

“Mother and wife — genius — governess:” Anna Freud and the Analytic Environment

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Abstract

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This thesis considers Anna Freud’s (1895-1982) early analytic environment (the combined space of her waiting room, bedroom and consulting room), at Berggasse 19 in Vienna, Austria. It explores the interrelation of space, psychoanalysis and biography, within a framework where interiority and interiors are considered agential tools. Built upon primary documents such as familial correspondence, photographs and relevant psychoanalytic theories, the following is, by necessity, a reconstruction of the child psychoanalyst’s analytic environment. The text progresses spatially through the rooms and examines what Anna considered as societal expectations directed towards her: “Mother and wife — genius — governess”. Beginning with the waiting room which Anna shared with her illustrious father and psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), the physical decorative manifestations of the highly gendered term ‘genius’ are explored. The bedroom, the next room in the analytic environment, opens with a discussion of Anna’s relation to the roles of mother and wife, making way for a discussion of asceticism and altruism, two factors which inform the arrangement of the bedroom’s furnishing. The consulting room marks a professional space as we observe Anna’s move from governess to child psychoanalyst. Likewise, the consulting room’s décor leads to a discussion of interiors at the threshold of *fin-de-siècle* and modern rapport to belongings. Ultimately, this thesis will argue that Anna’s negotiation of gendered social expectations offered an opportunity to redefine not only psychoanalytic techniques and models, but the very environment in which it belonged.

Acknowledgements and Dedication

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I will look back to my master's degree with a light heart thanks to the friendship and teasing of Doug Dumais and Amanda Shore. Thank you for showing up every Wednesday and sharing the joys and pains of writing with me.

* * *

To my mother, my brother and my sister. Thank you for supporting me even when you have no idea why I do what I do.

To my dearest Jules, rest assured that my love for you is greater than my love for Anna Freud.

I dedicate this body of work to those who live with walls barren white, fearing they should change their minds as soon as they hang the first picture or add the first splash of color.

À vous, à nous, les éternel.les insatisfait.e.s.

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Introduction

The more history a scientific movement (or any other) has accumulated, the more history there is to be misunderstood or misrepresented by both participant-historians and external historians.¹

It is an arduous task to attempt to write the life of someone we have not known, and to understand, visually and sensually, the space they inhabited once it has been stripped of its contents and constituents. Much is lost in the flattening of space through an image, no matter how many photographs are taken in an attempt to preserve it. Understanding interiors through photographs only heightens the loss of space, of movement and of the lives which flourished within them. While house museums preserve the spatial shell of what once was, the visiting historian is consistently left craving more, be it the smells, sounds, warmth or chill, which the interior once bore. I strongly felt this craving as I stood in Anna Freud's (1895-1982) consulting room, on a warm summer day in 2018, in Vienna, Austria. I recalled reading about a stove, no longer present within the space, close to which Anna had stood in the cold winter of 1929 as she conducted her analytic hour.

Berggasse 19, in Vienna, poses a particular challenge to any historian who seeks to learn about its inhabitants and their environment, especially to one who is taken with Anna's work and life. As the previous director of the Sigmund Freud Museum in Vienna, Inge Scholz-Strasser disclosed during an interview in 2010, "[t]he challenge [...] has been to communicate through space (rather than objects) and ask questions of space, its histories, etc."² The space in question was home to the Freud family from 1891, when Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) purchased an apartment "too dark" and unfit for his family's social standing,³ until 1938 when the Nazi invasion of Vienna forced the family into exile.⁴ Only days before the Freuds' flight, a young

¹ Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud: A Biography*, Second Edition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008), 430.

² Joan Morra, "Seemingly Empty: Freud at Berggasse 19, A Conceptual Museum in Vienna," *Journal of Visual Culture* 12, no. 1 (2013): 90.

³ Monika Pressler, "*The Apartment Is Doing Well.*" *The Freuds at Berggasse 19* (Vienna: Sigmund Freud GmbH, 2017), 17.

⁴ Edmund Engelmann, "A Memoir," in *Berggasse 19: Sigmund Freud's Home and Offices, Vienna 1938* (New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1976), 134.

photographer named Edmund Engelman secretly set out to photograph Sigmund's waiting room, consulting room and study.⁵ When Engelman was finally discovered by Sigmund, he was invited to photograph the interior more extensively, to include the familial apartments on the same floor as well as portraits of Sigmund and Anna. These stills now compose the vast majority of existing visual documentation of the Berggasse 19, up until 1938. Along with the family, the belongings which populated the space found their way to a new house at 20 Maresfield Garden in London, U.K., also a house museum today. Since 1971, the inaugural year for the Viennese Sigmund Freud Museum, Berggasse 19 stands tall once again, preserving the shell of the *lieu* and attracting those who wish to physically encounter the birthplace of psychoanalysis.⁶

Under this very same roof, often overlooked in favor of her illustrious father, visitors are introduced to Anna's work as a pioneering child psychoanalyst through didactic panels placed in the empty rooms where she lived and worked from 1921 to 1938. Still, this bare presentation of her space distances us from her legacy in the field of child psychoanalysis and keeps visitors from appreciating how Anna's practice expanded the use and conception of the consulting room. The following thesis is a step towards recovering the design and spatial configuration of Anna's early analytic environment and 'frame' at Berggasse 19.

While the visual nature of the documentation at hand calls for examination from within the field of art historical and cultural studies, the psychoanalytic environment requires that we acknowledge and familiarize ourselves with the practice's own vocabulary. In psychoanalytic literature, the 'frame' refers to a "safe and constant framework within which the psychoanalytic setting evolves," which, as the Italian psychoanalyst Luciana Nissim Momigliano (1919-1998) explains, encompasses the basic "physical, space-time, frequency, and rhythm aspects of the session and use of the couch."⁷ Following the lead of Donald Winnicott (1896-1971), one of

⁵ Engelman, "A Memoir," 135.

⁶ Beginning in March 2019, The Freud Museum in Vienna closed to the public for a large-scale renovation and re-orientation of the edifice. Its new direction acknowledges the implications of space and loss and is qualified as a "vestigial memory space." <https://www.freud2020.at/en/>.

⁷ Luciana Nissim Momigliano, *Continuity and Change in Psychoanalysis*, trans. Philip P. Slotkin and Gina Danile (London and New York: Karnac Books, 1992), 33.

Anna's fellow child psychoanalysts, Momigliano emphasizes that in certain cases, the frame, in all its material and immaterial complexity, can affect the analysand in ways greater than even the analyst's interpretation of their case could.⁸ Physically, the frame is understood as equivalent to the space of the consulting room, delimiting the space where the bulk of the psychoanalytic work unfolds for the analysand.

The fields of art and design history and cultural studies offer tools adapted to considerations of inhabited interiors, especially ones which are approached through photographs and other material traces. In this respect, the term 'analytic environment' refers to the ensemble of rooms — entrance, waiting room, hall, bedroom and consulting room — which Anna and her analysand navigated and occupied.⁹ While I have employed the frame as corresponding to a discussion of the consulting room, the analytic environment extends to the street, to the spaces which are not traditionally considered within psychoanalytic literature, but which reflect the specificities of art and design histories more accurately. Above all, including the street in the analytic environment emphasizes the importance of the private/public dyad in spatial configurations,¹⁰ and, by consequence, recognizes the implications of the professional/domestic dyad, and masculine/feminine spaces. Given this study of a woman's professional space is situated within the larger context of a familial apartment, feminist lines of inquiry which art and design histories, as well as cultural studies supply are essential to this analytic environment. What I conceive of as the analytic environment is, therefore, attentive to Anna's experiences and life in a way that the 'frame' neglects, seeing how it is both relatively analysand-centric and physically finite. Together, the analytic environment and the frame encompass the range of non-visible aspects, such as relational power dynamics and psychoanalytic concepts, which, in turn, organize the rooms both spatially and decoratively.

⁸ Momigliano, *Continuity and Change*, 33-4.

⁹ In Momigliano's work and in psychoanalytic theory more broadly, the term "setting" is used to describe what I refer to, from an art historical field, as the analytic environment. I have done so in order to best involve spatial dynamics and discussions of the interior.

¹⁰ Diana Fuss and Joel Sanders, "Freud's Ear," in *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms That Shaped Them* (Routledge, 2004), 32.

As I piece together the fragments of Anna's analytic environment and frame, I consider her awareness—if only unconscious—of the impact of the designed environment upon her analysands and herself. This attention to conscious and unconscious intent is essential: while the act of arranging furniture and organizing space is intentional and consciously registered, the motivation to do so is powered by an intricate constellation of unconscious reasoning. As such, her analytic environment became the lieu of her affirmation of womanhood, and a site which accommodated the multiple facets of her ego as child psychoanalyst and a lay-analyst, ascetic woman, daughter and student, as well as governess. In other words, through the spatial configuration and decoration of her analytic environment, Anna negotiated and responded to the multiple roles that society imposed upon her.

How did Anna's position as a daughter, child psychoanalyst and ascetic woman shape the analytic environment and frame she employed? How can we understand the effect of space on the body, and the response of other's bodies and histories to this space, when our own access and experience of the analytic environment as Anna had conceived of it is virtually impossible? How can we, as contemporary examiners, inhabit that paradoxical sliver of conscious/unconscious which defines the way Anna organized and decorated her space?

Methodology

The objective of this thesis is to reconstitute the space of Anna's early analytic environment. For the walls missing from Engelman's photographs to rise around us, and for the surfaces found in the Sigmund Freud Museum to regain their texture, their grain, and their pulse, one must superimpose this existing documentation with biography and bodies. First, we consider Anna's biography, traces of her subjectivity, and the lived component of her spaces of work and life.¹¹ Second, any reference, both textual and spatial, to the bodies which populated the space, to their

¹¹ Unfortunately for researchers in the twenty-first century and beyond, Anna did not leave behind any extensive autobiographical writing. This being said, her post-humous biography written by Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, supplies the argumentation and research to support the claim that some of Anna's psychoanalytic writing (case studies) were autobiographical in essence. Therefore, with Anna's biography as a launching point, we can move closer to her own voice.

movement and interactions between one another and with the environment's various elements come to complete the image. These two broad categories will provide a basis for the recovery of a type of affect, a type of ectoplasm which fills the empty spaces between the physical elements which we have come to know in our mind's eye.

As a consequence of psychoanalysts' intimate work with the psyche of their analysand, and, moreover, of the nature of transference and projection, the private and public lives of analysts are often considered as one and the same.¹² Even when removed from the field of psychoanalysis, design historians Anne Massey and Penny Sparke support the notion that interiors and interiority are similarly inextricable, as the growing field of 'life-writing' has made evident.¹³ The practice of life-writing as discussed by Massey and Sparke values subjectivity on behalf of the researcher/author, stating that it is both essential to and echoed throughout psychoanalytic practice. The relation between author/subject and psychoanalyst/analysand cannot be unpacked without recognizing the high level of subjectivity brought about by each party. As a result, biography plays a significant role in the theoretical and conceptual framework of this thesis. Elisabeth Young-Bruehl's biography of Anna (originally published in 1988) has proven an essential tool for understanding the child psychoanalyst's specialization and pioneering work in her field, its greater impact on society, as well as the design and use of the analytic environment.¹⁴

In relation to Anna's own presence, the type of bodies present in her analytic environment can be grouped in two non-exclusive categories: the child analysand and the adult acquaintance. Beginning with the child analysand, one of the essential references in the available literature is Peter Heller's 1990 memoir of his analysis with Anna, which lasted from 1929 to 1932.¹⁵ Heller's text depicts, with great emotional investment, his familial situation, his interactions with

¹² Ken Robinson, "Book Reviews. Correspondence 1904-1938: Sigmund Freud and Anna Freud edited by Ingeborg Meyer-Palmedo, translated by Nick Somers. Published by Polity, Cambridge, 2013; 536 pp," in *British Journal of Psychotherapy*, vol. 31, no. (2015), 267.

¹³ Anne Massey and Penny Sparke, eds., *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013).

¹⁴ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*.

¹⁵ Peter Heller, *A Child Analysis with Anna Freud* (International Universities Press, 1990).

his analyst and her father, along with the process of waiting and moving through the analytic environment and arriving in the consulting room. His recollection of the spaces in Berggasse 19 is followed by Anna's own case notes, which she returned hesitantly to him upon his request. This resource provides the most vivid description and basis for external participants to understand the physical and psychical realities of the analytic experience; however, it is evident this is Heller's subjective, romanticized memoir, and that the child psychoanalyst's notes are fragmented and often impenetrable. Still, the publication of Anna's analytic notes with Peter Heller offered new and invaluable insight into the young psychoanalyst's personal reflections concerning her roles and aspirations, at a time when the predominant view maintained that "the only female role in which Anna imagined herself was that of a mother."¹⁶ This emphasis on Anna's desire for motherhood also gave rise to Janet Sayers' work in *Mothers of Psychoanalysis* (1991).

As for the other (inter)actions in space, the nature of the adult bodies which appear in the analytic environment are enormously varied. Family members (Ernst L. Freud), confidantes and colleagues (Dorothy Burlingham, Lou Andrea-Salomé, Marie Bonaparte), acquaintances, clients and analysands amongst others appear through correspondence in which memories of being together, of discussions, are shared. Given the intricacies of the varying nature of adults in the analytic environment, I have consulted them for what information they supply about the physical space, and have granted testimonies from children analysands the most weight for their valuable accounts of the interactions with and in the space. It must also be recognized that, beyond my best efforts, searching for passing mentions of Anna within the larger psychoanalytic literature and testimonies (even those given by her father's analysands, who often noted encountering Anna or her space) about the analysands time in analysis is akin to searching for a needle in a haystack.

Fortunately, Anna's own voice resonates through time by means of her writings on child psychoanalysis. Throughout this research, I prioritize Anna's own writings on her practice and her clinical vignettes in order to best discern how she conceived of and employed her analytic

¹⁶ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 46.

environment. I sought to build a framework for our consideration of her environment which reflected what transpired through primary documents such as correspondences and her own archives. Primary research at the Freud Museum in London and the Sigmund Freud Museum in Vienna was essential to the (albeit partial) reconstruction of Anna's early lived environment from artefacts (in London) to the spatial orientation (found in Vienna).

I have endeavored to examine Anna's theories in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (1936)¹⁷ in relation to the décor and spatial arrangement of its author's analytic environment. This book altered the focus within psychoanalytic practice from an exclusive concern with the adult unconscious towards a proactive investigation of the child's ego defense formations.¹⁸ In other words, rather than attempting to heal adult neurosis and psychosis, Anna turned to the root of these psychic problems, that is, the childhood years, to understand their very origins. As I seek to respect Anna's agency, this marked shift in analytic process from that of Sigmund's theories to her own must be recognized and fully reflected within my analysis of her space. This results in acknowledging Anna's psychoanalytical work and her space as educative, formative, and responsive to children and their needs.

Little has been written within the field of interior design history with regards to psychoanalytic environments. Diana Fuss and Joel Sanders' incursion into Sigmund's analytic environment provides an essential model for spatial continuity within this thesis, mirroring one's movement through the space at hand. Their co-written text *Freud's Ear* (2004)¹⁹ aptly demonstrates the potential of progression through space as a form of argumentation, weaving through themes of practice, theory, and the larger universal associations present within the space. This spatial progression allows for more than purely visual or architectural considerations of the space, as it enables an embodied experience of the rooms while extracting theories within and of the interior. Furthermore, *Freud's Ear* is essential for the manner by which it inverts the public and private

¹⁷ Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, trans. Cecil Baines, Second (International Universities Press, 1966).

¹⁸ Luis A. Cordon, "Freud, Anna (1895-1982)," in *Freud's World: An Encyclopedia of His Life and Times*, 2002, 150.

¹⁹ Fuss, "Freud's Ear," 31–47.

realms: the traditionally public streets of Vienna are recognized as a space of privacy, a space for interiorization, for Sigmund, while his consulting room and office belonged to the public as they were open to many visitor-analysands. Indeed, as the authors posit, Sigmund's career as a psychoanalyst reversed the private and public realms' interiors, making the inner rooms of his analytic environment public spaces in that he received his clientele there, and spent his private time on the Viennese Ringstrasse, arguably the most public area of Vienna. As is the case with most psychoanalytic home-offices of the period, it is important to keep such considerations in mind, given how the notions of domestic, public, and private are closely enmeshed.

Finally, from within the field of psychoanalysis, Momigliano's *Continuity and Change in Psychoanalysis: Letters from Milan*²⁰ has supplied a generous survey of the (few) discussions and literature available on the subject of the analytic frame. Momigliano demonstrates the importance of both theoretical concerns and physical gestures within the analytic environment by telling the tale of another psychoanalyst, Donald Winnicott, who had upset and confused his colleagues by offering one of his patients a Kleenex as she/he cried during analysis.²¹ What Momigliano demonstrates is that psychoanalysts have, from day one, recognized the impact of the interior, of spatiality, both of bodies and furniture, and of the gestures which occur within the consulting room. Her survey also informs readers that there is a lack of words and terms which can adequately translate *why* the physical elements composing the frame bear such an importance to psychoanalytic practice. This thesis attempts to formulate an answer to this quintessential conundrum: how can one's interior and one's gestures impact one's practice; and likewise, how can one's theories and/or personality impact one's interior?

Biographies and Presence

*What a successful analyst might do is
to give the analysand possession of her own story,
that possession would be a final act of appropriation,*

²⁰ Momigliano, *Continuity and Change in Psychoanalysis*.

²¹ Ibid, 40.

Anna Freud, the youngest of Martha Bernays (1861-1951) and Sigmund Freud's children, was born in 1895 into the middle-class Viennese family residing at Berggasse 19. In her youth, she was described through her father's correspondences as having a strong appetite and a jealous and naughty character at times.²³ Growing up, Anna had felt slighted, and not quite good enough as she looked to her older sisters, Matilde and Sophie, who had followed the path of so-called 'normal' femininity.²⁴ Contrary to her siblings who each married and became mothers, Anna followed in her father's footsteps toward a life of psychoanalytic practice, carving a place for herself as one of the pioneers of child psychoanalysis.²⁵ As an adult, Anna was particularly private about her relationships, allowing for contemporary historians to question her sexuality and to 'label' her as a (psychoanalytically) maternal figure,²⁶ as her father's faithful daughter,²⁷ or even as being secretly a lesbian.²⁸ Yet, such views of Anna's life are constraining. Those who have written of Anna in such ways, inevitably narrow our considerations of her multifaceted personality and life path to a single result. Biography concentrated in this way crystalizes one 'flavor', ignoring the intersectional, the conflictual, and the unspoken, or un-acted. What of aspirations, and of contradictions, of secrets, and of why they have been kept secret?

As if time stood still, I found a familiar echo in the words of Anna: "Why I am not more ambitious. Of course, I don't care if 10 years after my death I will be forgotten, he (Erik Erikson)

²² Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*, (London, 1986), 131. Quoted in Anne Massey and Penny Sparke, eds., *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013), 2

²³ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 43.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 39.

²⁵ Simultaneously, Melanie Klein had developed a different method of conducting child psychoanalysis, methods which were more strictly developed according to Sigmund's theories. Their rivalry continued on, and amplified, for their respective lifetimes.

²⁶ Janet Sayers, "Part IV: Anna Freud," in *Mothers of Psychoanalysis: Helene Deutsch, Karen Horney, Anna Freud and Melanie Klein* (London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991).

²⁷ Cordon "Freud, Anna," 149.

²⁸ See Rebecca Coffey, "Psychoanalysts and HYSTERICAL: Anna Freud's Story," 2015, <https://vimeo.com/130993759>.

*does. 3 kinds of women: wife and mother—genius—governess. I would be g[enius] if analysis would let me.”*²⁹

I am a young, cis-gendered, French Québécois settler woman, living in Tiohtiá:ke/Montreal. I was raised by a single mother, who graciously opened a daycare to care for me and my siblings from home, while maintaining her financial and professional independence. I have never been to therapy, psychoanalytic or otherwise. I do not (yet) understand, spoken or written, German. I attempt to comprehend space through performance, whether artistic or that of everyday life. As I currently complete my transition towards adulthood (this thesis will be the nail in my youth’s coffin), my reflections often linger on the feminine triangulation of being a successful professional, mother or wife.

Throughout this thesis, my voice and thoughts as author, researcher, and individual are transparently present, signalled by italics. The reason I needed this to be as such has long eluded me, even arousing feelings of guilt for being so egotistical, self-centered, and privileged. Retrospectively, I come to realize that this mechanism is essential for a respectful consideration of a psychoanalytic environment, for “as long as there are two people in the room each with multiple points of view, there is likely to be no shortages of surprises.”³⁰ Suffice it to say, a great deal more than two people were necessarily heard (as we shall see) for the reconstruction of Anna’s analytic environment, with nearly all sources involved in highly emotional and/or psychoanalytical situations with our protagonist. How am I to write of yet another woman, whose personhood is often overlooked by history, without simply reinserting her into the canon, without simply comparing her to her illustrious father? How am I to balance personal histories, aware that I carry my sensibilities with me into all writing — mine and hers — when both intimate histories bolster the arguments, yet could lead to their dismissal, simultaneously? It has necessitated close attention not only to Anna’s history, but also to mine, in order to recognize and halt any superfluous merging of our histories (or to put it psychoanalytically, any projecting

²⁹ Heller, *A Child Analysis*, 175.

³⁰ H.F. Smith, “Analytic Listening and the Element of Surprise” *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 1995, quoted in Philip Bromberg, “Standing in the Spaces: The Multiplicity of Self and The Psychoanalytic,” *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* (1996), 328.

of my psyche onto her life, work, and space) and to present readers with as much as a transparent account of my encounter of the space as possible. There are many aspects of my past which render me more sensitive to hers, but there are parts of my own past which, consciously or otherwise, may lead to distortions. Why was I initially inclined to consider Anna as a purely ascetic and chaste figure? How was my own subjectivity and experience filling in the gaps and silences present within the literature about her life, and shaping my idea of her life and space?

It follows that a thorough examination of self and of other was necessary for such an attempt at a mutually beneficial auto-ethnography. Massey and Sparke's *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior* addresses the realities of the relationship between researchers and their topic, which has and continues to call for researchers to recognize the "link between self and academic research."³¹ In parallel, the nature of the documents this research has offered to me (i.e. photographs of arranged space, interiors which only came alive briefly through words written in correspondence and through biographical interpretation) and the time elapsed between Anna's day and today, my attempts at finding a "view from elsewhere"³² have proven to additionally complicate the delicate task of identifying the relation of self and research. Charles Rice remarks, on the reality of interiors and domesticity at the turn of the nineteenth century, that "one can only have access to what these [photographic] accounts construe as the experience of domesticity [and interiority] by a kind of imagined association, rather than by the transparency and objectivity of visual evidence."³³ If nothing else, the inclusion of my experience can serve another historian at a later date, guiding them through the layers of experience, time, and subjectivity I have added, unconsciously or otherwise, as a middle-class city dweller of the twenty-first century. Finally, to seek balance and write about Anna's space in a pertinent fashion, I created an 'imagined association' strongly informed by Anna's own voice, wherever I could find it.

³¹ Anne Massey and Penny Sparke, eds., *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013), 1.

³² Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (Routledge, 1999), xv.

³³ Charles Rice, "Photography's Veil: Reading Gender and Loos' Interiors," in *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 294.

Given the myriad directions generated by our concern for Anna's biography and experience of the space, let us begin by establishing which path we shall take through her space, a path that reinserts agency and ambition in the narrative of her life. I have organized our incursion into the space according to Anna's own reflections on the types of women we may aspire to be, choose to be, or happen to become. Seen through the lens of these aspirations, a portrait of Anna as a complex and fluid individual with a profound understanding of the potential of interiors arises.

Orientations³⁴

'Mother and wife—genius—governess': hidden on the reverse of one of her analytic session notes, these introspective words articulate the three key themes, our 'orientations,'³⁵ which serve as a thematic blueprint for our visit to and analysis of Anna's analytic environment. To Anna, these titles were projections, a list of titles she could aspire to become as a woman in inter-war Vienna. Retrospectively, the child psychoanalyst's living and working space, enables us to unpack the ways she fulfilled, negotiated or displaced her desires with regards to the three roles. In an attempt to organize our journey, every room in her analytic environment — waiting room, bedroom, consulting room — corresponds in its conception and projection with a negotiation of one of the titles (Figure 1).

Genius provides an ideal framework from which to consider the décor of the waiting room, and to open a discussion of gendered norms of inter-war Vienna. The waiting room, both spatially and through its décor, emphasizes Anna's aspiration towards what she conceived of as genius: Sigmund Freud. By proxy to her father, *genius* encompasses the one title which Anna was indisputably heir to: daughter *of* a genius. This conception stood in contrast with her reality as a

³⁴ The term "orientations" is borrowed from Charles Rice who employed the term to establish the direction he would be guiding his readers through his book, resulting in a clever reconciliation of historical and spatial contexts. Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (London: Routledge, 2007).

³⁵ Heller, *A Child Analysis*, 175.

child psychoanalyst, and a lay-analyst,³⁶ and invites us to unpack the highly gendered construct of the appellation ‘genius’. Manifest through artefacts, arrangement, and the bodies which have passed through the room, Anna and Sigmund’s familial and professional dynamics are evoked in the waiting room and on the path leading up to it.

Mother and wife are arguably the roles which occupied much of the public’s interest in Anna’s life at the time, given the manner by which she did *not* fulfill them, at least not in a conventional sense. Anna’s bedroom, spatially located *after* the waiting room and *before* her consulting room, is a powerful statement on her chosen marital status and her independence. The space provides an opportunity to consider her gender and sexuality in relation to her analytic environment and the public image she presented. First, a review of the current and polarizing theories available on Anna’s sexuality are considered and challenged. More specifically, Young-Bruehl’s suggestion that the child-psychoanalyst should be understood as ascetic, as well as the notions of asceticism and sexuality, are reconsidered. From this angle, I then suggest that Anna’s bedroom was part of the public realm, a tool designed to function as an offering to visitors and analysands as they progressed towards their psychoanalyst’s consulting room. Drawing upon her own theories, I consider her bedroom within the framework of the *Altruistic Surrender*, a type of projection, in turn one of the mechanisms of defense which Anna developed in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*.³⁷

Governess brings us to the final room in the sequence, the consulting room where Anna received her analysands. The impact of the configuration of this type of analytic frame, one developed for the practice of child psychoanalysis which she was pioneering, will be assessed and situated within a greater trend of consulting room décor. Its ties to *fin-de-siècle* interiors and the modernist movement of inter-war Vienna are discussed in conjunction with her brother Ernst L. Freud’s architectural and interior decorator practice. The room evokes our protagonist’s

³⁶ Lay-Analyst – a term employed to distinguish psychoanalysts having gained a medical degree and those entering the trade from training with a psychoanalyst. During the period of Anna’s training, a lay-analyst’s training included his/her own analysis being conducted by their teacher. Anna received her training, and her analytic sessions, from her own father.

³⁷ Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*.

relationship to her previous position as a school teacher, a position she held from 1915 to 1919, before she turned fully to psychoanalysis. With this awareness, the consulting room invites us to examine Anna's use of space and gestures in conjunction with her theories of child psychoanalysis. Lastly, the consulting room allows for *governess* to transgress into the realm of *genius*, albeit an aspiring genius and a title bestowed tardily, one which Anna could seemingly not have anticipated.

As I draft and redraft the culmination of my research, I continue to hope that these are not the final arguments on Anna's analytic environment. I recognize that so many fragments of her life, personal and psychoanalytic, are absent given the sheer number of documents to examine. Some other lines of inquiry or discoveries might have been explored had they not been hindered by my incomprehension of German. I have approached each room as independent entities which ultimately respond to the whole, which is Anna's construction of self, manifest through her analytic environment and frame. I hope this first incursion into the space will facilitate the explorations to come.

The Approach: A Note on Gender, Architecture and Psychoanalysis

Walking along the Ringstrasse, I remembered reading of Sigmund's evening walks, how this busy street was the site of his most interior reflections. It was a space he shared, occasionally, with Anna. The streets, now adorned with pedestrian crossings, flashing lights, a tram, many tourists running along, were hectic—it was difficult to imagine how the Freuds would have navigated the streets. It was time. Open Maps.me. Berggasse 19. Here I come.

Sigmund continued to employ architecture and domestic scenes to impart lessons on the psyche. Anna's first lesson in psychoanalysis occurred around 1909 on the streets of Vienna, during one of her many evening walks with her father: '(A)s they passed by the beautiful homes near Vienna's Prater, [Sigmund] imparted a mysterious lesson. "You see those houses with their lovely facades? Things are not necessarily so lovely behind the facades. And so it is with human

beings too.”³⁸ Anna was, at that very moment, being taught a fundamental lesson on the matter of interiors and interiority: one’s domestic interior and one’s interiority were indeed reflections of one another. Likewise, facades of people and those of homes did not represent what may be unfolding beyond it; one’s private interior (or psyche) presented the visitor (or psychoanalyst) with intricate and highly designed (or mediated) terrains, likely having nothing to do with what first appeared from the exterior. Moreover, on the issue of private and public realms, while the streets were a space of interiority for Sigmund,³⁹ the streets of Vienna were a space where Anna could share thoughts and time with her father on his daily walks. Unfortunately, the streets also represented a harsh public arena, where later in her life, Anna’s sexuality and marital status would be the preferred topic of discussion for Sigmund’s psychoanalytic students in cafés throughout the city.⁴⁰

In her essential book *The Architecture of Psychoanalysis*, Jane Rendell refers us back to Sigmund’s *Introductory Lectures* of 1917.⁴¹ She remarks on the regulatory role of the watchman in Sigmund’s own visual interpretation of the three institutions of the psyche: the id, the ego and the superego.⁴² To best convey the structure of the psyche, Sigmund described the institutions as rooms which led to one another, beginning with the id. On the threshold between the ego and id, a watchman would deny or grant access to the various impulses.

Having crossed the threshold, we progress further into Sigmund’s architectural analogies, arriving at the intersection of gender, architecture and psychoanalysis. Rooms and homes themselves could shapeshift to feminine forms. As Charles Rice reminds us, women were often

³⁸ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 52.

³⁹ Diana Fuss and Joel Sanders, “Freud’s Ear,” 31–47.

⁴⁰ Momigliano, *Continuity and Change*.

⁴¹ Jane Rendell, *The Architecture of Psychoanalysis* (London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 2017), 29-30.

⁴² In a nutshell, the id is the subconscious part of the mind which is responsible for instinctual drives. The id discharges these impulses to the ego, the conscious and apparent institution of the mind. For its part, the superego acts on the ego as well, but, opposite to the id, it inflects the ego with moralistic and sadistic ideals to be achieved. Between the two regulating institutions, the ego must filter and negotiate these two forces.

equated with domesticity and rooms in the history of dream interpretation. Rooms, and interiors, were explicitly related to female body parts, until Sigmund suggested layers of unconscious impulses and hidden sexual imagery.⁴³ Sigmund wrote:

Rooms in dreams are usually women ('Frauenzimmer'); if the various ways in and out of them are represented, this interpretation is *scarcely open to doubt*. In this connection interest in whether the room is open or locked is easily intelligible... A dream of going into a suite of rooms is a brothel or a harem dream. But, as Sachs has shown by some neat examples, it can also be used (by antitheses) to represent marriage.⁴⁴

Regardless of the controversial facets of this statement, it is one which Anna, as a pupil of Sigmund's and as a psychoanalyst more generally, must have understood and accepted as relevant, to some extent, as it was produced by her father.⁴⁵ While the quantity of gendered interpretation is not assessed in this thesis, for her own child analysis, Anna would frequently employ dream interpretation, striving to reach an interpretation on which she and her child analysand could agree.⁴⁶ This correlation of psychoanalysis and of domesticity, of the construct of the interior and the social, was, as Rice stated, one of the essential contributions made by Sigmund towards the regulation of the familial unit.⁴⁷

From the exterior, Berggasse 19 appeared to me, in 2018, as structurally unchanged since Engelman snapped its portrait in 1938 (Figure 2). The heavy veil of Nazi banners and silence of the Jewish quarters of Vienna has since been lifted, making way for a bustling tourist scene and a proud red banner announcing the Sigmund Freud Museum. As if visiting a relative, I rang the museum doorbell, with the friendly buzz of the intercom welcoming me beyond the large entrance door. A double doorway marked my passage from the street to the enclosure of the

⁴³ Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior*, 39.

⁴⁴ Sigmund Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams," in James Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 24 vols, London: The Hogarth Press, 1953-74, vol. 5, 354. *Italics are mine*.

⁴⁵ "If you want to be a real psychoanalyst you have to have a great love of the truth, scientific truth as well as personal truth, and you have to place this appreciation of truth higher than any discomfort at meeting unpleasant facts, whether they belong to the world outside or to your own inner person." Undated letter to 'John', displayed in the Anna Freud Room at 20 Maresfield Garden.

⁴⁶ Heller, *A Child Analysis*.

⁴⁷ Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior*, 39.

*edifice. Once inside, the covered alleyway opened upon the promise of a green courtyard as I swerved right, up the large marble staircase, just as I had seen in Engelman's photographs (Figures 3 and 4). I imagined the daily visitors and analysands climbing to the first storey only to arrive at an intersection: the door to the left led directly to the Freuds' domestic quarters, while the door to the right opened onto Sigmund's analytic environment. Beyond this last door, one's inwards journey toward the unconscious began.*⁴⁸

⁴⁸ One notable exception exists in the path borrowed to reach their analyst's consulting room: that of the Burlingham children, who resided at the apartment directly above Anna and Sigmund's analytic environment with their mother Dorothy Burlingham. For them, the street was not part of the transition from the private to the public, but rather, from the domestic towards a different domesticity.

1. The Waiting Room: Situating ‘Genius’

Until 1938, both Anna’s and Sigmund’s analysands entered through a door bearing the latter’s information and drop-in times: Freud 3-4.⁴⁹ Family and friends of the Freuds could reach the domestic apartments through a separate door found across the landing. Hence, the near twenty coat hooks beyond the Freuds’ professional entrance suggested a business and thoroughfare which one does not anticipate from such a “dealer of intimacy.”⁵⁰ Analysands were welcomed by muted mint green walls with decorative tweed paneling, still intact today. A large stained-glass window at the end of the hall allows for light the light beyond it to further tint the room in earthy hues. Having deposited their coat and perhaps their umbrella, all analysands continued on through the door immediately to their right into the waiting room.

With luscious red velvet upholstery, the interior of the waiting room is markedly *fin-de-siècle* bourgeois, replete with “impressionable surface[s]” bearing the imprints and traces of the subject’s private life and self (Figure 5).⁵¹ On the wall opposite the entrance, the golden wallpaper’s motif is interrupted by a large double pane window offering exclusive views of the inner courtyard, making the waiting room a rather light counterpart to both the entrance hall and the patient’s anticipated time within the consulting room. Disposed upon the only wall without a window or a door puncturing it, an assortment of reproductions of ancient Greek myths and other frames are displayed and reveal a clear gendered divide within the practice of psychoanalysis and its history.

⁴⁹ Sigmund would welcome drop-in clients on weekdays from 15 h 00 to 16 h 00. This experience of passing through this door no longer is possible for visitors as the museum’s high volume requires that we enter through the more spacious, domestic entrance, situated immediately to the left when arriving at the landing.

⁵⁰ Unfortunately, at the time of publication, I had yet to retrace to who had coined this compelling way of referring to Sigmund Freud. Amusingly, I am fifty percent certain that this may have come to me in a dream. If you are the author I am omitting to reference (or you know who this brilliant author is), please do let me know and I will gladly correct this situation.

⁵¹ Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior*, 9.

Sigmund had employed this room as his own waiting room from 1907 to 1938,⁵² previously occupying the three rooms immediately below the familial apartment from 1895-6 until 1907.⁵³ Seeing how Sigmund had from the outset of his practice enjoyed three rooms in his analytic environment, I venture that the décor retained the initial the décor's patriarchal and bourgeois hallmarks throughout its owner's life. In order to understand how Anna conceived of and defined her aspired professional success, we must first recognize how the shared use and the décor of the waiting room perpetuated a gendered notion of genius.

To begin, a print of Henri Fuseli's 1781 painting *The Nightmare* sets the tone for the psychoanalytic session, visually hinting at the gendered divide within the practice. The iconic Romantic painting depicts a young woman lying on a day bed, her soft upper body sliding off the right end of the couch (nearly slipping out of the frame and of the composition altogether), her eyes closed in her sleep. She is draped in a white form-fitting cloth and bathed in light, immediately attracting the eye to her body. Deep blacks draw close around her figure. The dramatic effect of the chiaroscuro is augmented by the presence of a dark and hairy creature weighing down on the woman's torso. To the creature's left, a frightened mare emerges from the background, warning viewers of the impending threat of darkness and this nightmare we understand she is prone to. Although painted over a century before the advent of psychoanalysis, *The Nightmare* in the setting of the waiting room reflected, as if a mirror, Sigmund's initial target clientele: the hysterical female analysand, waiting to recline on her doctor's couch. To add to this sentiment of self-recognition, the color palette and fabric of the waiting room echoed that of the painting's own lush red drapery, erasing for an instant the reality of the decades separating Sigmund's female analysand from Fuseli's subject. Women in the psychoanalytic dyad,

⁵² Fuss and Sanders, *Freud's Ear*, footnote #24.

⁵³ As Young-Bruehl remarks, it is unclear whether Sigmund took possession of his first psychoanalytic apartment situated below the Freuds domestic apartments in 1895 or 1896: "[Ernest] Jones [...] dated the acquisition of the downstairs apartment 1892; Martin [Freud]'s account places it in the fourth year after the family moved to the Berggasse, that is 1895 or 1896 (...). I am following Martin's story because it seems to involve a clear memory of Anna Freud as an infant, and because it accords with [Sigmund] Freud/ [Wilhelm] Fliess, (...) (dated November 22, 1896): "The first person to whom I am writing from my new headquarters is you..."." Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 479.

especially in the first decades of the practice, were most likely present in a supine position and on the couch, as analysands.

Next to this reproduction, Sigmund's medical degrees and other portraits of men of influence are interspersed, undoubtedly included to reassure the analysand that psychoanalysis, albeit a new practice, was rooted in higher academia and was a science in its own right. The portraits depicted Max Eitingon (1881-1943), who completed his doctoral studies in medicine to eventually pursue a psychoanalytic practice⁵⁴, Sandor Ferenczi (1873-1933), doctor of medicine from the University of Vienna and later psychoanalyst, and Anton von Freund (1880-1920), doctor of chemistry who's contribution to the psychoanalytic movement, contrary to Eitingon's and Ferenczi's, was financial rather than theoretical. Together, the three men shared the title of directors of the early International Psychoanalytic Press which they founded in 1919. But along with providing the scholastic validation, these diplomas and portraits heighten how gender in the *fin-de-siècle* dictated the outcomes of personal aspirations and ambitions. In a city still reeling from the end of the Habsburg reign (1804-1867), genius abounded in the Austrian capital. The embodied figure of *genius* was unwaveringly male, often Jewish, and likely anchored in the field of psychology and psychoanalysis: Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Rank, Carl Jung, Otto Rank, Theodor Rank, to name but a few, represented a new and promising future for the city whose own future was uncertain.⁵⁵ From being a joke in Viennese Society (once called "a queer fellow"⁵⁶), Sigmund's psychoanalytic developments brought people to regard him as a genius, a title which confounds success and gender.

Tracing the history of the term back to antiquity, contemporary feminist philosopher Christine Battersby exposes the deep-rooted cultural exclusivity between *genius* and masculinity. The literal roots of the Italian *genio* and the Latin *genius* refer to "the divine forces associated with,

⁵⁴ Michelle Moreau Ricaud, "Max Eitingon and a Question of Politics," *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 65, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 353–66.

⁵⁵ For an in-depth view of the lay of the land in Interwar Vienna, see Sheldon Gardener and Stevens Gwendolyn, eds., *Red Vienna and The Golden Age of Psychology, 1918-1938* (New York: Praeger, 1992).

⁵⁶ Momigliano, *Continuity and Change*, 6.

and protective of, male fertility.”⁵⁷ The term *ingegno*, or its Latin counterpart *ingenium*, evoked “good judgment and knowledge [...] talent, [...] dexterity and facility.”⁵⁸ By the eighteenth century, as Battersby confirms, the two terms (genius and masculinity) were used interchangeably, giving way to the modern understanding of genius; “the term was forged at the point where two modes of misogyny meet...the creative and the procreative.”⁵⁹ Since Aristotle’s hypothesis that women were solely men who had failed to fully develop (due to lack of heat in the womb), persisting through Juan Huarte’s *Examen’s de Ingenios* (1575) which served to tie biology to ingenuity (hence, women did not have the physiological disposition for ingenuity), the nineteenth century continued to feed into the idealisation of the male artist and creator. As such, even the mad-stricken Romantic male flourished in the West and received praise – his difference, passion and intensity became markers of genius. Psychoanalysis, undoubtedly, was a product and a perpetuator of these hierarchical theories, first and foremost by situating and concretizing the popular image of the mad-stricken female, otherwise known as the hysteric, as belonging on the genius’s couch.⁶⁰

As history has shown, women did make their way into psychoanalysis as practitioners as well. Unfortunately, the décor of the Freuds’ waiting room would not let this transpire: while he did own portraits of female psychoanalysts he worked with, Sigmund displayed them within the space of his study, alongside the many busts and antiquities he collected. Portraits of his female colleagues, who were also friends, such as Princess Marie-Bonaparte (1882-1962) and Lou-Andreas Salomé (1861-1937) were displayed alongside the portrait of Yvette Guilbert (1865-1944) a famed French cabaret singer, actress, and friend of Sigmund, hung just above a table covered in Sigmund’s collection of antique busts. The placement of these portraits amongst his

⁵⁷ Christine Battersby, “Gender and Genius (The Clouded Mirror),” in *The Bloomsbury Anthology of Aesthetics*, ed. Joseph Tanke and Collin McQuillan (New York, London: Bloomsbury, 1989), 562.

⁵⁸ Battersby, “Gender and Genius,” 562.

⁵⁹ Battersby, “Gender and Genius,” 564.

⁶⁰ For a complete discussion on the topic, including vapours rising from wombs, see Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, and Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

collection suggests a rapport closer to that of muse than colleague. The masculine, medical, and academic trope of the ‘genius’ remained outside of their reach.

It was impossible for these women psychoanalysts to enter the field through medical studies: after all, women were only allowed to attend the University of Vienna’s medical department as of 1900.⁶¹ Instead, women (and men who *chose* to by-pass medical training) became lay-analysts. To acquire this type of certification, candidates underwent a training analysis, lasting from a few months to a few years, with the father of the practice. Hence, women psychoanalysts did exist as early as 1897 when a former patient of Sigmund’s named Emma Eckstein (1865-1924) undertook her brief practice after having been a patient of his. Andreas-Salomé (starting in 1911), Princess Bonaparte (beginning in 1925)⁶², and Helene Deutsch (first analyzed by Sigmund in 1918) found their various specialities within the field during the following decade. Anna also followed this path of lay-analyst training, beginning her analysis with her father in 1918, and completing her analysis four years later. Women were valued in the field and encouraged to join the practice as lay-analysts because it was Sigmund’s belief that “female psychology was [...] an area in need of clinical and theoretical exploration, particularly by female analysts.”⁶³ Unfortunately, Sigmund’s placement of his female colleagues’ portraits in his study suggest a deep-seated, internalized division of gender in his field.

As such, the waiting room acted as a physical manifestation — a microcosm of sorts — of the gendered division of society in Anna’s time. The waiting room’s décor was meant to inspire confidence in the practices which occurred on the other side of her father’s sound-proof consulting room door, while the presence of multiple medical certificates, his colleagues’ portraits, and the *fin-de-siècle* décor simultaneously served to reinforce the gendered expectations of the time in the eyes of both psychoanalysts and analysands.

⁶¹ “University of Vienna: 650 Years,” <http://www.austrianinformation.org/fall-2015/university-of-vienna-650-years>.

⁶² Anthony Storr, “An Unlikely Analyst: MARIE BONAPARTE A Life. By Celia Bertin. Illustrated. 286 Pp. San Diego: A Helen and Kurt Wolff Book/ Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$17.95,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1983.

⁶³ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 429.

The question which arises then is: how did the waiting room décor affect Anna's aspiration of achieving *genius* in her profession? In which ways did the waiting room inform her relation to her child analysand, and to her father? Moreover, how did it inform the relationship of Anna's analysand to her father, if it did at all? Sharing the waiting room was undoubtedly a logical and natural act for the duo, but one which, nonetheless, instilled a particular dynamic, fraught with gendered, generational, and psychoanalytic tensions. In addition, the architectural nature of analytic environment imposes its parameters as physical object and immersive experience,⁶⁴ intensifying its effect on the body. Taking both traditional psychoanalytic dynamics of space and architectural concerns into account, the waiting room must be considered in two stages. First, by means of the location and décor of the waiting room, we are invited (just as Anna's analysands were) to consider the spatial and physical exchanges between daughter and father/lay-analyst and analyst. Second, the immersive experience of the analysands within reveals a fair deal on the power dynamics between the child psychoanalyst and the founder of psychoanalysis, as we shall see in the following section. In this light, Anna's familial and professional history, and the impact it might have had on her and her analysands appears in the fabric of the waiting room.

Annerl's Aspirations

In December 1895, Sigmund wrote to his colleague Wilhelm Fliess: "We like to think that the baby [Anna] has brought a doubling of my practice."⁶⁵ Effectively, Anna's arrival in the large family had been echoed with a drastic increase in profitability for Sigmund's then budding psychoanalytic practice. The year following the birth of his last child marked the passing of his father, and propelled Sigmund, already worried by his reduced libido, into an episode of depression, followed by a period of intense creation. Before the turn of the century,

⁶⁴ Anne Troutman, "The Modernist Boudoir and the Erotics of Space," in *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 297.

⁶⁵ Had Anna been born with masculine sex, her parents had decided to name her Wilhelm, after the psychoanalyst Wilhelm Fliess: "'Wilhelm' or 'Anna' is behaving very badly and should see the light in November." Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess correspondence, September 31, 1895. Quoted in Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 28-29.

psychoanalysis proper would see the light of day with the publication of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899).⁶⁶ Annerl, as was Anna's childhood moniker, was inextricably linked to psychoanalysis from a young age.

In the midst of the décor of the waiting room appears the silhouette of young Annerl. We must not meander very far from the written recollections to find the traces left by Annerl. For example, by the time Anna was thirteen, a short ladder, propped against a library in the waiting room, served as a makeshift seat for her to attend the Wednesday evening meetings of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, an organization composed solely of men.⁶⁷ There, she began to develop her psychoanalytic knowledge, unearthing a common interest with her father and beginning a life that would soon be entirely psychoanalytically informed.

Although Anna would spend her early adulthood years as a governess, her attention returned to psychoanalysis while she was still but twenty-four years of age. One of the required conditions for Anna to obtain her title as a lay-analyst was the candidate's own analysis, to be conducted with her teacher, Sigmund. This analysis lasted for nearly four years, which was unusually long compared to other training analyses.⁶⁸ While no analytic notes remain from this analyst/analysand, teacher/student, daughter/father interaction, the main preoccupation of this training-analysis is now accepted to have been Anna's sexuality. More specifically, Anna's time on the couch would have revolved around her numerous daydreams and fantasises, which were accompanied by masturbation. According to Young-Bruehl, we can safely venture that Sigmund's later case study "A Child is Being Beaten" (1919) alludes to Anna's time in analysis, as well as Anna's later presentation of "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams" (1922) at the Vienna

⁶⁶ Sigmund Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams," in James Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 24 vols, London: The Hogarth Press, 1953-74, vol. 5.

⁶⁷ "The lessons were rather more technical at the Wednesday-evening meetings of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, where Anna was allowed to sit on a little library ladder in the corner and listen to her father and his colleagues discussing one another's presentations." Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 52-3. Small library shelves ladder with three steps on climbing side. Reference Number: 3959 <https://www.freud.org.uk/collections/objects/3959/>

⁶⁸ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 107.

Psychoanalytic Society. Here, a case study with strong echoes to Anna's life speaks to a young woman with a so-called "masculinity complex." As Young-Bruehl summarizes:

(Sigmund) noted the "masculinity complex" in [...] two cases [from "A Child is Being Beaten"] and concluded that "when they turn away from their incestuous love for their father, with its genital significance, they can easily abandon their feminine role." Freud did not connect the female patients' assumption of a masculine role in the fantasies and daydreams with masculinized behavior or homosexuality. On the contrary, he saw it as an escape from sexuality: "the girl escapes from the demands of the erotic side of her life altogether. She turns herself in fantasy into a man, without herself becoming active in a masculine way, and is no longer anything but a spectator at the event which has the place of the sexual act." This much was also implied in Anna Freud's paper ["Beating Fantasies and Daydreams"], but she went on to show that the spectator who communicates, who writes down what she understands, enjoys a form of pleasure—not a masturbatory pleasure, not a sexual pleasure, but the social pleasure of praise.⁶⁹

Prior to her training-analysis with Sigmund, Anna masturbated along to her beating fantasies during which she identified with the male protagonist. In her writing, Anna concludes that social praise offered her gratification of a new sort, unlike the genital-sexual type. This blurring of gender was not an isolated case for Anna, whose parents had, long before, expressed their wishes of "normal femininity" for their youngest daughter.⁷⁰ Anna's pursuit of a profession within the public realm was also an act which she considered a "man's task,"⁷¹ the opposite of how she construed femininity; a mother and a wife (in this case, Anna often referred to her sister Mathilde, as the good woman).⁷² By the time she presented the lecture in question, Anna had relegated her own masculine tendencies to the realm of fantasy, stating that "social praise," could replace genital-sexual and masturbatory pleasures. Joan Riviere's psychoanalytic theories "Womanliness as Masquerade", published less than a decade after Anna's "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams," explains the apparent negation of homosexuality and of sexuality altogether.⁷³ "Womanliness," Riviere observed, can "be assumed and worn as a mask, both to hide the

⁶⁹ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 107.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 59.

⁷¹ Anna Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé, June 13, 1933. Quoted in Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 129-130.

⁷² "And once in my life I would like to be allowed to be like your Mathilde. Only it is most likely too late for that as one does not become like her, one is just like her." Anna Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé, June 13, 1933, quoted Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 130.

⁷³ Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as a Masquerade," *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 10 (1929), 306.

possession of masculinity and to avert [...] reprisals expected if she [or any other woman in this situation] was found to possess it.”⁷⁴ As such, while masculine aspirations in daydreams and fantasies could have had Anna discovered, social praise presented an acceptable and relatively gender-neutral means to gratify her masculine aspirations.

From her daydreams, in which she often assumed the role of a man, to her supposed masculinity complex, and aspiration to social praise, Anna’s desire to be recognized as or to have achieved as much as would a so-called *genius*, becomes apparent. It would be difficult for her to feel that she could achieve so much, given her status as a lay-analyst, as a child-psychoanalyst, and as a woman; indicating that Anna was genuine when she wrote: “I would be genius if only *analysis* would let me.”⁷⁵ Indeed, the resistance she implies feeling to her attaining the status of *genius* did not come from her father (at the least, not directly) but rather from the gendered societal norms of the time. For his part, Sigmund had even declared, in 1925, that child psychoanalysis was the future of the practice.⁷⁶

The space of the waiting room had been decorated and furnished in the same manner for as long as they both had known it, and, as such, there may have been little consideration other than convenience for the two to share the waiting room. Yet, for those looking in, for the analysand or visitor to the space, the dynamics appeared fully charged. Many questions can be read into the shared space: Did Anna live her life in her father’s shadow? Was she subjugated, by her own intention, by proximity, or even by default to her ‘genius’ father’s practice? This line of inquiry is one which has motivated many researchers to erroneously consider Anna’s entire body of work on child psychoanalysis as merely an extension of her father’s. Sigmund’s position and experience provided Anna with a foundation from which to diverge, a base from which she grew and later delved into theories of her own.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Riviere, “Womanliness as a Masquerade,” 306.

⁷⁵ Peter Heller, *A Child Analysis*, 175.

⁷⁶ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 11.

⁷⁷ One pertinent example of this type of impetus acquired from Sigmund’s theories is Anna’s development of her own theories on the mechanisms of defense. As Luis Cordon reminds us: “The book’s impact was so great that ever since then, most discussion of defense mechanisms has, consciously or otherwise, referenced Anna Freud’s description of them rather than

Patiently: The Waiting Room

Sometime between 1922 and 1923, Anna received her first child analysand. It was not until 1925 that Peter Heller's analysis began. He, like other child analysands, was scheduled for one-hour sessions, five times a week.⁷⁸ In truth, Heller and the other children in analysis were welcome to come see their child-analyst at all times. Anna describes an encounter between one of her young analysands and Sigmund: "When I was seeing [this boy], at a time when he was very engaged with his lion story, my father walked through the waiting room which he and I shared, and the little boy nodded to me and then said, in reference to my father, 'also a sort of a lion.'"⁷⁹ This young boy was Peter Heller. Anna employed Heller's case to discuss this relation between son and father. The lion was understood as a substitute for the father; for the young boy, actively engaged with his late Oedipal complex, "hated and feared" his own father as he was a threat to his relationship with his mother.⁸⁰ As I have argued previously, it is difficult to establish whether Heller's claim about Sigmund also being a lion meant that Sigmund was a threat to his relationship with Anna (who was, after all, Heller's avowed "second greatest love"),⁸¹ or that Sigmund's demeanor and person was a domineering one (either in contrast to Anna or to Heller). The lion is a rich motif within the description of Sigmund and his own analytic environment. Testimonies by his patient known as Wolfman and yet another by H. D. liken the psychoanalyst's space to that of "mysterious lion's den."⁸² The conclusion remains that the waiting room, by means of Sigmund's presence and his chosen décor, was inherently a "space of paternal prestige."⁸³ We are still bound to recognize the hierarchical dynamics which are established through the waiting room.

Sigmund's." Luis A. Cordon, "Freud, Anna (1895-1982)," in *Freud's World: An Encyclopedia of His Life and Times*, 2002, 151.

⁷⁸ Heller, *A Child Analysis*.

⁷⁹ Ron Spielman, "Books reconsidered: The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence. Anna Freud, 1938," in *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 36, No. 3.

⁸⁰ Anna Freud, *Mechanisms of Defense*, 74.

⁸¹ "Apart from my mother, and opposite to her, [Anna Freud] was my great love." Heller, *A Child Analysis*, 1-2.

⁸² Fuss and Sanders, "Freud's Ear," 38.

⁸³ Amélie Pelly, "Beyond the Couch: Anna Freud and the Analytic Environment," in *Design and Agency*, edited by John Potvin and Marie-Ève Marchand. (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

The effects of this on the child analysand are difficult to assess given the scarcity of notes and professional bond of confidentiality which exists. If only to represent one of the possible outcomes, Heller's experience can guide us. As per Anna's analytic notes, during the period from 1 May to 1 October 1930, on one (of many) occasions the young boy encountered Sigmund as he patiently waited for Anna: "[Heller] sits in the hallway, my father [Sigmund] goes by, he fantasizes being asked what he is reading. He wants to show: Marx is a greater man than you."⁸⁴ Heller here declares that Karl Marx, whose theories are familiar to the young boy, is a greater man than Sigmund. Heller fantasizes about belittling the psychoanalyst. As the child-analysand's memoir divulges, Heller had himself encountered Sigmund in the hall, and the exchange had left a profound impression on the boy. Sigmund had greeted Heller with a colloquial "*So groß, So groß*," (in English, "How you have grown!") striking the young boy on "the nerve of [his] ambition" to become a great man himself, as Sigmund's choice of *groß* meant both tall and great.⁸⁵ During the same period, Anna noted how Heller, who was constantly angry at her, had been compelled to write (perhaps a complaint) to her father Sigmund, while accusing Anna of only being famous because of her father's own genius.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly, the presence of her father complicated her relationship with her analysand. Sitting in the waiting room, or in the hallway as it was sometimes the case, Heller and other child analysands were exposed to an interior that became inextricable from Sigmund's own notoriety.

The path towards Anna's consulting room veers back from the waiting room, cutting through the entrance hall, down a dark corridor, and re-emerges into Anna's bedroom (Figures 1 and 6). This corridor, adjacent to the room occupied by Paula Fichtl, the family's maid, comprises a sort of punctured yet window-less hall. Interestingly, within Heller's description of his time waiting to meet with Anna, the waiting room itself is not overtly described. Most of the description focuses on the appearance of Sigmund, and only briefly does the young boy situate himself spatially. Instead, Heller alludes to the hallway connecting the waiting room to Anna's bedroom, presenting the space as an alternate waiting room for the child analysand. For those analysands

⁸⁴ Peter Heller, *A Child Analysis*, 231.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, xxii.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 127.

who experienced the shared waiting room, the hall becomes a space wherein the experience of the previous and following spaces are heightened — affording us with an opportunity to consider Anna’s break away from her father’s work. We are offered just a moment to chase the thought of the patriarch and emerge into complex space of child psychoanalysis.

I stood in the hallway. Simultaneously, my body held by the walls’ narrow embrace, which firmly grounded me — the ceiling so high above that its presence could barely be felt — and attracted me towards the great luminous window at its end. There was something of a promise of change emanating from Anna’s bedroom when viewed from this space (Figure 6). On the threshold of the bedroom and the hall, a sliver of a room existed between the two sets of doors. The motif in the hard wood floor’s pattern had changed beneath me, severing the hall from the bedroom (Figure 7). The doorway, about two and a half feet in depth, allowed for a moment wherein my body (perhaps hers?) was entirely on the “cusp of...” fully inhabiting the space of transition.

2. Bedroom: Space Overlooked

Lifting my gaze from the floor, the bedroom opened before me, radiant with light (Figure 8). Very little occupied the space during my visit in the summer of 2018, and the contrast with the heaviness of the waiting room, the darkness of the hall, and the density of the bookstore, gave me a sense of finally having arrived. I set my heavy bag down on a small plinth in the corner immediately to the right of the threshold, which offered me some relief. The generalized feeling was of lightness. The walls had been restored as closely as possible to the original colors of Anna's room, a cloud-like blue. The natural light from the curtain-less window (I still wonder if she kept them open or shut during the day), emphasized the vinyl appliqué of Anna's biographical timeline present on the longest wall of the room, and the free-standing banner announcing the renovations to come for the house-museum now at Berggasse 19.

It was Sigmund who had suggested, in 1921, that Anna, who was tired of the twelve-year old wallpaper adorning the walls of her first room and in a headlock with her mother on the issue of redecorating, exchange rooms with her aunt, Minna Bernays (1865-1941). At the time, Minna lived in the street-facing rooms which Anna's brothers, Ernst, Martin and Olivier, had occupied as children.⁸⁷ As the curator of the 2017 exhibition "*The Apartment Is Doing Well.*" *The Freuds at Berggasse 19*, Monika Pressler wrote: "Just like in other families, the Freuds sometimes fought out their family (power) relations over domestic questions — for Anna, who had two rivals in courting her father's favour, her mother and aunt, it must have been a triumph to have her father stand up for her cause."⁸⁸ Sigmund's suggestion presented Anna with new rooms which were approximately double the space she previously had. This new bedroom came with a separate room to be used as a study, becoming a consulting room shortly thereafter. If anything, Anna's bedroom was no longer located directly adjacent to her parent's bedroom, an arrangement which had apparently required that she pass directly through their room to reach her own. Moreover, this change in rooms marked Anna's transition from the domestic apartment and

⁸⁷ Monika Pressler, "*The Apartment Is Doing Well.*" *The Freuds at Berggasse 19* (Vienna: Sigmund Freud GmbH, 2017), 22.

⁸⁸ Monika Pressler, "The Apartment Is Doing Well." 22.

into a space where a commercial enterprise such as a psychoanalytic practice could exist without posing a threat to the domestic spheres presided over by Martha at Berggasse 19.

From the nineteenth century onwards, the gendered nature of the domestic (feminine) and public (masculine) interiors was explicit, and it defined what type of work women could engage, as well as which spaces were appropriate for women to work in.⁸⁹ The goal during the pre-modern era, as Juliet Kinchin explains, was to “[maintain] the bourgeois ideal of home as the antithesis of workplace, while also instilling the work ethic in the young,” resulting in women within the domestic sphere “being encouraged to undertake productive but non-commercial activities.”⁹⁰ For one, this feminine productivity at Berggasse 19 took the form of a knitting ‘club’ formed of Martha, aunt Minna and Sophie. Unfortunately for Anna, she found herself inadequate in terms of talent for knitting, and this suspicion of hers was made worse when her sister Sophie agreed.⁹¹ This did not keep her from obstinately pursuing the hobby, on her own, into old age.⁹² Moreover, Anna did not leave the familial nest, as her sister did upon being wed. As such, this move provided Anna with a space away from Martha’s domestic space, a space fit for commercial activities (read: psychoanalytic practice) of her own. This space presented Anna with an opportunity to negotiate the feminine and masculine norms of the domestic interior, challenging the public/private and feminine/masculine binaries at play within her analytic environment.

The silver lining in all this movement must have been, for Anna, the apparent trace of her father’s support and approval. Although the first impression may be that Anna’s private life was relegated to a space at the back of her father’s professional interior and life, and that her psychoanalytic ingenuity occupied rooms as a result of her work for her father, Sigmund’s actions suggested a generous support towards his daughter in the midst of the familial and domestic affairs at Berggasse 19. By means of her father’s suggestion, Anna found her way out

⁸⁹ Juliet Kinchin, “Interiors: Nineteenth-Century Essays on the ‘Masculine’ and the ‘Feminine’ Room,” in *The Gendered Object*, ed. Pat Kirkham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

⁹⁰ Kinchin, “Interiors,” 19.

⁹¹ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 45.

⁹² Ibid.

of the purely domestic and familial section of the apartment, landing a little closer to her chosen psychoanalytic path.

The new rooms also provided Anna with an opportunity to refurbish and reconfigure her living area. Although the many transformations of the old “boys’ room,” went undocumented, Engelman’s 1938 photograph of the Freud domestic apartments provide a visual point of departure for us to consider the rupture in style between Anna’s initial bedroom and her new bedroom and consulting room. As per Anna’s lament to her mother, the room in which she grew up was covered in a densely patterned wallpaper and was considerable smaller than the space allocated to her in the new rooms. Having moved into her new space, Anna wrote to her brother, the architect and interior designer Ernst:

Dear Ernst, [...] both rooms have turned out beautifully, much better than I had ever imagined. The bedroom has all of the light furniture, the toilette has been moved in between the two cupboards against the long wall, with the bed opposite in the window corner. The wash-stand is hidden by the folding screen and the middle is clear; the whole thing looks very much like a bedroom (*Schlafzimmer*) and dressing-room (*Ankleidezimmer*).⁹³ (Figure 9)

In her description, one fragment comes forth: “the whole thing *looks* very much *like* a bedroom.” Indeed, of the many characteristics of a bedroom, Anna’s was left lacking a defining quality: privacy. The room’s situation between the waiting room and the consulting room made it so that every single visitor to Anna’s professional quarters needed to walk through her bedroom.

If visual documentation of her analytic environment is scarce to begin with, the child psychoanalyst’s bedroom is arguably the least accessible of them all. In an apparently intentional omission, Engelman overlooked Anna’s *schlafzimmer* (Figure 10).⁹⁴ The photographer’s memoir does not explicitly make mention of the reason why he was to pass on photographing Anna’s bedroom. Meanwhile, Engelman did take Anna’s portrait on the third and final day of his photographic mission, confirming that the two had been in discussion, and somehow decided upon photographing Anna’s consulting room, and *not* her bedroom. While the reason for

⁹³ Letter from Anna to Ernst Freud, January 26, 1921, in Monika Pressler, “*The Apartment Is Doing Well.*” 22.

Engelman to exclude all bedrooms (at least, this is what can be gathered by examining the photographs published in *Berggasse 19*, and the proofs at the London Freud Museum) is not explicit, he did photograph the private rooms of the domestic apartment. As such, the omission of Anna's bedroom suggests that she may not have consciously conceived of the space as part of the analytic environment. Meanwhile, the bedroom's physical situation between the waiting room and the consulting room necessarily includes it in the fabric of Anna's analytic environment, and, consequently I will consider the child-psychoanalyst's unconscious motivations for its design and furnishing.

While some of the floor plans (unsigned) of Berggasse 19 schematically reveal the spatial arrangement of the furniture in Anna's bedroom (Figure 10 and Figure 11), they nevertheless contradict Anna's description to her brother. Since the floor plans remain undated, we can only suppose that we are presented with two different arrangements which were adopted over time. In addition to the certainty that Anna re-arranged her furniture, these plans can only confirm that the center of the room remained empty. The bedroom begins to emerge as passage, as a part of the analytic environment which was organized with the visitor/child-analysand in mind.

The Freud Museum in Vienna recently recovered an element of the bedroom's furniture, a valuable addition to the museum's few physical possessions. As recently as 2017, the museum purchased a dressing table, also known as a *psyche* (in German), which is known to have belonged to Anna in 1921 (Sigmund Freud Privatstiftung Vienna, 2018). This *psyche* (Figure 12) also known as a 'toilette' as per Anna's description, was part of an ensemble of white Art Deco furniture in Anna's bedroom. Stylistically, Penny Sparke defines Art Deco as a "modern decorative movement, or style, rooted in the idea of the artisanal manufacture but conscious, also, of the need to respond to industrial production, and committed to *objets de luxe* as it looked to the "golden age" of the eighteenth century."⁹⁵ As such, this recovered element confirms that the bedroom represented a stylistic break from the waiting room's bourgeois *fin-de-siècle* interior, but also hints at Anna's nuanced position with regards to modernist design. Anna's

⁹⁵ Penny Sparke, *As Long as It's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste*, 2nd ed. (Nova Scotia, Canada: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1995), 85.

choice of furnishing (if she did have a choice at all) suggests a simultaneous concern for the past and the future.

The dressing table is composed of a full-length mirror, flanked by two shorter pivoting mirrors on either side. These narrow mirrors rest on two columns of five small drawers made of wood, the whole painted a very pale blue. The drawers' depth creates an alcove, where the mirror, lining the back of the structure, rests on a low shelf connecting the two side columns of drawers. The piece is characterized by straight angular lines and subtle details such as the contrasting rectangular handles and circular black bolts fastening the three sections of mirrors at top and bottom. As part of the bedroom's ensemble of furniture, we can only imagine the remaining elements — washstand, cupboards and bed — to have agreed in style with this *psyche*. As per her description to her brother Ernst, the bedroom's furniture, placed along the walls or hidden by a folding screen, heightened the function of the bedroom as a passage, returning our attention back to the bodies which punctuated the space.

Due to the *psyche*'s position in the room, we quickly realize that the bodies of the multitude of daily passersbys (analysands, colleagues, friends and family) were reflected within its vertical mirror. The scant literature surrounding this interior persists in overlooking Anna's presence and to instead insert the body of another — Sigmund's. As the Freud Museum points out, this *psyche* is believed to have been the very mirror from which Sigmund's theory on young boys' need for their mother emerged, as per the 'Gone' games in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920).⁹⁶ In Sigmund's theories, an infant boy, believed to be his grandson Ernst Halberstadt, hides from view of the mirror, prompting the grandfather to elaborate new theories on the mother-son relationships. As per the Freud Museum's website, this anecdote about Sigmund appears before any discussion of Anna or her bedroom.⁹⁷ Anna's body must have been fully held within the mirror's reflection during the calmer times of her day. Yet, this eloquently-named piece of furniture presents us not with its owner's own image, but those reflections of the passerby. This function of the bedroom is far from the general conception of the analytic environment by the

⁹⁶ "Object of the Month: May: The Psyche of Berggasse 19." <https://www.freud-museum.at/en/news/object-of-the-month-may-263.html>

⁹⁷ Ibid.

patient as “analyst’s territory.”⁹⁸ Yet, as architect Elizabeth A. Danze signalled, the various conditions which occurred within the analytic environment are “charged” with meaning and consequence, even “the sequence of entering, including the specific transition across thresholds from one space to another.”⁹⁹

With the body of others inserting themselves endlessly within the space, the emphasis of the bedroom as a space that is clear for them to circulate, and finally its placement in the analytic sequence of entering, disrupt the notion of sexuality and privacy usually associated with bedrooms. The initial visceral question which arises is: why would a professional woman, especially a child-psychoanalyst, expose their most intimate living quarters and integrate it as part of the public domain? How were we to consider a bedroom of an unwed, childless woman, especially given that a busy thoroughfare circulates within? Or, how can the space of un-wed, childless, professional woman living in inter-war Vienna be discussed? What role, if any, does sexuality play in Anna’s psychoanalytic environment? Can feminism properly account for ascetic women, especially in a psychoanalytically informed manner? Yes, it can.

Neither Mother nor Wife: Erotics/Desire/Asceticism

*...the erotic dimension of architecture is the unconscious,
instinctual side of our experience of form and space, implicit, and virtual.
And like the unconscious, it is masked and encoded,
characterized by excess, elaboration, irony, and humor.
Eschewing the overtly sexual, the erotic is a state of
phenomenal ambiguity, indirection, tension, and suspension,
a virtual condition engendering feeling through tricks of perception.*¹⁰⁰

*The girl subject does not master anything,
except perhaps her own silence, her becoming, her excesses. (...)*

⁹⁸ Elizabeth A. Danze, “An Architect’s View of Introspective Space: The Analytic Vessel,” in *The Annual of Psychoanalysis: Psychoanalysis and Architecture*, ed. Jerome A. Winer, James William Anderson, and Elizabeth A. Danze, vol. 33, Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis and the Chicago Psychoanalytic Society (Catskill, New York: Mental Health Resources, 2005), 110.

⁹⁹ Danze, “An Architect’s View,” 110.

¹⁰⁰ Troutman, “The Modernist Boudoir,” 296.

*They do not want to master the other,
but to create themselves.¹⁰¹*

Two schools of thought, if we may call them as such, supplement the discussions around Anna's sexuality. First, focusing on the fact that she remained unwed and biologically childless her entire life, Young-Bruehl's perspective suggests that Anna's sexuality can be summarized as ascetic. The second perspective, formulated through Rebecca Coffey's fictional¹⁰² biography *Hysterical: Anna Freud's Story*, posits that Anna was secretly a lesbian. While they appear as contradictory, they do concern themselves with similar facts: Anna did turn away male suitors such as the Austrian physician Hans Lampl (1889-1958), and her fellow psychoanalyst and educator August Aichhorn (1878-1949). More importantly, from 1925 onwards, Anna found a life-partner in an American émigré named Dorothy Burlingham-Tiffany (1891-1979). Fundamentally, where Young-Bruehl's and Coffey's theories diverge is the point of interpretation of whether Dorothy and Anna were lovers engaged in a genital-sexual relationship, or whether they were ascetic life partners.

Anna and Dorothy shared a lifetime of child-psychoanalysis. Dorothy arrived in Vienna seeking psychoanalytic treatment for her children, bringing her to Anna and her newly established practice of child psychoanalysis. Dorothy had fled a difficult marital situation in the United States, leaving behind an unstable husband, Robert Burlingham. Eventually, the American began psychoanalytic treatment herself with Theodor Reik, continuing on with a training-analysis with Sigmund. Until Anna's exile to London, Dorothy and her children resided in the apartment directly above the Freuds' offices at Berggasse 19. In 1927, the women embarked in a first psychoanalytic project: the Hietzing School. By 1940, Dorothy would find her way to 20

¹⁰¹ Luce Irigaray, "The Gesture in Psychoanalysis," ed. Teresa Brennan, trans. Elizabeth Guild, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, (London and New York: 2002), 127–37.

¹⁰² Coffey's book is advertised as a fictional biography. Yet, what resonates through discussions generated about the novel is a widespread belief, an unspoken truth of sort, that Anna was indeed a lesbian. Since it is a fictional biography, I have not taken the content of the book into consideration for this thesis. Rather, I have employed it to acknowledge the murmurs and theories which Anna's silence on the topic of her sexuality have generated and continue to generate. See: Rebecca Coffey, "Psychoanalysts and HYSTERICAL: Anna Freud's Story," 2015, <https://vimeo.com/130993759>.

Maresfield Garden in London, to live out the rest of her life under the same roof as Anna – each with their separate bedrooms. The two women took on several psychoanalytic projects during their lifetime, including the Hampstead War Nursery in London (founded in 1940, the current day *Anna Freud National Centre for Children and Families*). Together, they advanced the field of child psychoanalysis through a practice of direct observation of child development.

Anna's relationship with the Burlinghams was nothing if not emotionally complex, awakening in her desires both of motherhood and of having another person for herself. In 1926, referring to her relationship with the children—both psychoanalytic and beyond— Anna writes:

I think sometimes that I want not only to make them [the Burlingham children] healthy but also, at the same time, to have them, or at least, something of them for myself. Temporarily, this desire is useful for my work, but sometime or another it will really disturb them, and so, on the whole, I really cannot call my need other than 'stupid'.¹⁰³

About her relationship with Dorothy, Anna felt similarly: "Towards the mother of the children it is not very different with me." Young-Bruehl remarks, on the one hand, that the relationship between Dorothy and Anna was akin to "twinship,"¹⁰⁴ with the women sharing letters where they referred to themselves as having such a unique bond as that of biological twins.¹⁰⁵ On the opposite end of the spectrum, Coffey mentions that the Freuds's lifelong maid, Paula Fitchl, had asserted that the two women occasionally shared a bed,¹⁰⁶ effectively exposing the couple as lovers.

The fact that Anna's literary estate and publications are sealed until 2020 complicates our understanding of Dorothy's and Anna's relationship. Moreover, since Anna's time was one of

¹⁰³ Anna Freud to Max Eitingon, February 19, 1926. Quoted in Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 133.

¹⁰⁴ Michael John Burlingham, grandson to Dorothy Burlingham, employed this very term of "twinship" to describe the women's relationship. Michael John Burlingham, "The Relationship of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham," *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis* 19, no. 4 (December 1991): 612–19.

¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, both Anna and Dorothy were respectively the youngest daughter of two illustrious fathers: Sigmund Freud and Louis Comfort Tiffany. For more on the similarities of the daughters' upbringings, see Burlingham, "The Relationship of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham," *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis* 19, no. 4 (December 1991): 612–19.

¹⁰⁶ Coffey, "Psychoanalysts and HYSTERICAL," 2015, <https://vimeo.com/130993759>.

“the age of sex scandals or sensational reportage of a certain ilk,”¹⁰⁷ openly expressed homosexuality would have threatened her aspirations within her profession. Was Anna, as Young-Bruehl posits, an ascetic woman? Or, was Anna, as Coffey claims in her fictional biography, secretly lesbian? I cannot help but wonder where Anna’s agency comes into play in the elaboration of both these views. Moreover, I wonder, can we not recognize sexuality within Anna’s story without publicly “out-ing” her? Simultaneously, the de-sexualizing tendency which permeates Young-Bruehl’s text, even if unintentionally, is disturbing. What would occur if we did not set aside the possibility of genital-sexual encounters between Dorothy and Anna, without yet inferring it? If we did, we would become more sensitive to the manner Anna presented herself through the space she occupied. After examining Anna’s space and her theories, I have decided to take up Young-Bruehl’s suggestion that we could recognize in Anna the embodiment of an ascetic. It does appear that our protagonist did endeavor to *appear as* ascetic, and respectfully, I acknowledge this as her intent. But what is asceticism exactly, if we refuse to view it as synonymous with chastity?

Contrary to Young-Bruehl, to accept asceticism as our view of Anna does not aim to culminate in negating sexuality itself. It is indeed just as likely that Anna and Dorothy shared some form of mutual sexuality as much as it is possible they did not, with hearsay and interpretation supplementing one side of the argument, and a highly policed body of correspondence shaping the other. Rather, this asceticism encourages us to approach Anna as a queer figure – elusive of any clear sexual categorization which the term ‘lesbian’ reinforces.¹⁰⁸ Anna and Dorothy’s union is one which challenges heteronormative dynamics of the couple, of motherhood and of family: through psychoanalysis, the women raised children together (both Dorothy’s and those of the nurseries), lived in great proximity, and while it is impossible to say whether they were

¹⁰⁷ While beyond the scope of this thesis, the year 1902 saw the beginning of a denunciation of the “misguided encroachment on private matters by the public organs of the state and the press” in Vienna, through the writing of journalist Karl Kraus, culminating in *Morality and Criminal Justice*. See Scott Spector, “Where Personal Fate Turns to Public Affair: Homosexual Scandal and Social Order in Vienna, 1900–1910,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007): 15–24.

¹⁰⁸ Donald E. Hall and Annamarie Jagose, “Introduction,” in *Queer Studies Reader*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), xvi.

homosexual lovers, they certainly were life-partners into old age, in a very loving relationship. Here, I borrow from John Potvin who argues for a similarly queer union: “That they did or did not have sexual relations together is not in evidence, nor is such evidence needed. After all, their homes and lifestyles were in and of themselves queer enough.”¹⁰⁹

Michel Foucault remarked on precisely these strengths and weakness of asceticism: “Asceticism as the renunciation of pleasure has bad connotations. But ascesis is something else: it's the work that one performs on oneself in order to transform oneself or make the self appear which, happily, one never attains.”¹¹⁰ What Foucault refers to as the “bad connotations” may be understood for Anna as her renunciation of her sexuality and/or closeting of her homosexuality in favor of safeguarding Sigmund’s reputation as a father, which directly safeguarded his psychoanalytic theories.¹¹¹ Rather, as Foucault continues, Anna’s ascesis can be considered for the enduring agential work she conducted on herself and on her desires, creating and presenting in a manner she deemed beneficial to herself and to her practice. Hence, while her presentation of asceticism discourages considerations of Anna as lesbian or queer, Young-Bruehl’s analysis of Anna’s ascesis brings forth an important parallel between her sexuality, its control and her professional aspirations:

Anna (...) and her father both associated her decisive career step [towards psychoanalysis] with her masculinity, however, so that they could never be unambivalently pleased. The price of her success as a sublimator was her continued asceticism. In her life, she stood where both she and her father had left their female

¹⁰⁹ John Potvin, “Vale(d) Decadence: Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon and the Wilde Factor,” in *Bachelors of a Different Sort: Queer Aesthetics, Material Culture and the Modern Interior in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 91.

¹¹⁰ Michel Foucault, “Friendship as a Way of Life,” in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth: The Essential Works of Michel Foucault, Volume One*, (New York: The New York Press, 1997), 137.

¹¹¹ As Coffey remarks during a colloquium on the topic of her fictional novel *Hysterical: Anna Freud’s Story* (2014), if Anna was openly a lesbian, Sigmund’s theories would be threatened as explains that Sigmund believed homosexuality in women could be cured by analysis, which he would arguably have failed to cure after his two rounds of analysis with Anna. “Psychoanalysts and HYSTERICAL: Anna Freud’s Story,” May 8 2015, New York University, 1 h 36 min. <https://vimeo.com/130993759> .

patients at the ends of their respective essays—that is, the point of escape from the erotic side of life, from femininity.¹¹²

With regards to Anna, asceticism is considered mainly in terms of renunciation of sexuality as opposed to a more general avoidance of pleasure and indulgence. This is due to the fact that, from a psychoanalytic point of view, nearly every aspect of one's development, from childhood onwards, is intricately linked to the child's sexual development. Moreover, Anna only needed to sublimate that which was a threat (both in terms of her ego, and of her social relations) to her greatest desire (her professional success). Anna would go on to sublimate (i.e. to gratify socially unacceptable impulses through socially acceptable means) her sexual impulses (as per her beating fantasies) into social praise, gratifying them as such.

Traditionally, when concerns of gender and sexuality and their impact on the relation between analyst and analysand arise, it is systematically concerned with the space and bodies in the consulting room. The placement of Anna's bedroom before her consulting room requires that we prompt such discussions before even reaching the couch. Therefore, we will examine these tensions as they exist between analyst and analysand and return to Anna's bedroom.

Given the relative physical stillness of the psychoanalytic scene between analyst and analysand, the tensions emanating from the arrangement in space have been discussed by analysts and scholars. Sex and gender dynamics (especially in cases considering Sigmund and his female patients) rise to the forefront. On the one hand, theorists such as Belgian philosopher, linguist and psychoanalyst Luce Irigaray denounced Sigmund's spatial organization of the analytic frame as one which emphasized the sexuality of analyst and analysand.¹¹³ Irigaray posits that both parties invariably brought their "sexed past and present" with them to the psychoanalytic session.¹¹⁴ This interpretation assumes that the act of lying down for the analyst is a sexually charged act, and that erotic tensions are palpable — by their presence or absence — within the

¹¹² Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud: A Biography*, Second Edition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008), 108.

¹¹³ Luce Irigaray, "The Gesture in Psychoanalysis," ed. Teresa Brennan, trans. Elizabeth Guild, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, (London and New York: 2002), 127–37.

¹¹⁴ Irigaray, "The Gesture in Psychoanalysis," 129.

psychoanalytic frame. Fuss and Sanders, who simplified Irigaray's argument into a compact "prone patient/erect doctor" duet, advance the discussion by suggesting that Sigmund's setting risked feminizing him, as he acted as a passive receptor — in their words: an ear, an orifice.¹¹⁵ Sigmund was attuned to his analysand, who, within this analytic relationship, became the mouth and transmitter. These interpretations are essential in that they evoke the normative heterosexual couple of man/active and women/passive, yet these considerations of sex, gender and sexuality need to be re-invented in a case of Anna and her child-analysand.

Venturing down another potential line of interpretation, the argument has been made that only one degree of separation exists between sexuality and death within the consulting room. Whether we look to ways in which psychoanalysis has introduced sexuality within the family,¹¹⁶ or to the history of the analytic couch itself, "[i]t would be foolish to think that recumbence and sexuality could ever be separated when in fact not even in death do they part."¹¹⁷ Tracing a solid visual and etymological history of the act of reclining and of the furniture which supports the act, Nathan Kravis brings us back to the Greek origins of the words 'recline' and 'clinic': Kliné — "a bed or a couch; also a funeral bier."¹¹⁸ Fuss and Sanders write of this very connection in response to their visit of Sigmund's analytic environment, underscoring the link between his collection of antiquities and the doubling of the space of analysis as a crypt. Hence, the blueprint of a consulting room contained both "an overdetermined space of loss and absence, grief and memory, elegy and mourning. In short, (patients) entered the exteriorized theatre of (Sigmund's) own emotional history, where every object newly found memorialized love-object lost."¹¹⁹ While these concepts have become the accepted points of reference for considerations of Sigmund's analytic environment, they neither adequately apply nor find an echo in Anna's analytic environment.

¹¹⁵ Fuss and Sanders, "Freud's Ear."

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 38.

¹¹⁷ Nathan Kravis, *On the Couch: A Repressed History of the Analytic Couch from Plato to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2017), 163.

¹¹⁸ Kravis, *On the Couch*, 12.

¹¹⁹ Fuss and Sanders, "Freud's Ear," 34.

There are many factors which render these usual concerns within the consulting room a matter which we must examine first in her bedroom. The first reason is that Anna's sexuality was questioned well beyond the consulting room, making it such that people moving through the space already arrived with a series of (preconceived) questions they sought answers to. Just like her love life was gossiped about in the cafés of Vienna at the time, Anna's sexuality has been discussed quite extensively by historians and psychoanalysts in the years following her death.¹²⁰ The cloak of discretion with which she veiled herself with made it difficult to ever appease any curiosity. The reality of child-psychoanalysis makes it so that Anna's own sexuality lingers in the room as her theories revolved around child development in a time of the newly accepted concept of infantile sexuality, a sexuality which depended to a large extent on the relationships between child and parents, or other closely invested adults (Figure 13).¹²¹ If the relationship a mother or a father fostered with their child could so easily alter the child's development (such as the case with the Oedipus complex), how would their child take to their psychoanalyst? Could they be replaced? After all, who was this single woman supposed to be for the child analyst? How were families to accept and understand Anna within their familial unit? How could a childless, unwed woman be of help to children? With such a particular set of parameters in terms of gender (fantasies of being a man), sexuality (masturbation, possibly chaste, possibly lesbian) and psychoanalysis, theorists generally tend to adopt reductive, unidirectional frameworks for

¹²⁰ (Young-Bruehl, Burlingham, Coffey)

¹²¹ Anna herself addressed the tensions and realities of infantile sexuality in the earlier years of her career: "There, then, are the very early stages of sexuality about which you have heard or read about under the name of 'infantile sexuality' or 'pregenital sexuality'. Curiously enough, the fight about these matters that went on for twenty or thirty years was not always directed against the discovery of these facts—because it is very difficult to deny facts once are drawn to light—but they concerned the terminology. The world at large would have been much more ready to accept these psychoanalytic assumptions if only the word 'sexual' had not been extended in its use to cover these pregenital stages, if one had called them something else—'erotic stages' or 'stages of preparation for sexuality'; but the adoption of any of these terms would have obscured the situation in an important manner. They would have denied the fact that these matters play the same role in the life of the child as genital sexuality plays in adult life; and besides, that these are the tributaries which flow together to make up adult sexuality." Anna Freud, *The Harvard Lectures: Anna Freud*, ed. Joseph Sandler, (London: Karnac Books, 1992), 41.

their consideration when it comes to Anna's life (either motherhood, lesbianism, or psychoanalytic).¹²² Here, perhaps the most constructive lens through which we can consider Anna is that of asceticism.

As Foucault has demonstrated, asceticism is “not a renunciation of pleasure or a disqualification of flesh, but on the contrary, an intensification of the body.”¹²³ Although Foucault refers specifically to the bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century, and earlier Christian practices, it remains that asceticism — beyond religious usage and the historical past — enables self-affirmation and requires a heightened self-awareness. It is a mode of sexuality which is highly informed by modes of power, a manner to exercise control. Reading Anna's sexuality through the notion of asceticism, I began searching for subtler traces of her self-affirmation, attentive to the fact that her desires lay in the direction of her profession and social praise.

In her text, “The Gesture in Psychoanalysis” Irigaray discusses the implications and nuances of gestures within the analytic session. Since Irigaray views the female subject as “the point of linguistic *absence*,”¹²⁴ the once masculine analyst/female analysand binary cannot solely see its gendered implications reversed when the seats are turned. As Judith Butler summarizes, Irigaray conceives of the feminine sex as “[eluding] the very requirements of representation” within a masculine and patriarchal economy.¹²⁵ In light of this, the author elaborates a theory of women's circular *jouissance* (pleasure or gratification, sexual or otherwise). In opposition to psychoanalysis' original belief in the Oedipus complex which situates the female subject as one who desires to possess the phallus of the father (hence, in a position of lack), Irigaray argues that “[girls] have no absolute need for either the penis or the phallus, but rather, much more, [they have] a need to be born to themselves and to gain their autonomy themselves, not least the freedom to walk — that is, the freedom to go away and to draw close in all ways.”¹²⁶ It is through their mastery of their lips, of the mouth and of their labia and sex, that girls come to

¹²² Sayers, “Anna Freud,” 145–205.

¹²³ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 123.

¹²⁴ Judith Butler, “Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire,” in *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 15.

¹²⁵ Butler, “Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire,” 15.

¹²⁶ Irigaray, “The Gesture in Psychoanalysis,” 134.

channel the circular energy. This energy, as Irigaray illustrates, flows within women from their labia to the crown of their heads, and encircles them as it courses through their surroundings to finally return inwards.¹²⁷ These parts of *jouissance*, although they can never be entirely autonomous, allow for reflexivity of the subject, for intentionality and agential decision-making removed from points of external pleasure. Granted, Irigaray applied this concept mainly with the female child in mind, and while its relevance and parameters must be reconsidered in cases of mature women, its application towards ascetic women proves highly pertinent. Such a model does not require the other (male or female) to partake in a genital-sexual exchange to achieve *jouissance*. Moreover, such a model enables us to visualize the reach of *jouissance* in space, claiming the surroundings as resulting from the subject's internal gratification.

This exercise orients us from how Anna conceived of herself internally to how she desired to show us, implying autonomy, agency and *jouissance* in the act of presenting oneself through one's interior. Anna's ascetism can then be seen as beneficial to her development, and further encourages us to approach issues of gender and sexuality in her work and her relationships, rather than shy away from the grey zones created by her queer lifestyle. When imagined as emanating from Anna's crown and back through her labia, this model of circular *jouissance* emphasizes a direct relation between gender, sexuality, womanhood, and interiors. The goal is therefore not to re-inscribe the space with traditional feminine (or even masculine) genital-desires, but with her own self-assertion. How did Anna's decision to appear as ascetic gratify her desires? How did this choice allow her *jouissance*? Being reflexive in nature, the points of *jouissance* which governed Anna's development and self-determination were in fact altruistic acts.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

All Yours: The Altruistic Surrender

*It was only after analysis, when she happened to fall ill,
that the young governess discovered that
the thought of dying was painful to her.
To her own surprise she found she ardently desired
to live long enough to furnish her new home and to pass
an examination which would secure her
promotion in her profession.¹²⁸*

In her most recognized writing on psychoanalytic theory, *The Ego and Mechanisms of Defense*, Anna identified ten of the ego's mechanisms (or methods) of defense: regression, repression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, projection, introjection, turning against the self, reversal, and sublimation/displacement of instinctual aims.¹²⁹ In itself, these theories were a substantial break from the method of approaching psychoanalysis which was in vogue in 1936. Anna implored psychoanalysts to recognize the ways in which the ego defends itself, manifestly, from the impulses of the id (unconscious). The focus was displaced from the depth of the nebulous adult ego and sought to shed light on tangible manifestations of the various ways that children cope with impulses.¹³⁰

Resulting from projection, one of the sub-mechanisms which warding off the disruptive impulses of the id was what Anna identified as "a form of altruism."¹³¹ This "altruistic surrender," as she would name it, was a positive method of identifying oneself to others. By desiring the wellbeing of others, the altruist succeeds in two essential goals: he/she "enables the subject to take a friendly interest in the gratification of other people's instincts" hence gratifying one's own, and "liberates the inhibited activity and aggression primarily designed to secure the fulfillment of the instinctual wishes in their original relation to himself."¹³²

¹²⁸ Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, 133.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Cordon, "Freud, Anna."

¹³¹ Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, 122.

¹³² Ibid, 129.

What is most jarring in Anna's case study on altruism lies in the resemblance between her own life experiences and that of the young governess which she employed as her subject. Anna and the governess shared significant biographical points of overlap made evident through Anna's vignette on the governess. In *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, Anna write how the young governess

displaced her ambitious fantasies onto her men friends and her libidinal fantasies wishes onto her women friends. The former succeeded to her affection to her father and her big brother, both of whom has been the object of her penis envy, while the latter represented the sister upon whom, at the rather later period of childhood, the envy was displaced in the form of envy of her beauty. The patient felt that the fact that she was a girl prevented her from achieving her ambitions and, at the same time, that she was not even a pretty enough girl really to be attractive to men. In her disappointment with herself she displaced her wishes onto objects she felt were better qualified to fulfill them.¹³³

Young-Bruehl employed this same excerpt to demonstrate that her study of the altruistic surrender had effectively emerged from Anna's analysis with her father, which centered around her issues of "masculinity complex" and her "goodness."¹³⁴ If the governess in question in Anna's book is truly none other than herself, we can therefore observe the way by which the younger Anna (around the time of her analysis with her father) understood her negotiation of her own impulses.

Just like the governess, Anna was unwed, childless, yet working with the children of others. Yet, the governess' story does not speak overtly to her sexuality. Anna does reassure us her readers that the governess's lifestyle "did not prevent her from taking an affectionate interest in the love life of her women friends and colleagues. She was an enthusiastic matchmaker and many love affaires were confided to her."¹³⁵

So, how can altruism transpire through the décor and space of the bedroom? To answer this question, it is important to identify the beneficiaries of Anna's altruism: her children analysands. Because "[...] the organisation of the external space figures very deeply both in the making of

¹³³ Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, 131.

¹³⁴ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 123.

¹³⁵ Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, 25.

the internal world of the analysand and in the transference relationship with their analyst,”¹³⁶ I demonstrate that Anna’s altruism is evident in how she organized her analytic environment to best suit the child analysand. Because of the sexual and gendered nature of the psychoanalytic practice, and her queer position in society, to appear ascetic was an altruistic act in itself. The question then becomes: is there a particular aesthetic of asceticism? I would argue that the effacement of privacy and, to some extent, the erasure of the markers of sexuality (such as a partner’s belongings) and sensuality, constitute the sense of altruism and asceticism presented in the bedroom. The bedroom here enacts the function of the altruistic surrender, seeking to please and appease others in order to gain gratification for its main occupant. In other words, Anna’s bedroom was wholly concerned with the gratification of those who would eventually venture to her consulting room.

The greatest altruistic act which Anna conceived of to appease the doubtful parent, and to gain the childrens’ full trust was to offer her most private space, her bedroom, to their inquisitive gaze. Discreet white furniture lining the pale, painted walls in the bedroom left only a light imprint of its contents on the visitor’s subconscious. Possibly, visitors and analysands crossed paths with the mirror, one’s reflection returned in a flash, validating their own presence within this private cum semi-public space. This light blue bedroom, with its arrangement of even lighter furniture, finds its moral purpose in the way it appeases the visitor’s scopophilic impulses — that is, the desire and pleasure obtained from sight. The bedroom is pure and free of accumulation or of a partner’s belongings. Physically, there is no place to stop, to rest. It is a hall which can only become a bedroom once both doors, to the hall and to the consulting room, are closed. Anna, consciously or otherwise, surrendered not only her ego to altruism to shield it from her inner most impulses, but likewise, she sought to alleviate the curious of any guilt or remorse he/she may have felt as they scoured the analyst’s bedroom in hopes of confirming or negating the rumors they heard.

The placement of bedroom before consulting room suggests an understanding and manipulation of domesticity as a tool within the larger analytic environment. As Rice remarks, “[f]rom the

¹³⁶ Cosimo Schninaia, “Introduction,” in *Psychoanalysis and Architecture: The inside and the Outside* (London: Karnac Books, 2016), xxi.

nineteenth century, the domestic environment provides the context for the codification and normalization of familial roles. In this way, domesticity is both unifying cultural and political project, as well as the context for the articulation of the autonomous individual subject.”¹³⁷ As such, what Anna was accomplishing by exposing her bedroom, as domestic and private a space as it should be, was to demonstrate that even if she did not officially fulfill the traditional roles of motherhood nor wife, she was closest to the ascetic; devoted to psychoanalysis as can be. Regardless of whether the bed was positioned upon the longest wall on the left upon entering (See Figure 8 and Figure 10) or immediately on the right, neatly outlined and hidden by the open doors leading to the hall and to the consulting room (as per Anna’s description of her room to her brother), her single bed was within the field of view. Potential and confirmed analysands, their parents, or even visitors could, in one swift gaze, assess the psychoanalyst’s status as single — at the very least, this bedroom did not appear as shared with a lover.¹³⁸

There exists another potential reason for the placement of the bedroom before the consulting room — a practical consideration this time. Anna may have decided to have her consulting room as the last room in the analytic environment due to the presence of a stove within, keeping the space she and her analysand’s spent most time in warm. Even this decision echoes the child psychoanalyst’s altruistic tendencies, caring to her visitors and patients’ wellbeing above her own. This also confirms that Anna’s career, her professional aspirations, were of utmost importance, as is suggested by her ascetism, her sublimation of her erotic impulses in order to achieve social praise. To that end, the logic driving the sequence and attribution of the two rooms is all the more evident: would Anna not, after all, grant her professional ambitions the most room (both figuratively and literally), as it that which had the potential to bringing her most social praise?

¹³⁷ Rice, “Photography’s Veil,” 291.

¹³⁸ A 2017 exhibition at the Sigmund Freud Museum in Vienna, curated by Simone Faxe and Johanna Frei, retraced the path taken by the psyche: “In London, the dressing table also stood in Minna’s room and later came into the possession of the housekeeper Paula Fichtl. In 1982, before returning to Austria, she gave this piece of furniture to an English antique dealer, who sold it to a customer in Frankfurt. In this roundabout way, the dressing table returned to its accustomed place as the owner wanted to see it in its original setting and offered it to the Museum.” <https://www.freud-museum.at/en/news/object-of-the-month-may-263.html>

Unconsciously registered

“Time to go in now, along a dark passage, turning right into Anna Freud’s room [...].”¹³⁹

In his recollection of his movement from waiting room to consulting room, Heller only alludes to Anna’s bedroom as the continuity of the “dark passage,”¹⁴⁰ namely the entrance hall, denoting the bedroom as quite unremarkable in and of itself. Heller also recalls finding himself in Anna’s *room*, which was in fact her consulting room. It is surprising Anna’s bedroom was not mentioned in Heller’s memoir seeing how it stood in contrast to the darkness of the hall. Heller was not one to restrain his thoughts nor feelings in his memoir, making it unlikely he omitted to mention his analyst’s bedroom in an attempt to respect her privacy. Rather, the bedroom’s appearance and composition are what shaped Heller’s perception — rather, *lack* of perception — of the bedroom. How could this room not be mentioned in his memoir, a room through which he travelled daily, for four years? Did Anna close her bedroom curtains during the day, as to echo the hall’s darkness, erasing the bedroom for registry by perpetuating darkness? Or, did the natural light unite with the modern pale colors to act as a catalyzer, marking the analysand’s passage and shifting their attention directly onto the psychoanalytic reasons for their visit?

All formal elements of Anna’s bedroom — from the blue hue of the paint on the walls and the placement of the furniture close to the walls— unite in effacing the space from conscious registry. The color chosen for the walls and the furniture has the effect of broadening the space of the bedroom, moving the walls away from the passerby. How it must have appeased the visitor to be able, in just a few strides, to peer into their analyst’s bedroom, without guilt, without even registering that they had the initial desire to examine the analyst’s private life. If registered, the child analysand who passed through the bedroom most likely humanized Anna, perhaps beginning to relate to her as a family member (governess, mother, or perhaps even sister) as they nearer their analytic hour.

¹³⁹ Heller, *A Child Analysis*, xxi-xxii.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

The bedroom's unassuming nature is further heightened by its physical placement within the apartment, with the window giving way onto the street. Emerging from the darkness of the hallway, the large window, perfectly aligned with the door, relieves analysts of the anxious murmur of the imminent analytic experience by opening directly onto the regulating public gaze. Offering more than the relief of daylight, Anna's window gives onto the opposing edifice's window, allowing for a mutual exchange of gazes. As we approach, standing closer to the window, the multiplicity of the gaze intensifies, exposing one to all and any onlookers (Figure 14). The social, or public, makes a claim on the private space of the bedroom as well, in a way which isn't existent for any other member of the Freuds family, whose bedrooms all gave way onto the courtyard's greenery.

A few steps later, Anna's analytic frame awaited them.

3. The Consulting Room: Governess to Child Psychoanalyst

*[...] past her large, fairly cluttered desk, and Wolfi,
a German shepherd, blackish tipped with brown,
as I may recall incorrectly (the room smelled of him);
and on the couch, covered with a carpet
and brown cloth antimacassars at head and foot.
Lying there, I would feel her behind me in the chair, knitting or crocheting,
and could squint upward to the left to see bookshelves
with volumes of Nietzches —
the Kröner (formerly Naumann) pocket-size edition —
in which I sometimes read to shield myself from analysis.¹⁴¹*

It took me a moment to dare enter into the space of the consulting room at Berggasse 19. I do not believe it appeared to me as empty, at least not instantly. I could see, vividly, in my mind's eye, the couch against the wall from the doorway. And the towering bookcases, her desk or table between the two windows, the Persian carpet in the center of the room. Where I stood then, the walls were restored to crimson red. I noticed the stove which was present in the photographs was missing from the space, the one where Anna and Lou-Andreas Salomé would gather around to converse. I found myself gravitating towards the only element in the room: a table had been placed near the left window, with small transparent acrylic cubes representing the rooms and their associated themes throughout the museum: Anna Freud Room "KinderAnalyse".¹⁴²

Out of approximately one hundred shots taken by Edmund Engelman on his faithful visit of Berggasse 19 in 1938, only four distinct photographic plates were devoted to Anna's consulting room.¹⁴³ The first, and most iconic, locates the viewer's vantage point from the area of the

¹⁴¹ Heller, *A Child Analysis*, xxi-xxii.

¹⁴² Looking back to the photographs I have taken of this day; I realize my memory of the space was highly selective. The consulting room walls were adorned by large architectural plans announcing the 2020 renovations the space was about to undergo. I barely noticed the incredible height of the ceiling, its plain, linear mouldings and the earthy tone it was left as.

¹⁴³ As Fuss and Sanders point out in the footnotes, Engelman snapped nearly one hundred stills of Berggasse 19, with fifty-five published in the English version of *Berggasse 19*. Within the same volume, two photographs of Anna's consulting room were published, and only two more where to be found in the Freud Archives in London.

doorway with a clear shot of the child psychoanalyst's couch (Figure 15). In the second and third plates, Engelman's camera was orientated respectively towards the wall to the left (Figure 16) and to the right of the entrance, the window-facing wall (Figure 17). These three photographs were included within Engelman's *Berggasse 19* photobook, constituting the majority of the photographic documentation of the apartment in circulation, with any other film negatives from Engelman's visit remaining inaccessible. The fourth photograph—also taken by Engelman—remained unpublished within the Freud Museum's (London) archives: a double exposure photograph simultaneously conceals and reveals the items populating the wall between the windows (Figure 18).

In addition to this material, a final unidentified photograph of Anna at her study around 1924 supplements the reconstruction of the room, a time at which she turned increasingly in aid to her father and his psychoanalytic duties due to his cancer.¹⁴⁴ While the details of this picture remain unclear, this last image confirms that a desk graced the space between the windows in the room which was to become her consulting room (Figure 19).¹⁴⁵ This photograph depicts Anna in the years immediately before she began to receive analysands, seated at her desk with her writing utensil, demonstrating her increased involvement in psychoanalytic societies, mainly in a role of secretary and translator for her father's work. Yet, previous to this and up until 1920, Anna had already undertaken a career in the field of education, as a teacher in an elementary school.¹⁴⁶ For nearly six years, Anna excelled in her position, creating unique bonds with students and earning the respect of her colleagues. While little is written of her time as a school teacher, Young-Bruehl does point to a young boy's memory of his teacher taking notes during her time with students: Could she have been taking notes of her observations of the children? While it may not have been intentional, Anna's experience as a teacher and governess flows seamlessly into her future of child-psychoanalysis. Did her time as a teacher impact the configuration or components of her room? Did it inform her specialization in the field of psychoanalysis? How does Anna's

¹⁴⁴ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 118.

¹⁴⁵ The desk currently on display in the Freud Museum in London is square while the rectangular desk depicted here appears to have been used in Anna's earlier career.

¹⁴⁶ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 65.

analytic frame distinguish itself from the other consulting rooms in her field, and moreover, how was it changed according to the bodies circulating within?

Gestures within the space

Here, in the consulting room, Anna's couch appears before us as if nestled, lodged between the furniture, accompanied to the right by a small circular table, and propped against the wall (Figure 15). The couch is oriented in such a way that the lively street, seeping in through two large windows, remains out of sight and at the back of the mind of he/she who lies down. A towering bookcase marks the head of the couch, and at the foot, a shorter, and stout, cupboard¹⁴⁷ delimits its foot. Folding the couch into the structure of the room, a succession of plush pillows flowed onto the far wall, and enabled analysands to explore more than ways of being on the couch; lying down, of course, but one could sit with their back against the wall, or sit upright, seeing that their position was only physically delimited by the furniture surrounding them. Allowing our eyes to drift upwards from the couch and onto the crimson red of the walls,¹⁴⁸ we come across a portrait of Anna's father and teacher. Positioned as such, the portrait welcomed the person in the doorway (in this case, the observers of the photograph) with a pensive and hostile gaze. From the couch, analysands were sheltered from Sigmund's portrait's penetrating gaze. Hung in allegiance, the founder's gaze most certainly crossed Anna's most of the time, as she too moved away from the prescribed position for the practicing psychoanalyst,¹⁴⁹ that is, behind the head of the analysand.

One of the fundamental differences between Anna's psychoanalytic techniques and those of her father are reflected in their respective use of space. Anna knew of her father's procedure; in order to access the adult analysand's unconscious, the part of the psyche which bore the source

¹⁴⁷ Object number 4926, Sigmund Freud Museum in London. Produced in 1920.

¹⁴⁸ In a discussion with Simone Faxe of the Freud Museum, she confirmed that the color of the walls currently on view at the museum was that of the original Anna consulting room.

¹⁴⁹ Sigmund Freud, "On Beginning the Treatment: Further Recommendations on the Technique of Psycho-Analysis I," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* XII (1911-1913) (1913): 121-44.

and answer to the psychosis, the analyst must encourage — mainly by not hindering or interrupting — free association. Psychoanalysis, also known as the talking cure, required that the analysand speak freely, sparking connections and associations between the past and present. In turn, the analyst and analysand could interpret and unpack the free associations that arose. The visible gestures associated with the original analytic dyad of analyst and analysand are scarce.¹⁵⁰ One participant, the analyst, would sit, listen, and attempt to connect with his/her own unconscious in order to enable the best possible interpretation and analysis.¹⁵¹ The other, the analysand, would recline on a sofa-bed, usually gazing away from the other person in the room. Their main task is to speak, uninhibited, and, with some practice or luck, in the manner of free association. In this type of adult analytic frame, the imperceptible movements of the mind are what matter the most. Although Anna's early technique spurred from the remnants of classical psychoanalysis, she retained only that which advanced her own practice, which was informed by her experience as a school teacher.

Anna's notes on her sessions with the young Heller reveal the analyst's sensitivity to the impact of gestures in the analytic frame. She remarks upon what appears a banal gesture: "It confuses him that I am not sitting in my usual place but stand by the stove."¹⁵² This attention to and respect for the child's agency is manifest in the educational turn that Anna encouraged for child psychoanalysis. Anna recognized already in her Viennese consulting room that, contrary to adult patients, children would be inhibited by the restrained recumbent position. As such, the pioneering child analyst departed, in so far as the child wished to, from the couch and followed the child's lead. Did the child want to play? Games such as Tiddlewinks and Halma were at their disposition, as well as books and crayons.¹⁵³ Expanding the limits of her spatial interactions

¹⁵⁰ While the common belief was that the psychoanalytic hour is completed in utter silence on behalf of the analyst, some level of discussion and interaction is generally involved. Sometimes prompts, other times small talk, as per the examples listed in Momigliano's survey of the analytic setting, break the opaque silence which is usually imagined.

¹⁵¹ Sigmund Freud, "On Beginning the Treatment, 121–44.

¹⁵² Heller, *A Child Analysis*, 35.

¹⁵³ While Melanie Klein (1882-1960), also a pioneer in the domain of child psychoanalysis and an opponent of Freudian—father and daughter—theories in short, also employed child's play, the two women did so quite differently. Anna believed that Klein's literal interpretation of child's

allowed Anna to distinguish herself from the other adults within the child's life. She became an adult of trust, somewhere between a friend and a teacher, a respected figure of guidance.

Already having moved away from the couch, perhaps standing near the stove, sitting diagonally from the child at her study, the most defiant action occurring within Anna's consulting room is that of dialogue. To the generations after her own, the notion of speech within a consulting room, within childcare, may seem absolutely banal and natural. Child care centers, whether day cares or Montessori schools, have become embedded within the fabric of our society ever since the end of the second world war. As Luis Cordon reminds us, Anna "had to convince the psychoanalytical community of her time that speaking with children as they are actually going through the conflicts of childhood might provide a more accurate account of those conflicts than retrospective interviews with adults."¹⁵⁴ The complete range of the dialogue between child analysand and Anna is difficult to recover. According to the notes left by Anna of her analysis with Heller, it appears that, as one can expect, the conversations were largely divided into two categories: emotional and educative. In any case, it is through this dialogue that the analysand and analyst worked through dreams and lived events before reaching an interpretation which the analysand will accept.

Through a seemingly acute comprehension of space and the performances of self which are enabled within it, Anna succeeded in creating a new manner through which to conceive of the consulting room: that of gestures. Anna understood that gestures, such as crawling on the carpet, or offering books as shelter for her analysands, are what activated the potential of the elements in the room. Interactions made the space known, familiar, and safe for the child. This, in turn, was essential to the development of her pioneering child psychoanalysis, hinting towards a conception of interiors which diverges from the initial analytic frame, in so far as it could be activated through gestures beyond the supine and prone dyad.

I have wondered why I thought it essential to include dialogue, the movement of the lips, a movement often imperceptible to historians, as part of Anna's gestures. I felt the need to show

play was reductive, and she too often "neglected external reality in attending to the internal, psychic determination of children's play." In Sayers, "Anna Freud," 155.

¹⁵⁴ Cordon, "Freud, Anna," 151.

that she did have a voice, and she did use it, perhaps more than her own father did. Anna was vocal as an intellectual, as an educator, and as a daughter after the passing of her father. But the closer I ventured to the nucleus of her work, her consulting room itself, it is as if her voice was silenced. No exchanges were noted in Engelman's memoir, and his photographs appeared so still. The house museums barely echo her words, inserting those of others (curators, or Sigmund's) above her own.

Modernity, poetry and household-gods

Décor reflects the analyst's witting or unwitting participation in an age-old debate about the moral meanings of appearance.¹⁵⁵

In Anna's consulting room, there is no accumulation. Before us, a couch, a bookcase, a small table all lined against the wall. In short, the essentials for her practice were disposed strategically within the space. Succumbing to the irresistible exercise, architectural historian Volker M. Welter compared Anna's consulting room to Sigmund's and concluded, in passing, that the daughter's space fell short of her father's: the "furniture along the walls are isolated individual pieces rather than an ensemble with an atmosphere."¹⁵⁶ Welter argues that Anna's personality does not emanate from the décor of her consulting room, and that the "close bond between an inhabitant of a home and his possessions" was never achieved by the child-psychoanalyst while in Vienna.¹⁵⁷ The author lets Anna off the hook; certainly, he assures us, the décor of Anna's consulting room had not benefit from sufficient time to mature. In light of the fifteen years Anna occupied these rooms, I would challenge this view. The value of Anna's psychoanalytic interior lays not in its investiture of personality or atmosphere, but in the way objects were activated, as well as the motivations for which they were selected. Yet, before even beginning to examine Anna's décor for its uniqueness, there exists definite pitfalls to the practice of comparing

¹⁵⁵ Kravis, *On the Couch*, 139.

¹⁵⁶ Volker M. Welter, *Ernst L. Freud, Architect: The Case of the Modern Bourgeois Home* (New York: Berghan Books, 2012), 101.

¹⁵⁷ Volker M. Welter, *Ernst L. Freud, Architect: The Case of the Modern Bourgeois Home* (New York: Berghan Books, 2012), 101.

daughter and father's consulting rooms. Welter's statement on the lack of "atmosphere" emerges from the fact that Anna's decoration seemingly lacks a definite direction and cohesion: the child psychoanalyst's consulting room strikes us neither as bourgeois *fin-de-siècle*, nor as modernist, making it difficult to speak of it in terms of style, and of the history of design.

There is little doubt that Welter's statement is, if only unintentionally, caused by the need for clear-cut historic classification, which Anna's analytic environment refuses. In an age of transition from the *fin-de-siècle* era to modernity, the parallel between the interior and the self was heightened. As Welter points out, Sigmund's consulting room and his analytic environment at large has come to define the *fin-de-siècle* period, serving as an emblem of domesticity, of interiority and the bourgeois self in the nineteenth-century.¹⁵⁸ Supporting the author's claim that Anna's interior remained incomplete due to lack of time, assurance, and self-awareness—all elements which would have supposedly led to an accumulation of objects and a display of her interiority—is the assumption that Anna and her consulting room were subject to the same notions of the *fin-de-siècle* interiors as her father.¹⁵⁹ The photographic documentation for Anna's and Sigmund's consulting room, both immortalized by Engelman in 1938 within three days of each other, effectively amplifies a sense of uniformity between the two spaces. Could this encourage the impulse to compare one as 'more' and the other as 'less'? Yet, The Freuds' and their consulting rooms, even in such close proximity, belong to two very different realities. The comparative exercise is inherently flawed as it does not take into account the gender, sexuality and social standings of their inhabitants—biographies, in short—of their inhabitants in junction to the social movements which they lived. (Even if we were to disregard the inhabitant's social relations, and solely consider Anna's consulting room as an attempt at the display of *fin-de-siècle* interiority, it is still no surprise that Welter finds a lack of cohesion: asceticism and altruism (here directed toward the analysand) do not encourage such visual displays of personality within

¹⁵⁸ Volker M. Welter, *Ernst L. Freud, Architect: The Case of the Modern Bourgeois Home* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 97.

¹⁵⁹ Summarizing Walter Benjamin's qualification of the bourgeois interior and the collector, Rice states that "[t]he indefatigable collector understands that such a fabrication of the self is a continual process, a set of techniques and practices that ensure the ongoing viability of self." Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior*, 9.

Anna's consulting room.¹⁶⁰ Never would Anna's goal have been to create an analytic environment which foregrounded her personality and exposed her in such a way.)

Vienna as a whole during this period is understood as somewhere "between tradition and modernity" during the years of Anna's early analytic environment.¹⁶¹ By the time Anna began to receive her first analysands in 1923, modernity had clearly begun to permeate the cultural fabric of Vienna. Driven by a marked energy of the "*tabula rasa*" type, modernity was marked by "[t]he dominance of science, technology, and rationality," situating itself under the mark of masculinity.¹⁶² As Penny Sparke posits, modernist architecture and design took a result of this masculine high culture and taste (associated with "triviality, fashion novelty") emerging as its feminine counterpart.¹⁶³ By means of its association with psychoanalysis and through its function as a professional/public space occupied by a woman, the consulting room effectively aligns with the greater spirit of modernity which anchored itself with scientific advancement. However, the furnishings within Anna's analytic environment moved in a direction which resists simple categorization, neither falling into the category of the feminine mass market (as Art Nouveau, or even Art Deco furniture suggested), nor into the masculine ideologies which accompanied modernist design. As a Jewish citizen in a then-increasingly anti-Semitic Vienna, Anna may not have had the luxury of purchasing an entire ensemble of new furniture, limited by the hard economic times and her situation as unwed and as daughter of the household.¹⁶⁴ Instead, the

¹⁶⁰ Contemporary psychoanalysts have also turned *en masse* towards "(a)usterity in office décor" to enact "a distancing from Freud's exuberantly self-revelatory consultation-room motif."

Kravis, *On the Couch*, 139.

¹⁶¹ Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, N.Y: Camden House, 2009).

¹⁶² Sparke, *As Long as It's Pink*, 49.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ While the Freuds financial situation fluctuated during the interwar period, it was generally characterized by scarcity and reliance on generosity of Sigmund's patients. From the aftermath of the First World War, when Sigmund was obliged to write a "piece of popular writing" for a bag of potatoes, coming near full circle as the Second World War loomed, when payment for trainings was requested in "stable" currencies in anticipation of the family's exile to London. Moreover, Anna's income was employed as part of the household income, making it unlikely

décor of Anna's consulting room is comprised of elements both looking to the past and to the future: a cohabitation of the family's hand me downs (such as the oriental carpets) and newer, more modern, pieces such as those Anna commissioned from Felix Augenfeld (1893-1984).

Some direct lines can be drawn between Anna's furniture and the modernist movement which was imminent in Austria during the inter-war period. Both the cupboard (Figure 15), and the larger bookcase with an integrated mirror (Figure 17) on the wall opposite the window, were designed by Augenfeld, a modernist architect and designer and friend to the Freuds. Augenfeld studied under Vienna-based, proto-modernist Adolf Loos (1870-1933) in the early twentieth century and appears to have adopted his teacher's belief that ornamentation must be reduced within the bourgeois *fin-de-siècle* interior.¹⁶⁵ In addition to his contributions to Anna's consulting room, it was Augenfeld who had designed, as per Mathilde Freud's request, Sigmund's unique desk chair,¹⁶⁶ and he would later collaborate with Ernst and Anna for the construction of Hochtrotterd, Anna and Dorothy's cottage. As per his own writing on his practice in 1945, Augenfeld, who was by then in exile in New York, describes at length his evolving views on his practice and its ties to individuality and psychoanalysis;

Mr. Augenfeld believes that a client's hobby [sic] and special way of life should not only be reflected in his interiors, but should even be encouraged by the creation of arrangements and contraptions which will make it specially comfortable to indulge in his passions. This is why he feels that a careful scrutiny and analysis of a person's character is indispensable for a successful residential job and should precede the actual design work. It is a typical experience familiar to every architect and designer that the client very often is unbelievably ignorant or unconscious of his own needs and that it is part of the designer's job to reveal to him what he really wants, always finding enthusiastic approval when he hits the right spot. The effort to identify oneself with somebody else's needs and

that the interwar years were rich in disposable income for Anna. See Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 78.

¹⁶⁵ Adolf Loos and Adolf Opel, *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays* (Riverside, California: Adriadne Press, 1998).

¹⁶⁶ Document 8.2.1974, Freud Museum Archives, London. In the exchange between Hans Lobner and Felix Augenfeld. Here, Felix Augenfeld confirms that it was Mathilde who requested his services for the design of Sigmund Freud's peculiar desk chair.

a great deal of psychoanalytic instinct is required not only for interior work, but for any kind of residential and even industrial design work.¹⁶⁷

The passage cited above suggests that Augenfeld, like Anna's brother Ernst, embodied in his architectural and interior decoration a unique assemblage of psychoanalytical and modernist concerns of space, interiority and inhabitants.

While his remark in passing upon Anna's consulting room does deserve reconsideration, Welter's research on Ernst L. Freud's architectural and interior design work is immensely valuable in the way it examines his subject's nuanced position within the modernist movement. Welter suggests that the Freud sibling was a proponent of a type of "modern bourgeois home."¹⁶⁸ Ernst emulated Loosian beliefs that inhabitants should retain their previous belongings, and that their new space should be designed free of ornament, but ultimately not practice a *tabula rasa* approach to his modernist dwelling projects, similarly situating Anna's sibling in between *fin-de-siècle* and modernist movements.¹⁶⁹ But, as Welter identifies, the siblings share more than their in-betweenness.

At the beginning of her analysis with her father, Anna felt for the first time an urge to write poetry, a means to sort that which she was grappling with internally, a drive "as timeless as adolescence but which is also "modernist" and known for its debt to psychoanalysis."¹⁷⁰ The reverse relation of poetry to architecture and psychoanalytic environments—psychoanalytic interiors were effectively indebted to poets capacity to observe the world around us—is observable in her brother Ernst's practice as an interior decorator and architect, Welter remarks. A common denominator, beyond that of psychoanalysis, arises between the siblings: the Austrian Bohemian poet, Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926).

¹⁶⁷ Document B.31A, U.L. Pack, Exchange between Ernst Freud and Felix Augenfeld, 1945. Freud Museum Archives, London.

¹⁶⁸ Welter, *Ernst L. Freud*.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud*, 81.

By means of her relationship with Lou-Andreas Salomé, French psychoanalyst, author, narrator and muse to Rilke, and by extension of her strong appetite for poetry, Anna was familiar with Rilke and his work. As early as 1913, Anna owned a copy of *Buch das Bilder* (The Book of Images) (1902) in her personal library which she would be fortunate enough to have signed and dedicated in 1915 by the poet himself.¹⁷¹ In his discussion of Ernst's relationship to modernism, Welter underscores how the latter's knowledge of Rilke's work is based on his sister's extensive library of Rilkean works. In light of these intersections between Ernst, Anna and Rilke, I wish to consider Welter's conclusion about Ernst in relation to Anna's consulting room.

According to Welter, in his profession as architect and interior designer, Ernst valued, above all, the inhabitant's *relation* to objects composing the space: Anna's older brother saw "the [domestic] interior [as] a hierarchically ordered sequence of spheres of responsibility of architect, craftsmen, and the client or inhabitant."¹⁷² This letter from Anna to Lou Andreas-Salomé demonstrates a similar sentiment on behalf of the child psychoanalyst: the architect's, interior designer or decorator's knowledge should not bear more ground than the inhabitant's own knowledge of his/her interior and the objects which populated it. Following her brother's visit to her new living and analytic environment, Anna complained to her dear confidante about how,

[i]n the short time [Ernst] was here, he wanted to make all sorts of improvements in order to demonstrate to all of us what we should do in an improved manner. And because I did not want to follow at all, he found that I had lost my youth, had no courage and had become conservative, exactly as I should not be. But I believe that he is wrong. Because I live here I know that everything came about somehow over the course of time according

¹⁷¹ Anna Freud collection at the Freud Museum in London.

¹⁷² "Once again Loos's idea of modernity, especially where domestic architecture and interiors were concerned, ran counter to many of his contemporaries' convictions. For Loos, architecture was a service both to the public and the individual clients. Major public buildings should stand out in their surroundings, but domestic architecture should avoid being overly visible, for example through unusual artistic means, and thereby possibly causing offence. These ideas, however, were severely tested by several of the houses that Loos had designed in such a plain and inconspicuous architectural language that they stood out for exactly that reason." Welter, *Ernst L. Freud*, 44-5.

to the essence of the humans around us, and I orient myself accordingly. I don't know if this is bad.¹⁷³

Anna here explains that her ambivalence toward change is not due to “conservatism,” but rather that she understands the composition of an interior from a perspective removed from artistic and design trends. As such, the items she surrounded herself with contained meaning, held parcels of memories and relationships within their fabric, or were employed in such a way that meaning would soon be embedded within them.

Rilke, just like Anna, is today considered as a “transitional figure” amidst *fin-de-siècle* and modernist thought.¹⁷⁴ His poems on experience imparted the knowledge that “things required places in humans’ lives in order to stimulate creativity:”

This meant that we needed to recognize the animated character of things; one of the important tasks of the time as Rilke explained it: ‘On us rests the responsibility of preserving, not merely their memory (that would be little and unreliable), but their human and laral worth (*“Laral” in the sense of household-gods*).’¹⁷⁵

As Anna wrote to Andreas-Salomé, the objects in her life also came about in meaningful ways; “[...] I know that everything came about somehow over the course of time according to the essence of the humans around us, and I orient myself accordingly.”¹⁷⁶ Similarly to Rilke and Ernst’s beliefs, it was purpose, for Anna, which gave meaning to the objects populating her analytic environment.¹⁷⁷ Take for example the carpet placed on Anna’s analytic couch, which Heller recalls, and the Oriental rug present in the center of the waiting room – most likely these items were part of the Freud household possessions prior to Anna’s consulting room. Elements of her decor, such as the placement of the carpet on the couch, does strongly recall her father’s own *fin-de-siècle* interior. Yet, Anna negotiated her standing between *fin-de-siècle* and modern interiors in part through her gestures. She found renewed purpose in these objects, kindling the

¹⁷³ Letter from Anna Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé, 10 May 1923.

¹⁷⁴ Doug Haynes, “‘Gravity Rushes through Him’: ‘Volk’ and Fetish in Pynchon’s Rilke,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 58, no. 2 (2012): 308.

¹⁷⁵ Welter, *Ernst L. Freud*, 45.

¹⁷⁶ Letter from Anna Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé, 10 May 1923.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

livelihood of these laral objects.¹⁷⁸ Should the child sit on the rug? The rug would then become a tool, a means for expression and an intermediate in the communication:

Sitting on the floor and pointing to a pattern in Anna's oriental rug, the little girl asked, 'Will [treatment] take as many days as there are red bits? or even as the green bits?' No, treatment would take much longer — at least as many days, Anna indicated, as there were medallions on her rug. That said, her young patient helped persuade her parents to let therapy continue.¹⁷⁹

It was hence imperative for Anna that her interior be composed of items which “came about somehow over the course of time according to the essence of the humans around [her]”, which agrees in spirit with what writer Denis Donoghue paraphrased as Rilke's directive to “understand” and “transform” things which we possess, rather than disposing of them, or accumulating the newest versions.¹⁸⁰ Here, style and trends are set aside for the safeguarding and repurposing of belongings, combined with an awareness of investment and agency on behalf of things.

What distinguishes Anna's relation to the décor from her *fin-de-siècle* counterparts remains her recognition of separate element's agencies by her gestural activation of them. Not only, as Rilke himself wrote, do objects which are cared for in this way become “infinitely more, infinitely intimate,” they are vested with the essence of the humans who cared for them: “almost everything (was) a vessel in which they (the past generations) found the human and added to the store of the human.”¹⁸¹ In this respect, the furnishing and objects composing Anna's consulting room was not unlike what Fuss and Sanders theorized of her father's accumulation, that is, Sigmund's own inner life, presented along the walls of his studies.¹⁸² The distinction is found in the finality: Anna's recognition of objects, old and new, as household gods was informed by a sense of urgency, of impending loss—first, of tradition, with the onset of modernity and its

¹⁷⁸ Rainer Maria Rilke to Witold von Hulewicz, 1925. Quoted in Donoghue, “The Store of the Human,” 601.

¹⁷⁹ Sayers, “Anna Freud,” 153.

¹⁸⁰ Denis Donoghue “The Store of the Human,” in *The Hudson Review*, Vol 18, No 4 (Winter, 1965-1966): 601.

¹⁸¹ Rainer Maria Rilke to Witold von Hulewicz, 1925. Quoted in Donoghue, “The Store of the Human,” 601.

¹⁸² Fuss and Sanders, “Freud's Ear,” 31–47.

frenetic pace; then of the life she had in Vienna, with the impending war at their door; and finally of familial comfort, with the deteriorating health and old age of her parents. This constant threat of upheaval and of drastic change likely shaped Anna's relation to tradition and modernity during her time in Vienna. Her concern with the interior is not self-centric, but rather imbued with a need to salvage, to safeguard and to re-invested meaning in a time of uncertainty. Rilke and Anna were similarly sensitive to those objects which were "slated for demolition,"¹⁸³ in a western society so intent on replacing them with "indifferent and empty things."¹⁸⁴ Hence, while her use of gesture to activate the elements of her consulting room moved Anna's practice away from traditional techniques of psychoanalysis, and that her position as a young female professional aligned her with the spirit of modernism, the furniture and décor in her consulting room identifies Anna as a transitional figure, in the midst of negotiating *fin-de-siècle* traditions and modernism.

¹⁸³ Denis Donoghue "The Store of the Human," in *The Hudson Review*, Vol 18, No 4 (Winter, 1965-1966): 601.

¹⁸⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke to Witold von Hulewicz, 1925. Quoted in Donoghue, "The Store of the Human," 601.

Conclusion

Discarded from Engelman's book on Berggasse 19, the fourth photograph of Anna's consulting room remained in an album within the Sigmund Freud archives (Figure 18). Its double exposure, intentional or not, accentuates the cryptic mirage of Anna's analytic environment. Opaque and faint, the layers of book spines, flowers, textiles (blankets, throws and oriental carpets) and windowpanes reveal the multiplicity and omnipresence of the public eye and tease the viewer by never quite revealing themselves. Instead, the layers entice the eye across its united surface and just as promptly refuses it access, remaining beyond the gaze's reach.

As this thesis has demonstrated, each room comprising Anna's early analytic environment can be read in light of the roles she attempted to project herself into: *mother and wife* — *genius* — *governess*. The examination of Anna's biographical details, as well as attention to her own theories, demonstrated that these titles each informed a part of the analytic environment. In the waiting room, Anna's apparently unattainable aspiration to the highly gendered title of *genius* enters productively in a discussion of the bourgeois *fin-du-siècle* interior, its ideals, and its doubled function as part of Sigmund's analytic environment. Continuing on down the hall, and arriving in the bedroom, the image of analyst as *mother and wife* further builds upon the issue of gender identification at play for Anna, opening onto a discussion of her sexuality. The bedroom's décor responds through its furnishing to our question: Can Anna's apparent asceticism translate spatially and decoratively in space, and, if so, to what end? In this bedroom, we note how Anna's asceticism may well have been informed by altruism, resulting in a room which disappears from registry all the while relieving the analysand of any concerns (such as potential homosexuality) pertaining to their analyst's private life. Finally, under the guiding star of *governess*, the consulting room provides Anna with the spatial means to see her career evolve to that of a child-psychoanalyst. Here, the analyst and analysand are evoked both for their activation of the different objects within the space, and for their interactions. Since it is the room with the most photographic documentation, the décor and furnishing of Anna's consulting room calls for a recognition of the stylistic and conceptual grey zones present between *fin-de-siècle* and modernist interiors.

There is no chance that Anna's analytic environment can be experienced fully in 2019 — it is too much to expect of photographs and written words to contain all the immaterial dynamics and material situation of the psychoanalytic environment at hand. Even the attempt of comprehending her analytic environment by means of her status, her theories and her aspirations induces a sort of psychosis within the researcher. This psychosis should be no surprise if we recall the nature of the documents which initiated this incursion into Anna's interior: photography. As Rice remarks, "photography masks interior spatial experience, ensuring a kind of privacy for the inhabiting subject, but a privacy that is implicated problematically with publicity and publication as visual questions."¹⁸⁵ In addition to the doubleness of the photographed interior, Anna's psychoanalytic grasp on her psyche and her interior enabled her to negotiate a complex web of gender and sexuality, of the public and the private. As one psychoanalyst beautifully summarized, "health is the ability to stand in the spaces between realities without losing any of them—the capacity to feel like oneself while being many."¹⁸⁶ This resonates particularly true, especially for a woman whose multiple roles in society were contrived by gendered expectations of her time.

¹⁸⁵ Rice, "Photography's Veil," 289.

¹⁸⁶ Philip M. Bromberg, "Standing in the Spaces: The Multiplicity of Self and The Psychoanalytic Environment," *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 35 (1996): 513.

Figures

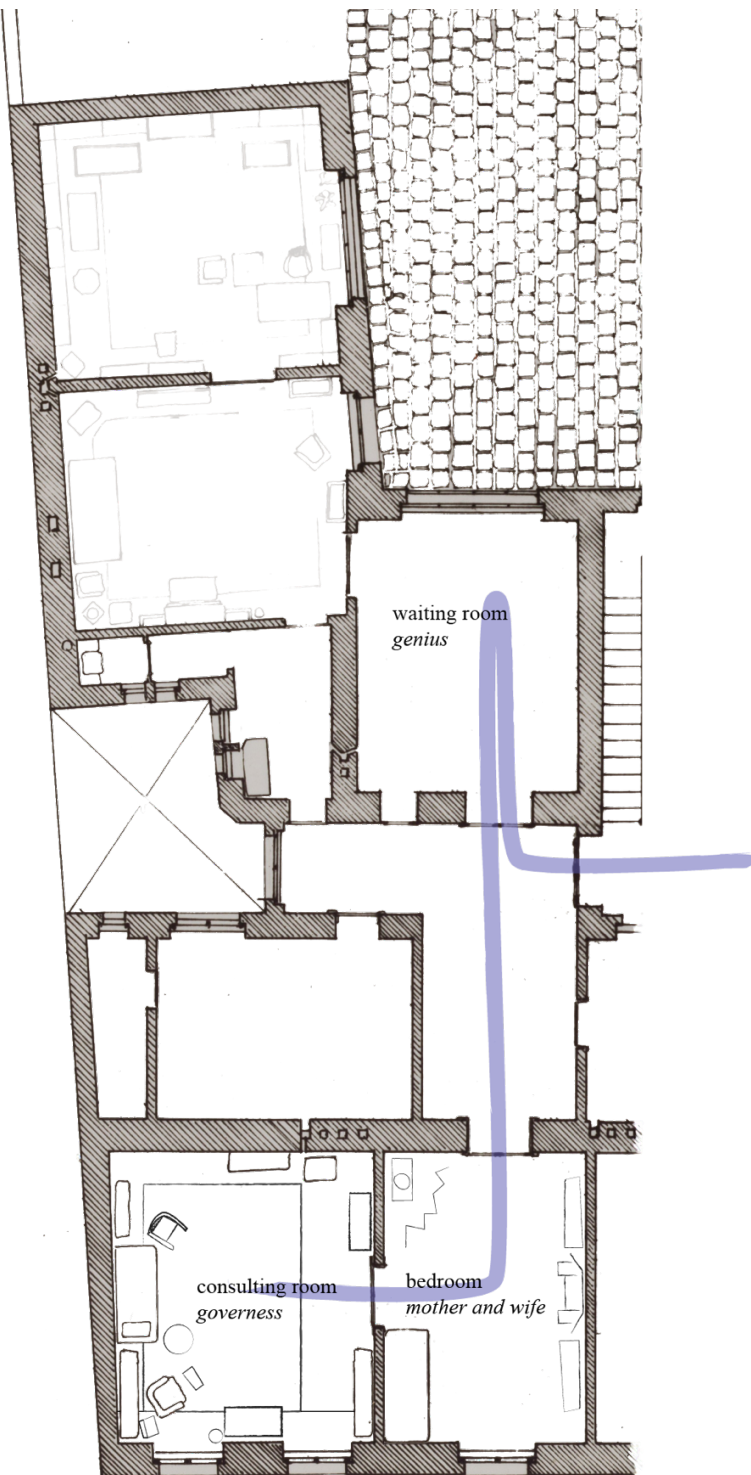


Figure 1. Floor plan of Berggasse 19, showing the progression of this thesis through space and concepts. Original floor plan is part of the collection of the Freud Museum London. [IN.1294.3] (Original plan used with permission of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 2. Edmund Engelmann, Exterior of Berggasse 19, Vienna, Austria, 1938. (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 3. Edmund Engelman, Entrance of Berggasse 19, Vienna, Austria. 1938. (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 4. Edmund Engelman, Staircase at Berggasse 19, Landing of the Freud's apartment. 1938. (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 5. *Top*: Photo taken by the author of the waiting room at Berggasse 19 during her visit in July 2018. *Bottom*: Edmund Engelman, *The Waiting Room*. 1938. (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 6. Waiting Room and Hall leading to Anna Freud's bedroom. Photo taken by the author at Sigmund Freud Museum, Vienna, Austria. July 2018.



Figure 7. Views of the threshold/doorway leading to Anna Freud's Bedroom. Photo taken by the author at Sigmund Freud Museum, Vienna, Austria. July 2018.



Figure 8. Anna Freud's Bedroom, from the door-way. Photo taken by the author at Sigmund Freud Museum, Vienna, Austria. July 2018.

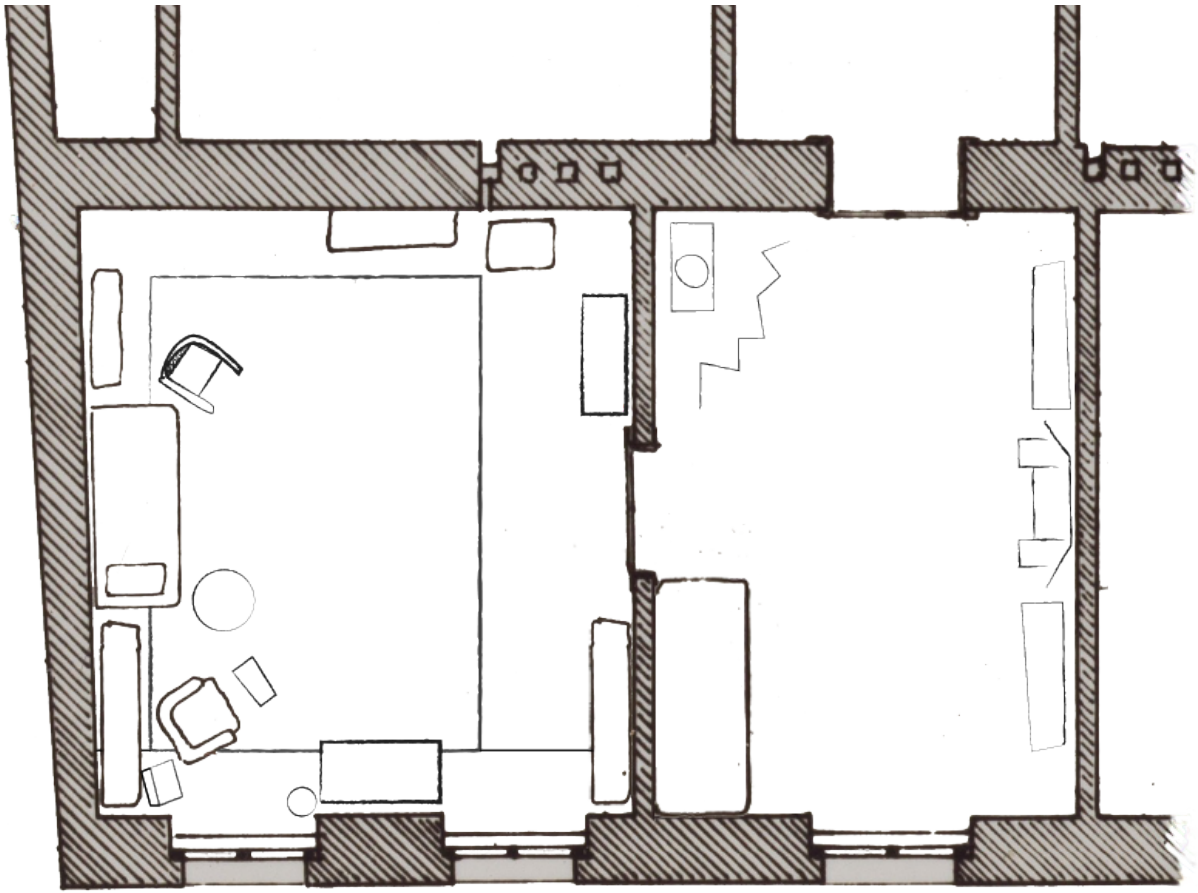


Figure 9. Floor plan of Anna's consulting room (left) and bedroom (right) at Berggasse 19. The plans have been modified by the author according to the Engelman's photographs (1938) and Anna's correspondence with her brother Ernst L. Freud (1921). (Original plan used with permission of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 10. Artist unknown. Floor plan of Berggasse 19, first story, showing some of the angles from which Edmund Engelman photographed the Freuds apartment. Over 100 photographs were taken over the course of three days. This plan is therefore not exhaustive and serves to illustrate the emphasis on Sigmund's quarters. Part of the collection of the Freud Museum London.

[IN.1294.3] (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)

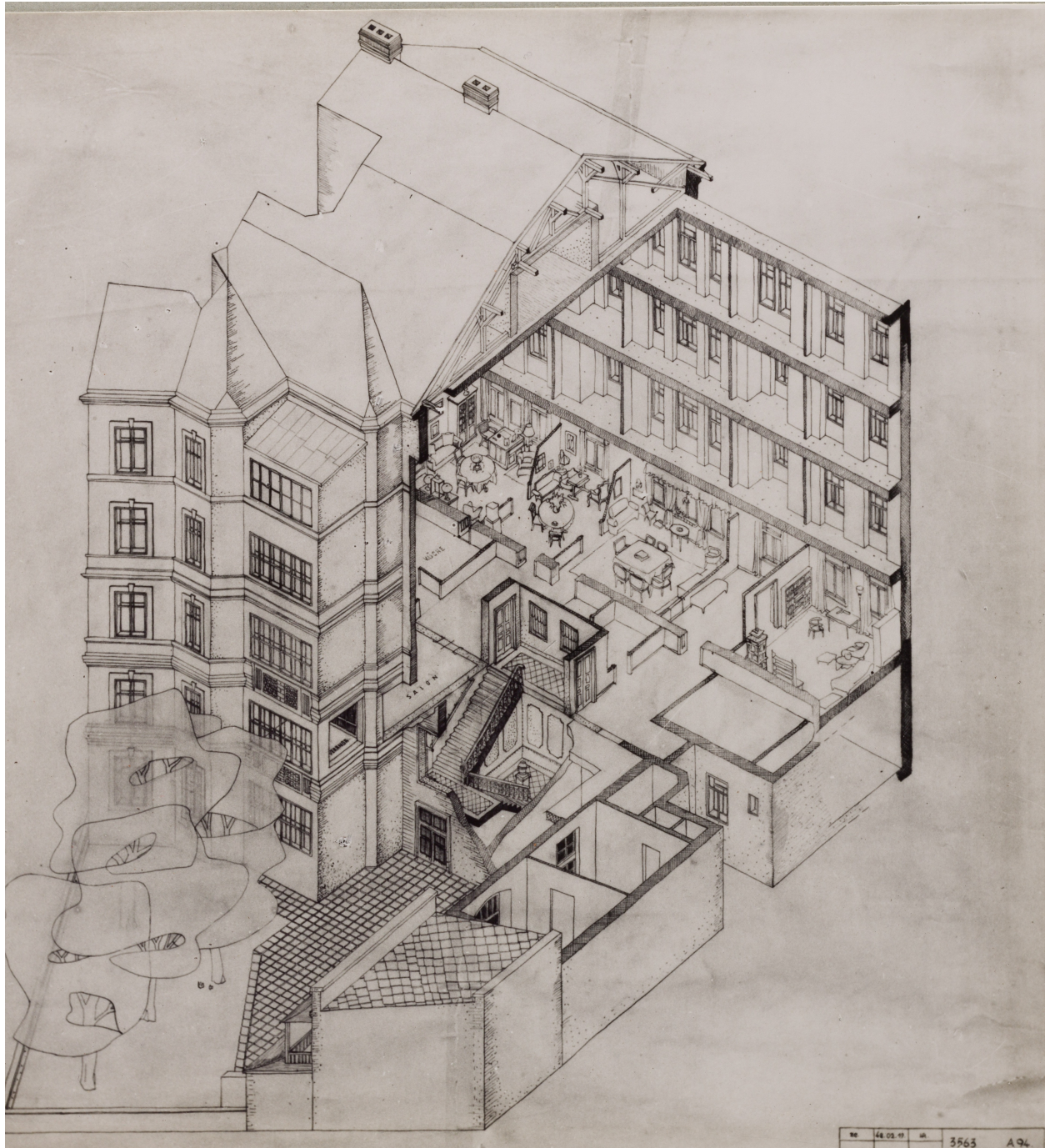


Figure 11. Artist unknown. Sectional view of Berggasse 19. This architectural plan was included in a collaged book offered by August Aichhorn to Anna Freud in 1949, entitled *Professor Sigmund Freud's Wohnung im Hause Wien, 9., Berggasse 19. Zur Erinnerung* (In memory) The caption of read *Fassade Hofseit und Schnitt (Wohnräume)* (Courtyard-side facade and section (living rooms)). [IN.1296] (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 12. *Psyche*. [ca. 1900-20] Purchased by the Sigmund Freud Museum in Vienna in 2017.
Photographed by the author.

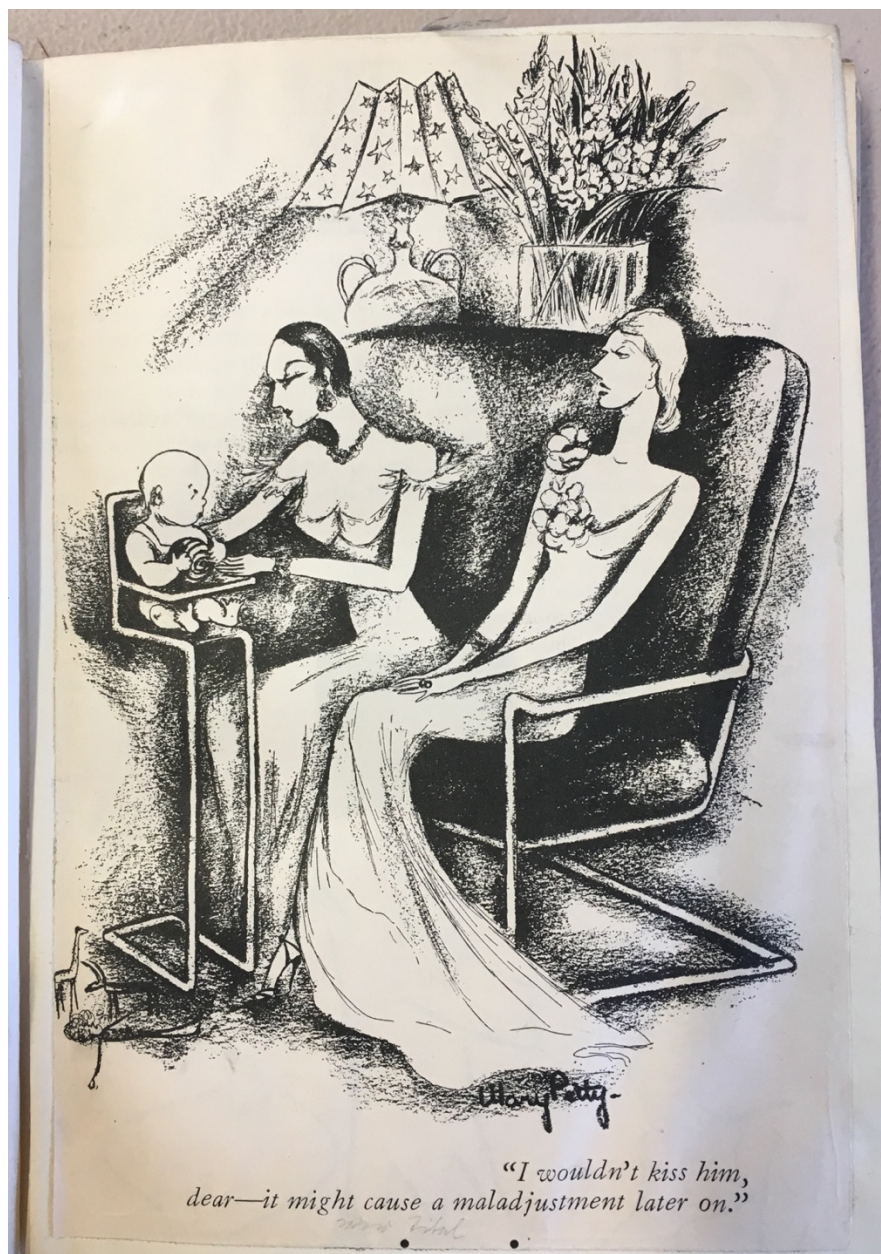


Figure 13. Cartoon clipping, undated, found in a book gifted to Anna Freud by August Aichhorn.
(Courtesy of the of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 14. View from Anna Freud's Bedroom window. Photo taken by the author at Sigmund Freud Museum, Vienna, Austria. July 2018. (Used with permission of the Sigmund Freud Museum Vienna).



Figure 15. Edmund Engelman, Anna Freud's Consulting Room, Vienna, Austria. 1938.
[IN.1246.2] (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 16. Edmund Engelman, Anna Freud's Consulting Room, Vienna, Austria. 1938.
[IN.1248] (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)

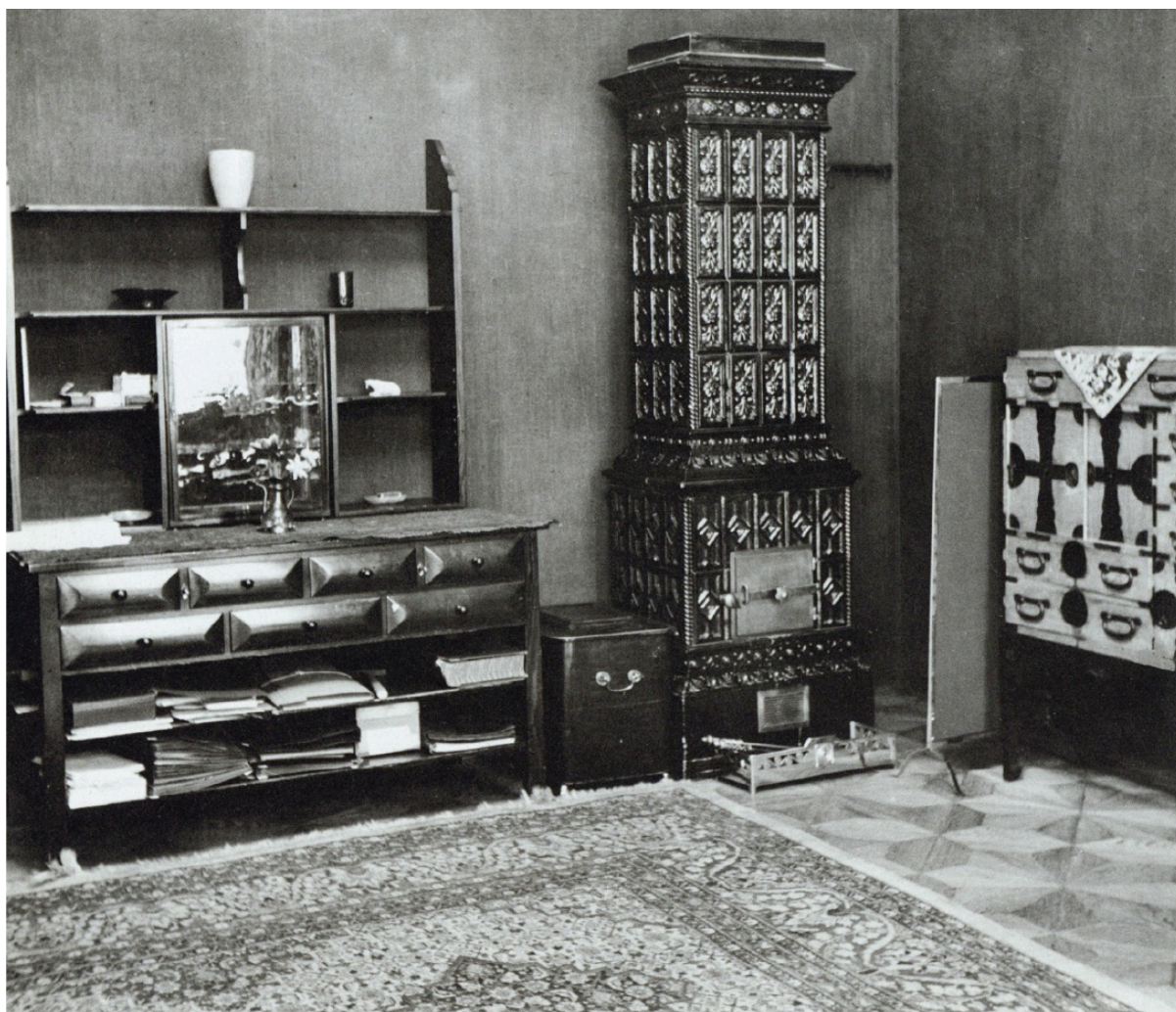


Figure 17. Edmund Engelman, Anna Freud's Consulting Room, Vienna, Austria. 1938.
[IN.1246.2] (Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 18. Edmund Engelman. Double exposure view of Anna's Consulting Room. 1938.
(Courtesy of the Freud Museum London.)



Figure 19. Anna Freud at her study, Vienna, Austria. Unidentified photo.

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- Rebecca Coffey, "Psychoanalysts and HYSTERICAL: Anna Freud's Story," 2015, <https://vimeo.com/130993759>