ANNA O. - BERTHA PAPPENHEIM:
A CHRONOLOGY OF HER LIFE AND TREATMENT

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This chronology will be updated on a regular basis—stay tuned.

The chronology that follows was put together in order to help me make better sense of the founding case of psychoanalysis, the case of Bertha Pappenheim or Anna O as she is known in the analytic literature. The text has been divided into five different time divisions. Events found in sections A through D are drawn mainly from Joseph Breuer’s published account of the case (see Studies on Hysteria, Volume II, Standard Edition of Freud’s Complete Psychological Works, page 22). Time E, covering Anna O’s stay at Bellevue Sanatorium, includes information found in Henri Ellenberger groundbreaking essay “The Story of `Anna O’: A Critical Review”. Albrecht Hirschmüller’s biography of Breuer “The Life and Work of Joseph Breuer” as well as Elizabeth Loentz’s wonderful book Bertha Pappenheim (Let me Continue to Speak the Truth) - published in July of 2007 - have helped me to identify a number of key events in Bertha Pappenheim’s life following her “psychoanalytic years”.

This chronology, needless to say, remains a work in progress. I have no doubt that psychoanalytic scholars will continue to discover critical information about her life. In addition to the sources already mentioned, the chronology has also benefited from information found in the following books and articles:

*) Melinda Given Guttmann’s The Enigma of Anna O.: A Biography of Bertha Pappenheim. Moyer Bell (2001)


*) Published as well as private papers by Peter Swales.


Studying the psychoanalytic literature on Anna O has led me to group scholars who have written about the case into six separate and distinct camps:

1) The Orthodox Freudians: Anna O was never cured if only because she never married nor had children.

2) The Lacanian Camp: As the first analytic patient and a co-founder of psychoanalysis the Anna O case has still much to teach us.

3) The Organicists Camp: Anna O was not a hysteric (hysteria does not exist) and must have suffered from epilepsy, Tourette’s syndrome, ADD, or autism.

4) The Borcht-Jakobson Camp: Breuer and Freud were conned and so were we.

5) The Alice Millerian Camp: Anna O must have been sexually molested by Siegmund Pappenheim, her father. We need only look more closely at her symptoms.

6) The Jewish Feminist Camp: No need to ponder the first part of Bertha Pappenheim’s life and her treatment experience with Josef Breuer. She was the founder of Jewish feminist movement and that in itself is enough to insure her a place in history.

Bertha Pappenheim experienced a number of ‘absences’ both before and during her time in treatment with Breuer. These included the absence she suffered after her father passed away and the one that followed after Breuer decided to terminate her treatment.

The thought of mapping out the Anna O case in chronological order came to me after I developed the idea of writing an essay wherein I planned to interpret her ‘absences’ by appealing to the linguistic similarity found between the German words ‘Absenzen’ and ‘Abszesse’, the latter being the German term for her father’s illness. The fact that Anna O lost of her ‘mother tongue’ (German) while in treatment with Breuer, I thought, offers an important clue that helps us to better grasp the logic guiding her “absences”. To facilitate my research on this question, I decided to prepare a bi-lingual (English and German) edition of her case as published by Freud and Breuer. Those interested in consulting and comparing the two texts are directed to my website: www.Freud2Lacan.com.

I am fully cognizant of the fact that presenting a clinical case in diachronic fashion is antithetical to how a psycho-analytic treatment actually unfolds.
It does so not in diachronic or developmental fashion but, as Lacan argued in his paper on Logic Time, through a logic that is best described as “spiral”. It is important here for us to recall that the concept of Nachträglichkeit (deferred action) was central to Lacan’s conception of the unconscious and that it informed his vision of psychoanalytic treatment.

As far as I know no detailed chronology of the Anna O case has ever been published. The chronology being offered below is presented in the hope that it will serve useful to scholars interested in the founding case of psychoanalysis. I can think of at least two questions that remain open and that relate to her case:

1) Has anyone ever compared and contrasted Breuer’s original report with the one Binswanger put together? That report can be found in Hirschmüller’s biography of Breuer?

2) Is Bertha’s first cousin, Fritz Homburger, in any way related to Erik Homburger Erikson?

**ANNA O. – BERTHA PAPPENHEIM CHRONOLOGY**

1824 (Jun 10): birth of Siegmund Pappenheim, Bertha’s father, at Pressburg

1830 (Jun 13): birth of Recha Goldschmidt, Bertha’s mother at Frankfurt am Main

1848 (?): arranged marriage of 24 year old Siegmund Pappenheim and 18 year old Recha Goldschmidt

1849 (Sep 02): birth of Henriette, Bertha’s oldest sister

1853 (Oct 24): birth of Flora, Bertha’s second older sister

1855 (Oct 15): death of Flora, Bertha’s second older sister, of cholera

1858 (May 27): theoretical date of Bertha Pappenheim’s conception

1859 (Feb 27): Bertha Pappenheim (BP) is born in Vienna

1860 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her first birthday

1860 (Aug 15): Birth of Wilhelm, Bertha’s younger brother
1861 (Feb 27): BP turns 2 years of age
1862 (Feb 27): BP turns 3 years old
1863 (Feb 27): BP is 4 years old
1864 (?): Siegmund Pappenheim, BP’s father, co-founds the Orthodox Schiffschul in Vienna
1864 (Feb 27): BP is 5 years old
1865 (Feb 27): BP turns 6 years old
1866 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 7th birthday.
1866 (?): Death of Henriette, Bertha’s first sister, at age 17 of consumption
1867 (Feb 27): BP turns 8 years of age
1868 (Feb 27): BP turns 9 years old
1869 (Feb 27): BP turns 10 years old
1870 (Feb 27): BP turns 11 years old
1871 (Feb 27): BP turns 12 years old
1872 (Feb 27): BP turns 13 years old
1873 (Feb 27): BP turns 14 years old
1874 (Feb 27): BP turns 15 years old
1875 (Feb 27): BP turns 16 years old
1876 (Feb 27): BP turns 17 years old
1877 (Feb 27): BP turns 18 years old
1878 (Feb 27): BP turns 19 years old
1879 (Feb 27): BP turns 20 years old
1879 (Dec 09): Berman Bernays, father of Martha and Minna (Freud’s future wife and sister-in-law), dies of heart attack
1880 (?): Pappenheim family moves from Leopoldstadt to Liechtensteinstr., just two blocks away from Freud’s future residence on Berggasse.

1880 (?): publication of 2nd ed. of Jacob Bernays’s *Zwei Abhandlungen über die AristotelischeTheorie des Dramas* (Berlin Wilhelm Herz, 1880). The text introduces and popularizes the concept of catharsis into the German speaking world.

1880 (Jan-Feb): Carl Hansen’s stage performances of hypnotism at the Ringtheatre in Vienna. Breuer, Freud, Brentano, as well as a large segment of Viennese society, attends these performances. The Viennese police eventually help put an end to them.

1880 (Feb): Siegmund Pappenheim is appointed legal guardian of the Bernays family following the death of XXX Bernays, Martha’s Breuer’s father.

1880 (Feb 27): BP turns 21 years old

1880 (Jun 23): the 4 members of the Pappenheim family, as well as their servants, arrive at Bad-Ischl (Chalet Bellevue)

1880 (July): Bertha’s father, Siegmund, falls ill of a peripleuritic abscess at Bad-Ischl

**TIME A - LATENT INCUBATION OF THE ILLNESS: JULY 15 1880 TO DECEMBER 10, 1880**

1880 (Jul 15): hallucination of black snake while caring for her sick father

1880 (Jul 17): surgeon arrives from Vienna to operate on Siegmund Pappenheim

1880 (Jul 17): Beginning of first (latent incubation stage) of her illness; Bertha sits up at night nursing her father

1880 (Jul 18, Sun): Bertha distracts herself by playing a game of quoits in the garden

1880 (early Sept): The Pappenheim family returns to Vienna and to their home at Liechtensteinstr. 2

1880 (end of November): Breuer’s first visit to Bertha to treat her “nervous cough”.
1880 (Dec): beginning/appearance of a convergent squint

**TIME B – MANIFEST ILLNESS: Dec 10, 1880 to Apr 01, 1881**

1st 4 months: telling fairy tales of her own invention. Bertha is confined to bed for 3.5 months

1880 (Dec 11): Breuer is called and consulted on the case again. He begins to see Bertha, who is confined to bed, on a daily basis

1881 (Feb 27): Bertha P.’s 22 birthday

1881 (Mar): Bertha overcomes aphasia, regains movement and begins to speak in English

1881 (Apr 01): Bertha is well enough to get out of bed for the first time in nearly 4 months, since last December (1880).

1881 (Tuesday, Apr 05, 4:00 PM): Death of Siegmund Pappenheim (age 57) from peripleuritic abscess (**Abszesse**)

**TIME C: PERSISTING SOMNABULISM**

Subsequently alternating with more normal states a number of chronic symptoms persists until Dec 1881

1881 (Apr 06): BP in a stupor which gives way after she confronts Breuer in Italian “Buona sera, Dottore” “E vero che il mio padre e morte?” (Good evening Doctor. Is it true that my father has died?).

1881 (Apr 08): BP emerges from her stupor in a greatly changed state

1881 (Apr 15): Krafft-Ebing called in as a consultant on the case. Bertha becomes highly agitated in the evening in response to Breuer leaving for 3 day trip to Berlin

1881 (Apr 17): Easter Holiday

1881 (May): Breuer and his 10 year old daughter (Bertha) go out with Bertha Pappenheim on a carriage ride through the Prater. This is BP’s first time out of her house in 9 months (source-Lucy Freeman’s *The Story of Anna O.*).
1881 (Jun 07): BP goes for 3 days and nights without food or sleep

1881 (Jun 07): BP is forcibly taken to sanatorium in Inzersdorf, 5 miles south of Vienna.

1881 (Jun 11): This is likely the date that Breuer’s daughter Dora (born 3/11/1882) was conceived.

1881 (mid July): Breuer leaves Vienna for a five week holiday. QUESTION: WAS THIS THE SO-CALLED ‘SECOND HONEYMOON IN VENICE ALLUDED TO BY ERNEST JONES WHERE BREUER’S LAST DAUGHTER, DORA, WAS SUPPOSEDLY CONCEIVED? IF SO, THERE REMAINS A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE LIKELY DATE OF DORA’S CONCEPTION (June 11 1881) AND BREUER’S HOLIDAY WHICH BEGAN A MONTH LATER, IN MID-JULY.

1881 (middle of August): Breuer returns to Vienna from his holiday to find Bertha in a miserable state

1881 (end of Aug): Breuer accompanies Bertha from the sanatorium to her home in Vienna for an eight day visit, and then returns to the sanitorium in Inzersdorf

1881 (Nov): Bertha returns home to live with her mother in Vienna in new surroundings, Neuer Markt 7, half a mile away from where she previously resided

1881 (Nov 04): letter from Breuer to Binswanger on his attempt to acclimatize Bertha to her family. Breuer suggests that the attempt will likely fail and that he will likely have to accompany Bertha to Breslauer for admission to Bellevue. It appears, however, that this failed to materialize

**TIME D (Dec 01 to Jun 07 1882): RECAPITULATION AND RELIVING OF PREVIOUS YEAR EXPERIENCES (Dec 01 1880 - Jun 07 1881)**

1881 (Dec 01 to Dec 07): 1 year anniversary of separation from her father. Her condition begins to deteriorate, particularly at night. In her ‘second condition’ Bertha lives the events of the previous year. Beginning of cathartic method of treatment with Breuer tracing her symptoms back in reverse chronological order.

1882 (February): Dental operation on left upper jaw

1882 (Feb 27): B P.’s 23rd birthday

1882 (Mar 11): Josef Breuer’s last and 6th child, Dora, is born
1882 (mid March): Onset of severe facial neuralgia, transitory eye pain and facial spasms.

1882 (spring): BP suffers from an embarrassing morphine addiction

1882 (Apr 05): Jahrzeit of the death of her father, Siegmund Pappenheim

1882 (Apr 09): Easter Holiday

1882 (Jun 07): Breuer decides to terminate Bertha’s treatment. His decision falls on the anniversary of her committal to Inzersdorf a year earlier.

BERTHA RESPONDS WITH A PSEUDO-PREGNANCY. BREUER SUPPOSEDLY RESPONDS BY FLEEING TO A SECOND HONEYMOON WITH HIS WIFE WHICH SUPPOSEDLY RESULTS IN THE CONCEPTION OF HIS YOUNGEST DAUGHTER, DORA. THE PROBLEM, HOWEVER, IS THAT DORA HAD BEEN CONCEIVED A YEAR BEFORE (June 11, 1881) AND HAD IN FACT BEEN BORN 3 MONTHS PRIOR (on March 11 1882) TO BREUER ENDING BERTHA’S TREATMENT.

BUT THEN AGAIN, ‘TIME D’ INVOLVES A RECAPITULATION AND A RELIVING (BY BERTHA) OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR!

1882 (MID JUNE): letter from Breuer to Binswanger about Breslauer being away for 1 wk & that Breuer can’t accompany her alone to Bad Kreuzlingen. Breuer further reports that BP is receiving 0.08-0.1 morphine by injection on a daily basis

1882 (Jun 19): letter from Breuer to Binswanger detailing probable arrival of Bertha at Bellevue after a short stay in Karlsruhe


TIME E (July 1882 to October 29, 1882): 3 MONTH STAY AT BELLEVUE SANITORIUM.

1882 (early July): Bertha spends a few days in Karlsruhe, at her mother’s sister, Bella Homburger, on her way to Bellevue at Kreutzlingen

1882 (Jul 12): Bertha arrives at Bellevue. This is five weeks after end of her treatment with Breuer
1882 (Jul 21): letter from Robert Binswanger to Recha Pappenheim reporting that Bertha’s loss of her mother tongue occurs only on odd occasions during the evenings and only for a matter of minutes.

1882 (Jul 23): letter from Fritz Homburger, Bertha’s cousin, to Binswanger reporting facial pains during the day and regular speech disturbances in the evening. He is also happy to learn that Bertha’s morphine dosage has already been decreased by half.

1882 (Jul 24): letter from Recha Pappenheim to Binswanger about his July 21st letter, the weaning from morphine as well as her ‘absences’ and loss of her mother tongue

1882 (Aug 15): letter from Binswanger to Recha Pappenheim contemplating surgical treatment of Bertha’s neuralgia

1882 (Aug ?): letter from Recha Pappenheim to Binswanger responding to his letter of Aug 15th advising against operating on Bertha to relieve her facial neuralgia and reminding him that Breuer use to relieve this psychically caused symptom via recounting everything while reproducing it in a dreamlike state

1882 (beginning of October): report by Bertha on her inability to speak German

1882 (Oct 3 & Oct 5): Reports from Robert Binswanger to Recha Pappenheim

1882 (Oct 07): letter from Recha Pappenheim to Binswanger about his reports of 3rd and 5th of Oct reports wherein he advises that it is best for Bertha not to return to Vienna but to go to Karlsruhe. Recha expresses her dismay that morphine is still being used and that Breuer is unable to return and to take over Bertha’s treatment

1882 (Oct 15): letter from Recha Pappenheim to Binswanger about receiving his letter & stating that Bertha’s facial neuralgia is worse and that therefore her morphine dose has been increased

1882 (Oct 29): Bertha leaves Bellevue for Karlsruhe

AFTERWARDS – APRÉS-COUP
1882 (Nov): Bertha starts to take nursing course. She also begins to attend concerts, plays and parties

1882 (Nov 08): Bertha sends Binswanger a letter of thanks. In it, she indicates that she must still rely on the syringe for she remains addicted to morphine.

1882 (Mid Nov): Bertha’s facial neuralgia worsens and she only speaks English now in the evening.

1882 (Saturday, Nov 18): Josef Breuer tells Freud about Bertha Pappenheim case and her treatment for the first time.

1882 (Dec 26): BP spends 3 days in Frankfurt w. relatives & returns to Vienna.

1882 (Dec 28): BP travels to Mainz for a family visit.

1883 (Jan 04): Letter from BP’s cousin Fritz Homburger to Robert Binswanger indicating that 14 days after her arrival she was still speaking English, from time to time, in the evenings but only for about an hour. Letter also indicates that her neuralgic pains have persisted, now that she is in Frankfurt.

1883 (Jan 22): Letter from Martha Bernays to her sister Minna reporting that Bertha is “completely cured”.

1883 (Feb 27): Bertha P.’s 24th birthday.

1883 Thurs Jul 12: visit to Breuer until 2:00AM discussing Bertha Pappenheim.

1883 (Friday, Jul 13): Freud writes to Martha and notes that he had a long and detailed discussion with Breuer about Bertha that lasted until 2:00 AM.

1883 (Jul 30): Bertha is re-hospitalized at Inzersdorf for 6 months, until Jan 17, 1884.

1883 (early Aug): Breuer visits Bertha and finds her in an appalling state. He was so disturbed by her disintegration that he wished she would die.

1883 (Aug 05): Freud writes letter to Martha: “Bertha is once again in the sanatorium in Gross-Inzersdorf, I believe”. He notes that Breuer recently visited her, found her condition to be worse and wished her dead so she could be free of her suffering.
1883 (Oct 31): Freud writes letter to Martha stating “your friend Bertha is doing well”. Freud also notes that Bertha is ridding herself of pains and of her morphine addiction as well. Breuer’s ‘withdraws’ as Bertha’s doctor.

1883 (end of October): Breuer confides to Freud that something took place between him and Bertha that displeased his wife.

1883 (November 02): Martha writes letter to Freud to pose a question: “It has often been on the tip of my tongue to ask you why Breuer gave up on Bertha...” Martha sympathizes with Mrs Breuer, saying that she can imagine herself in the position of Breuer’s wife.

1883 (Nov 04): Freud write letter to Martha stating “To suffer Frau Mathilde’s fate, one has to be the wife of Breuer, isn’t that so?”. He is apparently indicating that he is no “Breuer” and she (Martha) no Mathilde.

1884 (Jan 13): Breuer wrote to Binswanger “I have seen the little Pappenheim today. She is totally healthy, without pains, or anything else.”

1884 (Jan 17): Bertha is released from Inzersdorf.

1884 (Feb 27): BP turns 25 years old

1885 (Feb 27): BP’s 26th birthday

1885 (Mar 04): Bertha spends 4 months (until 2 Jul 1885) at Inzersdorf for hysteria and suffering with somatic disorders

1885 (Jul 02): Bertha is released from Inzersdorf

1886 (late Jan or Feb): Freud informs Charcot of Breuer’s hypnotic-cathartic treatment of Anna O. Charcot shows no interest.

1886 (Feb 27): BP’s 27th birthday

1886 (Sep 17): Freud and Martha marry. Bertha Pappenheim is one of their first visitors

1886 (Nov): Letter from Martha to Minna and their mother, Emmaline, reporting that Bertha is extraordinarily well.

1887 (Jan 02): Bertha visits Freud and Martha

1887 (Feb 01): Letter from Martha Bernays to her mother, Emmaline, reporting a visit from Bertha and saying that her illness has taken its toll.
1887 (Feb 27): BP’s 28th birthday

1887 (May 31): Bertha visits Freud and his wife Martha

1887 (May 31): Letter from Martha Bernays to her mother, Emmaline, reporting that Bertha is quite miserable. After 5:00 PM in the evening she gets into one of her states.

1887 (Jun 30): Referral of Karl Bettelheim. B.P. is again admitted to Inzersdorf. She remains inpatient for 16 days

1887 (Jul 18): Bertha is released from Inzersdorf

1888: Bertha self-publishes her first 1st book, Kleine Geschichten für Kinder. She immerses herself in volunteer social work, largely with the Jewish community

1888 (Feb 27): B P.’s 29th birthday

1888 (Nov 14): Bertha’s registered address is in Frankfurt.

1888 (end of Nov): Bertha and her mother, Recha, move to Frankfurt

1889 (Jan): Trip to Karlsruhe. BP plays King Priam’s daughter in a play at her cousin Anna’s.

1889 (Feb 27): BP’s 30th birthday

1890: Bertha publishes book of children’s stories (In der Trodelbude). It is published under the pen name of Paul Berthold

1890 (Feb 27): BP’s 31st birthday

1891 (Feb 27): BP’s 32nd birthday

1892 (Feb 27): BP.’s 33rd birthday

1892 (Jun 28): Freud writes to Fliess informing that “Breuer has declared his willingness to publish jointly our detailed theory of abreaction, and our other joint witticisms [Witze] on hysteria”.

1892 (Jun 29): Freud writes letter to Breuer stating: “the innocent satisfaction I felt when I handed you over those few pages of mine has given way to…uneasiness.”
1893 (Jan 1 & 15): Freud’s *ber den psychischen Mechanismus hysterischer Phänomene* published

1893 (Jan 11): Freud lectures at *Wiener medizinischer Club* on the paper’s subject matter in Neurologisches Centralblatt

1893 (Jan 19 & 16): Freud’s article reprinted in the *Wien medizinischer Blätter*

1893 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 34th birthday

1894 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 35th birthday

1895: Bertha founded and taught in the *Unentgeltliche Flickschule*, a tuition-free school that taught mending & clothing repair. The school eventually served over ten thousand women.

1895: Bertha becomes the house-mother of an orphanage for Jewish girls, her first major post as an administrator and educator. She becomes an important figure in the general German Women’s movement in Frankfurt and plays an active role in organizing the Frankfurt local branch of the General German Women’s Association. (*ADF-Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein*).

1895 (Feb 27): BP’s 36th birthday

1895: Bertha participates in the Federation of German Women’s Associations’ (BDF, Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine) women’s militia campaign to improve women’s rights in the new German Civil Code.

1895: *Studien über Hysterie* published

1896 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 37th birthday

1897 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 38th birthday

1898 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 39th birthday

1899 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 40th birthday

1899: Bertha translates Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*

1900 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 41st birthday

1901 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 42nd birthday
1901: Wilhelm Pappenheim, Bertha’s younger brother and a practicing attorney, marries Emma [Ruben]

1902: Bertha founds the Women’s Relief (Weibliche Fürsorge) which coordinated the efforts of the Jewish Gemeinde, the city of Frankfurt and the local women’s movement.

1902 (Feb 27): Bertha P’s 43rd birthday

1903: Bertha and her brother Wilhelm attend a Delegates’ Meeting for Combating the Traffic in Jewish Girls, in Lemberg (Lvov). She tours impoverished Jewish communities in Galicia to investigate the causes of the trafficking of women and publishes report which establishes her reputation as an expert on the social welfare movement of Eastern European Jewry. She becomes a leader in the campaign against the abuse and sexual trafficking of women.

1903 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 44th birthday

1904: Bertha attends a convention of the International Council of Women in Berlin. She founds the League of Jewish Women (Jüdischer Frauenbund, JFB) and is elected its first president

1904 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 45th birthday

1905 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 46th birthday

1906: BP journeys to sites of pogroms in Russia in order to assess losses and to organize relief efforts

1906 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 47th birthday

1907: Bertha founds home for at-risk girls and unwed mothers in Isenberg

1907 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 48th birthday

1908 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 49th birthday

1909: BP visits the Balkans & petitions Queen Carmen Sylvia of Rumania to join in the crusade against white slavery.

1909: BP travels to North America as a delegate of the JFB and attends the International Council of Women in Toronto. She goes on to visit American cities, lectures on white slavery and observes institutions on the Lower East Side of New York.
1909 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 50th birthday

1910 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 51st birthday

1911 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 52nd birthday

1912 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 53rd birthday

1913 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 54th birthday

1914: the JFB (*Jüdischer Frauenbund*) proposes and coordinates the first International Congress of Jewish Women at which the International League of Jewish Women is founded. Bertha Pappenheim, along with Sadie American, are elected as the organization’s first co-presidents

1914 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 55th birthday

1914 (June 28): - Archduke Ferdinand of Austria is assassinated – start of World War I.

1915 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 56th birthday

1916: BP publishes “Woe to Him, Whose Conscience Sleeps,” calling for a national Jewish welfare association

1916 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 57th birthday

1917 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 58th birthday

1918 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 59th birthday

1919 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 60th birthday

1920 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 61st birthday

1921 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 62nd birthday

1922: Franz Rosenzweig & Martin Buber recruit BP to lecture at the *Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus* in Frankfurt.

1922 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 63rd birthday

1923 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 64th birthday
1923 (summer): BP lectures at Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus in Frankfurt on Glückel of Hameln

1924 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 65th birthday

1925 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 66th birthday

1925 (Jun 20): Death of Josef Breuer (Obituary) page 279-280

1926 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 67th birthday

1927 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 68th birthday

1928 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 69th birthday

1929 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 70th birthday

1930 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 71st birthday

1931 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 72nd birthday

1932 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 73rd birthday

1932 (June 2) Letter from Freud (# 265) to Stefan Zweig, providing important information and reporting on the Anna O case and her treatment:

What really happened with Breuer’s patient I was able to guess later on, long after the break in our relations, when I suddenly remembered something Breuer had once told me in another context before we had begun to collaborate and which he never repeated. On the evening of the day when all her symptoms had been disposed of, he was summoned to the patient again, found her confused and writhing in abdominal cramps. Asked what was wrong with her, she replied: “Now Dr. B’s child is coming!” At this moment he held in his hand the key that would have opened the “doors to the Mothers, [allusion to an image in Goethe’s Faust, II] but he let it drop. With all his great intellectual gifts there was nothing Faustian in his nature. Seized by conventional horror he took flight and abandoned the patient to a colleague. For months afterwards she struggled to regain her health in a sanatorium. I was so convinced of this reconstruction of mine that I published it somewhere. Breuer’s youngest daughter (born shortly after the above-mentioned treatment, not without significance for the deeper connections!) read my account and asked her father about it (shortly before his death). He confirmed my version, and she informed me about it later”
The original German text reads:


Diese meiner Rekonstruktion fühlte ich mich so sicher, daß ich sie irgendwo veröffentliche. Breuers jüngste Tochter (kurz nach Abschluß jener Behandlung geboren, auch das nicht ohne Belang für tiefere Zusammenhänge!) las meine Darstellung und befragte ihren Vater (es war kurz vor seinem Tod). Er bestätigte mich, und sie ließ es mich nachher wissen."

1933 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 74th birthday
1934 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 75th birthday
1935 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 76th birthday
1936 (Feb 27): BP celebrates her 77th birthday
1936 (May 28): Bertha Pappenheim dies at Isenburg (Austria) at age of 77
1939 (Saturday, Sep 23, 3:00AM) Death of Sigmund Freud.

FREUD’S REFERENCES TO THE CASE, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON BERTHA’S PSEUDO-PREGNANCY, BREUER SUPPOSEDLY RESPONDING BY FLEEING TO VENICE ON A 2ND HONEYMOON WITH HIS WIFE WHERE HIS LAST DAUGHTER (DORA) WAS REPORTEDLY CONCEIVED.
1893: On the Psychical Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena: A Lecture, see pages 29-30

1895: Studies on Hysteria

1910: Five Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, see pages 9-15, 17-22, 24, 26 in particular

1914: On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, see pages 11-12

1917: Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, Part III, page 279

1923: Two Encyclopaedia Articles, page 235

1924: A Short Account of Psycho-Analysis, page 193

1925: An Autobiographical Study, see pages 19-22, particularly pages 21-22: “But over the final stage of this hypnotic treatment there rested a veil of obscurity, which Breuer never raised for me: and I could not understand why he had so long kept secret what seemed to me an invaluable discovery instead of making science the richer by it.”

Also page 26: “After the work of catharsis had seemed to be completed, the girl suddenly developed a condition of ‘transference love’; he [Breuer] had not connected this with her illness, and had therefore retired in dismay.”

1925: Psycho-Analysis, pages 263-264

1925: Josef Breuer, (Obituary); page 279-280

THE AFTERMATH OF THE CASE HISTORY: BREUER & BERTHA PAPPENHEIM

1925 (Jun 20): Death of Josef Breuer at age of 83

1925 (Oct 17): enigmatic entry by Marie Bonaparte in her journal: “Breuer and Fräulein Anna O. Confession 10 years later” (as reported by Borch-Jakobson) page 99

1927 (Dec 16): Appears to be the actual date of the entry in the Marie Bonaparte journal, as told to Borch-Jakobson by Elisabeth Roudinesco, page 100: “The 16th of December [1927], in Vienna. Freud told me the Breuer story. His wife tried to kill herself towards the end of Anna=Bertha’s treatment. The rest is well known: Anna’s relapse, her fantasy of pregnancy, Breuer’s flight.”
Breuer’s daughter questions her father about the incident. He supposedly confessed everything that Freud had written in the Selbstdarstellung.

Breuer to Freud: What have you got me into?

Freud (to Marie Bonaparte): “If you had known Breuer, he was a great mind, a mind quite superior to me. I had only one thing: courage to stand up against the majority, faith in myself....” (Date ?)

Breuer, plaintively: “We are always less alone than we would like to believe.”

1932 (Nov 20): Letter from Freud to Sir Arthur Tansley, F.S.R. indicating that Anna O. had achieved a “cure with a defect”

1936 (Thursday, May 28): Bertha Pappenheim dies at Isenburg Austria at age of 77

1939 (Saturday, Sep 23): Death of Sigmund Freud in London at age of 83

1953: Ernest Jones writes the following in the opening volume of his biography of Freud:

Freud has related to me a fuller account than he described in his writings of the peculiar circumstances surrounding the end of this novel treatment. It would seem that Breuer had developed what we should nowadays call a strong counter-transference to his interesting patient. At all events he was so engrossed that his wife became bored at listening to no other topic, and before long jealous. She did not display this openly, but became unhappy and morose. It was a long time before Breuer, with his thoughts elsewhere, divined the meaning of her state of mind. It provoked a violent reaction in him, perhaps compounded of love and guilt, and he decided to bring the treatment to an end. He announced this to Anna O., who was by now much better, and bade her good-by. But that evening he was fetched back to find her in a greatly excited state, apparently as ill as ever. The patient, who according to him had appeared to be an asexual being and had never made any allusion to such a forbidden topic throughout the treatment, was now in the throes of an hysterical childbirth (pseudocyesis), the logical termination of a phantom pregnancy that had been invisibly developing in response to Breuer’s ministrations. Though profoundly shocked, he managed to calm her down by hypnotizing her, and then fled the house in a cold sweat. The next day he and his wife left for Venice to spend a second honeymoon, which resulted in the conception of a daughter;
the girl born in these curious circumstances was nearly sixty years later to commit suicide in New York.” (pg 224-225)

In his book *The Life and Works of Josef Breuer*, Albrecht Hirschmüller corrects Jones’s mistake, writing, on pages 357-358 and apropos Breuer’s daughter (Dora):

[Dora] Born 11 [of] March 1882. She never married. She refused to emigrate after 1938 so that she could offer help to the Schiff family, who were in distressed circumstances. When she was about to be arrested by the Gestapo she took poison, and died twenty-four hours later in a hospital [this was in 1942, according to page 416 of the same text].

There is, however, evidence that a niece of Josef Breuer committed suicide in the United States out of grief for the death of her mother and sister. Her name was Elisabeth Schiff and she was the daughter of Josef Breuer’s daughter, Marguerethe and her husband, Dr. Arthur Schiff.

Lacan refers to Jones account in Seminar XI, page 158, by saying:

I will give you the beginning of a good proof; namely that Breuer, setting off for Italy with his wife, lost no time in giving her a child, as Ernest Jones reminds his interlocutor—a child which, from being born in these conditions, says the imperturbable Welshman, had just, at the moment when Jones was speaking, committed suicide.

The Frenchman has unfortunately taken the ‘imperturbable Welshman’ at his word, perhaps without having heard that Anna Freud often referred to him as ‘that Welsh liar’. The entire Bertha Pappenheim (Anna O) case, to be sure, remains puzzling and enigmatic. It is, however, symbolically ironic that a German postage stamp issued during the 50’s with Bertha’s image has helped to insure that countless letters indeed managed to reach their destination.

1883 Jul 12 visit to Breuer until 2:00AM discussing Bertha Pappenheim