversion-hysteria without any trace of anxiety, just as there are cases of simple anxiety-hysteria, which exhibit feelings of anxiety and phobias, but have no admixture of conversion. The case of little Hans is one of the latter sort.

Anxiety-hysterias are the most common of all psychoneurotic disorders. But, above all, they are those which make their appearance earliest in life; they are *par excellence* the neuroses of childhood. When a mother uses such phrases as that her child's 'nerves' are in a bad state, we can be certain that in nine cases out of ten the child is suffering from some kind of anxiety or from many kinds at once. Unfortunately the finer mechanism of these highly significant disorders has not yet been sufficiently studied. It has not yet been established whether anxiety-hysteria is determined, in contradistinction to conversion-hysteria and other neuroses, solely¹ by constitutional factors or solely by accidental experiences, or by what combination of the two.² It seems to me that of all neurotic disorders it is the least dependent upon a special constitutional disposition and that it is consequently the most easily acquired at any time of life.

One essential characteristic of anxiety-hysterias is very easily pointed out. An anxiety-hysteria tends to develop more and more into a 'phobia'. In the end the patient may have

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 349

¹ [This word was added in 1924, no doubt in order to clarify the sentence.]

² (*Footnote added* 1923:) The question which is raised here has not been pursued further. But there is no reason to suppose that anxiety-hysteria is an exception to the rule that both disposition and experience must co-operate in the aetiology of a neurosis. Rank's view of the effects of the trauma of birth seems to throw special light upon the predisposition to anxiety-hysteria which is so strong in childhood. [See, however, Freud's later criticism of this view of Rank's in the eighth chapter of *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1926d).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 116 -

got rid of all his anxiety, but only at the price of subjecting himself to all kinds of inhibitions and restrictions. From the outset in anxiety-hysteria the mind is constantly at work in the direction of once more psychically binding the anxiety which has become liberated; but this work can neither bring about a retransformation of the anxiety into libido, nor can it establish any contact with the complexes which were the source of the libido. Nothing is left for it but to cut off access to every possible occasion that might lead to the development of anxiety, by erecting mental barriers in the nature of precautions, inhibitions, or prohibitions; and it is these protective structures that appear to us in the form of phobias and that constitute to our eyes the essence of the disease.

The treatment of anxiety-hysteria may be said hitherto to have been a purely negative one. Experience has shown that it is impossible to effect the cure of a phobia (and even in certain circumstances dangerous to attempt to do so) by violent means, that is, by first depriving the patient of his defences and then putting him in a situation in which he cannot escape the liberation of his anxiety. Consequently, nothing can be done but to leave the patient to look for protection wherever he thinks he may find it; and he is merely regarded with a not very helpful contempt for his 'incomprehensible cowardice'.

Little Hans's parents were determined from the very beginning of his illness that he was neither to be laughed at nor bullied, but that access must be obtained to his repressed wishes by means of psycho-analysis. The extraordinary pains taken by Hans's father were rewarded by success, and his reports will give us an opportunity of penetrating into the fabric of this type of phobia and of following the course of its analysis.

I think it is not unlikely that the extensive and detailed character of the analysis may have made it somewhat obscure

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page **350**

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 117 -

to the reader. I shall therefore begin by giving a brief résumé of it, in which I shall omit all distracting side-issues and shall draw attention to the results as they came to light one after the other.

The first thing we learn is that the outbreak of the anxiety-state was by no means so sudden as appeared at first sight. A few days earlier the child had woken from an anxiety-dream to the effect that his mother had gone away, and that now he had no mother to coax with [p. **23**]. This dream alone points to the presence of a repressive process of ominous intensity. We cannot explain it, as we can so many other anxiety-dreams, by supposing that the child had in his dream felt anxiety arising from some somatic cause and had made use of the anxiety for the purpose of fulfilling an unconscious wish which would otherwise have been deeply repressed.¹ We must regard it rather as a genuine punishment and repression dream, and, moreover, as a dream which failed in its function, since the child woke from his sleep in a state of anxiety. We can easily reconstruct what actually occurred in the unconscious. The child dreamt of exchanging endearments with his mother and of sleeping with her; but all the pleasure was transformed into anxiety, and all the ideational content into its opposite. Repression had defeated the purpose of the mechanism of dreaming.

But the beginnings of this psychological situation go back further still. During the preceding summer Hans had had similar moods of mingled longing and apprehension, in which he had said similar things; and at that time they had secured him the advantage of being taken by his mother into her bed. We may assume that since then Hans had been in a state of intensified sexual excitement, the object of which was his mother. The intensity of this excitement was shown by his two attempts [pp. **19** and **23**] at seducing his mother (the second of which occurred just before the outbreak of his

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page **351**

¹ See my *Interpretation of Dreams* [**1900a**; *Standard Ed.*, **4**, **236**].

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 118 -

anxiety); and he found an incidental channel of discharge for it by masturbating every evening and in that way obtaining gratification. Whether the sudden change-over of this excitement into anxiety took place spontaneously, or as a result of his mother's rejection of his advances, or owing to the accidental revival of earlier impressions by the 'precipitating cause' of his illness (about which we shall hear presently)—this we cannot decide; and, indeed, it is a matter of indifference, for these

three alternative possibilities cannot be regarded as mutually incompatible. The fact remains that his sexual excitement suddenly changed into anxiety.

We have already described the child's behaviour at the beginning of his anxiety, as well as the first content which he assigned to it, namely, that a horse would bite him. It was at this point that the first piece of therapy was interposed. His parents represented to him that his anxiety was the result of masturbation, and encouraged him to break himself of the habit [p. 24]. I took care that when they spoke to him great stress was laid upon his affection for his mother, for that was what he was trying to replace by his fear of horses [p. 28]. This first intervention brought a slight improvement, but the ground was soon lost again during a period of physical illness. Hans's condition remained unchanged. Soon afterwards he traced back his fear of being bitten by a horse to an impression he had received at Gmunden [p. 29]. A father had addressed his child on her departure¹ with these words of warning: 'Don't put your finger to the horse; if you do, it'll bite you.' The words, 'don't put your finger to', which Hans used in reporting this warning, resembled the form of words in which the warning against masturbation had been framed. It seemed at first, therefore, as though Hans's parents were right in supposing that what he was frightened of was his own masturbatory indulgence. But the whole nexus remained

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 352

¹ [Before 1924 this read: 'A father, on his departure, had addressed his child ...' See footnote, p. 111.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 119 -

loose, and it seemed to be merely by chance that horses had become his bugbear.

I had expressed a suspicion that Hans's repressed wish might now be that he wanted at all costs to see his mother's widdler. As his behaviour to a new maid fitted in with this hypothesis, his father gave him his first piece of enlightenment, namely, that women have no widdlers [p. 31]. He reacted to this first effort at helping him by producing a phantasy that he had seen his mother showing her widdler.¹ This phantasy and a remark made by him in conversation, to the effect that his widdler was 'fixed in, of course', allow us our first glimpse into the patient's unconscious mental processes. The fact was that the threat of castration made to him by his mother some fifteen months earlier [pp. 7-8] was now having a deferred *effect* upon him. For his phantasy that his mother was doing the same as he had done (the familiar *tu quoque* repartee of inculcated children) was intended to serve as a piece of self-justification; it was a protective or defensive phantasy. At the same time we must remark that it was Hans's parents who had extracted from the pathogenic material operating in him the particular theme of his interest in widdlers. Hans followed their lead in this matter, but he had not yet taken any line of his own in the analysis. And no therapeutic success was to be observed. The analysis had passed far away from the subject of horses; and the information that women have no widdlers was calculated, if anything, to increase his concern for the preservation of his own.

Therapeutic success, however, is not our primary aim; we endeavour rather to enable the patient to obtain a conscious grasp of his unconscious wishes. And this we can achieve by working upon the basis of the hints he throws out, and so,

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 353

¹ The context enables us to add: 'and touching it' (p. 32). After all, he himself could not show his widdler without touching it. [This footnote was added in 1924. Previously the word 'touching' appeared in the text instead of 'showing'.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 120 -

with the help of our interpretative technique, presenting the unconscious complex to his consciousness *in our own words*. There will be a certain degree of similarity between that which he hears from us and that which he is looking for, and which, in spite of all resistances, is trying to force its way through to consciousness; and it is this similarity that will enable him to discover the unconscious material. The physician is a step in front of him in knowledge; and the patient follows along his own road, until the two meet at the appointed goal. Beginners in psycho-analysis are apt to assimilate these two events, and to suppose that the moment at which one of the patient's unconscious complexes has become known to *them* is also the moment at which the patient himself recognizes it. They are expecting too much when they think that they will cure the patient by informing him of this piece of knowledge; for he can do no more with the information than make use of it to help himself in discovering the unconscious complex *where it is anchored* in his unconscious.¹ A first success of this sort had now been achieved with Hans. Having partly mastered his castration complex, he was now able to communicate his wishes in regard to his mother. He did so, in what was still a distorted form, by means of the *phantasy of the two giraffes*, one of which was

calling out in vain because Hans had taken possession of the other [p. 37]. He represented the 'taking possession of' pictorially as 'sitting down on'. His father recognized the phantasy as a reproduction of a bedroom scene which used to take place in the morning between the boy and his parents; and he quickly stripped the underlying wish of the disguise which it still wore. The boy's father and mother were the two giraffes. The reason for the choice of a giraffe-phantasy for the purposes

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 354

¹ [The point made here was discussed by Freud at greater length in the last pages of his technical paper 'On Beginning the Treatment' (1913c) and more briefly in his paper on 'wild' analysis (1910k). See also the closing paragraphs of Section II of 'The Unconscious' (1915e).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 121 -

of disguise was fully explained by a visit that the boy had paid to those same large beasts at Schönbrunn a few days earlier, by the giraffe-drawing, belonging to an earlier period, which had been preserved by his father, and also, perhaps, by an unconscious comparison based upon the giraffe's long, stiff neck.¹ It may be remarked that the giraffe, as being a large animal and interesting on account of its widdler, was a possible competitor with the horse for the role of bugbear; moreover, the fact that both his father and his mother appeared as giraffes offered a hint which had not yet been followed up, as regards the interpretation of the anxiety-horses.

Immediately after the giraffe story Hans produced two minor phantasies: one of his forcing his way into a forbidden space at Schönbrunn, and the other of his smashing a railway-carriage window on the Stadtbahn [pp. 40-41]. In each case the punishable nature of the action was emphasized, and in each his father appeared as an accomplice. Unluckily his father failed to interpret either of these phantasies, so that Hans himself gained nothing from telling them. In an analysis, however, a thing which has not been understood inevitably reappears; like an unlaidd ghost, it cannot rest until the mystery has been solved and the spell broken.

There are no difficulties in the way of our understanding these two criminal phantasies. They belonged to Hans's complex of taking possession of his mother. Some kind of vague notion was struggling in the child's mind of something that he might do with his mother by means of which his taking possession of her would be consummated; for this elusive thought he found certain pictorial representations, which had in common the qualities of being violent and forbidden, and the content of which strikes us as fitting in most remarkably

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 355

¹ Hans's admiration of his father's neck later on would fit in with this. [This is probably a condensation of the episodes on pp. 40 and 53.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 122 -

well with the hidden truth. We can only say that they were symbolic phantasies of intercourse, and it was no irrelevant detail that his father was represented as sharing in his actions: 'I should like', he seems to have been saying, 'to be doing something with my mother, something forbidden; I do not know what it is, but I do know that you are doing it too.'

The giraffe phantasy strengthened a conviction which had already begun to form in my mind when Hans expressed his fear that 'the horse'll come into the room' [p. 24]; and I thought the right moment had now arrived for informing him that he was afraid of his father because he himself nourished jealous and hostile wishes against him—for it was essential to postulate this much with regard to his unconscious impulses. In telling him this, I had partly interpreted his fear of horses for him: the horse must be his father—whom he had good internal reasons for fearing. Certain details of which Hans had shown he was afraid, the black on horses' mouths and the things in front of their eyes (the moustaches and eyeglasses which are the privilege of a grown-up man), seemed to me to have been directly transposed from his father on to the horses [p. 42].

By enlightening Hans on this subject I had cleared away his most powerful resistance against allowing his unconscious thoughts to be made conscious; for his father was himself acting as his physician. The worst of the attack was now over; there was a plentiful flow of material; the little patient summoned up courage to describe the details of his phobia, and soon began to take an active share in the conduct of the analysis.¹

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 355

¹ Even in analyses in which the physician and the patient are strangers, fear of the father plays one of the most important parts as a resistance against the reproduction of the unconscious pathogenic material. Resistances are sometimes in the nature of [stereotyped] 'motifs'. But sometimes, as in the present instance, one piece of the unconscious material is capable from its actual *content* of operating as an inhibition against the reproduction of another piece. [These last two sentences struck the translators as obscure, and, on Freud's instructions, they were omitted from the English translation in 1925. The issue involved in this footnote seems to be analogous to the question of the innateness of 'primal phantasies'. See footnotes pp. 8 and 206 ff.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 123 -

It was only then that we learnt what the objects and impressions were of which Hans was afraid. He was not only afraid of horses biting him—he was soon silent upon that point—but also of carts, of furniture-vans, and of buses (their common quality being, as presently became clear, that they were all heavily loaded), of horses that started moving, of horses that looked big and heavy, and of horses that drove quickly. The meaning of these specifications was explained by Hans himself: he was afraid of horses *falling down*, and consequently incorporated in his phobia everything that seemed likely to facilitate their falling down [pp. 46-7].

It not at all infrequently happens that it is only after doing a certain amount of psycho-analytic work with a patient that an analyst can succeed in learning the actual content of a phobia, the precise form of words of an obsessional impulse, and so on. Repression has not only descended upon the unconscious complexes, but it is continually attacking their derivatives as well, and even prevents the patient from becoming aware of the products of the disease itself. The analyst thus finds himself in the position, curious for a doctor, of coming to the help of a disease, and of procuring it its due of attention.¹ But only those who entirely misunderstand the nature of psycho-analysis will lay stress upon this phase of the work and suppose that on its account harm is likely to be done by analysis. The fact is that you must catch your thief before you can hang him, and that it requires some expenditure of labour to get securely hold of the pathological structures at the destruction of which the treatment is aimed.

I have already remarked in the course of my running commentary

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 356

¹ [Similarly with obsessional neuroses. See the case of the 'Rat Man', below, p. 223.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 124 -

on the case history [p. 51] that it is most instructive to plunge in this way into the details of a phobia, and thus arrive at a conviction of the secondary nature of the relation between the anxiety and its objects. It is this that accounts for phobias being at once so curiously diffuse and so strictly conditioned.¹ It is evident that the material for the particular disguises which Hans's fear adopted was collected from the impressions to which he was all day long exposed owing to the Head Customs House being situated on the opposite side of the street. In this connection, too, he showed signs of an impulse—though it was now inhibited by his anxiety—to play with the loads on the carts, with the packages, casks and boxes, like the street-boys.

It was at this stage of the analysis that he recalled the event, insignificant in itself, which immediately preceded the outbreak of the illness and may no doubt be regarded as the precipitating cause of its outbreak. He went for a walk with his mother, and saw a bus-horse fall down and kick about with its feet [p. 49]. This made a great impression on him. He was terrified, and thought the horse was dead; and from that time on he thought that all horses would fall down. His father pointed out to him that when he saw the horse fall down he must have thought of him, his father, and have wished that he might fall down in the same way and be dead. Hans did not dispute this interpretation; and a little while later he played a game consisting of biting his father, and so showed that he accepted the theory of his having identified his father with the horse he was afraid of [p. 52]. From that time forward his behaviour to his father was unconstrained and fearless, and in fact a trifle overbearing. Nevertheless his fear of horses persisted; nor was it yet clear through what chain of associations the horse's falling down had stirred up his unconscious wishes.

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 357

¹ [This point is elaborated by Freud in a discussion of 'systems' in his *Totem and Taboo* (1912-13), *Standard Ed.*, 13, 96-7.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 125 -

Let me summarize the results that had so far been reached. Behind the fear to which Hans first gave expression, the fear of a horse biting him, we had discovered a more deeply seated fear, the fear of horses falling down; and both kinds of horses, the biting horse and the falling horse, had been shown to represent his father, who was going to punish him for the evil wishes he was nourishing against him. Meanwhile the analysis had moved away from the subject of his mother.

Quite unexpectedly, and certainly without any prompting from his father, Hans now began to be occupied with the 'lumf' complex, and to show disgust at things that reminded him of evacuating his bowels [p. 55]. His father, who was reluctant to go with him along that line, pushed on with the analysis through thick and thin in the direction in which he wanted to go. He elicited from Hans the recollection of an event at Gmunden, the impression of which lay concealed behind that of the falling bus-horse. While they were playing at horses, Fritzl, the playmate of whom he was so fond, but at the same time, perhaps, his rival with his many girl friends, had hit his foot against a stone and had fallen down, and his foot had bled [p. 58]. Seeing the bus-horse fall had reminded him of this accident. It deserves to be noticed that Hans, who was at the moment concerned with other things, began by denying that Fritzl had fallen down (though this was the event which formed the connection between the two scenes) and only admitted it at a later stage of the analysis [p. 82]. It is especially interesting, however, to observe the way in which the transformation of Hans's libido into anxiety was projected on to the principal object of his phobia, on to horses. Horses interested him the most of all the large animals; playing at horses was his favourite game with the other children. I had a suspicion—and this was confirmed by Hans's father when I asked him—that the first person who had served Hans as a horse must have been his father; and it

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 358

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 126 -

was this that had enabled him to regard Fritzl as a substitute for his father when the accident happened at Gmunden. When repression had set in and brought a revulsion of feeling along with it, horses, which had till then been associated with so much pleasure, were necessarily turned into objects of fear.

But, as we have already said, it was owing to the intervention of Hans's father that this last important discovery was made of the way in which the precipitating cause of the illness had operated. Hans himself was occupied with his lumf interests, and thither at last we must follow him. We learn that formerly Hans had been in the habit of insisting upon accompanying his mother to the W.C. [p. 63], and that he had revived this custom with his friend Berta at a time when she was filling his mother's place, until the fact became known and he was forbidden to do so [p. 61]. Pleasure taken in looking on while some one one loves performs the natural functions is once more a 'confluence of instincts', of which we have already noticed an instance in Hans [p. 106]. In the end his father went into the lumf symbolism, and recognized that there was an analogy between a heavily loaded cart and a body loaded with faeces, between the way in which a cart drives out through a gateway and the way in which faeces leave the body, and so on [pp. 66-8].

By this time, however, the position occupied by Hans in the analysis had become very different from what it had been at an earlier stage. Previously, his father had been able to tell him in advance what was coming, while Hans had merely followed his lead and come trotting after; but now it was Hans who was forging ahead, so rapidly and steadily that his father found it difficult to keep up with him. Without any warning, as it were, Hans produced a new phantasy: the plumber unscrewed the bath in which Hans was, and then stuck him in the stomach with his big borer [p. 65]. Henceforward the material brought up in the analysis far outstripped our

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 359

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 127 -

powers of understanding it. It was not until later that it was possible to guess that this was a remoulding of a *phantasy of procreation*, distorted by anxiety. The big bath of water, in which Hans imagined himself, was his mother's womb; the 'borer', which his father had from the first recognized as a penis, owed its mention to its connection with 'being born'. The interpretation that we are obliged to give to the phantasy will of course sound very curious: 'With your big penis you "bored" me' (i.e. 'gave birth to me') 'and put me in my mother's womb.' For the moment, however, the phantasy eluded

interpretation, and merely served Hans as a starting-point from which to continue giving information.

Hans showed fear of being given a bath in the big bath [p. 66]; and this fear was once more a composite one. One part of it escaped us as yet, but the other part could at once be elucidated in connection with his baby sister having her bath. Hans confessed to having wished that his mother might drop the child while she was being given her bath, so that she should die [p. 72]. His own anxiety while he was having his bath was a fear of retribution for this evil wish and of being punished by the same thing happening to him. Hans now left the subject of lumf and passed on directly to that of his baby sister. We may well imagine what this juxtaposition signified: nothing less, in fact, than that little Hanna was a lumf herself—that all babies were lumfs and were born like lumfs. We can now recognize that all furniture-vans and drays and buses were only stork-box carts, and were only of interest to Hans as being symbolic representations of pregnancy; and that when a heavy or heavily loaded horse fell down he can have seen in it only one thing—a childbirth, a delivery [*‘ein Niederkommen’*].¹ Thus the falling horse was not only his dying father but also his mother in childbirth.

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 360

¹ [See footnote, p. 96.—Further discussion of this particular symbolism will be found near the end of Freud's paper on a childhood memory of Goethe's (1917b).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 128 -

And at this point Hans gave us a surprise, for which we were not in the very least prepared. He had noticed his mother's pregnancy, which had ended with the birth of his little sister when he was three and a half years old, and had, at any rate after the confinement, pieced the facts of the case together—without telling any one, it is true, and perhaps without being able to tell any one. All that could be seen at the time was that immediately after the delivery he had taken up an extremely sceptical attitude towards everything that might be supposed to point to the presence of the stork [p. 10]. *But that—in complete contradiction to his official speeches—he knew in his unconscious where the baby came from and where it had been before*, is proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the present analysis; indeed, this is perhaps its most unassailable feature.

The most cogent evidence of this is furnished by the phantasy (which he persisted in with so much obstinacy, and embellished with such a wealth of detail) of how Hanna had been with them at Gmunden the summer before her birth, of how she had travelled there with them, and of how she had been able to do far more than she had a year later, after she had been born [p. 69 ff.]. The effrontery with which Hans, related this phantasy and the countless extravagant lies with which he interwove it were anything but meaningless. All of this was intended as a revenge upon his father, against whom he harboured a grudge for having misled him with the stork fable. It was just as though he had meant to say: 'If you really thought I was as stupid as all that, and expected me to believe that the stork brought Hanna, then in return I expect you to, accept my inventions as the truth.' This act of revenge on the part of our young enquirer upon his father was succeeded by the clearly correlated phantasy of teasing and beating horses [p. 79]. This phantasy, again, had two constituents. On the one hand, it was based upon the teasing to which he had submitted his father just before; and, on the other hand, it

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 361

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 129 -

reproduced the obscure sadistic desires directed towards his mother, which had already found expression (though they had not at first been understood) in his phantasies of doing something forbidden. Hans even confessed consciously to a desire to beat his mother [p. 81].

There are not many more mysteries ahead of us now. An obscure phantasy of missing a train [p. 81] seems to have been a forerunner of the later notion of handing over Hans's father to his grandmother at Lainz, for the phantasy dealt with a visit to Lainz, and his grandmother appeared in it. Another phantasy, in which a boy gave the guard 50,000 florins to let him ride on the truck [p. 83], almost sounds like a plan of buying his mother from his father, part of whose power, of course, lay in his wealth. At about this time, too, he confessed, with a degree of openness which he had never before reached, that he wished to get rid of his father, and that the reason he wished it was that his father interfered with his own intimacy with his mother [p. 82]. We must not be surprised to find the same wishes constantly reappearing in the course of an analysis. The monotony only attaches to the analyst's interpretations of these wishes. For Hans they were not mere repetitions, but steps in a progressive development from timid hinting to fully conscious, undistorted perspicuity.

What remains are just such confirmations on Hans's part of analytical conclusions which our interpretations had already established. In an entirely unequivocal symptomatic act, which he disguised slightly from the maid but not at all from his father, he showed how he imagined a birth took place [p. 84]; but if we look into it more closely we can see that he showed something else, that he was hinting at something which was not alluded to again in the analysis. He pushed a small penknife which belonged to his mother in through a round hole in the body of an india-rubber doll, and then let it drop out again by tearing apart the doll's legs. The

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 361

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 130 -

enlightenment which he received from his parents soon afterwards [p. 87], to the effect that children do in fact grow inside their mother's body and are pushed out of it like a lump, came too late; it could tell him nothing new. Another symptomatic act, happening as though by accident, involved a confession that he had wished his father dead; for, just at the moment his father was talking of this death-wish, Hans let a horse that he was playing with fall down—knocked it over in fact. Further, he confirmed in so many words the hypothesis that heavily loaded carts represented his mother's pregnancy to him, and the horse's falling down was like having a baby. The most delightful piece of confirmation in this connection—a proof that, in his view, children were 'lumps'—was his inventing the name of 'Lodi' for his favourite child. There was some delay in reporting this fact, for it then appeared that he had been playing with this sausage child of his for a long time past [p. 93].¹

We have already considered Hans's two concluding phantasies, with which his recovery was rounded off. One of them [p. 98], that of the plumber giving him a new and, as his father guessed, a bigger widdler, was not merely a repetition of the earlier phantasy concerning the plumber and the bath. The new one was a triumphant, wishful phantasy, and with it he overcame his fear of castration. His other phantasy [pp. 96-7], which confessed to the wish to be married to his mother and to have many children by her, did not merely exhaust the content of the unconscious complexes which had been stirred up by the sight of the falling horse and which had generated his anxiety. It also corrected that portion of those

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 362

¹ I remember a set of drawings by T. T. Heine in a copy of *Simplicissimus*, in which that brilliant illustrator depicted the fate of the pork-butcher's child, who fell into the sausage machine, and then, in the shape of a small sausage, was mourned over by his parents, received the Church's blessing, and flew up to Heaven. The artist's idea seems a puzzling one at first, but the Lodi episode in this analysis enables us to trace it back to its infantile root.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 131 -

thoughts which was entirely unacceptable; for, instead of killing his father, it made him innocuous by promoting him to a marriage with Hans's grandmother. With this phantasy both the illness and the analysis came to an appropriate end.

While the analysis of a case is in progress it is impossible to obtain any clear impression of the structure and development of the neurosis. That is the business of a synthetic process which must be performed subsequently. In attempting to carry out such a synthesis of little Hans's phobia we shall take as our basis the account of his mental constitution, of his governing sexual wishes, and of his experiences up to the time of his sister's birth, which we have given in an earlier part of this paper.

The arrival of his sister brought into Hans's life many new elements, which from that time on gave him no rest. In the first place he was obliged to submit to a certain degree of privation: to begin with, a temporary separation from his mother, and later a permanent diminution in the amount of care and attention which he had received from her and which thenceforward he had to grow accustomed to sharing with his sister. In the second place, he experienced a revival of the pleasures he had enjoyed when he was looked after as an infant; for they were called up by all that he saw his mother doing for the baby. As a result of these two influences his erotic needs became intensified, while at the same time they began to obtain insufficient satisfaction. He made up for the loss which his sister's arrival had entailed on him by imagining that he had children of his own; and so long as he was at Gmunden—on his second visit there¹—and could really play with these children, he found a sufficient outlet for his affections. But after his return to Vienna he was once more alone, and set all his hopes upon his mother. He had meanwhile suffered another privation, having been exiled

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 363

¹ [This parenthesis was added in 1924.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 132 -

from his parents' bedroom at the age of four and a half.¹ His intensified erotic excitability now found expression in phantasies, by which in his loneliness he conjured up his playmates of the past summer, and in regular auto-erotic satisfaction obtained by a masturbatory stimulation of his genitals.

But in the third place his sister's birth stimulated him to an effort of thought which, on the one hand, it was impossible to bring to a conclusion, and which, on the other hand, involved him in emotional conflicts. He was faced with the great riddle of where babies come from, which is perhaps the first problem to engage a child's mental powers,² and of which the riddle of the Theban Sphinx is probably no more than a distorted version. He rejected the proffered solution of the stork having brought Hanna. For he had noticed that months before the baby's birth his mother's body had grown big, that then she had gone to bed, and had groaned while the birth was taking place, and that when she got up she was thin again. He therefore inferred that Hanna had been inside his mother's body, and had then come out like a 'lumpf'. He was able to imagine the act of giving birth as a pleasurable one by relating it to his own first feelings of pleasure in passing stool; and he was thus able to find a double motive for wishing to have children of his own: the pleasure of giving birth to them and the pleasure (the compensatory pleasure, as it were) of looking after them. There was nothing in all of this that could have led him into doubts or conflicts.

But there was something else, which could not fail to make him uneasy. His father must have had something to

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 364

¹ [In the earlier editions 'four', which was altered to 'four and a half' in 1924. See, however, Hans's father's remark (3) on p. 99. The sleeping-arrangements may have been changed at the time of the move into the new flat (p. 15).]

² [Freud emended this view, as regards girls, in a footnote to his paper on the distinction between the sexes (1925j).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 133 -

do with little Hanna's birth, for he had declared that Hanna and Hans himself were his children. Yet it was certainly not his father who had brought them into the world, but his mother. This father of his came between him and his mother. When he was there Hans could not sleep with his mother, and when his mother wanted to take Hans into bed with her, his father used to call out. Hans had learnt from experience how well-off he could be in his father's absence, and it was only justifiable that he should wish to get rid of him. And then Hans's hostility had received a fresh reinforcement. His father had told him the lie about the stork and so made it impossible for him to ask for enlightenment upon these things. He not only prevented his being in bed with his mother, but also kept from him the knowledge he was thirsting for. He was putting Hans at a disadvantage in both directions, and was obviously doing so for his own benefit.

But this father, whom he could not help hating as a rival, was the same father whom he had always loved and was bound to go on loving, who had been his model, had been his first playmate, and had looked after him from his earliest infancy: and this it was that gave rise to the first conflict. Nor could this conflict find an immediate solution. For Hans's nature had so developed that for the moment his love could not but keep the upper hand and suppress his hate—though it could not kill it, for his hate was perpetually kept alive by his love for his mother.

But his father not only knew where children came from, he actually performed it—the thing that Hans could only obscurely divine. The widdler must have something to do with it, for his own grew excited whenever he thought of these things—and it must be a big widdler too, bigger than Hans's own. If he listened to these premonitory sensations he could only suppose that it was a question of some act of violence performed upon his mother, of smashing something, of making an opening into something, of forcing a way into

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 365

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 134 -

an enclosed space—such were the impulses that he felt stirring within him. But although the sensations of his penis had put

him on the road to postulating a vagina, yet he could not solve the problem, for within his experience no such thing existed as his widdler required. On the contrary, his conviction that his mother possessed a penis just as he did stood in the way of any solution. His attempt at discovering what it was that had to be done with his mother in order that she might have children sank down into his unconscious; and his two active impulses—the hostile one towards his father and the sadistic-tender one towards his mother—could be put to no use, the first because of the love that existed side by side with the hatred, and the second because of the perplexity in which his infantile sexual theories left him.

This is how, basing my conclusions upon the findings of the analysis, I am obliged to reconstruct the unconscious complexes and wishes, the repression and reawakening of which produced little Hans's phobia. I am aware that in so doing I am attributing a great deal to the mental capacity of a child between four and five years of age; but I have let myself be guided by what we have recently learned, and I do not consider myself bound by the prejudices of our ignorance. It might perhaps have been possible to make use of Hans's fear of the 'making a row with the legs' for filling up a few more gaps in our adjudication upon the evidence. Hans, it is true, declared that it reminded him of his kicking about with his legs when he was compelled to leave off playing so as to do lumpf; so that this element of the neurosis becomes connected with the problem whether his mother liked having children or was compelled to have them. But I have an impression that this is not the whole explanation of the 'making a row with the legs'. Hans's father was unable to confirm my suspicion that there was some recollection stirring in the child's mind of having observed a scene of

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page **366**

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 135 -

sexual intercourse between his parents in their bedroom. So let us be content with what we have discovered.

It is hard to say what the influence was which, in the situation we have just sketched, led to the sudden change in Hans and to the transformation of his libidinal longing into anxiety—to say from what direction it was that repression set in. The question could probably only be decided by making a comparison between this analysis and a number of similar ones. Whether the scales were turned by the child's *intellectual* inability to solve the difficult problem of the begetting of children and to cope with the aggressive impulses *A* that were liberated by his approaching its solution, or whether the effect was produced by a *somatic* incapacity, a constitutional intolerance of the masturbatory gratification in which he regularly indulged (whether, that is, the mere persistence of sexual excitement at such a high pitch of intensity was bound to bring about a revulsion)—this question must be left open until fresh experience can come to our assistance.

Chronological considerations make it impossible for us to attach any great importance to the actual precipitating cause of the outbreak of Hans's illness, for he had shown signs of apprehensiveness long before he saw the bus-horse fall down in the street.

Nevertheless, the neurosis took its start directly from this chance event and preserved a trace of it in the circumstance of the horse being exalted into the object of his anxiety. In itself the impression of the accident which he happened to witness carried no 'traumatic force'; it acquired its great effectiveness only from the fact that horses had formerly been of importance to him as objects of his predilection and interest, from the fact that he associated the event in his mind with an earlier event at Gmunden which had more claim to be regarded as traumatic, namely, with Fritz's falling down while he was playing at horses, and lastly from the fact that there was an easy path of association from

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page **367**

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 136 -

Fritzl to his father. Indeed, even these connections would probably not have been sufficient if it had not been that, thanks to the pliability and ambiguity of associative chains, the same event showed itself capable of stirring the second of the complexes that lurked in Hans's unconscious, the complex of his pregnant mother's confinement. From that moment the way was clear for the return of the repressed; and it returned in such a manner that *the pathogenic material was remodelled and transposed on to the horse-complex, while the accompanying affects were uniformly turned into anxiety.*

It deserves to be noticed that the ideational content of Hans's phobia as it then stood had to be submitted to one further process of distortion and substitution before his consciousness took cognizance of it. Hans's first formulation of his anxiety was: 'the horse will bite me'; and this was derived from another episode at Gmunden, which was on the one hand related to his hostile wishes towards his father and on the other hand was reminiscent of the warning he had been given against masturbation. Some interfering influence, emanating from his parents perhaps, had made itself felt. I am not certain whether

the reports upon Hans were at that time drawn up with sufficient care to enable us to decide whether he expressed his anxiety in this form *before* or not until *after* his mother had taken him to task on the subject of masturbating. I should be inclined to suspect that it was not until afterwards, though this would contradict the account given in the case history. [See p. 24.] At any rate, it is evident that at every point Hans's hostile complex against his father screened his lustful one about his mother, just as it was the first to be disclosed and dealt with in the analysis.

In other cases of this kind there would be a great deal more to be said upon the structure, the development, and the diffusion of the neurosis. But the history of little Hans's attack was very short; almost as soon as it had begun, its place was taken by the history of its treatment. And although

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 368

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 137 -

during the treatment the phobia appeared to develop further and to extend over new objects and to lay down new conditions, his father, since he was himself treating the case, naturally had sufficient penetration to see that it was merely a question of the emergence of material that was already in existence, and not of fresh productions for which the treatment might be held responsible. In the treatment of other cases it would not always be possible to count upon so much penetration.

Before I can regard this synthesis as completed I must turn to yet another aspect of the case, which will take us into the very heart of the difficulties that lie in the way of our understanding of neurotic states. We have seen how our little patient was overtaken by a great wave of repression and that it caught precisely those of his sexual components that were dominant.¹ He gave up masturbation, and turned away in disgust from everything that reminded him of excrement and of looking on at other people performing their natural functions. But these were not the components which were stirred up by the precipitating cause of the illness (his seeing the horse fall down) or which provided the material for the symptoms, that is, the content of the phobia.

This allows us, therefore, to make a radical distinction. We shall probably come to understand the case more deeply if we turn to those other components which *do* fulfil the two conditions that have just been mentioned. These other components were tendencies in Hans which had already been suppressed and which, so far as we can tell, had never been able to find uninhibited expression: hostile and jealous feelings towards his father, and sadistic impulses (premonitions, as it were, of copulation) towards his mother. These

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 369

¹ Hans's father even observed that simultaneously with this repression a certain amount of sublimation set in. From the time of the beginning of his anxiety Hans began to show an increased interest in music and to develop his inherited musical gift.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 138 -

early suppressions may perhaps have gone to form the predisposition for his subsequent illness. These aggressive propensities of Hans's found no outlet, and as soon as there came a time of privation and of intensified sexual excitement, they tried to break their way out with reinforced strength. It was then that the battle which we call his 'phobia' burst out. During the course of it a part of the repressed ideas, in a distorted form and transposed on to another complex, forced their way into consciousness as the content of the phobia. But it was a decidedly paltry success. Victory lay with the forces of repression; *and they made use of the opportunity to extend their dominion over components other than those that had rebelled.* This last circumstance, however, does not in the least alter the fact that the essence of Hans's illness was entirely dependent upon the nature of the instinctual components that had to be repulsed. The content of his phobia was such as to impose a very great measure of restriction upon his freedom of movement, and that was its purpose. It was therefore a powerful reaction against the obscure impulses to movement which were especially directed against his mother. For Hans horses had always typified pleasure in movement ('I'm a young horse', he had said as he jumped about [p. 58]); but since this pleasure in movement included the impulse to copulate, the neurosis imposed a restriction on it and exalted the horse into an emblem of terror. Thus it would seem as though all that the repressed instincts got from the neurosis was the honour of providing pretexts for the appearance of the anxiety in consciousness. But however clear may have been the victory in Hans's phobia of the forces that were opposed to sexuality, nevertheless, since such an illness is in its very nature a compromise, this cannot have been all that the repressed instincts obtained. After all, Hans's phobia of horses was an obstacle to his going into the street, and could serve as a means of allowing him to stay at home with his beloved mother. In this way, therefore, his

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 370

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 139 -

affection for his mother triumphantly achieved its aim. In consequence of his phobia, the lover clung to the object of his love—though, to be sure, steps had been taken to make him innocuous. The true character of a neurotic disorder is exhibited in this twofold result.

Alfred Adler, in a suggestive paper,¹ has recently developed the view that anxiety arises from the suppression of what he calls the 'aggressive instinct', and by a very sweeping synthetic process he ascribes to that instinct the chief part in human events, 'in real life and in the neuroses'. As we have come to the conclusion that in our present case of phobia the anxiety is to be explained as being due to the repression of Hans's aggressive propensities (the hostile ones against his father and the sadistic ones against his mother), we seem to have produced a most striking piece of confirmation of Adler's view. I am nevertheless unable to assent to it, and indeed I regard it as a misleading generalization. I cannot bring myself to assume the existence of a special aggressive instinct alongside of the familiar instincts of self-preservation and of sex, and on an equal footing with them.² It appears to me that Adler has mistakenly promoted into a special and self-subsisting

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 370

¹ 'Der Aggressionstrieb im Leben und in der Neurose' (1908). This is the same paper from which I have borrowed the term 'confluence of instincts'. (See above, p. 106 [and 127].) [Adler read this paper at a meeting of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society on June 3, 1908, and some comments on it by Freud appear in the Minutes for that date (see *Minutes*, 1). Cf. also the Editor's Introduction to *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930a), *Standard Edition*, 21, 62.]

² (*Footnote added 1923*): The above passage was written at a time when Adler seemed still to be taking his stand upon the ground of psycho-analysis, and before he had put forward the masculine protest and disavowed repression. Since then I have myself been obliged to assert the existence of an 'aggressive instinct', but it is different from Adler's. I prefer to call it the 'destructive' or 'death instinct'. See *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920g) and *The Ego and the Id* (1923b). Its opposition to the libidinal instincts finds an expression in the familiar polarity of love and hate. My disagreement with Adler's view, which [as explained later in the paragraph] results in a universal characteristic of instincts in general being reduced to the property of a single one of them, remains unaltered.—[A detailed account of Freud's differences with Adler will be found in the latter part of his 'History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement' (1914d).]

[Cf. also, however, Chapter VI of *Civilization and its Discontents*, *Standard Edition*, 21, 119-20, where Freud recalls with surprise his own reluctance to recognize the ubiquity of non-erotic destructiveness.]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 140 -

instinct what is in reality a universal and indispensable attribute of *all* instincts—their instinctual [*triebhaft*] and 'pressing' character, what might be described as their capacity for initiating movement. Nothing would then remain of the other instincts but their relation to an aim, for their relation to the means of reaching that aim would have been taken over from them by the 'aggressive instinct'. In spite of all the uncertainty and obscurity of our theory of instincts I should prefer for the present to adhere to the usual view, which leaves each instinct its own power of becoming aggressive;¹ and I should be inclined to recognize the two instincts which became repressed in Hans as familiar components of the sexual libido.²

(III)

I shall now proceed to what I hope will be a brief discussion of how far little Hans's phobia offers any contribution of general importance to our views upon the life and upbringing of children. But before doing so I must return to the objection which has so long been held over, and according to which Hans was a neurotic, a 'degenerate' with a bad heredity, and not a normal child, knowledge about whom could be applied to other children. I have for some time been thinking with pain of the way in which the adherents of 'the normal person' will fall upon poor little Hans as soon as they are told that he can in fact be shown to have had a hereditary taint. His beautiful mother fell ill with a neurosis as a result of a conflict during her girlhood. I was able to be

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 371

¹ [In the earlier editions the words 'without being directed to wards an object' occurred at this point. They were omitted in 1924.]

² [This case history is used by Freud as a basis for discussing the nature of anxiety in Chapters IV and VII of *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1926d).—It is also quoted in connection with totemism and animal phobias in *Totem and Taboo* (1912-13), *Standard Ed.*, 13, 128 ff]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 141 -

of assistance to her at the time, and this had in fact been the beginning of my connection with Hans's parents. It is only with the greatest diffidence that I venture to bring forward one or two considerations in his favour.

In the first place Hans was not what one would understand, strictly speaking, by a degenerate child, condemned by his heredity to be a neurotic. On the contrary, he was well formed physically, and was a cheerful, amiable, active-minded young fellow who might give pleasure to more people than his own father. There can be no question, of course, as to his sexual precocity; but on that point there is very little material upon which a fair comparison can be based. I gather, for instance, from a piece of collective research conducted in America¹, that it is by no means such a rare thing to find object-choice and feelings of love in boys at a similarly early age; and the same may be learnt from studying the records of the childhood of men who have later come to be recognized as 'great'. I should therefore be inclined to believe that sexual precocity is a correlate, which is seldom absent, of intellectual precocity, and that it is therefore to be met with in gifted children more often than might be expected.²

Furthermore, let me say in Hans's favour (and I frankly admit my partisan attitude) that he is not the only child who has been overtaken by a phobia at some time or other in his childhood. Troubles of that kind are well known to be quite extraordinarily frequent, even in children the strictness of whose upbringing has left nothing to be desired. In later life these children either become neurotic or remain healthy. Their phobias are shouted down in the nursery because they are inaccessible to treatment and are decidedly inconvenient. In the course of months or years they diminish, and the child seems to recover; but no one can tell what psychological

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 372

¹ [Sanford Bell (1902).]

² [This question is touched on in a paragraph on 'Precocity' near the end of Freud's *Three Essays* (1905d; *Standard Ed.*, 7, 241).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 142 -

changes are necessitated by such a recovery, or what alterations in character are involved in it. When, however, an adult neurotic patient comes to us for psycho-analytic treatment (and let us assume that his illness has only become manifest after he has reached maturity), we find regularly that his neurosis has as its point of departure an infantile anxiety such as we have been discussing, and is in fact a continuation of it; so that, as it were, a continuous and undisturbed thread of psychical activity, taking its start from the conflicts of his childhood, has been spun through his life—irrespective of whether the first symptom of those conflicts has persisted or has retreated under the pressure of circumstances. I think, therefore, that Hans's illness may perhaps have been no more serious than that of many other children who are not branded as 'degenerates'; but since he was brought up without being intimidated, and with as much consideration and as little coercion as possible, his anxiety dared to show itself more boldly. With him there was no place for such motives as a bad conscience or a fear of punishment, which with other children must no doubt contribute to making the anxiety less. It seems to me that we concentrate too much upon symptoms and concern ourselves too little with their causes. In bringing up children we aim only at being left in peace and having no difficulties, in short, at training up a model child, and we pay very little attention to whether such a course of development is for the child's good as well. I can therefore quite imagine that it may have been to Hans's advantage to have produced this phobia. For it directed his parents' attention to the unavoidable difficulties by which a child is confronted when in the course of his cultural training he is called upon to overcome the innate instinctual components of his mind; and his trouble brought his father to his assistance. It may be that Hans now enjoys an advantage over other children, in that he no longer carries within him that seed in the shape of repressed

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 373

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 143 -

complexes which must always be of some significance for a child's later life, and which undoubtedly brings with it a certain degree of deformity of character if not a disposition to a subsequent neurosis. I am inclined to think that this is so, but I do not know if many others will share my opinion; nor do I know whether experience will prove me right.

But I must now enquire what harm was done to Hans by dragging to light in him complexes such as are not only repressed by children but dreaded by their parents. Did the little boy proceed to take some serious action as regards what he wanted from his mother? or did his evil intentions against his father give place to evil deeds? Such misgivings will no doubt have occurred to many doctors, who misunderstand the nature of psycho-analysis and think that wicked instincts are strengthened by being made conscious. Wise men like these are being no more than consistent when they implore us for heaven's sake not to meddle with the evil things that lurk behind a neurosis. In so doing they forget, it is true, that they are physicians, and their words bear a fatal resemblance to Dogberry's, when he advised the Watch to avoid all contact with any thieves they might happen to meet: 'for such kind of men, the less you meddle or make with them, why, the more is for your honesty.'¹

On the contrary, the only results of the analysis were that Hans recovered, that he ceased to be afraid of horses, and that he got on to rather familiar terms with his father, as the latter reported with some amusement. But whatever his father may have lost in the boys respect he won back in his

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 374

¹ [*Much Ado about Nothing*, III, 3.] At this point I cannot keep back an astonished question. Where do my opponents obtain their knowledge, which they produce with so much confidence, on the question whether the repressed sexual instincts play a part, and if so what part, in the aetiology of the neuroses, if they shut their patients' mouths as soon as they begin to talk about their complexes or their derivatives? For the only alternative source of knowledge remaining open to them are my own writings and those of my adherents.

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 144 -

confidence: 'I thought', said Hans, 'you knew everything, as you knew that about the horse.' For analysis does not undo the *effects* of repression. The instincts which were formerly suppressed remain suppressed; but the same effect is produced in a different way. Analysis replaces the process of repression, which is an automatic and excessive one, by a temperate and purposeful control on the part of the highest agencies of the mind. In a word, *analysis replaces repression by condemnation*. This seems to bring us the long-looked-for evidence that consciousness has a biological function, and that with its entrance upon the scene an important advantage is secured.¹

If matters had lain entirely in my hands, I should have ventured to give the child the one remaining piece of enlightenment which his parents withheld from him. I should have confirmed his instinctive premonitions, by telling him of the existence of the vagina and of copulation; thus I should have still further diminished his unsolved residue, and put an end to his stream of questions. I am convinced that this new piece of enlightenment would have made him lose neither his love for his mother nor his own childish nature, and that he would have understood that his preoccupation with these important, these momentous things must rest for the present—until his wish to be big had been fulfilled. But the educational experiment was not carried so far.

That no sharp line can be drawn between 'neurotic' and

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page 375

¹ (*Footnote added 1923*): I am here using the word 'consciousness' in a sense which I later avoided, namely, to describe our normal processes of thought—such, that is, as are capable of consciousness. We know that thought processes of this kind may also take place *preconsciously*; and it is wiser to regard their actual 'consciousness' from a purely phenomenological standpoint. By this I do not, of course, mean to contradict the expectation that consciousness in this more limited sense of the word must also fulfil some biological function. [See *The Ego and the Id* (1923b), Chapter I. Cf. also the early discussion of the biological function of 'consciousness' in the closing pages of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900a; *Standard Ed.*, 5, 615 ff.).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 145 -

'normal' people—whether children or adults—that our conception of 'disease' is a purely practical one and a question of summation, that disposition and the eventualities of life must combine before the threshold of this summation is overstepped, and that consequently a number of individuals are constantly passing from the class of healthy people into that of neurotic

patients, while a far smaller number also make the journey in the opposite direction,—all of these are things which have been said so often and have met with so much agreement that I am certainly not alone in maintaining their truth. It is, to say the least of it, extremely probable that a child's upbringing can exercise a powerful influence for good or for evil upon the disposition which we have just mentioned as one of the factors in the occurrence of 'disease'; but what that upbringing is to aim at and at what point it is to be brought to bear seem at present to be very doubtful questions. Hitherto education has only set itself the task of controlling, or, it would often be more proper to say, of suppressing, the instincts. The results have been by no means gratifying, and where the process has succeeded it has only been to the advantage of a small number of favoured individuals who have not been required to suppress their instincts. Nor has any one enquired by what means and at what cost the suppression of the inconvenient instincts has been achieved. Supposing now that we substitute another task for this one, and aim instead at making the individual (capable of becoming a civilized and useful member of society with the least possible sacrifice of his own activity; in that case the information gained by psycho-analysis, upon the origin of pathogenic complexes and upon the nucleus of every nervous affection, can claim with justice that it deserves to be regarded by educators as an invaluable guide in their conduct towards children. What practical conclusions may follow from this, and how far experience may justify the application of those conclusions within our present social

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page [376](#)

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 146 -

system, are matters which I leave to the examination and decision of others.¹

I cannot take leave of our small patient's phobia without giving expression to a notion which has made its analysis, leading as it did to a recovery, seem of especial value to me. Strictly speaking, I learnt nothing new from this analysis, nothing that I had not already been able to discover (though often less distinctly and more indirectly) from other patients analysed at a more advanced age. But the neuroses of these other patients could in every instance be traced back to the same infantile complexes that were revealed behind Hans's phobia. I am therefore tempted to claim for this neurosis of childhood the significance of being a type and a model, and to suppose that the multiplicity of the phenomena of repression exhibited by neuroses and the abundance of their pathogenic material do not prevent their being derived from a very limited number of processes concerned with identical ideational complexes.

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 7, Page [377](#)

¹ [Freud returned to the question of psycho-analysis and the upbringing of children in his prefaces to books by Pfister ([1913b](#)) and Aichhorn ([1925f](#)) and in Part II (H) of his contribution to *Scientia* ([1913j](#)). He also devoted some pages to the same subject in Lecture XXXIV of his *New Introductory Lectures* ([1933a](#)).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 147 -

Postscript (1922)

A FEW months ago—in the spring of 1922—a young man introduced himself to me and informed me that he was the 'little Hans' whose infantile neurosis had been the subject of the paper which I published in 1909. I was very glad to see him again, for about two years after the end of his analysis I had lost sight of him and had heard nothing of him for more than ten years. The publication of this first analysis of a child had caused a great stir and even greater indignation, and a most evil future had been foretold for the poor little boy, because he had been 'robbed of his innocence' at such a tender age and had been made the victim of a psychoanalysis.

But none of these apprehensions had come true. Little Hans was now a strapping youth of nineteen. He declared that he was perfectly well, and suffered from no troubles or inhibitions. Not only had he come through his puberty without any damage, but his emotional life had successfully undergone one of the severest of ordeals. His parents had been divorced and each of them had married again. In consequence of this he lived by himself; but he was on good terms with both of his parents, and only regretted that as a result of the breaking-up of the family he had been separated from the younger sister he was so fond of.

One piece of information given me by little Hans struck me as particularly remarkable; nor do I venture to give any explanation of it. When he read his case history, he told me, the whole of it came to him as something unknown; he did not recognize himself; he could remember nothing; and it was only when he came upon the journey to Gmunden that there dawned on him a kind of glimmering recollection that it might have been he himself that it happened to. So the

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 13, Page **431**

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 148 -

analysis had not preserved the events from amnesia, but had been overtaken by amnesia itself. Any one who is familiar with psycho-analysis may occasionally experience something similar in sleep. He will be woken up by a dream, and will decide to analyse it then and there; he will then go to sleep again feeling quite satisfied with the result of his efforts; and next morning dream and analysis will alike be forgotten.¹

[PEP] This page can be read in German in GESAMMELTE WERKE Vol 13, Page **432**

¹ [This phenomenon was discussed by Freud in a passage added in 1911 to his *Interpretation of Dreams*, **1900a** (Chapter VII, Section A; *Standard Ed.*, **5**, **520-1**).]

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 149 -

This Page Left Intentionally Blank

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the PEPWeb subscriber and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form.

- 150 -

Article Citation [\[Who Cited This?\]](#)

Freud, S. (1909). Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume X (1909): Two Case Histories ('Little Hans' and the 'Rat Man')*, 1-150

Copyright © 2014, Psychoanalytic Electronic Publishing.

[Help](#) | [About](#) | [Download PEP Bibliography](#) | [Report a Problem](#)

WARNING! This text is printed for the personal use of the subscriber to PEP Web and is copyright to the Journal in which it originally appeared. It is illegal to copy, distribute or circulate it in any form whatsoever.